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EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES



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Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association for Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

Opinions expressed in articles and critiques are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or the publisher.

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Editor's Note: The Feminist Press gave birth to Hadley Irwin with the publication of *The Lilith Summer* (1979). She has published five books since then. Hadley Irwin is the fusion of Lee Hadley and Annabelle Irwin, but they both declare that "Hadley Irwin is a better writer than both of us put together—she's really her own person." Hadley and Irwin decided to look at two aspects of Hadley Irwin, the writer, and share their insights about how she attempts to portray a realistic cultural landscape from their separate identities.

"The Lone Ranger Lied: Tonto Wasn't Real" and "White Like Me: A Problem Or a Plus" were presented at the Twelfth Annual NAIES Conference in Kansas City. Hadley's discussion centers on *We Are Mesquakie, We Are One* (1980), a story about Hidden Doe and her people returning to their ancestral homeland, and Irwin's focus is *I Be Somebody* (1984), which examines why Rap Davis and his people had to leave Oklahoma for Alberta in search of freedom. The presentations by Hadley and Irwin are published here for reasons congruent with the purpose of the journal.

The Lone Ranger Lied: Tonto Wasn't Real

Lee Hadley

Momma, Where Do Books Come From?

Whenever Hadley Irwin speaks to school children or to adults, for that matter, someone always asks, "Did the things in the book really happen to you? Are the characters in your books real people?" Writing is full of bits and pieces of the past, but what goes on paper is an amalgam of thousands of things, consciously and unconsciously remembered—experiences, overheard conversations, stories, imagined events. For a child, at least this writer as a child, all things had equal validity; all were equally true, even though she finally learned that growing up was a mixture of reality and myth.

“From Out of the Bygone Days of Yesteryear . . .”

Reality was five years in a one-room country school house (1940-1945) in the middle of Iowa cornfields, and a Quaker community that had been settled by *everyone's* great-grandparents. Reality was going barefoot and wearing overalls except for Sunday when both Sunday School and Church had to be endured.

The myths were many. The best books in school were two volumes, illustrated in color, of Greek and Roman mythology. The words were difficult, but the stories were exciting, and they seemed perfectly reasonable to a third grader. Zeus romping on and off Mount Olympus, turning himself into swans and golden showers of rain was just as possible and a lot more exciting than the Old Testament God, who just made plain, ordinary rules and floated old Noah away on the ark. Of course, those were neat stories too and obviously factual. Why else would a grandmother teach a kid to read them and remember them? And since everything in the *Bible* (King James version, of course) was true, it seemed perfectly all right to like David better than Jesus, who was always pictured as sitting around with a sappy expression.

Some other things were true, too. Black Beauty was a thoughtful horse; Lassie really did come home; My Friend Flicka had a foal named Thunderhead. But more real than the Greek myths, more real than Job getting boils, certainly more real than a long-discarded Santa Claus were THE THUNDERING HOOF BEATS OF THE GREAT HORSE, SILVER.

Yes, the Lone Ranger rode again with his faithful Indian companion, Tonto, whose horse's name was Scout. Who can ever forget a first love? The sound of the voice, the words used — so full of truth. Of course, I could not see him, but, curled up by the radio at 6:30, Monday through Friday, I knew exactly what he looked like. Tonto, I mean. There were a few problems. All the bad guys, and most of the good guys, called him “Red Skin,” and that did tend to create a bit of doubt in my mind since the only person I'd ever seen with truly red skin was Swede Barnett, a classmate who was almost albino and couldn't stay in the sun very long. Actually, as lovely as his voice was, Tonto had little to say except, “Hiiiiiee, Kimo Sabe,” “Ugh,” and “Him heap bad medicine.”

On the other hand, Tonto, even though he did not go around shooting guns out of villain's hands with a single silver bullet, did keep the Lone Ranger in business. In fact, it was Tonto who found the Texas Ranger and nursed him back to health and turned him into the

Lone Ranger. He also must have found the silver mine where all those bullets came from, and he probably captured the Great Horse Silver. I have a nagging notion that he did the cooking and the cleaning and the laundry and would have done windows. It took years to discover his basic flaw:

THE LONE RANGER LIED, BUT SO DID TONTO.

And he didn't do me any favor. There weren't any Native Americans back then, not in my world, anyway. There were only the "injuns" in Zane Grey books, forever "skulking" around Zanesville, ready to carry off helpless white women and children (who were usually so whippy I couldn't understand why anyone would want them) or else a Tonto. It took a long time to figure out that the "noble Indian" was just as false a picture as the "dirty redskin," and maybe just as prevalent.

Here is a description I just unearthed from my 94-year-old-mother's library. The book had been a gift to her mother. *The Heart of the Desert*. Originally *Kut-le of the Desert* by Honore Willsie, 1912:

Despite his breadth of shoulder, the young Indian looked slender, though it was evident that only panther strength could produce such panther grace . . . Rhoda was surprised at the beauty of his face, with its large, long-lashed Mohave eyes that were set well apart and set deeply as are the eyes of those whose ancestors have lived much in the open glare of the sun; with the straight thin-nostriled nose; with the stern, cleanly modeled mouth and square chin below . . . (p. 3).
Two Indian women: Their swarthy features were well cut but both were dirty and ill kept. The younger, heavier squaw had a kindly face, with good eyes, but her hair was matted with clay and her fingers showed traces of recent tortilla making. The older woman was lean and wiry, with a strange gleam of maliciousness and ferocity in her eyes. Her forehead was elaborately tattooed with symbols and her toothless old jaws were covered with blue tribal lines (p. 58).

Which is a more demeaning picture? It's a toss up.

Goodbye Kemo Sabe

When Hadley Irwin began thinking about *We Are Mesquakie, We Are One*, based on an event in Mesquakie history, it was apparent that Tonto and the Lone Ranger had to die. Myth had to be replaced by reality and the bare bones of history—dates, treaties, places, events—were too shallow. But where to find at least a facsimile of the truth?

The single most valuable source was "An Autobiography of a Fox Woman." It supplied some basic information about attitudes, beliefs, cultural patterns, and language—things that any Mesquakie child familiar with her own past would know, but which were discoveries for Hadley Irwin, though it is painful to admit, include:

- Fox Indians in the Iowa history books were really Mesquakie.
- Mesquakies did not live in teepees.

- A written Mesquakie language exists. It does not translate directly into standard American English; the rhythm is different.
- Names of individuals depended on the particular clan to which the person belonged.
- The Mesquakies and the Sioux were not exactly best friends.
- On the Kansas reservation, disease and alcoholism were real threats.
- The proud and stubborn refusal to become acculturated and homogenized was a force in Mesquakie life.

The writer glimpsed a world that was different, but a world that held logic and beauty when it was viewed as it is for what it is.

Hi Ho Hadley Irwin . . . Away

Then came the not inconsiderable problem of taking history, taking what had been learned, and creating a story that could be enjoyed by young adult readers. Few historians really enjoy the *facts* of history. A psychologist friend said, after reading the first draft of the Mesquakie manuscript, “But Hidden Doe is only eight years old and she’s so serious. Don’t she and her friends ever have any just plain fun?”

“Your names for your characters are accurate — too accurate,” a colleague commented. “These two names belong to people at the settlement.”

Editors at Feminist Press were worried. “Can’t you make the female characters more assertive?”

And there was the problem of simply reversing stereotypes and suddenly realizing that every white person in the book was evil, greedy, and manipulative. No people are always anything.

Hadley Irwin listened and returned to the typewriter and finally the book was finished and on the market. And then came MORE THUNDERING HOOF BEATS.

Reviews of the book arrived. One review by Paulette Fairbanks Molin and Diane M. Burns made it clear that MESQUAKIE was a fraudulent failure:

The characters speak the usual stereotypic, stilted, broken-English dialogue . . . The names given characters . . . seem to come straight from Hollywood. They bear no resemblance to beautiful Mesquakie names. The entire story is a fictionalized version of the author’s own interpretation of events. Although the Mesquakies are portrayed as struggling to maintain their culture, their actions will not inspire readers to act against *injustice* by working in cooperation with others.¹

Fortunately for the writer’s frail ego, a few days later she received a plaque that said: “Jane Addams Peace Association and Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom Honor Award to Lee

Hadley and Annabelle Irwin for **WE ARE MESQUAKIE, WE ARE ONE** for its effective contribution to peace, social *justice*, and world community.”

It is very confusing to be the writer of a cross-cultural book. Is the negative review correct or should she believe Joyce Flynn in *SOJOURNER*, September of 1982?

The non-Indian reader is given the sense of Hidden Doe's whole world, different but internally coherent, and its role in shaping actions . . . provides for young readers a paradigm of the delicacy and democratic sentiment that could form the basis for a friendship with a “different” person — whether the difference is one of race, gender, age, or culture.

It is the risk one takes when she attempts to write from a heritage other than her own. Is there such a thing as a criss-cross cultural review? Was the writing worth the effort? Hadley Irwin would prefer to believe the criticism of Adeline Wanatee, a Mesquakie, who said, “There is one thing terribly wrong with your book. It is too short. You stop in the 1800's. Couldn't you bring it up to the present?” Come to think of it, that is a wonderful idea.

THE LONE RANGER RIDES NO MORE
AND TONTO DOES NOT DO WINDOWS.

Note

¹Paulette Fairbanks Molin and Diane M. Burns. “Review of *We Are Mesquakie, We Are One.*” *Interracial Books for Children Bulletin*. Vol. 12, Nos. 7 & 8 (1981) 22.

White Like Me: A Problem or a Plus

Ann Irwin

In a tiny Iowa rural community, stuck like a mud dauber's nest on the banks of the Little Sioux River, a WASP was born and brought up thinking everyone in the world was just like her. As she went on to be educated, she was told she was the product of a culturally deprived childhood. Everyone was not like her. Didn't she know people were different? Didn't she know there were minorities in the world?

After years of teaching in grade schools, secondary schools, and college, decades of trying to write for young adults, and seemingly eons of living, the WASP circled back to thinking she was right in the first place. Other people were not different. Everyone was like her, and if the world did not believe, she would try to make it believe through the fantasy of fiction. During her deprived childhood, when she was caught in the middle of fisticuffs with an unruly brother, her mother patiently took her aside and said, "Put yourself in his place. Feel how he feels." It was a lesson in living she never forgot.

She would not confuse the issue with logic. She would BE. In her heart and head, where color, sex, age, creed, and culture could not intrude, she could be a 14-year old facing her parents' divorce, although the WASP had never experienced divorce, and she was certainly light years away from being a 14-year old. She could be the tall, thin new girl in a strange school who learned to love horses and to see boys as friends, not necessarily as boy friends. The WASP was never tall nor thin, and she hated horses, but she was sure it was not how her outside looked; it was how her inside saw.

The WASP author discovered that writing helped her make sense of a crazy world. Where was the problem? Of course, in the early 1960s she was careful to hide her sex so that boy readers would not be turned off, and even in the 1970s it was smart not to have her picture on the jacket of a young adult book thereby hiding her age, color, creed, nationality, or anything else that might creep in from her culturally deprived childhood. She learned other things, too. The voice of her character must ring true as to historical setting, cultural environment, and educational experience, yet the dialogue must be so that a young reader would not be hindered by the overt dialect and usage. The WASP worked to catch the rhythm of the speech rather than the actual pronunciation or idiosyncrasies, a technique as delicate to perceive as the correct intonation of a major third in a tonic chord. To filter human speech onto the printed page became a fascinating preoccupation: to catch the musical lilt of a Welsh coal miner, the clipped, harsh fragments of a Midwest farmer, the rich living cadence of a Native American. She knew all this must be done with the finesse of a card shark, manipulating sentence order, sentence length, comma placement, word inversions, and all the other interesting tools that language offers.

Although writing created questions, the WASP felt she knew the answers. Could a 100-odd-year old WASP author think like a 14-year old? The book sold. Could a WASP author think like a Native American? That book won a prize. Could a WASP author think black?

Dare she try? Could she be a black Anson J. Davis riding a train through Iowa to find a home in Athabasca, Canada, where he could live in dignity and grow up to be somebody?

In the murky groves of academia, the unanswerable can always be answered through research. In the library stacks, she unearthed what looked like an answer: *Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English: A Criteria to Evaluate Young Adult Fiction*.¹ The WASP had criteria. English teachers thrive on criteria.

1. Is the book written so that a black perspective has been taken into consideration?

2. What is the dimension of blackness in the book? [How does one measure?]

3. Do the black characters look like human beings?

4. Will the young reader know that she is looking at a black person or do the characters emerge gray in appearance to resemble Caucasians in black face?

5. Does the clothing or behavior seem to perpetuate the stereotypes about blacks being primitive or submissive?

6. Is the black character portrayed as a unique individual or as a representative of a group?

7. How are the black characters shown in relationship to white characters?

The WASP was stung into instant writer's block! She was still the Iowa farm girl, sitting on the banks of the Little Sioux knowing that everyone in the world was supposed to be like her. She re-researched her research and read the criteria again from a different viewpoint, as her mother had taught her.

1. Is the book written so that a WASP perspective has been taken into consideration?

2. What is the dimension of WASPness in the book?

3. Do the WASP characters look like human beings?

4. Will the young reader know that she is looking at a WASP person or do the characters emerge gray in appearance to resemble blacks in whiteface?

5. Does the clothing or behavior seem to perpetuate the stereotypes about WASPS being primitive and submissive?

6. Is the WASP character portrayed as a unique individual or as a representative of all White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants?

7. How are the WASP characters shown in relation to black characters?

If the WASP author had to guard against stereotypes and hidden

implications, how could she if the implications in the criteria overwhelmed her? There was only one thing to do: sit down at the typewriter and start writing *I Be Somebody* about a black Rap Davis.

During the writing, the WASP kept her eye steadfastly on her audience: the young adult reader. Back in the 1960s, Margaret Early set forth three phases that readers go through in responding to the printed page.² She called the first stage “unconscious enjoyment.” Children read first for pure enjoyment. They neither question nor demand. They gulp down books for the pure fun of being someone else within the pages of the book. They become the characters; they rush through the plot; they shiver with the suspense. On the next level, readers not only continue to read for pleasure, but they become a bit more sophisticated and begin to ask questions: Why did the character act that way? What made her feel that way? They realize that a good story is really a cause-and-effect essay made specific, and they consciously pick up on implications. Readers reach the fullest level of appreciation when they can enjoy the entire literary art form: character development, use of language, manipulation of literary techniques, and such—the English major, if you will. Most of the young adults for whom the WASP writes are in the first stage and growing toward the second stage. They read because they are intrigued by the plot, because they can escape with pleasure to another world created by the author. They know it is fiction — something they do not always comprehend when they view television. The major problem with this audience is that implications, advertently or inadvertently included by the author, are taken in almost by osmosis and sub-consciously affect beliefs and attitudes. The moral and intellectual responsibilities an author for young adults must shoulder are staggering. Inadequacies glared from the printed page, but the WASP remembered facing 600 sixth graders in a Dayton, Ohio, assembly, and their enthusiasm bolstered her further efforts. A writer writes first for her audience.

What did the WASP really know about the experience of being black in 1910? She knew bits and pieces of other people’s experiences. Rosa, raised in the segregated section of Selma, Alabama, told how she, as a child, went to every Shirley Temple movie and never once thought of identifying with the little black girl who was made to appear stupid against Shirley’s supposed precocity. Of course she didn’t, but it wasn’t because of color. It was because of the “role model” offered.

Lesson 1: A book about the black exodus to Canada must be peopled with characters of dignity, pride, and humanness. Charles said, “We never said ‘pretend.’ We said, ‘make like.’”

Lesson 2: Idiomatic expressions enrich language.

“You can’t ignore the lynchings that were taking place all over the South in 1910 just because it didn’t happen in Clearview, Oklahoma,” said Russell.

Lesson 3: Don’t mold history the way you wished it had been.

“I never heard grace before dinner said that way. In our family,” Augustine warned.

Lesson 4: Don’t substitute Welsh Presbyterian for Southern Baptist.

Gina handed back the manuscript. “I don’t like the ‘ain’t’ in their speeches, but I guess it would have been true then.”

Lesson 5: People did say ain’t, but not because they were black.

In the process of writing and rewriting the book, the WASP’s learning took off in two directions. She began to see beauty in blackness, but more important, maybe for the first time, she really SAW blackness. There *was* a difference—a lovely one. The second learning affected the book. The story had to show three things at the same time: the universality of all human experience, the quality of black experience at a special time and place, and the particularity of ten-year old Rap’s experience and perception.

The book was done. On to the publisher! “You are taking a risk,” the WASP’s editor warned from the very beginning. So carefully did the WASP kill off stereotypes, struggle for proper names, filter language that in the first draft she discovered she had sacrificed suspense, pacing, plot and all the rest that captures the young reader. A total rewrite! Problems mounted. The publisher had to study the market. The dollar dictates the publishing world, too. Would a black face on a book jacket help or hinder sales? The WASP’s picture would not appear on the jacket, but would the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant name turn off readers and send critics into ecstasies of bad reviews?

The reviews would be either good or bad; there would be no in-between. The WASP was afraid now. Maybe she was wrong to attempt the book. She thought she had discovered something that she believed and that she wanted to offer to young readers. She could imagine the reviews. “You name a character Aunt Spicy? Stereotype!” But Spicy was the WASP’s own great aunt, a strict “slow Quaker.” “Must they eat chicken for Sunday dinner?” The WASP grew up on chicken for Sunday dinner. It was cheap and available on that Iowa farm; in fact, she was in college before she knew there was any other meat served on Sunday.

At this point, the poor WASP author felt like Gertrude Stein: she had the answers, but what was the question? And she was not too sure whether that was a fictional or truthful recounting of Stein's last words, but sometimes truth and fiction sound the same. Perhaps the right kind of fiction could change beliefs and attitudes, something governments and churches and schools seem unable to do.

Then, just as the book was going to press, the WASP was routed from her nest when her State Superintendent of Public Instruction assured a television audience that Iowa ranked high in education *because* "HERE IN IOWA WE'RE PRETTY HARD-CORE MIDDLE-CLASS, WHITE, PROTESTANT AND WESTERN EUROPEAN." Unfortunately, that bit of *fiction* can all too readily be mistaken for the *truth* by young unquestioning minds. The WASP could only say, "What's the use?" Maybe that was the question from the beginning. In Hadley Irwin's book, *I Be Somebody*, ten-year old Rap Davis does not have the answer either, but he does have the question as he and his Aunt Spicy ride the train for Athabasca, "I know everybody ain't alike, Aunt Spicy, but how come being different makes a difference?"

Notes

¹*Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English: A Criteria to Evaluate Young Adult Fiction*. Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer, 1983).

²Margaret Early. "Stages of Growth in Literary Appreciation."—*English Journal*. Vol. 49, No. 2 (March, 1960) 163-166.

The Use of the Terms “Negro” and “Black” to Include Persons of Native American Ancestry in “Anglo” North America

Jack D. Forbes

In 1854 the California State Supreme Court sought to bar all non-Caucasians from equal citizenship and civil rights. The court stated:

The word “Black” may include all Negroes, but the term “Negro” does not include all Black persons. . . . We are of the opinion that the words “White,” “Negro,” “Mulatto” and “Black person,” whenever they occur in our constitution . . . must be taken in their generic sense . . . that the words “Black person,” in the 14th section must be taken as contra distinguished from White, and necessarily includes all races other than the Caucasian.¹

As convoluted as the quote may be, it tends to express a strong tendency in the history of the United States, toward creating two broad classes of people: white and non-white, citizen and non-citizen (or semi-citizen).

The tendency to create a two-caste society often clashed with the reality of a territory which included many different types of people, of all colors and different degrees of intermixture of European, American, African, and Asian. Native American people, whether of unmixed ancestry or mixed with other stocks, were at times affected by the tendency to create a purely white-black social system, especially when living away from a reservation or the ancestral homeland.²

In the British slave colonies of North America along the Atlantic coast, many persons of American ancestry were at times classified as blacks, negroes, mulattoes, or people of color, and these terms were, of course, used for people of African ancestry. The manner in which Americans and part-Americans were sometimes classified as “mulattoes” and “people of color” from New England to South Carolina and in the Spanish Empire are explored elsewhere.³ The purpose here is to illustrate how the term “negro” has also been applied to people of American descent.

The possibility that Native Americans were quite commonly called “negroes” is very much supported by Portuguese usage. During the colonial period Brazilian Indians were repeatedly referred to as negroes or as “negros da terra” (“Negroes of the land”). A great many examples from the sixteenth- and later centuries are cited by Georg Friederici in his analysis of Portuguese sources. These do not have to be repeated here, but suffice to say that it was so common that finally in 1755 a royal decree had to be issued as follows:

Among the regrettable practices . . . which have resulted in the disparagement of the Indians, one prime abuse is the unjustifiable and scandalous practice of calling them *negroes*. Perhaps by so doing the intent was no other than to induce in them the belief that by their origins they had been destined to be the slaves of whites, as is generally conceded to be the case of blacks from the coast of Africa . . . The directors will not permit henceforth that anybody may refer to an Indian as a *negro*, nor that they themselves may use this epithet among themselves, as is currently the case.

This Portuguese usage is extremely significant, not only because American or part-American slaves could be referred to as “negroes” in early shipment records but also because it very much affects one’s analysis of population statistics in colonial Brazil (where, in fact, the categories of “negro” and “mulatto” must have often included domesticated or enslaved Indians and mixed-bloods).

Insofar as the term “negro” became synonymous with slave or a servile status, it lost any specific color reference and became a general term of abuse (darker people preferring to be called *preto* as a result). It is highly likely that the Spaniards also referred to slaves generally as *negros* in the Caribbean and that the Dutch took over the same general practice, since *negro* and *neger* were not Dutch words and had no immediate equivalent except *swart*, *donker* and *bruin*. A Dutch-French-Spanish dictionary of 1639 has the following entry for Spanish “negro”: noir, sombre, obscur, offusqué, brun (French), swart, doncker, bruin (Dutch). Thus, Spanish “negro” could be translated as “dark” or “brown” as well as “black” (*swart*). Undoubtedly this usage facilitated making reference to all slaves as “negroes” or “negers” in the Dutch language. Moreover, it is significant that a Spaniard residing in Antwerp in the early seventeenth-century (the preparer of the dictionary) saw “negro” as being translated in a number of ways in both French and Dutch.⁴

By the latter-half of the sixteenth century the English were referring to the people of Africa as Ethiopians, Blackamoors, Negroes, and Moors, somewhat interchangeably. “Negro” gradually came to be the dominant term, especially after exhaustive contact with the Spanish

and the Portuguese.⁵ What is not clear is the extent to which the term “negro” was consciously translated as “black.” The automatic association of “negro” with “black” color cannot be assumed since many “Black” Africans are actually of medium or dark brown color.

In any case, another association gradually arose, and that was between “negro” and “slave.” Early legislation commonly referred to “negro and other slaves” or to “negro, mulatto, and Indian slaves.” Over the years “negro” and “black” both became synonymous with enslavement.

In 1702 an observer wrote that the wealth of Virginia consisted of “slaves or negroes.” By 1806 Virginia judges ruled that a person who was of a white appearance was to be presumed free but “in the case of a person visibly appearing to be of the slave race, it is incumbent upon him to make out his freedom.” In 1819 South Carolina judges stated flatly: “The word ‘negroes’ has a fixed meaning (slaves).”⁶

What the English meant by the term “negro” when they first began to use it is not clear. Certainly, it was not then synonymous with slave as a great many persons so classified were free, both in England and in Virginia. Did it mean an African, a “black” person, or any dark-skinned individual? Today the term is not widely employed in Britain, although the word “black” is used to refer to people of various skin colors from all of South Asia, the Middle East, the West Indies, and Africa. Most Native Americans, if living in Britain today, would be regarded as being “black,” especially if their ancestry were not known.

“Negro” was also used in a general way in the North American colonies. Some examples illustrate the use of “negro” and “black” as applied to people of American ancestry.

An example from the West Indies is especially illuminating. In 1764 William Young was sent to St. Vincent as a part of the British occupation of that island. Living on St. Vincent were about 3,000 “Black Charaibs, or free negroes,” about one hundred “Red Charaibs or Indians,” and some 4,000 French and their slaves, according to Young. The British found it difficult to control the Caribs and wars were fought with them in 1771-1772 and again during 1795-1796. During the latter crisis Young wrote an extremely anti-Carib tract designed to prove that the Caribs should be removed from St. Vincent; they were eventually defeated and some 5,000 were shipped to an island near the coast of Honduras.

Young was anxious to prove that the so-called “Black” Caribs were not true aborigines but were in fact “Negro colonists, Free Negroes, or

Negro usurpers.” This was important to him because he wanted to show they had no bonafide land-rights or aboriginal title.

For our purposes, the interesting point admitted by Young is that the so-called “Blacks” or “Negroes” were occasionally of “tawney and mixed complexion” because of American ancestry and that their customs, personal names, and language were those of the native Caribs. Still further, Young admitted that they had repeatedly intermarried with American women. He consistently refers to them as “Negroes,” nonetheless.

Young also relayed a great deal of hearsay information about how the “Black” Caribs had originated, which is without foundation for analysis here. The important point is this: that a people thoroughly American in identity, culture, and language were called “black” and “negro” solely because of being mixed with African ancestry.⁷ This tendency continues, incidentally, among white scholars who, even today, refuse to accept the Caribs’ avowed feelings of “Indianness” and continue to call them “Black.”⁸

In 1619 some twenty “negroes” were brought to Virginia. At least eleven have names of Spanish or probably Spanish character. Later they were joined by “negroes” and “mulattoes” with names such as Antonio (several) and John Pedro. These Spanish-derived servants could well have been of part-American ancestry; however, no evidence is available except that they were largely secured from captured Spanish vessels.⁹

In 1676 one Gowin, “an Indian servant,” acquired his freedom in Virginia. Two decades earlier Mihill Gowen, called “a negro,” also acquired his freedom. It would appear that the “negro” was probably father to the “Indian” in this case.¹⁰

In 1670 the population of the Virginia colony was said to be 40,000 including 2,000 “black slaves.” Evidence indicates that there could not have been that many Africans there and also that there were a great many American slaves or servants. Thus the total of “blacks” must have included a good many Americans.¹¹

In 1698 three fugitive “negroes” were reported in North Carolina, of whom one was an American.¹² Similarly, a list of “Negroes” imported into Virginia, 1710-1718, by sea includes at least sixty-nine “Indians,” mostly from the Carolinas. Likewise, lists of “Negroes” brought into New York from 1715 to 1736 include many slaves of probable (or stated) American ancestry from Campeche, Jamaica, Honduras, the Carolinas, and Virginia.¹³

In the 1715-1717 period the Vestry Book of King Williams Parish, Virginia, records one year "Robin an Indian" and two years later, "Robin a negro."¹⁴ In a similar manner a 1691 list of "negro" slaves in York County, Virginia, includes "Kate Indian" while a 1728 list of "Negroes" at the "home house" of a Virginia planter includes "Indian Robin" (Robin, incidentally, is a common name for slaves of American ancestry). In 1748 there was an advertisement in New York for a "Negro man servant called Robbin, almost of the complexion of an Indian . . . talks good English, can read and write, and plays on the fiddle."¹⁵ In 1723 Virginia adopted a law depriving free "negroes, mulattoes, and Indians" of certain basic civil rights. The act was disallowed by British officials but in 1735 Lt. Governor Gooch defended it by asserting that he wanted to make "a perpetual brand upon free negroes and mulattoes by excluding them from that great privilege of a Freeman." He wanted to make the "free negroes sensible that a distinction ought to be made between their offspring and the descendants of an Englishman, with whom they never were to be accounted equal."¹⁶ Since the act applied to Native Americans and half-Americans ("mulattoes"), Gooch's language would seem to include them under the general category of "free negroes and mulattoes."

A welcome clarification of terminology was provided in 1719 by the government of South Carolina when it decided: ". . . and for preventing all doubts and scruples that may arise what ought to be [taxed] on mustees, mulattoes, etc., all such slaves as are not entirely Indian shall be accounted as negroe."¹⁷ The significance of this act is that all later enumerations of "negro" and "Indian" slaves in South Carolina have to be analyzed with the thought in mind that many "negroes" were probably one-half or other fractions of American ancestry.

New Jersey was also an area where Americans and Africans intermixed with considerable frequency. In 1734 an advertisement appeared for the recovery of "Wan (Juan?). He is half Indian and half negro; . . . he plays the fiddle and speaks good English and his country Indian." Wan was not specifically called a "negro," but a 1747 advertisement reads:

Runaway on the 20th of September last, from Cohansie a very lusty negro fellow named Sampson, aged about 53 years, and had some Indian blood in him . . . he had with him a boy about 12 or 13 years of age named Sam, was born of an Indian woman, and looks like an Indian, only his hair . . . they both talk Indian very well, and it is likely they have dressed themselves in the Indian dress and gone to Carolina.

Similarly in a 1778 advertisement we read:

Was stolen from her mother, a negro girl, about 9 or 10 years of age, named Dianah, her mother's name is Cash, was married to an Indian named Lewis Wollis, near six feet high, about 35 years of age. They have a male child with them, between 3 and 4 years of age. Any person who takes up the said negroes and Indian . . . shall have the above reward.¹⁸

From these examples we can see that people of mixed American-African ancestry could be called "negroes" in New Jersey. Cyrus Bustill, a Philadelphia baker ("black") born in 1732 at Burlington, New Jersey, married a Delaware Indian woman. His son became a Quaker and an anti-slavery leader and was known as a "negro."¹⁹

In Canada in 1747 four "Negroes" and a "Panis" (American slave) escaped from Montreal. A French writer referred to them simply as "negroes."²⁰ In 1759 one Saunders, a runaway slave, was described in South Carolina as a "Negro man . . . of the mustee breed." Mustee meant either European-American or European-American-African.²¹ In 1775 authorities in South Carolina were ordered to apprehend "John Swan, a reported free negro or mestizo man."²²

In the 1780s certain white Virginians began to agitate for the termination of the Gingaskin Indian Reservation in Northampton County. The reserve was described as an "asylum for free negroes" and it was alleged that the Americans ". . . have at length become nearly extinct, there being at this time not more than 3 or 4 genuine Indian at most . . . the place is a harbour and convenient asylum for an idle set of free negroes." In 1812 it was argued that

the place is now inhabited by as many black men as Indians . . . the Indian women have many of them married black men, and a majority probably, of the inhabitants are blacks or have black-blood in them . . . the real Indians [are few].

The reserve was divided (allotted) in 1813 and by 1832 whites had acquired most of it. In 1828 the Gingaskin descendants were described as respectable "Negro landowners."²³

This episode reminds one of Young's attack upon the Caribs of St. Vincent in 1795 and also of more recent attempts to allot and acquire Indian lands. A similar attack took place upon the Pamunkey-Mattaponi in 1843 (which failed) and against the Nottoway from 1830 to 1878 (which succeeded). By the 1840s at least two Nottoways were registered as "free negroes." The heirs of one family were described in 1878 as "all being negroes and very poor."²⁴

Aside from Virginia, where persons descended from female Americans imported after a certain date could obtain their freedom, all slaves of American ancestry remained slaves throughout the entire

duration of slavery unless they were emancipated or ran away. At the end of the eighteenth-century “Bob, a carpenter fellow, of a yellowish complexion, mustee, has bushy hair . . .” ran away. He was said to speak “more proper than Negroes in general.”²⁵

Other persons of American ancestry who were free also were called “black” or “negro.” Paul Cuffe, the noted half-American, half-African merchant was called, at various times, an Indian, “a blackman,” and “this free and enlightened African”; he signed petitions with “Indian men” and “all free Negroes and mulattoes.”²⁶ Other examples of a similar nature abound—one author writes that “. . . the Sampsons and Gallees, property owners and school teachers, though predominantly of Indian blood were leaders among the free Negroes of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1860.”²⁷

Virginia tax-rolls and census records from the 1780s to 1850 have numerous examples of people of Indian tribal identity being classified as “free people of color” or as “mulattoes,” in fact, the practice was almost universal; some were also classified as F.N. (free negro) or as “B” (black) in various records. In certain counties (such as Southampton) in 1830, and in parts of Delaware, virtually all free non-whites were categorized as “F.N.” although enumerated under the “free people of color” column. These lists included people of the Nanticoke and other tribal groups.²⁸

Under certain conditions persons of African descent could be legally classified as members of an Indian tribe or as Indians. In a treaty with the Creek Nation the commissioner of Indian Affairs noted in 1832:

... an Indian, whether of full or half blood, who has a female slave living with him as his wife, is the head of a family and entitled to a reservation [of land] also ... free blacks who have been admitted as members of the Creek Nation, and are regarded as such by the tribe, if they have families are entitled to reservations of land.

In the 1860s all persons of African ancestry who had been slaves were granted, by treaty, citizenship in the “five civilized tribes” of Indian Territory. The general trend, however, was to enroll the more visibly part-African persons as “Freedmen” citizens and to restrict their tribal status. When lands were allotted in the 1880s to the early 1900s most such persons were not allowed to assert American ancestry and were, therefore, denied future rights as “Indians.”²⁹

During the Seminole wars a new term seems to have been coined, that of “Indian-Negroes.” One source, General Wiley Thompson, asserted in 1835 that “they are descended from the Seminoles, and are connected by consanguinity.” Other writers referred to them as the

“hostile negroes and mulattoes in the Seminole nation” or simply, “Indian negroes.”³⁰ Few white writers seem to have continued the use of “Indian-negro.” However, in the Euchee language mixed people of that type were referred to as “Goshpi-tchala” or “Red-Black People.”³¹

In North Carolina many people of Lumbee Indian identity were categorized, at times, as “negroes.” In 1837 Charles Oxendine of Robeson County was punished as “a free negro.” In 1842 one of the Braveboy family was called a “negro” while in 1857 a Chavers was charged as “a free person of color” with carrying a shotgun. He was not convicted because the act specified “free negroes” and he was charged as a “free colored.” The court stated that “Free persons of color may be . . . persons colored by Indian blood . . . the indictment cannot be sustained.”³²

In a similar situation, some white men took away guns from the Pamunkey people in Virginia in 1857. The governor had them returned but stated: “if any become one fourth mixed with the negro race then they may be treated as free negroes or mulattoes” (Virginia at this time defined a “mulatto” as one-fourth or more African).³³

In Louisiana in 1856 the “Black Code” was said to refer to offenses involving “slaves, Indians, and free persons of color.”³⁴ Many narratives of ex-slaves, recorded in the 1830s, reveal Indian ancestry. One such person, called an Indian, was Uncle Moble Hopsan of Virginia. He says: “et come time tuh marry” and he married a black woman. “Dat mak me black, ah’ ’spose.”³⁵ In 1871 a white writer of Maryland observed:

In [Dorchester] county at Indian Creek, some of the last Indians of the peninsula struck their wigwams towards the close of the last century, and there are now no full-blooded aborigines on the Eastern Shore, although many of the free-born negroes show Indian traces.³⁶

Quite commonly, however, some of the “free-born negroes” of the Eastern Shore continued to identify and survive as Native People. The whites often tried to deny their Indianness, as in 1856 when a marker was erected to commemorate a woman who had testified that the Nanticoke people of Delaware had African ancestry. The Indians were referred to on the marker as “arrogant negroes that assumed to be what they were not.”³⁷

During the eighteenth-century most persons of mixed race, especially if free, were classified as “mulattoes, mustees, or persons of color.” The term “negro” was perhaps less likely to be used for such people, except as noted in the examples above. This usage continued in some states—such as the Carolinas and Virginia—well into the nineteenth-century.

For example, the jurists of South Carolina noted in 1852: "It is not according to the use of language in this region to speak of one altogether black as a person of color. The phrase is almost exclusively applied to one of mixed blood and color."³⁸ A change took place in such states as Indiana (1817), Kentucky (1852), and elsewhere (1850s- early 1900s) as the term "negro" came to encompass most persons of part-African descent.³⁹

This change may not have affected people of solely African and American descent, especially if the African ancestry predominated. Since many (but not all) Native Americans were "brown" or dark-colored *without* African ancestry, their descendants when mixed *only* with African blood would very likely be seen as "negroes" by most Europeans (especially in North America where special terms for such persons—such as Zambo, Grifo, Lobo, Cafuso, Cabra, and Cabore never became current).⁴⁰

The United States census also tended to expand the use of the terms "black" or "negro." In 1890 "black" was to be used for all persons having three-fourths or more "black blood." In 1910 "black" was supposed to be applied only to "full-blooded negroes" while the matter of who was an Indian was left to the enumerator. The term "mulatto" was to be used for "all other persons having some proportion or perceptible trace of Negro blood." It is certain that large numbers of Americans or part-Americans were classified as negro or mulatto under these rules. For example, of the Mattaponi only one person was counted as "Indian" by the census out of a reservation population of at least forty persons. Similarly, the Poosapatuck of Long Island had only one person counted as "Indian," doubtless because the rest were enumerated as negroes or mulattoes.

The 1910 census counted "2,255 negroes" who were part-Indian and were enrolled members of tribes. Another group of 1,793 tribal members were of mixed European, African and American ancestry. Thus only slightly more than 3,000 persons who were part-African were counted with the Indian population as compared with the hundreds of thousands who were doubtless counted as "negro" or "mulatto" because of living away from a federally-recognized reservation area.

In 1930 a person of mixed Indian and Negro blood ". . . shall be returned as a Negro unless the Indian blood predominates and the status as an Indian is generally accepted in the community." By 1940 all African-American hybrids were to be counted as "negroes" unless the Indian ancestry "*very definitely* predominates and he is *uni-*

versally accepted . . . as an Indian.”⁴¹

Even “pure-blood” Indians could be counted as “blacks” as in Nevada in 1880 when the census enumerator categorized ninety members of the Duckwater Shoshone Tribe in that manner. In the state of Delaware more recent decades found that “if a person said he was an Indian, he was recorded as either black or white depending upon his appearance.” The 1980 census was so arranged that any American-African mixed-blood who checked both “black” and “Indian” boxes was counted solely as “black.”

In summary, it seems clear that many persons of Native American ancestry, in whole or part, have been at times classified as “negroes” or “blacks.” This is a matter of considerable significance for the scholar seeking to understand the actual ethnic or racial identity of non-white persons in the North American British colonies and in the United States over the centuries.

Earlier studies have shown the significance of the terms “mulatto, mustee, sambo (zambo), and colored,” as indicating persons of American (or possible part-American) ancestry.⁴³ Collectively, these studies served to show the probability of a much greater degree of intermixture between Africans and Native Americans than has hitherto been widely acknowledged.

But, of course, it might be argued that this is “old hat,” especially to people in the Afroamerican community who have long been aware of extensive Indian ancestry and who have, at least since the Civil War, self-consciously utilized the terms “negro” or “black” (and, of course, “colored”) to encompass people of mixed Native American and African descent. Individuals such as Ann Plato, Paul Cuffe, Crispus Attucks, Hiram Revels, and many others have long been referred to as “negroes” in spite of having perhaps at least as much Native American as African ancestry—and even when living in Indian communities, as was the case with Attucks and Cuffe.

From the scholarly perspective, the “logic” of white racism (which has tended to classify people in very arbitrary ways) is neither the logic of genetics nor of bonafide ethnicity. The mixture of African and American does not make a person “black” or “negro” anymore than it makes one automatically “Indian.” Ethnic scholars must aver that it is both pernicious and dangerous to read into the evidence, and to affirm for earlier times, the pronouncements of a dominant social caste. Their myths, their prejudices, and their systems of classification and nomenclature must all be subjected to critical and empirical reevaluation.

Notes

¹The People v. Hall, October 1, 1854 in Robert Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, eds. *The Other Californians*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) 232-233.

²I use the term "American" to refer to the native American race during the colonial period to avoid confusion with other people called "Indians." Likewise, whites will be called "Europeans" and black Africans will be "Africans."

³See Jack D. Forbes. "The Evolution of the Term Mulatto: A Chapter in Black-Native American Relations." *Journal of Ethnic Studies*. Vol. 10, No. 2 (Summer, 1982) 45-66. "Mulattoes and People of Color in Anglo North America: Implications for Black-Indian Relations." Unpublished Mss. and "Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo-North America." *The American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (1983) 57-83.

⁴Georg Friederici. *Amerikanistisches Worterbuch*. (Hamburg: De Gruyter, 1947) 446-447; "Directorio que se deve observar nas Povoacaens dos Indios do Pard, Maranhao" as cited by A.J.R. Russell-Wood. *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil*. (London: MacMillan, 1982) 42-43; and Juan Francisco Rodrigues (reputed author). *Den Grooten Dictionaris en Schat van Drij Talen*. (Antwerp: Trogneseus, 1639) "negro."

⁵Almon W. Lauber. *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States*. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1913) 311; John S. Bassett, ed. *The Writings of Colonial William Byrd*. (New York: Doubleday, 1901) 8-9; John Codman Hurd, ed. *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States*. Vol. 2 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968) 95; *The Oxford English Dictionary*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933) "Negro."

⁶Elizabeth Donnan. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*. Vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Carnegie, 1932) 68; James Hugo Johnston. *Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970) 194; Exparte Leland is cited in Helen T. Catterall. *Judicial Cases Concerning America and the Negro*. Vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Carnegie, 1929) 311.

⁷William Young. *An Account of the Black Charaibs*. (London: Cass, 1971) 98, 13-14, 18, 23, 27, 30, 42.

⁸See, for example, Nancy L. Solien. "West Indian Characteristics of the Black Carib." *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*. Michael M. Horowitz, ed. (New York: National History Press, 1971) 133ff; see also: David Lowenthal. *West Indian Societies*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972) 178-186.

⁹Helen T. Catterall. *Judicial Cases Concerning American and the Negro*. Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Carnegie, 1929) 55-56, 60.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 58, 78.

¹¹John Codman Hurd, ed. *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States*. Vol. 1 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968) 233m; Catterall, Vol. 1, 63; Wesley Frank Craven. *White, Red and Black: The Seventeenth Century Virginian*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1971) 98.

¹²Mattie Emma Edwards Parker, ed. *North Carolina Higher Court Records, 1697-1701*. (Raleigh: Department of Archives and History, 1971) 528.

¹³Elizabeth Donnan. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade*. Vol. 3 (Washington, DC: Carnegie, 1932) 463, 466, 470, 477, 499-500; Vol. 4, 175-179.

¹⁴Vestry Book of King William Parish. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. XII (New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1968; originally published by Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, 1905) 23, 26.

¹⁵J. Leitch Wright. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the Indians of the Old South*. (New York: Free Press, 1981) 252; "Eighteenth—Century Slave Advertisements." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (April, 1915) 176.

- ¹⁶Wilbert E. Moore. "Slave Law and the Social Structure." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 26, No. 2 (April, 1941) 182-183.
- ¹⁷Peter H. Wood. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina*. (New York: Knopf, 1974) 99m.
- ¹⁸James Hugo Johnston. *Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South 1776-1860*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970) 275m, 276.
- ¹⁹Anna Bustill Smith. "The Bustill Family." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 10, No. 4 (October, 1925) 638-644.
- ²⁰A. Judd Northrup. *Slavery in New York: Historical Sketch*. (New York State Library Bulletin, History #4, 1900) 306.
- ²¹J. Leitch Wright. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the Indians of the Old South*. (New York: Free Press, 1981) 256. See also: Jack D. Forbes. "Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo North America: Aspects of Black-Indian Relations." *The American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (1983) 57-83.
- ²²William A. Craigie and James R. Hulbert. *A Dictionary of American English*. Vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940) 1512.
- ²³Johnston, 280; Helen C. Roundtree. "The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State." Mss. in Virginia State Library Indian File, 1976.
- ²⁴Roundtree, 8, 10.
- ²⁵"Eighteenth-Century Slave Advertisements." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (April, 1915) 172.
- ²⁶H.N. Sherwood. "Paul Cuffe." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 8, No. 2 (April, 1923) 153, 163, 164, 165, 172.
- ²⁷Luther P. Jackson. "Free Negroes of Petersburg, Virginia." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 12, No. 3 (July, 1927) 368, 380-381.
- ²⁸See discussions of such records in Jack D. Forbes. "Mulattoes and People of Color in Anglo North America: Implications for Black—Indian Relations." Unpublished Mss.
- ²⁹Johnston, 285.
- ³⁰Kenneth W. Porter. "Florida Slaves and Free Negroes in the Seminole War, 1835-1842." *Journal of Negro History*. Vol. 28, No. 4 (October, 1943) 397; Johnston, 230.
- ³¹Gunter Wagner. *Yuchi Tales*. (New York: G.E. Stechert and Co., 1931) 352-353.
- ³²Catterall, Vol. 2, 79, 209, 381.
- ³³Helen C. Roundtree. "The Indians of Virginia: A Third Race in a Biracial State." Mss. in Virginia State Library Indian File, 1976, 13.
- ³⁴John Codman Hurd, ed. *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States*. Vol. 2 (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968) 165.
- ³⁵J. Leitch Wright. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the Indians of the Old South*. (New York: Free Press, 1981) 259.
- ³⁶George Chamberlain. "African and American." *Science*. Vol. 17 (February, 1891) 87.
- ³⁷C.A. Weslager. *Delaware's Forgotten Folk*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943) 38.
- ³⁸Catterall, Vol. 2, 431.
- ³⁹Catterall, Vol. 1, 231, Vol. 11, 132, 176; Hurd, Vol. 11, 17-19, 128; Edward Byron Reuther. *Race Mixture*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931) 96-97.

⁴⁰Jack D. Forbes. "Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo North America: Aspects of Black-Indian Relations." *The American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (1983) 57-83; See also, William Bartram. *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*. (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1973) 481-488.

⁴¹*Negro Populations in the United States, 1790-1915*. (Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1917) 207; Felix Cohen. *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942) 2, 2m; Arthur C. Parker. "The Status and Progress of Indians as Shown by the Thirteenth Census." *The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*. Vol. 3, No. 3 (July-September, 1915) 188-190; James Mooney. "The Powhatan Confederacy: Past and Present." *The American Anthropologist*. New Series. Vol. 9, No. 1 (January-March, 1907) 148.

⁴²Elmer Rusco. *Good Time Coming? Black Nevadans in the 19th Century*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975) 217-219; Weslager, 18.

⁴³Jack D. Forbes. "Mustees, Half-Breeds and Zambos in Anglo-North America." *The American Indian Quarterly*. Vol. 7, No. 1 (1983) 57-83.

Critique

The article is well written and researched. The author has searched the literature pertaining to blacks and Indians and found that there are many cases of confused and deliberate distortions. These distortions had and have a profound impact on the way we behave.

Many examples of the use of overgeneralization are given. The reasons for this behavior are complex and varied. As an example we find the white Virginians agitating for the termination of the Gingaskin Indian Reservation in Northampton County. Forbes cites the reason for this agitation as the area was an "asylum for free negroes" and the presence of Indians was small if any. The date for this event is given as 1780.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries immigrants coming into the United States were often confused by the many languages that were spoken at the port of entry into this "new" land. The Spanish, for example, used Negro to refer to a black man and Negra to refer to a black woman. Mulatto had many meanings. Among these were mule (mulatto) or a person of mixed ancestry) part black and part white.

To associate word usage with racism is quite proper, but it is not always so. There is no inflexible relationship between a stereotype and behavior.

Indian children of high school age at a funeral of an Indian attended by a black man used the words Nigger, Gigolo, and so forth,

to describe him. To say they were racists is to miss the point. Indian young people are not abstractionists. They are more naturalists. To the Indian children, these stereotypes were expressions of how they felt more than expressions attached to the black man. The man married an Indian woman and is now living on or near an Indian reservation.

The use of stereotypes is a bad habit of many western people. But what is a concept? When are we guilty of an over-generalization? When is a generalization warranted? (See Gordon Allport's book, *The Nature of Prejudice*.) Language is not a science. It is a subject of the humanities.

To go beyond the stereotypical language and study the behavior of people would be a most interesting pursuit. For example, the Menominee of Wisconsin are alleged to have been a way station on the Underground Railway prior to the Civil War. The Menominee are noted for their tolerance. Some of the members of that underground system were so impressed that they did not go on to Canada but remained to become Menominee. I was sitting in the Blue Gold Room of the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire with a friend who was Ojibwa (Chippewa). Making conversation, I said of a woman walking by, "What a beautiful and striking" person that black was. My Ojibwa friend acknowledged with a nod of her head. A short time later, the woman retraced her steps with a small Indian child who said, "Why do I have to come now, Mommie?" I looked at my friend and she was laughing at me. "She is a Menominee," I was told. There should be folklore that would verify this mixture still among the older Menominee.

Forbes suggests another tribe for this type of an extended study. It would be among the Lumbee. The study of the so called "Black Indians" of Mississippi would be still another fascinating study. A former student said that his mother was Indian and his father was black. They lived in Laurel, Mississippi. These examples are testimony to the fact that biology does not conform to our racial stereotypes.

Forbes seems to suggest that our behavior conforms to the stereotypes we use. Could the reverse also be true? That our behavior shapes our stereotypes. It is sort of a chicken and egg dilemma. To draw an illustration from kinship terms used by the cultural anthropologist, in Hawaiian kinship patterns we distinguish generational differences with the term father-mother and son-daughter. The Navajo do not. They distinguish verbally between the sex of their uncles and aunts on mother's side and a term for aunt on father's side. The terms for an aunt on mother's side and a term for aunt on father's side suggest that

the behavior came first and the name came later. We need to study both the manner in which behavior influences language and the effect language has on behavior.

The article is extremely interesting and thought provoking. I welcome the chance to read about the ways in which our language influences our thoughts and actions. I hope Forbes will continue working on the dilemma that language presents to us.

—John M. Hunnicutt
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Critique

In investigating the use of “Negro” and “black” to include persons of Native American ancestry, Jack D. Forbes brings together a large number of wide-ranging references on an elusive topic. The preliminary nature of Forbes’s study and the inevitably problematic status of the data make his work thus far more valuable in suggestive than definitive terms. For example, while the conclusions regarding practices in King Williams Parish, Virginia, in the early 18th century seem generally acceptable, a heavy dependence on given names such as *Robin* as clues to classification should probably be avoided (*Robin* is the diminutive of the common name *Robert*, and can be either masculine or feminine), but there is little question about the rather cavalier and arbitrary willingness of the power elite to impose names on their “inferiors,” names that reflect a complex mixture of assumptions, prejudices, and needs. This is simply to say that the critical reevaluation that Forbes calls for in closing is less difficult to engage in than the equally valuable empirical reevaluation.

Of particular interest in the Forbes study are the motives or reasons for the blurring of racial and ethnic distinctions that come about when Native Americans are classified variously as Negroes, blacks, mulattos, or slaves. The confusion can, of course, be a matter of ignorance, although this would finally seem to be the least interesting cause. The confusion can grow out of carelessness, as seems to have been the case in 17th century Virginia. Similarly, laziness and a penchant for the convenient solution can result in a blurring of vital distinctions, as in the use of the “Black Code” in 1850s Louisiana. Most crucially, however, the blurring of racial and ethnic distinctions can be quite conscious and insidious in intent—part of a systematic effort to deprive a specific group of civil rights, most especially

property rights and the right to own land, as in the case of the Caribs of St. Vincent in the 18th century. In short, the irresponsible handling of racial and ethnic classification—whether haphazard or calculated—becomes a tool of the repressive forces of the “dominant caste.” Scholars familiar with the development of various “alien land laws”—such as those designed to keep the Japanese out of California—can corroborate the close connections that have developed between racial categorizing and racist policies. Forbes’s article makes the various motives for the systematic subjugation of Native Americans clear, and particularly the implications of conscious manipulation of categories that define groups.

A number of other observations emerge from the article, some of specific interest and others of general interest to ethnic scholars. (1) The case of the Gingaskin Indians in Northampton County, Virginia, underscores not only the vigor with which white America pursued the takeover of Native American lands, but that even where the original owners had not been destroyed they could be *declared* “nearly extinct” and thus legally negligible—that is, declared to be nonexistent nonpersons. (2) We need to examine and reexamine the practices and habits of mind of colonialism, both in the past and in the present. It is clear from Forbes’s article that the definition and classification of ethnic minorities, so often taken for granted or left to chance or the uninformed, is both a product and a tool of any major movement of social, political, and economic significance, and that colonialism is a primary modern instance. (3) We must continue to take heed of the tangled fates of America’s ethnic peoples. That a Native American could be classified as a “Free Negro” or black, or that a person of African origin could be classified a Greek may, of course, strike us as ludicrous. But we should see that the fact of such manipulation nevertheless asks an analysis of the overlapping and interlocking lives of such widely disparate groups as the black, the Japanese, the Hispanic, and the Native American. (4) We must continue to scrutinize the nature and function of such “benign” phenomena as the census, if only because, as Forbes points out, the government has in the past been guilty of acknowledging only those Native Americans willing to remain interned on reservations.

Jack Forbes has written a suggestive article concerned with taxonomy, nomenclature, and semantics as they relate to the social, political, and economic disposition of Native Americans. The implications of his work should be pursued.

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Change in American Indian World Views
Illustrated by
Oral Narratives and Contemporary Poetry
Silvester J. Brito

Unlike other ethnic groups, American Indians had little to celebrate during the bicentennial year in 1976. Other ethnic groups, with the exception of blacks and Mexican Americans, came to America to find a better way of life.¹ In contrast, few American Indians have left this country in search of a better life elsewhere. Hence, being an oppressed minority in a society governed by Western thought and values, Indians can only lament the loss of their rights to live and govern their lives according to particular religious, cultural, and social values, for they have been forced to change world views and way of life under both the overt and covert pressures of Euroamerican society.

There are various means through which one can illustrate this change. An outstanding example may be seen through a comparison of past oral narratives, that is, songs, chants, and prayers, with the contemporary poetry of American Indians.² This article examines the transition from native oral narratives to current Western-style poetry, which clearly expresses the forced change in the lives of a conquered people. This change involves the beliefs, practices, religion, language, essentially the entire way of life and world view of a people whose culture and society was at one time strong and stable. Such changes in the culture of the native people resulted in changes in the older form of oral narratives and led to the creation of poetry in the Western tradition, primarily protest poetry.

Most of what is purported by editors and anthologists to be Indian poetry is in fact songs, chants or prayers, in essence, oral narratives in an age old tradition. These forms of oral narratives were not intended to be poetic nor were they intended to be used in the written form. The term "poetry" and even the Western concept of poetry was unknown in past traditional Indian societies.³

The term "poetry" denotes the expression of an idea or ideas in a traditionally structured form.⁴ The oral tradition as practiced by early American Indians also employed structured traditional form.⁵ However, "poetry" as the term is used in Western literature is the product of a single poet who employs the form to express individual ideas and emotions. A poet seeks immortality. Consequently, in Western literature scholars seek to learn the authorship of unattributed poems, which results in many people knowing the names of famous poets even though they could not quote a single poem by them.

Anthologists fail to recognize the difference between the poem as artifact and the narrative which is at once an expression of community belief and a sacred offering. The importance of an American Indian chant is not that so and so reads or even sings it but that the chant works; it is not a cultural adornment but a functional part of life. The chant attains its highest power only in the context of life, of immediate needs or joys, and is therefore stripped of much of its value and intensity when it is reduced merely to a pattern of words upon a page. If such a definition is applied to the native oral narratives, the nature and significance of their meaning becomes misleading. Whether it has been intentional or unintentional, the fact remains that anthologists in general have not recognized a totally different world view as valid and acceptable because of its narrative form, that is, in comparison to Western literary tradition. Therefore, in an attempt to equate early American Indian narratives with those of the Western tradition, old traditional ceremonial and religious orations have often been mislabeled as poetry. The ramification of this particular practice is that the older forms of oral narratives have generally been arranged by Western editors and anthologists in a condescending manner, i.e., in a sincere attempt to assign narrative structural eloquence to these traditional verbal art forms, scholars have categorized and published them as poems in a Western literary form.

The problem is further complicated by the way in which the works appear in translation. Translating poetry is always difficult. Translating it from the language of one culture into that of an entirely different culture is even more difficult, for the very syntactical patterns which convey meaning in English at times violate the spirit of other cultures. For example, it is highly doubtful that an old Indian practitioner of the verbal arts would have used such a phrase as, "Thou didst tell me before."⁶ This phraseology is representative of Western syntactical structure.

Indian songs, chants, and prayers have always been functional and operational. They stand on their own eloquence within their own context. The oral narratives were created to live as a part of life. These Indian orations address life and work with it. The people feel these words, and their lives rely upon them. The words are an expression of the inward self, the self of being — emanating from the heart and soul, from the body and flesh. Words are of body and soul. These chants, prayers, and songs tie the people to other forms of life — spiritual, animate, and inanimate. Traditional Indians utter chants to all the heavenly bodies upon rising and retiring, they have songs for deer and bear hunting, for growing and harvesting corn, as well as those songs which are uttered while crossing treacherous waters. Such songs are bonds between humans and the other forms of life. These forms of Indian oral expression are significant. Eloquent orations such as these have been appropriately cited by noted anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict who says that among the Zuni, “Their prayers also are formulas, the effectiveness of which comes from their faithful rendition.”⁷ Three examples of the old oral narratives provide insight.

Sacred is the act by which my hands are browned,
It is the act by which I offer my prayer.

Sacred is the act by which my hands are blackened,
It is the act by which I offer my prayer.

Sacred is the act by which my face is blackened,
It is the act by which I offer my prayer.

Sacred is the light of day that falls upon my face,
The day on which my prayers are finished.⁸

This is an example of a song which has great significance in the Indians’ cognitive view but has been entered into a book carrying the subtitle, *Poetry of the American Indians*.⁹

The following example of an old traditional North American narrative is recognized as being what it is by current editors who are sensitive to the significance of the oral narratives in traditional Inuit (Eskimo) life.

We reach out our hands
to help you up;
We are without food,
we are without game.
From the hollow by the entrance
you shall open,
you shall bore your way up.
We are without food,
and we lay ourselves down
holding out hands
to help you up.¹⁰

The significance of this ritual narrative is that it graphically depicts the importance of its use as part of the Inuit belief system, i.e., it is a traditionally institutionalized verbal vehicle used to call upon the spirits of the undersea world to help them secure the food to maintain their lives.

The following narrative existed in the 19th century and is still being used by the Navajo people.

It was the wind that gave them life. It was the wind that comes out of our mouths now that gives us life. When this ceases to blow we die. In the skin at the tips of our fingers we see the trail of the wind; it shows us where the wind blew when our ancestors were created.¹¹

The important function of this chant is that it is a verbal formula uttered by Navajos when acknowledging and perpetuating their beliefs in the powers of their creation Gods: First Man and First Woman.

In the early forms of Indian oral narrative it is evident that even though the Indians' lives were harsh, for them the old ways were good; they worked. These narrative forms expressed the Indians' relationship to their natural environment. The first traditional narrative cited depicts the Indians' spiritual life through the relationship to a bear. The second traditional narrative describes the Inuit quest for food. And the third traditional narrative relates the peoples' relationship to their god and creation. As Indians became more and more exposed to Western thinking, many of their old ways were lost or replaced by aspects of the Western belief system, mainly the Judeo-Christian religion, with its white Protestant ethics.

Two prime factors underlie the social protest poetry produced by Indian poets: first, the pressure which Western society has exerted upon Indians to lose their identities in the American melting pot; and second, failure to allow Indians the right of self determination.¹² Thus, the contemporary practice among young Indian poets is to create native soul-type poetry which represents the depth of their anguish; it is also a form of social protest. The contemporary Indian poets' quest for native cultural recognition, as well as social protest which is addressed to the members of Euroamerican society, is evident in the following three poems.

Once when we lived there
They came and told us to be gone
And to get away
So we left
We left and came to here
They didn't think that we could make it

We showed them that we could
Once again they came and asked . . .
“What are you doing on my land?”
They thought that they could make us go
But once again we made it
We showed them what we could do
We showed them who we are
But,
Now we got to show them
HOW WE ARE.¹³

This poem clearly states the position of the American Indian within the oppressive forces of the Anglo American society. It calls the reader's attention to the Indian's ability to physically cope with white oppression, i.e., removal from the land and adjustment to a rented place in the landlord's city. The poem also depicts educated Indians who will take a political stand to defend their rights as human beings.

The following, “Can I Say,” is an example of protest poetry:

And it's hard to see the mountains
When you're sitting in the subway
It's hard I said to feel the wind
When you're waiting in some welfare office
but I'm not a case, I'm not a number
I can do quillwork
Mister, I can ride with no
saddle and hey, listen,
my brother with his own carved
arrows can stalk a deer
Why? are you checking boxes
when I am trying to talk no
I do not have outside income
but there is a tall
cottonwood I know and sometimes
I go to see the leaves and this
morning I heard a meadowlark
 when is the end . . . to die is not the end
 when is the end . . . to die is not the end
he said, I made my ears like a fox stand
to hear and I never even go in
a bank so I got no account
There is an old man I heard
saying, “making moccasins . . .”
no he does not give me money, he
said to the people
“make moccasins for your children, it
is time to go”
and I guess we are going
on the plains south where you are always facing
we are going because the old man is many winters wise. I want someday to bring
when the sun makes white sparks on
the creek like dancing fires, I

want to bring some kinnikinnik to him
 he remembers the red willow smoke and a
 buckskin bag and why do your eyes
 say I tell lies?
 I never been insane, I
 never been in jail, I do not drink, I am not
 an addict. I have no car, I do
 not have syphilis or cavities, I did
 have TB, I did drop out, and I
 did get fired, I did not commit mailfraud, I
 did not overthrow the government (lately)
 with your pencil flying, mister,
 can I say there is a good red road
 and a sacred hoop of our people
 which was broken but I would like
 to help mend so the old man would
 be happy. My brother
 brought fresh meat to him
 but the old man says there is not
 much time before he will feed the wolves
 I want him to know that the rivers run free—I do not have
 a pen to sign here—the forests grow
 tall, the plains—I was just in my mind
 thinking mister during this investigation—
 of the plains where the dirt is living
 and wild horses disappear behind a hill,
 I wanted to see the old man at dawn stand
 on the living plains with his horse near, see him raise his arms to the sun, hear
 him say
 “Thank you father”
 . . . again.¹⁴

In this modern narrative the poet relates her socio-psychological situation in a state of severe culture change. She addresses those significant aspects of Indian life which are comprehensible to her native cognitive thinking but incomprehensible when viewed within the realm of the white life style, a system indifferent to personal self. The author also points out her state of confusion when she is asked to relate to Euroamerican values, concepts which are not relevant to her traditional world view.

The last contemporary narrative, in Western Blues form, clearly depicts this Indian's ability, as a modern poet, to work within a western narrative form. Here, she laments the Indians' subjugated position, an oppressed minority within the ranks of a condescending Euroamerican society.

INDIAN in the dirty street
 of the dirty part
 of this dirty town
 INDIAN

there he stands on the corner
expandable, unadjusted
with a police record
not belonging
going no place very fast
frayed blue jeans
maybe on welfare
wants to cut out
go home where there's nothing
but at least—it's his own nothing

he likes the sky,
oh, yes, he still likes the sky
and the wind in his hair . . .
likes to borrow from his sister
let his cousin wear his one good shirt
and maybe he won't ask it back
unproductive
non-competitive
. . . his cousin gets a coat
and he feels great because his cousin
now has a good coat

never heard of Protestant ethics
and if he has he still likes his own better
. . . his great-grandfather
coming straight from the stone age
never had a watch
never knew about hell
until some missionary told him
when they fed the converted savages
the bean-slop
and the fatback
and the love of Jesus

three thousand years of technology
somebody else's brain productions:
a white face on the wall to pray to
don't listen to Momma and Pappa!
try HARD to be like us
and God'll love you
in spite of the fact
that you were born red-skinned
don't talk the way Momma and Pappa talk
at home—they don't know any better
you do—we taught you
make love only in the one position
that won't make Jesus mad at you
and don't suck peyote
don't suck anything
like your school
go to the prom
be grateful
speak ENGLISH

love Jesus
HATE YOUR OWN GUTS!!!

use birth control
don't be promiscuous
don't have babies unless you're married
don't let your inferiority
get the better of you
and tempt you to drink . . .
it's hard, we know
but if you pray
God will help you
to overcome your innate defects
. . . your way of fun's the wrong way
cut your hair if you're a man . . .
now that we told you about sin, don't sin!
be a farmer
make this ground yield
full of rocks and all
save!
don't squander
don't wear the old War Charm
wear the Scapular Medal
let your cousin buy his own shirt
thou shalt not kill
but thou shalt be drafted
because you're a citizen
don't worry
we'll tell you
when to kill and whom
be colorful
be culturally enriching
to our school children
. . . be anything but yourself . . .¹⁵

These three modern poems stand in sharp contrast to the three traditional narratives. First the chants are ritual expressions of beliefs held in common by an entire tribe. To this extent they are similar to such ritualized expressions of Western faith as the *Book of Common Prayer* or the Lord's Prayer, the recital of which is testimony to a shared faith and experience. The traditional expressions are also impersonal. Even in the "Black Bear Song" with its use of the first person it is the ritual which is being celebrated, "Sacred is the act by which my hands are browned," and the speaker, the "I," is subordinated to the ritual which affects the speaker chiefly as a member of the tribe. The tone of each traditional work is stylized and oracular although the content is an expression of tribal feeling and experience. Such expression was once an integral part of tribal life, at once the recognition and supplication of the spirit or spirits which linked

people with the natural world in which they lived. The works express feeling more than ideas.

By contrast, the modern poetry is an expression of the Indians' reaction toward white Euroamerican culture and the socio-psychological pressures which it exerts upon them. The poems are self-conscious. They are cast in the mold of contemporary white culture, deliberately employing a form created by the white cultures to comment ironically upon the outcast status that it has casually decreed for Indians. However, the poems clearly illustrate that the impersonal supplications of nature have been superseded by poetry which reflects bitterly upon the Indians' place in the social rather than natural environment. Despite the underlying assumption of an experience shared by most Indian people, the tone is personal. The writer expresses personal outrage and resentment. This is poetry which leads not to reconciliation to one's condition in the natural world but to protest and rebellion against the socio-economic and political structure of the United States.

The older orations addressed themselves to nature, Indian cosmology and religion, whereas contemporary poetry has little relevance to those aspects of life. Rather than responding positively to life, its demands and goodness, as the traditional prayers, chants, and songs did, contemporary American Indian poetry is one expression of the American Indian's increasing defense of land, culture, and values. American Indians had no positive reason to celebrate the bicentennial year. Ironically, however, the nation's bicentennial aroused Indian awareness of the injustice they suffered. That new awareness has found expression in a new poetry of protest cast in the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Protest poetry, protest demonstrations, and protest litigation, some of it arising from the violation of treaties as old as the United States of America, have all been the Indian response to the bicentennial.

Even though the bicentennial year did not provide Indians with the same motives for a time of jubilant celebration in the same manner that others celebrated that historic occasion, it provoked Indians to express the nature of the inequities imposed upon them by the imperialistic pressures of Western society.¹⁶ They have thus sought to denounce such inequities by adopting Western forms.

In sum, the modern poems depart from the traditional narratives. Change is reflected between these two forms of the Indians' verbal arts. The modern narratives, poems, are structured to meet the Western poetic form, a recognized literary genre. These modern poems,

in contrast to the traditional narratives, address different needs in a different time. They are protest poems. The old Indian traditional narratives do not protest; they deal with life in a natural environment. Furthermore, not only is it evident, as illustrated in the comparative analysis of traditional narratives and modern poetry, that American Indian's world views have changed, but it is clear that the new poetic forms from contemporary American Indian poets are symbolic of the Western world's effects upon the acculturation process of American Indians. The works of modern American Indian poets are symbolic evidence that they do not want to assimilate into white American society, but rather seek to continue, at least in spirit, many of the old beliefs and practices, within the socio-political structure of a multicultural society.

Notes

¹Blacks (Afroamericans) were brought here forcibly and the Mexican Americans, with specific reference to the Southwestern region of this country, were part of the land now belonging to the United States.

²Several major works have been done on the changing world of the American Indian: In 1961, Edward H. Spicer edited a series of essays, *Perspectives in American Indian Culture Change*, which represent changes in the Indians' way of life, from earliest contacts with Europeans to the present. Roger L. Nichols and George R. Adams, in 1971, edited a book of readings, *The American Indian: Past and Present*, which provides us with little-known or misunderstood aspects of the Indian experience in America. Deward E. Walker, Jr., in 1972, put together a reader, *The Emergent Native Americans*, which deals with culture contact. Also, in 1972, Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day, edited an anthology, *Native Americans Today: Sociological Perspectives*, which relates various sociological perspectives in current American society. Merwyn S. Garbarino, in 1976, wrote a book, *Native American Heritage*, which focuses on American Indian ethnology from prehistory to the contemporary scene. And in 1973, Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek, put together an anthology, *Literature of the American Indian*, which provides the reader with a general overview of the American Indians' spiritual life through literature. These texts, however, do not focus on specific changes in American Indian life as viewed in narratives of oral tradition.

³The author is currently working on an in-depth study dealing with the substitution of English words and concepts for native words and concepts, which from a cognitive point of view would stand on their own. See: Stephen A. Tyler, ed. *Cognitive Anthropology*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969).

⁴Alan Dundes. *The Morphology of North American Indian Folktales*. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1962) 195.

⁵James B. Hall and Barry Ulanov, eds. *Modern Culture and the Arts*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967) 288-295.

⁶Gloria Levita, Frank Vivelo, and Jacqueline J. Vivelo, eds. *American Indian Prose and Poetry: We Wait In The Darkness*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974) 148.

⁷Ruth Benedict. *Patterns of Culture*. (New York: Mentor Books, 1953) 56.

⁸A. Grove Day. *The Sky Clears: Poetry of the American Indians*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964) 108. "The Osage rituals include a group of 'Black Bear' songs which relate to the myth about how the soil of the earth was given to the people by the black bear as a sign of vigil when they appealed to the divine power for aid in overcoming their enemies. "This act of the bear in disclosing the sacred soil is a sacred and mysterious act; therefore, he who is to open the earth in order to take from it with his hands the soil to be used in this vigil must simulate in detail the actions of the bear.' The soil is used to blacken the face for the later rites." A. Grove Day, 108.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Dennis Tedlock and Barbara Tedlock, eds. *Teachings From The American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975) 15. "In the darkened [Inuit] house one hears only sighing and groaning from the dead who lived generations earlier. This sighing and puffing sounds as if the spirits were down under water, in the sea, as marine animals, and in between all the noises one hears the blowing and splashing of creatures coming up to breathe. . . . [the above song] must be constantly repeated; it is only to be sung by the oldest member of the tribe. . . ."

¹¹John Bierhorst, ed. *In The Trail of the Wind: American Indian Poems and Ritual Orations*. (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1971) 19. This narrative was translated from the Navajo by Washington Matthews. 178-179.

¹²Stan Steiner. *The New Indians*. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968) 17.

¹³D. Taylor. *Project NOW* (Fairbanks: Students of Project NOW, 1975) 2.

¹⁴Dolly Bird. "Can I Say." *Akwesasne Notes*. Vol. 4, No. 3 (Late Spring, 1972) 48.

¹⁵Corey McQueen. "Original American Blues." (from her book, *American Indian Blues*) *Akwesasne Notes*. Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer, 1972) 48.

¹⁶Stan Steiner. *The New Indians*. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968) 14.

Critique

The author of "Change in American Indian World Views . . ." is not only a teacher and student of poetry, but is also a poet who writes about his heritage. It is appropriate that he chose to compare traditional songs and the contemporary pleas of American Indians. A poet can be and is described as "one who is especially gifted in the perception and expression of the beautiful or lyrical." Poetry is the art or work of a poet. If we follow these views of poet and poetry, then we would have to place both of the categories of which the author is speaking in the clear realm of poetry.

My husband and I were standing on the desert in the Southwest admiring the mountain range in the distance. Making an arch with his hand, he said that his people used to run from one end of the arch to the other and within those mountains they would be given songs to bring back to the people (Chiricahua Apache). There was then and is

now no doubt in my mind that if we would go into those mountains today, and if all things were right, we would be given songs. I do not need to know how, by whom or what; I would know and recognize the phenomenon when it happened. Songs of western mountains remind me of a statement made by Gary Smith in his book, *Windsinger*, and how, when he was a ranger in the Flaming Gorge area and in the canyon lands of Utah, he became a friend of LaSalle Pocatello, grandson of Chief Pocatello. LaSalle gave Gary Smith some of his songs and told him that he had *caught* them. Some of them he had *caught* at Devil's Tower. Gary remembered when he had climbed to the top and heard the wind swirling through them producing sweet sounds he had been too "busy" with official business to really hear anything. A few years later while sitting in front of the fireplace in an old ramshackle lodge on the shore of Spirit Lake, Gary *caught* a melody. He said, "The mood was mellow and a little mysterious. The only light in the place came from the fire. Suddenly, in just the way LaSalle explained it, I *caught* a melody." He played it on his guitar and the words started to flow. A friend grabbed a pencil and paper and in a matter of minutes there was a complete song.

Brito speaks of the complications in translations. He is so right. Note the losses that come with the added lines in the translation of "Chant to the Fire-fly."¹

Chant to the Fire-fly (Chippewa Original)

Wau wau tay see!
 Wau wau tay see!
 E mow e shin
 Tahe bwau e baun-e wee!
 Be eghayn-be eghayn-ewee!
 Wau wau tay see!
 Wau wau tay see!
 Was sa koon ain je gun.
 Was sa koon ain je gun.

Literal Translation

Flitting-white-fire-insect!
 waving-white-fire-bug!
 give me light before I go to bed!
 give me light before I go to sleep.
 Come, little dancing white-fire-bug!
 Come, little flitting white-fire-beast!
 Light me with your bright white-flame-instrument—
 your little candle.

Literary Translation

Fire-fly, fire-fly! Bright little thing,
Light me to bed, and my song I will sing.
Give me your light, as you fly o'er my head,
That I may merrily go to my bed.
Give me your light o'er the grass as you creep,
That I may joyfully go to my sleep.
Come, little fire-fly, come, little beast—
Come! and I'll make you tomorrow a feast.
Come, little candle that flies as I sing,
Bright little fairy-bug—night's little king;
Come, and I'll dance as you guide me along,
Come, and I'll pay you, my bug, with a song.

More Literal Literary Translation

Flitting white-fire insects!
Wandering small-fire beasts!
Wave little stars about my bed!
Weave little stars into my sleep!
Come, little dancing white-fire-bug,
Come, little flitting white-fire beast!
Light me with your white-flame magic,
Your little star-torch.

Britobegins his conclusion by stating, “The older orations addressed themselves to nature, Indian cosmology and religion, whereas the current poetry has little relevance to those vital aspects of life.” He does an excellent job of educating us on the differences and similarities of the oral narratives and contemporary poetry of the American Indian. Indian people are still seeking songs, and some of what we seek will show up in our contemporary songs and writings.

—Juanita Palmerhall
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Note

¹Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek. *Literature of the American Indian*. (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1973) 105.

Critique

Brito's article draws a necessary contrast between the purpose and function of American Indian chants, and the American Indian's descent into modern poetry. The latter is an idiom that can only voice anger and frustration: it symbolizes a spirit imprisoned, forced to protest through a borrowed medium because it seems to be the only one that the western mind can understand.

I was struck by several ironies in this essay. First, the chants cited by Brito remind us of the absolute confidence, pride, and reverence American Indians felt toward their world. They breathe the sacred air and see their skin darkened by the sacred sun. Coherence and fullness of vision, values associated with a mature spirituality, mark each chant, both structurally and thematically. Yet, as Brito stresses, the significance of these chants lies not merely in what they communicate but in their efficacy as tools of *social magic*. Indeed, their "unspeakable significance" is similar to that of the Vedic prayers of Hinduism, the spiritual home of Asian Indians; in Vedic ritual, the priest through skillful intonation and rendition could alter the very forces of nature herself, bringing humanity into greater harmony with the cosmic order, *rta*. Undoubtedly, the powers of American Indian orators derive from the same psychological sources as that of the Vedic priest and suggest the deep communion of both with divine energies.

Given this heritage of self-mastery and insight into the natural order, the ensuing history of American Indians projects almost unbearable irony, as the poems cited indicate. Contemporary American Indians are torn by the struggle to tell the rest of America "How We Are," to proclaim that they bear the blood of seers and shamans, and by the contempt any contract with the smug yet driven white culture elicits. The last poem, "Original American Blues," encapsulates this irony as Indians are instructed to "be colorful/be culturally enriching/to our school children/. . . be anything but yourself . . ." The trivialization of the profound, the secularization of the sacred, the sentimentalizing of the complex—these are the trite responses to diversity we have learned to expect from American institutions. As though one can "be colorful" on command without the blessing of the sacred sun; as though one can "be culturally enriching" without having access to evolving traditions shaped by the growth of individuals within a group.

Perhaps the deepest irony embedded in Brito's article is that at a time when American Indians need access to the powers of their

ancient chants, access that would facilitate their own integration and help heal the fragmentation of the larger culture, they are blocked. At the same time, since the chants are not vehicles of social protest in an ordered and beneficent universe, American Indians seem to be left no choice but to use forms alien to their traditions to express social and psychological conditions alien to their heritage. But as Leslie Marmon Silko's novel, *Ceremony* (1977), movingly illustrates, the magic of these ancient traditions lives on. And if the personal outrage of the poet or the despair of the outcast Indian can lead to a renewed sensitivity toward the old myths, whereby they reassume their harmonizing function, the exile from the past can be seen archetypically, as the result of an unsettling but vitalizing wind: "It was the wind that gave them life. When this ceases to blow we die. In the skin at the tips of our fingers we see the trail of the wind; it shows us where the wind blew when our ancestors were created."

—Margaret Bedrosian
University of California, Davis

Abstracts from the Twelfth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies “Ethnicity: 1984 and Beyond”

In an attempt to record a sense of the formal sessions of the 1984 Conference, we asked the Chairs to assemble abstracts and discussant comments for their sessions. Although we are pleased with a response greater than in 1983, we are aiming for one hundred percent in 1985.

SESSION I: COMMUNITY AND PEOPLE

Chair: Tony Cortese, Colorado State University

Linda M.C. Abbott, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno.
Planned Social Change: The Case of the Fresno Organizing Project

Models for intentional social change are examined within perspectives offered by contemporary theory. Community organizations with fundamentally political objectives are presented as examples of the alliance base focus and of the strategy focus. Of the latter, an Alinsky-style organization, The Fresno Organizing Project is reviewed as a case example, with attention to its history, objectives, and progress toward declared goals. The Project is evaluated, both with respect to its fit with the model and with regard to its impact on the target area.

Mic Denfeld and Coke Gross, Iowa State University. **“People-pertising” with Four Arizona Tribes**

In 1980, a Presidential Commission visited several tribal communities in Arizona and discovered juveniles being housed in adult jails—a clear violation of Federal law. The Commission established alternatives to jail placement within each community. The University of Illinois/Champaign-Urbana’s Community Research Center (CRC) administered the OJJDP funds and provided technical assistance for developing the JRI at four sites in cooperation with the Arizona Department of Corrections.

This paper describes the projects from the view of a technical advisor hired by CRC and a volunteer trainer. It describes the use of “people-pertising” rather than “expertising” in their work with the tribal communities and the reciprocal rewards of this perspective as it was experienced during their on-site visits.

Discussant: R. Dennis Stewart, Farmtrek, Sacramento, CA

Father Keith Kenny, who died shortly before this conference, was a Catholic priest who worked from a Sacramento, California, pulpit. He was a civic leader and confidant of Caesar Chavez, but more than anything else he was an exemplary community organizer. A member of one of the western world’s oldest “establishment” institutions he was, nonetheless, a champion, leader, and servant of all the people in his community. His definition of “the people” included those who would contribute to

the spiritual, political, social, and economic well-being of "the community." He acted in a community that comprised not just his own, mainly poor and ethnically non-white parish, but all of Sacramento, extended often to other parts of California and the Southwest, and occasionally encompassed the nation. His voice was heard and his work known in Hispanic America and Europe. Like the results of each of the endeavors summarized in the papers that follow, Father Kenny left numerous "agents in place" to continue "the people's" work. These fortunate individuals, some of whom are now within "the establishment," work toward the twin goals of liberty and empowerment for themselves and for those without either. Father Kenny's special achievement was to convince those with both that there was enough for all.

* * * * *

The papers demonstrate the topical richness that is illustrative of the discipline of ethnic studies. By using the framework of theoretical community organization (see Abbott's paper for an excellent summary), three very different situations involving change in and around ethnic and minority-group peoples become accessible. Lest the reader be alarmed, all the papers contain phenomena that do not lend themselves to one, or even any, analytical tool.

"'People-pertising' With Four Arizona Tribes" is essentially a report on a specific project that went far beyond the granting agency's limited objective. The objective was more than adequately satisfied and in the process people began to take charge of their own destiny; the paper contains touching testimonials by organizers and a beautiful story of a mythic change agent that spells out the essence of community organization.

"Planned Social Change: The Case of the Fresno Organizing Project" is a comprehensive piece that could easily be used as part of a grant proposal to a progressive funding agency. It describes a perfectly designed and executed community organization ready to "take-off" and radically change the substance and structure of tens of thousands of lives in a regional metropolitan center.

"The LCO (Lac Courte Orielle Reservation, Wisconsin) Schools", not presented at the Conference, is a case study of a local collection of people who responded to an emergency and became a community.

In keeping with the theme of the conference, each paper considered the status of concern and each gives a guarded, yet hopeful scenario or specific plans for the future. As if in concert, each paper describes or defines its meaning of the session's two topics, "community" and "people."

Although each paper differs in style, each situation described differs in its origins and the relationships of the authors to the endeavor differ, they have much in common.

Each:

- "community" ends locally and with a closely analogous situation elsewhere;
- describes "the people" in an inimical relationship with those outside the group, i.e., "flatlanders," "white world," or "the establishment";
- relates a technical service component run by experts (change agents or organizers);
- describes the process in which the organizers respond in a democratically-oriented atmosphere to the agenda of "the people" in "the community" no matter if the agents are hired, self-appointed, or self-made;
- deals with a specific geographical area;
- describes how the endeavor broadens to include more than one technical component even if designed and funded to service only one narrow objective;
- describes a number of unforeseen effects emanating from the original design or from expert responsiveness to the redefinition of mission;
- relates success in terms of an agency, "the people," and "the community";
- gives recommendations for future action; and
- documents positive change for individuals, in the social milieu or of the political atmosphere within the target population.

Only the Fresno project appears to be having an effect on the enveloping majority population. There, some of the target population has only a class difference from the

majority. Ethnic and cultural differences between the client population and the majority population prevent bridge-building between the two in the other projects and will make further problem resolution difficult in the Fresno case.

In "The LCO Schools" story an additional effect on the political system is seen. There, government agencies compete with each other to provide funds to the community, but only for the purpose of fulfilling each agency's own institutional objectives. A clear case of all benefitting. However, in the case of the four Arizona tribes, fulfilling the very narrow objective of the funder has not led to continued support. Multiple objectives may assure continued support.

One obvious avenue of further research are follow-up reports on each of these communities and peoples. *An unconventional but valuable arena would be additional notes on the subsequent activities of the organizers in their professional lives.*

A more general question that does not often find expression outside newspaper stories is, Who describes the failures of like projects from an ethnic studies perspective? Also, are there failures in establishment terms that are really successes in terms of "the people"? Are "the people" better off in some instances by rebuffing assistance?

Finally, without the ethnic studies forum provided by the Conference, it is highly unlikely that these complementary studies would ever have been made accessible in one place. We are all the richer for them.

SESSION II: COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONS

Chair: Lynn Hamlin, University of Cincinnati

Reva H. Bell, Texas Christian University. An Agenda for Getting "There from Here"

The purpose of the paper is to present a plan of action beginning with the past of each area to be discussed as it affects the future of minorities in America. The areas under consideration are the community and its basic social institutions: family, school along with political participation, and the accompanying economic benefits. Historical background, present status, and recommendations for the future delineated.

Handouts distributed to participants.

Theresa McCormick, Emporia State University, KS. No One Model American Family: A Necessary Understanding for Effective Multicultural Education in Public Schools

A reexamination of the American family, its diverse forms and changing nature and the implications of these phenomena for multi-cultural education is the focus of this paper. Characteristics of ethnically and culturally diverse children and their families are explored. Understanding diverse family models should enable teachers to provide education that is more responsive to the needs of *all* students. While a multicultural view of society, education, and families has not fully taken root, the concept has provided educators with a framework in which to advocate program change that is not based on a deficit model of children and their families.

Walter A. Sedelow, Jr., University of Kansas. Being Precise—and Scientific?—About Ethnicity

Ethnicity, behaviorally and communications-theoretically/information-theoretically viewed, can be understood as a learned code—or, more precisely, as a set of learned codes (e.g., dialectal speech habits; patterns of dress; music; as with, say, styles of polkas; and so forth), among which higher order mappings sometimes are built. If one takes a *formalist* view of code—formalist in the computer sciences sense, as in Formal Language Theory—in which if research is thoroughly scientific it is realizable (in principle at least) in fully algorithmic form and implementable in a computer-based information system, in that case there is no doubt that the study of ethnic behavior as codes is a thoroughly scientific enterprise.

Foster Brown and Robert Warshawsky, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. **Ethnic-sensitive Counseling**

Wynetta Devore and Elfride Schlesinger's (1981) model of ethnic-sensitive practice was utilized to research the history, ethnic reality, and health belief systems of Asian Americans. With this as a background, communication theory was used to analyze the practice of counseling with the intent of systematically adapting intervening procedures in such a manner as to make effective use of the knowledge about class and ethnic related behaviors so as to more effectively serve the health needs of Asian Americans.

Discussant: David M. Gradwohl, Iowa State University

The papers are appropriate to the interdisciplinary matrix of NAIES. The participants offered perspectives from a variety of disciplines: elementary education, art and multicultural education, sociology and computer science, and social work. For the purposes of efficiency in this summary discussion, the presentations can also be compared and contrasted according to their (a) principal focus—applied or theoretical, (b) institutional aspect, (c) group dealt with, and (d) emphasis on diachronic/historical or synchronic/contemporary factors.

Bell's approach is essentially applied; takes up the family, schools, and political system as institutions; focuses on blacks; and is diachronic in weaving historical factors into present realities ("here") and suggesting paths to desired goals in the future ("there"). McCormick's focus is also applied and deals with the family and public schools as institutions; her subjects are multiethnic and her emphasis is synchronic but draws upon historical traditions in utilizing art as a medium to convey value systems of families from various cultural heritages.

Sedelow holds up a theoretical framework and, by way of statistics and taxonomic modeling, looks at the nature of ethnicity *per se* as expressed in linguistic phenomena; language, of course, is a diachronic/traditional mode of cultural transmission but it is also a code for present "realities." Brown and Warshawsky, in an instructive and inviting "Huntley-Brinkley style," deal with their project which is specifically applied to recent Asian American immigrants in the area of medical and health care institutions. Drawing upon the theory of their own disciplines and upon the traditional religious and family values of their Asian American clients, Brown and Warshawsky are in a position to help individuals see themselves at the interface of two cultural systems and, in a context of rapid changes in lifestyles, look for courses of action which will accommodate their traditional values in the new roles expected of or thrust upon them in the United States.

A topic of mutual concern to Bell and McCormick is that our schools too often look at children of various ethnic and minority groups as "different." Teachers with their often-unilineal and monocultural lesson plans are frequently frustrated that their charges, coming from various religious and linguistic backgrounds and out of alternative family styles, do not react in a single and "efficient" manner. Too often these children are viewed as having deficiencies rather than as the carriers of knowledge (might one even say **proficiencies**?) of their own cultural heritages.

Some years ago, in studying the formal educational system at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, Rosalie and Murray Wax also observed this phenomenon which they called the "vacuum ideology." Obviously no humans operate in a vacuum, and it serves neither the family, the community, or other institutions to operate in any way on the basis of that mythical perception vis-a-vis people who are "different." These definitions and possible courses of action, of course, must first be understood by individuals and by groups of individuals within the on-going social system. They are inner and often emotional matters; but perhaps, as suggested by Sedelow, this process can be facilitated by the computer analysis of the linguistic labels codifying those self-perceptions. Papers in this session, then, stimulated some thoughts on defining ethnicity, looking at concepts of *self* and *other*, and getting on with the business of attaining our goal of a multicultural and multiethnic society in the United States.

SESSION III: PROSPECTS

Chair: Marilyn Meisenheimer, University of Wisconsin, LaCrosse

Norman L. Friedman, California State University, Los Angeles. **The Future of Ethnic Cultural Pluralism in America: Two School-based Models and Scenarios**

Currently, most minority groups in America seem to want to maintain some amount of "cultural pluralism," while also being extensively culturally and socially integrated into the mainstream. Cultural pluralism is popular as a philosophy and practice. Will it continue into the future, and if so, in what forms?

This paper suggests two major current school-based maintenance models of ethnic cultural pluralism, and analyzes their relative strengths and weaknesses. The first, here called the "public-secular-ethnic" model, is illustrated by the case of Chicanos and their publicly supported bilingual/bicultural secular educational programs. The second, here called the "private-religio-ethnic" model, is illustrated by the case of American Jews and their privately sponsored after school, Sunday School, and all-day school programs of religio-ethnic instruction. The two prototypical models, and their possible future scenarios, are compared and discussed.

David Muga, Seattle. **The Future of Ethnicity: 1984 and Beyond**

Using response to systemic crisis as a common starting point for both G. Orwell's 1984 social relations and the present reality of the ethnic experience in the U.S., a limited exploration is made of the relation of State policies and private interests to the stigmatization of ethnicity. The areas explored include racism, immigration/migration patterns, and the process of proletarianization. The principle argument is that general systemic crisis locates certain groups of people in relation to State policies and private interests in a way which stigmatizes dramatically what it is to experience ethnically. These locations are seen to be decisive for future strategies for social change.

Discussant: Zdenka Gredel-Manuel, Niagra University

There is no easy solution to problems created in American society by ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism, nor can one envision a simplistic glimpse into the future of ethnicity in 1984 and beyond. Presenters Friedman and Muga have attempted to present us with some prospects which may develop.

Friedman addresses himself to two school based models and scenarios, the Jews and the Chicanos. He presents some sociological insights into the development as he calls the "private-religio-ethnic" model of Jews and the "public-secular-ethnic" model of Chicanos. The futuristic assumptions of Professor Friedman are that the Chicano model may take to some extent the route of the Jewish model.

Muga's paper utilizes the "ethnic conflict theory" to explain what is in store for the future of ethnicity. He assumes that competition and conflict increase among ethnic groups in the process of societal modernization, thus creating the conditions for ethnic struggle and exploitation rather than assimilation. From this perspective all history is a process of struggle, oppression, and more struggle.

Muga attempts to translate orthodox Marxism into ethnic conflict theory and maintains that ethnic groups, specifically blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians, will struggle for wealth, power and privilege in modern American society.

Muga seems to believe that the root of all evil is capitalism. Eliminate capitalism and you would eliminate racism, prejudice, and all the evils of deprivation and discrimination. I would like to raise the following issues:

1. racism existed before the rise of capitalism, and
2. it exists today in non-capitalist societies, such as in the USSR and China.

Therefore, I suggest that the elimination of capitalism would not solve the problems. The question we need to focus on is powerlessness. A good understanding of "powerlessness" gives us an opportunity to develop power among ourselves to get what is justly ours.

SESSION IV: MEDIA OR EDUCATION

Chair and Respondent: Meredith Reinhart, California State University, Sacramento

Vagn K. Hansen and C.J. White, Delta State University, MS. **Television News and Third World Immigrants in the U.S.**

Analysis of television network news broadcasts, January 1981 - December 1983, reveals considerable disparity in both the quality of coverage related to Third World immigrants in the United States and the content of the coverage. There was a decline in each of the three years in the amount of coverage, with CBS consistently devoting more attention to the changing ethnic composition of American society than the other networks. Virtually all coverage of immigration has been focused on Southeast Asians and Latin Americans. With the exception of a few segments devoted to the successes of high school or college valedictorians, coverage has generally emphasized the negative aspects of immigration. The cumulative effect of such reporting may be to develop the idea that immigration is a serious social problem. The concept of American society as multicultural has been virtually ignored.

Jacqueline Zbracki, Ames, Iowa. **An Alternative ESL Program**

An Alternative ESL (English as a Second Language) *Program* illustrates how infants and preschool age children from Indochina learn English by using a total language learning concept. What was once a babysitting service for Indochinese adults (displaced persons) who are taking ESL classes is transformed into an active, dynamic learning center for children.

A requirement of this ESL training program is that parents teach their native language and culture to their children at home, creating both a positive cultural language environment and reinforcing bilingualism.

Response:

Media is a powerful communicator. The media which confronts us when we turn on television news and the media we view in the classroom are separate faces of the same creature. In whatever form media confronts us, they have the potential to challenge viewers to think or lull us into accepting whatever image is presented on the screen. The two presentations show that even beyond practicing awareness in our daily lives, we must require a critical response from throughout the academy.

Hansen and White's "Television News and Third World Immigrants in the United States" alerts us to the danger of passively accepting the news as the truth. Hansen and White's collection of news footage concerned with immigration clearly demonstrates the power of television news images. Distortions are rampant in the footage. Third World immigrants, when covered, were presented as problems. Mexicans were viewed as illegal immigrants; the real diversity of immigrants was ignored. Chinese, Korean, Indian, Filipino, Jamaican and Dominican immigrants got little attention even when they were the numerical majority of immigrants. News also focused on the failure of immigration policies and the difficulties presented by immigrants with different cultural backgrounds.

Zbracki's videotape, **An Alternative ESL Program**, was presented by Barbara Hiura and Ernie Pon. The videotape demonstrated a positive use of media. Both *An Alternative ESL Program* and the presenters' comments focused on the positive nature of bilingual education in a multicultural society. The children were not viewed as problems, and bilingual ability was presented as a positive goal. Zbracki's tape can challenge future teachers and others about the worth and practicality of exemplary ESL programs.

SESSION V: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Helen McLam, Choice Magazine

Margaret A. Laughlin, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. **Women and Education: A West Indies Perspective**

The under-education of women is of serious concern to many nations as women remain under-represented at all levels of education. Levels of educational achievement of women is a key indicator of a nation's progress and development. Educational opportunities for women in the former British West Indies have been limited by historical circumstance, cultural expectations, and limited economic support. The paper provides an overview of educational experiences of West Indian women and examines changing policy planning decisions related to women's educational opportunities related to quality, quantity, and content.

P. Rudy Mattai, Lane College, TN. **Majority Population with Minority Political Status**

The entrance into and continued presence of East Indians in the co-operative Republic of Guyana present scholars concerned with the study of immigrant groups with several similarities to other immigrant groups and, *pari passu*, with even more significant peculiarities or phenomenological differences. This presentation is not concerned with the similarities but rather with those differences which exhibit an interesting departure from theory, particularly that set of theory which relates to the organization of multicultural or multiethnic societies.

Despite the East Indian's numerical majority in the Guyanese population and overwhelming numerical strength in the economic sector, they have not been able to wield comparable political power. Instead, the predominantly African government has been able to assert some degree of political hegemony in the society at the expense of large-scale discrimination. This presentation discusses the genesis and implications of that situation.

Daiva K. Stasiulis, Carleton University, Ottawa. **Racism and the Canadian State: The Subway to 1984**

The racial hostility and discrimination faced by visible minority groups in Toronto during the 1970s led to their mobilization into a multi-pronged movement against racism. This paper examines the responses by a variety of key institutions within the Canadian state to grass-roots pressures for reform and the threat of racial conflict. As the prosperous early seventies developed into the crisis-ridden eighties, a shift occurred in state response to visible minority group interests from "incorporation" to "exclusion." In light of this trend, this paper proposes the need for a reconceptualization of the relationship among the liberal democratic state, racism, and excluded minority groups.

SESSION VII: POLITICAL VIABILITY

Chair: Minnie Thomas Bailey, Grambling State University, LA.

George Estes, Spearfish, SD. **The People, the Land, the Law**

There is a body of United States law setting American Indians apart from other Americans. American Indian law is a unique trust relationship between the tribes and the United States. This trust relationship is based upon negotiated treaties in which the U.S. agreed to provide various forms of protection and services in exchange for land. The reservation land base poses special legal questions concerning jurisdiction, taxes, water, and mineral rights. American Indian people are beginning to take legal offensive to protect long-ignored treaty rights. Self-government is essential to restoring self-respect and making American Indians useful citizens after years of

crippling dependence upon the federal government. In the future, tribes will remain dependent upon the federal trust relationship yet must also emerge as self-governing if they are to survive beyond the 1980s.

Eugene Kim, California State University, Sacramento. Korean Americans in the United States: Problems and Alternatives

This paper identifies and analyzes problems and difficulties Korean Americans in the U.S. have experienced in the categories as follow:

1. The slow acculturation process ("Adhesive Adaptation")
2. The language deficiency in English ("The Language Shock")
3. Declining occupational ladder (A Downward Syndrome)
4. The splitting of family relationships (Breakdown of Family "Roots")
5. The Korean language maintenance (Unilateral Heritage Theory)
6. Bilingual education (non-functional "Mainstreaming")

Based on the problems/difficulties identified, this paper further conceives and proposes possible approaches and remedies to alleviate the problems. The author emphasizes that the adjustment of the "life styles" and the manifestations of their "life changes" will be greatly enhanced by the effort and the commitment of those to improve their images by the eradication of cultural ambivalence and self-imposed social rejection.

Bette Novit Evans, Creighton University. Conflicting Models of Minority Group Membership in American Public Policy

This paper explores two apparently conflicting models which underlie American policy with respect to minorities. The first model comprehends society as an aggregate of individuals, whose ethnic characteristics are essentially irrelevant to public policy choices, and who, as individuals, are bearers of rights and responsibilities. The second model views society as consisting of groups of an almost corporate nature, and perceives individual rights and responsibilities as deriving, at least in part, from group membership. Most of the major policy statements regarding discrimination are phrased in terms of the first model, but the administrative and judicial guidelines by which they are implemented tend to be phrased in terms of the second. In this paper I survey major policy developments in the areas of school desegregation, voting rights, and employment discrimination in order to show evolution from the first to the second models over time, and the continuity of themes across policy areas. I argue that the apparent contradiction is in fact resolved by viewing the second model as a logical outgrowth of the first—a necessary and logically consistent method of realizing individual rights in a world of limited resources and imperfect knowledge.

Sally Yeates Sedelow, University of Kansas. Computational Linguistics and Ethnic Genres

Ethnic genres, like other genres, are presumably characterizable as genres because they comprise distinguishing and identifiable patterns. Any student of genres knows that getting at "the patterns formed in the linguistic encoding of information" (Sedelow and Sedelow, "A Preface to Computational Stylistics," in Leed, ed. *The Computer and Literary Style*, Kent State, 1966) is a non-trivial task. In fact, the computer seems the single best hope for managing both the quantities of data and pattern detection within that data implied by genre study. This paper discusses some of the current problems and possibilities associated with the application of computational linguistics to the study of ethnic genres.

Discussant: C. Lok Chua, Moorhead State University, MN.

These four papers have proceeded from several different disciplines—education, sociology, political science, and linguistics. I shall complicate matters further by discussing these papers with yet another discipline in the background, my own of literature. For, as I go along, I shall mention titles and authors of literary works which dramatize or speak to some of the issues raised by these papers and which may profitably be read as supplements to this discussion.

Professor Evans' paper is solidly central to our section's topic of "Political Viability." Her closely reasoned and densely documented argument shows us convincingly that the antidiscriminatory ideals of policy aimed at supporting *individual* rights must realistically and cost-effectively find expression in measures that affect the group and

the *aggregate*. She draws her examples from the spheres of education, voting rights, and employment. She reminds us that the *intention* to discriminate is not measurable, but the *effect* of discrimination is; further, Evans makes clear that an effect is usually measurable in *aggregate* terms (i.e., in terms of so many minority children attending this school rather than that school), and that, therefore, the corrective measures have to take the form of *aggregate* remedies. The unfortunate aspect of aggregate remedies is that they can be made to look very much like reverse discrimination. How, then, do we as individuals and as groups deal with this misperception in our school boards, our precinct caucuses, our hiring committees?

Professor Kim is dealing with the fourth largest Asian minority, and he analyzes the *causes* for their problems in assimilation, suggests *remedies*, and draws *analogies* between the Korean American and the Asian American experience.

To summarize his major points, the first problem is slow acculturation or adhesive adaptation. Its causes are the stigma of racial and national origins, the difficulties of language, the consequent isolation in insular communities. The remedy is to heighten ethnic pride and self esteem.

Language itself is a second problem, a "catch 22." Immigrants must immerse themselves in the majority society, but this immersion is difficult or impossible without English which is the currency of social exchange and which is best acquired by immersion itself in the society. Remedy: aggressive language acquisition.

The third problem is the immigrant's slide down the occupational scale in the host country. The cause is the lack of language skills and the invalidation of former professional accreditation. Remedy: pre-immigration preparation and continuing education after arrival in the host country.

The fourth problem concerns family structure. Korean immigrants bring an orderly Confucian patriarchy into confrontation with an American anarchist cult of youth; they bring hierarchic masculine authority into confrontation with a fluid American androgyny. Remedy: the elders must adapt to the new cultural and social milieu, permit the children to live away from the ancestral home, become more enlightened towards their children's sexual mores. At the same time, the Korean heritage should be upheld by a bilingual and bicultural education for the younger generation.

The remedies suggested by Professor Kim, if they can be realized, should make for a smoother "mainstreaming" of Korean Americans. Kim makes some analogies between the Korean American and the general Asian American experience. If I may be indulged, I would like to add a few from my literary point of view. For instance, Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiographical works *Woman Warrior* and *China Men* graphically illustrate the linguistic disadvantages of Asian emigres and their consequent downward occupational slide. Maxine's father was a Mandarin and a teacher while her mother was a shamanistic midwife-physician in China. But when they immigrated to America, they had to settle for work in a laundry because their professional qualifications were not recognized and they lacked the requisite language skills. Similarly, the tensions of a Confucian family in American society are depicted in Lin Yutang's novel *Chinatown Family* where the Confucian ethic is challenged by the second son's American success ethic; fortunately, the challenge is resolved by the example of the youngest son who becomes an engineer but marries a girl epitomizing the best of the traditional from China.

Estes tells us about the legal rights of American Indians vis-à-vis the lands their tribes own. These lands are significantly extensive—larger than New England—and their natural resources important—54% of the U.S.'s projected needs.

By and large, tribal governments, which are regarded as "dependent nations" within the borders of the U.S., have jurisdiction over these land areas. These tribal governments have become increasingly insistent on self determination; and, indeed, Estes foresees a time when the reservations will become self-governing entities dependent upon the federal government but not subject to the states. This relationship will provide Indians with wealth, land, education, and technical assistance which will in turn enable them to become "self-respecting and useful American citizens."

This note, on which Estes closes, is in a way optimistic. There are those who would be more pessimistic. An American Indian novel, N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* comes to mind. In this novel, Abel, an Indian of the Southwest, is first shown to be a well integrated youth with deep cultural roots in his reservation and his tribal

ways of life. But the white man's society conscripts him to kill in war and a white woman recruits him to enhance her sexuality while white justice condemns his act of ritual sacrifice as an act of homicide. Momaday would seem to be very pessimistic that the Abel's of our times can become "self-respecting and useful American citizens."

And yet one has only to look at Momaday himself—a Stanford graduate, a Pulitzer Prize winner, and University of Arizona professor—to see a living example of Estes's best hopes.

After listening to Sally Sedelow's paper on computational linguistics, I feel a little like how my daughters must feel when I bring a new cartridge for their Atari, be it a Ms. Pacman, or a Space Invader, or an Enduro. I can hardly wait to obtain Sedelow's MAPTEXT and CGAMS programs and let them loose on the terrain of N. Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. But perhaps before I do, I should ask what the object of the game is. Is it a Pacman—like exorcising of ghosts from our ethnic collective consciousness? Is it to learn how to make a better living space among the missile silos of a deteriorating environment? Or is it to teach minority youngsters how to negotiate the dangerous Enduro curves that life will lead them into?

I am also fascinated by the inner workings of Sedelow's software. It promises "a description of normative language or what is characteristic of the ethnic group," a description arrived at through the praxis of translation theory and the analytics of the Prague school of linguistics. I am intrigued by what this will do for poems written in Spanglish, how it will react to the pidgin syntax of Milton Murayama's novella *All I Asking For is My Body*, and how it will analyze the punch line of Jeffrey Paul Chan's "Jack Rabbit" which is a Cantonese sentence that culminates a story written in standard American English.

The common denominator of our papers seems to be the posing of a question from a distinctively ethnic point of view: how may a minority American, whether immigrant or native, participate fully and equally in the opportunities and possibilities of American life, be it in education, in political consequence, or in employment opportunity? It is a Protean question asked in different accents by different groups, tribal councils, families, individuals. It is a question with many ramifications, many possible answers, and one that invites discussion.

SESSION VIII: LITERATURE AND REALITY

Chair: Silvester J. Brito, University of Wyoming.

Dorothee Von Huene, Pace University. **Old World Fathers, Gods, and the New Land**

The immigrant experience can heighten the inevitable tensions between father and child to the point where they are destructive. The polarization between the culture of the old world and that of the new can be so great that the immigrant experiences it as a violent struggle between good and evil which threatens to rupture family relationships and destroy people physically and spiritually. This struggle is revealed in historical, psychological, and sociological studies of immigrants and ethnics. Ethnic literary works, frequently based on personal experience, can provide valuable supplements to the research of these disciplines.

Four ethnic novels, *Christ in Concrete* by Pietro Di Donato, *He, The Father* by Frank Mlakar, *Lion at My Heart* by Harry Petrakis, and *Bread Givers* by Anzia Yezierska, are all written by twentieth-century first- and second-generation Americans of four different ethnic groups: Italian, Slovenian, Greek, and Russian Jew. Two of them are clearly autobiographical. In each novel, one major character, usually the protagonist, distances himself from the values of his or her father in spite of the fact that the father seems to be an ally or even associate of God. The resulting tensions hobble the immigrant in his efforts to fit into the new world.

Joseph A. Young, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. **Revising the Myth: *The Homesteader* and *The Wind from Nowhere*.**

Oscar Micheaux's approach to literature offers interesting insight into the conservative Afroamerican plan for achieving success in America, flying the banner of Jim Crowism. His plan includes a kind of socialist agrarianism for blacks: that is, to succeed, blacks should migrate west and homestead on ten acre plots. Micheaux intended to communicate these themes through his novels. Micheaux is overly optimistic about American cultural pluralism and is excessively pessimistic about the ability of blacks to survive in America without his scheme; this is partly attributable to his reliance on the crude racial theories which dismiss blacks as inferior and partly attributable to his addressing whites and conservative blacks when he considered his audience.

Lee Hadley, Iowa State University. **The Lone Ranger Lied: Tonto Wasn't Real**

A writer for young adults looks back with amazement at the myths about Native Americans that were part of childhood. How those myths were dispelled, how the tentative beginnings of understanding a different culture came about forms the basis of the paper. Writing a book about the Mesquakie people at a certain point in history provided a challenge and a dilemma. Difficulties in historical research, use of language, fear of being insensitive to cultural differences—all of these face a cross-cultural writer. And then reviews—who to believe: the Native American who read the book and said, "Yes, this is real," or the reviewers who read the book and said, "Hollywood stereotypes."

Ann Irwin, Iowa State University. **White Like Me: A Problem or Plus for a Writer**

A serious writer for young adults attempting to further human understanding approaches cross-cultural themes cautiously. Can a white author write honestly about a black? Can a white author write honestly about a Native American? Can a white author write honestly about a Japanese American child incarcerated in American camps during World War II? Does color or culture of an author pose a problem? This paper explores the problems encountered in determining language, audience, implications and concludes that perhaps the greatest value of crossing ethnic lines is realized by the author, who will never be the same after researching and writing a book such as *I Be Somebody* (Hadley Irwin-Atheneum-1984).

SESSION IX: PAST TO FUTURE

Chair: Eugene Kim, California State University, Sacramento.

John P. Roche, Rhode Island College. **Social Factors Affecting Cultural, National, and Religious Ethnicity: A Study of Suburban Italian Americans**

This study, using a previously employed attitudinal ethnicity scale, investigates the state of ethnicity among a sample of suburban Italian Americans. Unlike many previous studies, respondents were not simply classified into an ethnic category. This study measured the degree of attachment to the cultural, national, and religious aspects of ethnicity. Ethnic scores were analyzed by generation, occupational status, income, age, sex, suburb, education, ethnic identification, spouse's ethnic identification, and parents' ethnic background. A number of social factors were found to be significantly related to attitudinal ethnicity.

Robbie Jean Walker, Auburn University, Birmingham. **The Politics of Black American Literary Expression**

Black American literary expression is revelatory of the writer's attitudes towards the dominant political system, and her or his views concerning the proper positioning

of blacks in the American social structure. A tripartite scheme of analysis developed by the sociologist William A. Gamson and projected along a continuum is utilized for the purpose of analyzing the political attitudes or political postures of writers who have attained some prominence during the past seventy years; the major finding of the study is that the more politically alienated the writer, the more likely is he or she to find the materials of black social life—the social life of a subordinated and persecuted minority group—a culturally self-sufficient basis for the exercise of the writer's art. In addition to literary scholarship, insights derived from the fields of political science, political sociology, the sociology of knowledge, and social anthropology are utilized in the analysis and in arriving at the conclusions of the study.

Discussant: Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum, Italian American Historical Association

Robbie Jean Walker's essay, "Politics of Black American Literary Expression," is distinctive in that it deepens literary analysis by relating it to a political dimension. Her use of the Gamson scale (confidence, scepticism, alienation) to evaluate the status and prospects of black America is done with perception and wisdom. What is striking about Walker's essay is her relating black literature to political prospects of black America. She suggests that the radicalization of the politics of black Americans may be related to a literature of alienation from white culture; an integral part of radicalization is related to a reassertion of black identity and the validity of the black experience.

Very different is John Patrick Roche's sociological study of suburban Italian Americans, appraising the degree of their ethnicity. Testing the thesis of renewed ethnicity among Italian Americans, Roche concludes that this ethnic group has declining levels of ethnic consciousness (except for a small highly educated group).

Since my research is in the area of Italian Americans, may I say that I find Roche's methodology not entirely adequate (Italian American literature is more revealing than questionnaires), but that I would tend to agree with his dismal finding. At present Italian Americans are being feted as an ethnic group that has "made it." We may have an Italian American woman vice president, and presidential plans are already afoot for Lee Iacocca. This is Italian American identification with the U.S. mainstream, with little interest in the radical change that is necessary. And it is accompanied by only superficial knowledge of the Italian American experience, Italian history, or of contemporary Italy.

Italy's radical legacy to Italian Americans includes socialist agitation in the 1890s prior to emigration to the United States, and two salient contemporary facts. Italy has the largest Eurocommunist party of the west (an independent party with new left premises) and Italy has produced what may be the strongest feminist movement of the world.

Italian Americans with some knowledge of their Italian legacy might be a significant variable in removing the blinders of U.S. domestic and foreign policy. A deeper meaning of "ethnicity" for Italian Americans may be not whether they like bocce ball clubs, but whether they know what is going on in contemporary Italy. Italians refer to an "unedited marxism" in their work for an equalitarian society that will cherish differences, not differences of superior-inferior, but differences inherent in genuinely different perceptions of the world. These genuinely different perceptions refer to different experiences of different ethnic groups. Italian women also stress their experiential differences from men, and experiential differences of women among themselves.

For Sicilian women who are engaged in non-violent resistance to nuclear missiles at Comiso, Sicily, their work as feminists is a struggle against "one people over another, one race over another, one sex over another."

SESSION X: PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

Chair: Margaret Laughlin, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay.

Carlos Ortega, California State University, Northridge. **On Education and Work in Tomorrow's Mexican Community in Los Angeles**

Describing the Mexican Community of Los Angeles, this paper examines current trends in education and work and the impact of technological change on this community by the year 2000. Attention is given to needed changes in schools and work place so the working class of the Mexican community and minority and working class individuals in general might avoid becoming a permanent underclass. Community members and educators must work together to create a learning environment which would help to prevent displacement from work and education using Freire's notion of praxis as a guide.

Deema DeSilva, Wichita State University, KS. **The Imperatives for Educational Reform and Their Implications for Minority Education Programs**

In order to be increasingly effective in offering equal opportunity for quality education, we must make a strong commitment to achieving goals, we must create new avenues to reach minority students and motivate them to achieve excellence in education. To this end we have to formulate a rigorous program to gain basic study skills, scientific, literacy and computer skills. Expect students to have self-discipline and maintain high standards of promptness, punctuality and attendance, for each one of our students has a right to excel.

Ashton Welch, Creighton University. **Ethnicity and American Political Culture**

Ethnicity in American political life is the concern of this paper. It examines impacts on the American political culture as well as on the political structure which resulted from efforts to make the political system more accessible to minorities. The examination is limited to the post-Civil War era. It notes, however, that the very nature of American society makes linkages between ethnicity and the political culture inescapable. It posits that legal decisions and legislative enactments sometimes have results beyond their democratic intent: they create strains on the federal structure; and their benefits can be used by all residents as they affect the entire population. It suggests that statutory and constitutional enactments are subject to varied interpretations and applications. Such interpretations and applications can be inconsistent with the intentions of the authors of the law or provisions in question. The paper concludes minorities are making political advances because of changes in the structure of the political culture.

Discussant: Nancy M. Osborn, Iowa State University

It is refreshing to be allowed to ponder the future and to do so with the optimism that we, as distinct ethnic beings, can effect positive changes toward that future. The proposals for culture change regarding ethnic minorities in America put forth in this session are desirable ones. However, we should caution ourselves from the outset that certain directed cultural change can be detrimental—such as subjugation of the defeated by a conqueror, one realization of the dire Orwellian prediction.

For desirable, healthful cultural evolution, then, there are certain requirements. First, the proposed changes must be viewed as desirable and necessary by the minority population involved. Secondly, there is no getting around the fact that *time* is a necessary factor for successful culture change—time for values to become realigned and time for trust among ethnic groups to become established. As a third point, it must be noted that culture change is never a “one-way” transmission; members of the predominant culture, as well as those of the ethnic minority culture, will be affected by contact and interaction one with the other.

Certainly education emerges as the logical and most efficient vehicle for bringing about desired changes for minority ethnic groups in the future. However, as pointed out here, America's educational system has slipped into complacency and mediocrity, an illness which affects *both* the predominant and minority cultures in our society. We see a capitulation to teach to the level of the “average” student so as to maintain and

stabilize college and high school enrollments. And even we as scholars within the educational system have "let slip" our basic language communications skills. One crisis in education cannot be solved quickly: teaching cannot be upgraded until there is a commensurate increase in pay and respect to teachers. Teachers are not likely to "stretch" to higher standards without such support, and educators cannot instill in their students the desire to reach for excellence if they themselves do not subscribe to that goal.

As preparation for the future, educators must sensitize students of the dominant culture as to the difficulties experienced by minorities. One method would be to require that all English speakers study a second language. It is only by stepping out of the strait jacket of one's own first language that the student can come to grips with what it is like to be forced to think in another. Language is the mirror of ethnic "being"—it both reflects and governs the way in which its speakers view the world around them.

Acceptance and the finding of "a place" in American society will come about more easily for some ethnic minorities than for others. Young Southeast Asians transplanted into the California educational system, for example, have been viewed as "a teacher's dream." This is not so much a result of above-average intelligence as it is a factor of cultural "pre-conditioning." The values of the students' Asian heritage—respect for their elders, particularly those in the role of teacher, and a desire to bring honor to the family by excelling—just happen to be congruent with the goals of the American educational system.

Politics, as well as formal education, will play a role in the future of ethnic minorities in America. There is a desperate need for persons of the various ethnic subgroups to be schooled in the ways of the political system. Ethnic and minority peoples *do* have political clout, but only if they know that they have it and only if they know how to direct it. Granted, true cultural evolution cannot be legislated, but the passage of any social reform legislation signals that a need for change is realized and that change is possible.

SESSION XI: POLITICS AND EDUCATION

Chair: David Muga, Seattle, WA.

Ernest Pon, Sacramento City Unified School District, CA. *The Hmong and Mien: Beyond ESOL Training Programs*

This paper shows how English to Speakers of Other Language (ESOL) classes are inadequate in preparing the Hmong and Mien in adjusting to an American lifestyle. The Hmong and Mien are ill-prepared to deal with a technological, twentieth century society that we as Americans take for granted. The Hmong and Mien face different problems than other "refugee" groups who have settled in the United States in recent years. This paper shows how service agencies will better serve their clients (refugees) if they have more cross-cultural information and are culturally sensitive to their clients.

Frank Cavaoli, SUNY, Farmingdale. *A Perspective on Electoral Behavior*

This paper summarizes the recent research on the New Political History. It shows how ethnicity is a major force and a major variable in shaping political behavior. Ethnocultural factors help determine political attitudes which precede electoral activity by the citizen. This paper accepts the pluralistic nature of American society, and it rejects the melting pot concept. Based upon empirical research, this paper asserts that people tend to vote for candidates of their own ethnic group.

Keith D. Parker, Mississippi State University. *Minorities and Higher Education: The Challenge of the 1980s*

This paper examines (1) what progress, if any, was made during the 1960s and 1970s to raise the educational level of minorities, and (2) what is the current status of minorities in higher education? If Mayhew's (1974) timetable is accurate, educational institutions are in a period of neglect, and minorities will be neglected most.

Discussant: Ann Whitaker, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago

The three papers presented in Session XI reflect common themes and similarities. For example, the papers, "A Perspective on Electoral Behavior," by Cavaioi; "Minorities and Higher Education: The Challenge of the 1980s" by Parker; and "The Hmong and Mien: Beyond ESOL Training Programs" by Pon focus on ethnicity (Italians, blacks, Laotians); lack of cultural sensitivity; the importance of ethnic group behavior; educational problems; cultural differences; geographical differences; institutional racism; the pluralistic nature of society; political powerlessness; assimilation, acculturation, and accommodation.

Pon discusses the problems encountered by the Hmong and Mien, two small tribal groups from the mountains of Laos, in adjusting to the American lifestyle. Part of the difficulty lies in the transition from a rural culture to culture which is highly technological. The problems include medical care, (Shaman vs. western medical doctor); cash economy (cash vs. barter); geographical locations in the city; and modern appliances (stove, refrigerator).

The author suggests that in addition to teaching the Hmong and Mien traditional ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) classes, other needs need to be addressed in assisting these two groups to adapt/acclerate to an American lifestyle. These needs include home management, health care information, and vocational training. Competency Based Adult Education (CBAE) along with culturally sensitive organizations are further means by which the Hmong and Mien can be assisted in adjusting to the American lifestyle.

This paper could have been enhanced by the author giving the reader an *historical* perspective on the Hmong and Mien. The political implications need further explanation. Just to point out that many people from various locations in Southeast Asia were forced to leave beginning in 1975 is not sufficient. Why did they leave? What were the "oppressive conditions"? Did the United States grant refugee status to the Southeast Asians because of guilt feelings regarding Vietnam? What pressure can be placed upon the U.S. government to adhere to its promises of money, housing, vocational training, job search skills, language skills, and Americanization classes?

Secondly, in addition to indicating some of the problems faced by the Hmong and Mien upon arriving in this country, perhaps a comparison/contrast could have been discussed regarding the rural aspects in order to highlight the cultural differences.

From the perspective of culture or cultural transition, one could argue for the institution or initiation of some form of public policy which would mandate that *Americans* become reacculturated in terms of new groups coming into this country. It should not be assumed that the "new group" has to be the only group that learns to *adapt*. *The host culture* also needs to adapt to the new incoming group.

Cavaioi argues that for various reasons, people tend to vote for candidates of their own ethnic group and suggests that "group voting" is part of the development of the New Political History. This may be true, but we do not get a sense of what this New Political History is nor are we given concrete examples to support the author's position.

To suggest that the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision revitalized "ethnicity" is erroneous. First of all, various ethnic groups have *always*, throughout the development of this country, maintained their ethnic identity—long before World War I. Second, the 1954 Supreme Court decision maintained that "separate but equal" was illegal. Part of the reason for this separateness had to do with feelings of ethnic superiority.

Third, it is true that various ethnic groups, such as the Irish, Poles, Jews, and Greeks, became involved in the political arena. What is untrue is that these ethnic groups *did not* include "migrating blacks and poor whites" into their political arena. Blacks have been systematically excluded from participating in the political arena of the Democratic Party.

Additionally, catalyst may be the wrong word to use in terms of the Black Revolution. A catalyst is a *chemical reaction* that causes other properties to change while remaining unchanged itself. The Black Revolution (a) caused changes from within *and* without and (b) had nothing to do with the culture accepting ethnic group differences. This country was built on ethnic group differences, socially and politically.

Questions which can be raised included: What is the difference between ethnic groups and racial groups? What are the social and political ramifications for ethnic

group bloc voting? How will this form of voting increase changes in public policy? How can the American culture institute the melting pot concept? What concrete recommendations can be put forth which include all ethnic groups in the political arena? What are the implications of ethnicity as a variable in measuring political (group) behavior?

According to Parker's research on the characteristic phases of the organizational pattern of social institutions, there are three. Phase one, dynamic growth, found educational institutions meeting social expectations and expanding. Phase two, was a period of conflict. Phase three, a period of neglect, found institutions meeting the reduced expectations, and becoming indifferent, passive, and stagnated.

The author suggests that according to the above phases, educational institutions are in phase two, a period of neglect. In this phase, social expectations decline because they outrun capabilities and thus, institutions remain able to only meet reduced expectations. Therefore, indifference, passivity, and stagnation exists.

Parker maintains that if educational institutions are to meet the future needs of education, there are several things that must be done. Among them are planning skills which address changes of decline in resources; phased-scheduling techniques to preserve programs; curricula designed to meet the career goals of students; balance allocation of scarce resources; and becoming aware of the human condition in relation to priorities and maintenance of specific moral values.

The review of the literature in this paper focuses on the progress made in the 60's and 70's to raise the educational level of minorities and the current status of minorities in regard to higher education. In the 60's there were community colleges which served as class bound tracking institutions mechanisms and four-year colleges and universities which credentialed students for the job market. The 1970s found many minority students enrolled in two-year colleges and those minority students who enrolled in predominantly white colleges/universities, encountered various difficulties. There was a decrease in minority student enrollment on the undergraduate, graduate, and professional level.

The current trend in higher education, according to the author, is toward a planned shrinkage of educational goods and services. In light of this trend, several components and recommendations are presented.

There appears to be a slight problem with the phases of the organizational pattern of social institutions presented by Parker. Clarity of these phases as well as *examples* would enhance the paper. For example, in phase one, there is no description of "social expectations." Phase two mentions conflict. What kind of conflict? How was the conflict resolved? Phase three needs to indicate examples of capabilities, indifference, passivity, and stagnation. Other questions which need to be raised include the genesis of these phases and whether or not the phases repeat themselves as well as the logical conclusion of each phase. That is, does each phase HAVE TO FOLLOW or can the phases skip from one to three? Do these phases occur over time? How much, if any, are these phases affected by educational policy?

Other comments include the implication of the narrowing of minority-majority differential in college graduation. What does this minority-majority differential imply in terms of other ethnic groups who are attempting to enter and graduate from institutions of higher education? What should be the role of educational institutions in affecting policy to reverse the current trends? Should industry/employers adopt a school policy whereby students obtain on the job training and be considered potential employees upon graduation?

Other points which can be raised include *specific* policy for recruitment and retention and *concrete* implementation of recommendations of educational policies to more equitably benefit minorities.

SESSION XII: HEALTH AND EDUCATION

Chair: Barbara L. Hiura, Sacramento City Unified School District, CA.

Gladys Ebert and Juanita Palmerhall, Iowa State University. **An American Indian Student Association Tutoring Program: Implications for Creating Cultural Awareness**

The purpose of this research is to study the effects of a tutoring program for Native American elementary and junior high school youth on university students. A pretest and posttest control group design was used with the college student tutors. Questionnaires administered to the American Indian students along with parent/teacher interviews were used to measure effects on the Native American youth. The study is in process and preliminary findings demonstrate a very positive effect on the attitudes toward and knowledge of the American Indians by the university students.

Silvester J. Brito, University of Wyoming. **The Role of the Folk Healer in Western American Literature**

This paper examines the role of the Curandero(as) in literature of the Southwest, with a special focus on Mexican-American and Native American novels, short stories and poetry by authors of these two socio-cultural groups. Within this context it is postulated that the phenomenon, magical realism, formulates a basis for the role types which are played by these faith healers, herbal doctors, i.e., Curanderos(as) and medicine men (medicine women) who are either the main or secondary characters in these three genre forms of Western American literatures.

Peter Kranz and José Vega, Spanish Peaks Mental Health Center. **Hispanic Suicide: A Need for More Information**

This paper focuses on the increasing problem of Hispanic suicides in the United States. The fact that there is almost no available data on this growing problem was explored. The difficulty in obtaining the data in Pueblo County (Colorado) was given as an example. Among other reasons, Hispanic suicide was attributed to acculturation of other cultural values while retarding their own. The possibility of hopelessness in relation to suicide and the suicide among Puerto Ricans called "suicidal fit" was also explored. The attitudes of the Mexican-American community remain traditional toward suicide, and suicide was not recognized as an increasing problem, although data pointed otherwise. Suicide continued to be perceived as cowardly and against the teachings of the Catholic Church. More research needs to be done to this area, and there is a great need for the systematic collection of data.

Discussant: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College.

Last year at this conference I was the discussant on a panel at which three papers were given: their topics were continued discrimination against women in sports, an electric utility encroachment on Native-American religious sites, and alcoholism among Native Americans in Alaska. I, a mere American Literature professor, was then asked for a synthesizing statement. It was a task that might have killed a normal man. However, evidently I did a satisfactory job for my summary appeared verbatim in our journal, and Charles Irby, to my embarrassment, praised it publicly the other night. That might have moved me towards being guilty of *hubris*, but then I checked this year's group of papers—and they had raised the hurdles higher, giving me Hispanic suicides, the interplay between high school American Indians and WASP college tutors, and folk healing in Mexican-American literature.

Fearful of stumbling in my attempts to clear each hurdle, I thought that I simply would suggest that the faith-healer, or sorcerer, could solve all of these problems. However, this kind of facetious evasion won't wash in a high-powered group like this. So realizing that I feel like an academic utility infielder, let me offer some brief comments on each paper and a concluding generalization.

Concerning the tutoring of American Indians by WASP college students, I found this a pleasantly optimistic paper. Clearly, bringing together two differing groups is bound to be a testing of ingrained prejudices, and this scientific evaluation of the improved attitudes in both groups was overdue. Happily, it seems to confirm what will happen as ignorance is dispelled: the changes were strongly positive—an understanding of, and more respect for, the other's value system did occur. One can only say

this project was a good idea, it was well-implemented, and it offers a happy ending.

The paper on Hispanic suicides offers some intriguing and discomfoting observations. It is unfortunate that data seems so difficult to obtain, and I am not positive if the reason is racism or simply lack of funding in general for these kinds of statistics. I found it interesting to note that there has been a prevailing myth that suicide is rare, or at least that very low rates occur, among minorities. But then I recalled in William Faulkner's *The Bear* that an ante-bellum white Southerner asserts "Niggers don't commit suicide." I'm sure that it suits racists to assert that these "inferior" ethnic groups don't have deep sensitivity and simply, animal-like, accept unthinkingly their physical pain and mental anguish. I found the paper commendable for raising three disturbing ideas:

- (1) in recent years rates of suicide, according to statistics, have grown extremely rapidly among Mexican-Americans, far more rapidly than those for Anglos;
- (2) suicides are more frequent among the young, prime-of-life Hispanics, a time when physical health problems are not likely to be a factor as they might be for aging Anglos;
- (3) fewer Mexican-Americans agreed that the suicide rate is higher for minorities, and this might mean a turning away from the problem by the ethnic group itself.

I thought that the third paper, on faith healing as indicative of the way Mexican-American artists use "magical realism" as "symbolic image," was extremely well-done. The use of Alurista's fine poem, "Must be the Season of the Witch," was a good choice in pointing out the sustaining vitality of the original myth and its contemporary re-working by a sensitive artist. More, perhaps, could have been made of the witch's cry of agony as she sees her sons devoured in the bowels of the factories, symbol of ethnic groups being destroyed by an acquisitive, materialistic, and obsessed Establishment. The emphasis, though, on the awareness of the logically inexplicable is a valid and valuable part of the Chicano heritage.

From these diverse topics, it may be possible to generalize on the route we must take in order to solve our ethnic dilemma. Today, the ideal solution, the ideal program, I would argue, would be to bring all ethnic minorities—but especially blacks, Native-Americans, and Hispanics—totally into the economic mainstream through quality formal education and through the breaking down of racial stereotyping and prejudices, while at the same time emphatically emphasizing that these members of the minority group should keep all, or at least—subject to extremely careful analysis—the most valuable parts of their cultural heritage: their art, dance, oral traditions, holidays, foods, religious and social customs which have been successful in meeting life's challenges for centuries. How soon, or if ever, this will be done is impossible to predict if we examine our historical track record, especially in the climate of a capitalist, racist, materialistic America in 1984. It seems fair to say, though, that awareness of ethnicity has been a positive and encouraging sign during the last twenty years. Additionally, a note of hope has been struck at several panels of this annual conference, in the reports of pockets of progress by small groups who worked desperately hard to make some gains which should help to improve the America that our children will populate.

Saturday Session: Media Development

Barbara L. Hiura, Sacramento, CA. Ethnic Images in White Popular Culture

This slide presentation shows some historical and current images of coloured ethnic people in white popular culture. While illustrating how the current images reinforce negative stereotypes, these slides also illustrate how pervasive cultural ignorance is among Americans. More important, however, the images demonstrate the increasing lack of sensitivity within coloured ethnic populations.

American Indian, Asiamerican, black, and Mexican American images are shown in various negative settings. Most of the images reflect a Euroamerican stereotypical perception of culture history. In most cases, the Euroamerican images portray a static and distorted version of ethnic history as well as present harmful ethnic characterizations. It is my hope that this presentation will promote research in the areas of cultural imperialism and economic exploitation as motivating factors in perpetuating negative images, especially those supported by ethnic groups themselves.

Charles C. Irby, Ames, IA. Blacks in Film

This presentation represents a work in progress, *The Celluloid Black*, which will be ready for distribution by the Iowa State University Research Foundation later this year. Oscar Micheaux is discussed as a pioneer filmmaker and a would-be novelist. The discussion, however, centers on the joys and problems associated with doing a slide-tape production with scarce resources.

The Editor Notes . . .

On a visit to the Mesquakie Settlement during May of this year, one elder told me that there were too many distractions for the children to fully comprehend the traditions as she had learned them as a child. As I reflected on her comments, I realized that she truly had cause for alarm: Although Mesquakies have contended with many, many great pressures since their removal and return to Iowa during the last century, they have only in recent history had to contend with the all-pervasive power of television to create, destroy, distort, form, mold, and shape images of reality—although television is less brutalizing than some educational experiences many Mesquakies had in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.

Most of us, by the time we become adults, understand that *images are symbols of reality*. Jack Forbes demonstrates how symbols became *the reality* for Anglo-Saxons in the U.S. and elsewhere in their perceptions and identification of aboriginal Americans as “blacks”—an historic problem which continues to be extant in 1984. Forbes’s article, following the trend set by the last issue of the journal, suggests problems we encounter when we accept language imperialism either on the printed page or that which is projected electronically.

Silvester Brito’s contribution asks us to think about how traditional Western scholarship has painted a false picture of traditional Native American songs. He shows how some Indian poets use the language of the imperialists to give themselves voice in contemporary U.S. society. Lee Hadley and Annabelle Irwin look at language and reality, too. They look at the images which were formed by their own backgrounds and how they went beyond their niches to engage in writing multicultural fiction for young readers. Brito, Hadley, and Irwin have revealed the “nuts and bolts” of cultural specificity and look at the process of cultural change. They essentially show how the “process of creating culture” works.

While I am on nomenclature: Why are aboriginal Hawaiians called Pacific Islanders rather than Native Americans? Why are the aboriginal inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands called Aleuts (or Eskimos) rather than Pacific Islanders or Native Americans?

The 1984 Annual Conference in Kansas City was the most exciting and stimulating to date, and the Executive Council has made plans to return to the same location in 1985. Come to the Conference. Help create a unique experience for ethnic studies scholars.

Charles C. Irby

Contributors

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