

songs on solo flute. Included are Zuni, Lakota, and Blood songs as well as Nakai's impressionistic compositions based on traditional melodies. The juxtaposition of these pieces provides a nice case study in continuity and change. Even more dramatic, in this respect, is the music recorded on *Cycles*. This tape, including eight compositions, constitutes the sound track for a multi-image show, "Our Voices, Our Land," which was prepared at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Here, Nakai plays his flute against background music which he composed for the synthesizer. The electronic instrument often simulates the beat of the drum, that which Native Americans sometimes refer to as the heartbeat of their people. Some of the pieces are embellished with rattles of differing tones. The tape may take some listeners a second or even third time around to fully appreciate what is going on. The result cannot be measured objectively. But subjectively, "there you have it": the melding of the old and the new, the millennia-old triumvirate and the epitome of twentieth-century sound engineering technology. Puns aside, the reviewer finds the results electrifying. What better way to appreciate—and pass on to students—the fact that American Indians (and others) can maintain their traditional heritage and ethnicity while participating in the larger society around them?

In sum, I highly recommend the records and cassettes of Native American music by R. Carlos Nakai for use in the classroom or, as they say, "for your listening pleasure."

—David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University

Robert J. Norrell. *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1986) x, 254 pp., \$9.95 paper.

Reaping the Whirlwind is a case study of the black American struggle for civil rights and racial democracy in a unique community of the Black Belt South. It is a story of Tuskegee's white political hegemony and the black elite's early cooperation with and later mild challenge to that dominance. In 1880, as a result of collaboration between white politicians and Tuskegee's black leadership, the Democrats secured political control of the Alabama state legislature. The following year, as pay-off for the deal, Tuskegee Institute was established with Booker T. Washington at the helm, and the goal became one of making Tuskegee a model community for safeguarding racial cooperation through black political subordination. Tuskegee's white merchants, former slaveowners, and educators alike encouraged black educational opportunities ("separate

and unequal"). In exchange, the black community was expected to dissolve their political organizations and to give up the civil and political rights they had enjoyed during Reconstruction. Despite the acquisition of Tuskegee Institute, Afro-Americans in Tuskegee and throughout Black Belt Alabama were increasingly disenfranchised, rigidly segregated, and lynched and brutally terrorized without legal protection by the turn of the century. Under these circumstances, black Tuskegeeseans sought to practice Washington's problematic social philosophy: to develop economic independence and high moral character and wait patiently for whites voluntarily to extend political and racial democracy.

Robert J. Norrell chronicles and analyzes black Tuskegeeseans' quest for economic self-sufficiency and educational advancement in the local culture of whiteracism. Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Administration hospital, established in 1923, provided both a source of racial dignity and a foundation for an emerging black academic and professional bourgeoisie. However, Tuskegee's black bourgeoisie came to realize the practical limitations of Washington's social ethics. Regardless of the black elite's achievement of economic independence, educational advancement, and moral uplift, Macon County's white ruling class rejected the view that the black educated and professional elite were as competent as the poorest and most ignorant white to vote.

From the early 1940s to the mid-1960s, Tuskegee's black bourgeoisie modified Washington's political ideas and sought, through the courts and the U.S. Congress, to overturn their exclusion from the electoral process. Under the leadership of Tuskegee Institute professor Charles Gomillion and the Tuskegee Civic Association, Macon County blacks forged a political movement to register black voters, resulting in a black majority at the polls. However, Gomillion's idea of "civic democracy" represented a call not for black political power but biracial power sharing so as not to frighten whites who predicted a black take-over of Tuskegee politics and governance. In the late 1960s, a younger generation of black political aspirants rose to power. Claiming to represent the interests of grass-roots blacks whom the old leadership ignored, the emergent political actors renounced Gomillion's theory and practice of racial harmony and sought to institute a largely all-black political administration in Tuskegee.

Norrell provides an articulate and sensitive study of the civil rights struggle in Tuskegee. The author's strength is in presenting the complexities of race and class politics: the conflict between black and white Tuskegeeseans and the tensions within the black community between elites and non-elites. He also demonstrates an awareness of the limits of electoral politics in advancing Afro-American social development. A major problem, however, is Norrell's failure to place his study within the broader context of the civil rights movement in Alabama. How did political actors, ideas, organizations, and events in Tuskegee compare,

contrast, and interact with those in Selma, Birmingham, and Montgomery where much of the modern civil rights struggle occurred and received extensive media coverage? The author does not say. Despite this reservation, however, *Reaping the Whirlwind* is an engrossing and carefully crafted book that deserves wide and serious reading.

—Floyd W. Hayes, III
San Diego State University

Felix M. Padilla. *Latino Ethnic Consciousness*. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985) ix, 187 pp., \$20.95.

An analysis of the concept of Hispanic or Latino as a form of an ethnic conscious identity and behavior separate from the individual ethnic identity of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and another Spanish speaking groups is the subject of *Latino Ethnic Consciousness*. Its focus is Chicago Mexican American and Puerto Rican populations.

Padilla makes a great contribution to the understanding of the factors that play a prominent role in Latino ethnic mobilization in Chicago. He offers an illuminating analysis of the external and internal factors and conditions which have led to the ethnic change manifest in the emergence of this new Latino or Hispanic ethnic identity in the North American urban setting.

After a detailed analysis of the social context of Chicago's Spanish speaking populations he goes on to comment on the challenges that the social scientist confronts in his or her effort to explain when this group form is the actual expression of a collective ethnic identity and solidarity rather than the distinct and separate identities of Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans.

He follows John Pitt's articulation of "Black consciousness," and concludes that "Latinismo" should be viewed as a social product. From this point of view "Latino" ethnic identification and consciousness may not be viewed as the product of individual Mexican American, Cuban, Puerto Rican groups, nor as existing independently of their intergroup social relations and behavior.

It is his contention that Latino ethnic behavior represents a collective generated behavior which transcends the boundaries of individual national and cultural identities of the different Spanish speaking populations and emerges as a distinct and separate group identification and consciousness. The manifestation of a Latino ethnic identity and consciousness is operative when two or more speaking groups, in this instance Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans, interact as one during certain situational contexts. This means that instead of representing the