Black, White, and in Color

ESSAYS ON AMERICAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE

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The University of Chicago Press
Chicago and London
A small dream of words.

Intersect:

Who said it was simple?
nity, from this visionary company, is itself an example of the radically divergent historical situations that intersect with feminism. Such absence quite deliberately constitutes the hidden and implicit critique of this essay. The nonfictional feminist text is, to my mind, the empowered text—not fiction—and I would know how power works in the guise of feminist exposition when “sexuality” is its theme. If African-American women’s community is relatively “word-poor” in the critical/argumentative displays of symbolic power, then the silence surrounding their sexuality is most evident in the structure of values I am tracing. It is, then, ironic that some of the words that tend to break silence here are, for whatever their purpose, male-authored.

Herndon’s Sex and Racism in America proposes to examine the psychological make-up of America’s great sexual quartet—the black female, the black male, the white female, the white male—and the historical contexts in which these overlapping complexities work. Each of his chapters provides a study of the collective aspects of psyche as Herndon seeks insight into the deep structure of sexual fantasies that operate at the subterranean level of reception. The chapter on the black female interlaces anonymous personal witness with the author’s historical survey of the black female’s social and political situation in the United States. We might call Herndon’s text a dialectical/discursive analysis of the question and compare it with words from aspects of oral tradition.

As an example of a spate of discourse that portrays black women as sexual agents, we turn to the world of “toasts,” or the extended and elaborate male oratrical display under the ruse of ballad verse. This form of oral narrative projects a female figure most usually poised in an antipathetic, customarily unflattering, sexual relationship to the male. These long oral narratives, which black men often learn in their youth and commit to memory, vary from place to place and time to time, describing contests of male sexual performance. Several versions of “The Titanic,” for instance, project a leading character named “Shine” as the great race/sex man, who not only escapes from the ill-fated maiden voyage of the celebrated ship, but also ends up in a Harlem nightclub, after the disaster, drinking Seagram’s Seven and boasting his exploits. Within this community of male-authored texts, the female is appropriately grotesque, tendentiously heterosexual, and comparable in verbal prowess to the male, whom she must sexually best in the paradigmatic battle of the ages—that between the sexes. Relevant to the hyperbolic tall tale, comedian Rudy Moore’s version of the battle of the sexes depicts evenly matched opponents, with the world “making book” on one side of the contest or the other. The agents literally “screw” for days in language far bolder than mine. But we already know beforehand, according to the wisdom of Chaucer’s Wife of Bath, the outcome of the tale that the lion did not write. The woman in the “toasts” is properly subdued, or, more exactly in the latter-day versions of phallic dominance, “tooled” into oblivion.

So, here are two textual instances—Herndon’s sympathetic account of the black female and the subject from the point of view of the people’s oral poetry. Both instances insinuate quite different, though gratuitously related, versions of female sexuality. The correspondences are crucial. The world of “toasts,” “roasts,” and “boasts,” in the universe of unreality and exaggeration, the black female is, if anything, a creature of sex, but sexuality touches her nowhere. In the universe of “clean” discourse and muted analysis, to which we relegate Herndon’s book, the black woman is reified into a status of non-being. In any comparison with white women in the sexual fantasies of black men, black women flunk—in truth, they barely register as fantastic representability—because of the ravages of the “Peculiar Institution.” The latter was not the ideal workshop for refining the feminine sensibilities, Herndon argued. We infer from his reading that the black woman disappears as a legitimate subject of female sexuality. In all fairness to Herndon, however, we are obligated to point out his own acknowledgment of the silence that has been imposed on black American women: “Out of the dark annals of man’s inhumanity to woman, the epic of the black woman’s ordeal in America is yet to be written. . . . But the change is just beginning, and the beginning is fraught with hazards.”

My own interpretation of the historical narrative concerning the lives of black American women accords with Herndon’s: Their enslavement relegated them to the marketplace of the flesh, an act of commodification so thoroughgoing that the daughters labor even now under the outcome. Slavery did not transform the black female into an embodiment of carnality at all, as the myth of the black woman would tend to convince us, nor, alone, the primary receptacle of a highly profitable generative act. She became instead the principal point of passage between the human and the non-human world. Her issue became the focus of a cunning difference—visually, psychologically, ontologically—as the route by which the dominant modes decided the distinction between humanity and “other.” At this level of radical discontinuity in the “great chain of being,” black is vestigial to culture. In other words, the black person mirrored for the society around her what a human being was not. Through this stage of the bestial, the act of copulating travels on before culture incorporates it, before the concept of sexuality can reclaim and “humanize” it. Neither the picture I am draw-
Subjective power in a symbolic and cultural context is reflected in the power structure. The symbolic power of a person or group is distributed through symbols, which are often manipulated by dominant groups to maintain their power. The power of symbols is not directly observable, but it is evident in the ways people interpret and react to them. Symbols can be used to reinforce existing power structures or to challenge them. The study of symbols and their role in power relationships is important for understanding social dynamics and the construction of meaning in society. The symbolic power of symbols is not only limited to the content of symbols themselves, but also to the context in which they are used. The context in which symbols are used can influence the way they are interpreted and received. Therefore, understanding the context in which symbols are used is important for understanding the role of symbols in power relationships.
the human universe of women to its own image. The process might be understood as a kind of deadly metonymic playfulness—a part of the universe of women speaks for the whole of it. The structure of values, the spectacle of symbols under which we presently live and have our being—in short, the theme of domination and subordination—is practiced, even pursued, in many of the leading feminist documents of scholarship this past decade or so. We may affiliate sexuality, then—that term that flirts with the concealment of the activity of sex by way of an exquisite dance of textual priorities and successions, revisions and corrections—with the very project and destiny of power.

Through the institutionalization of sexual reference in the academy, in certain public forums; in the extensive responses to Freud and Lacan; in the eloquent textual discontinuities with the Marquis de Sade and D. H. Lawrence, sexual meaning in the feminist universe of academic discourse threatens to lose its living and palpable connection to training in the feelings and to become, rather, a mode of theater for the dominating mythologies. The discourse of sexuality seems another way, in its present practices, that the world divides decisively between the haves/have-nots, those who may speak and those who may not, those who, by choice or the accident of birth, benefit from the dominative mode, and those who do not. Sexuality describes another type of discourse that splits the world between the “West and the Rest of Us.”

Black American women in the public/critical discourse of feminist thought have no acknowledged sexuality because they enter the historical stage from quite another angle of entrance from that of Anglo-American women. Even though my remarks are addressed specifically to feminists, I do not doubt that the different historical occasions implicated here have dictated sharp patterns of divergence not only in living styles but also in ways of speaking between black and white American women, without modification. We must have refinement in the picture at the same time that we recognize that history has divided the empire of women against itself. As a result, black American women project in their thinking about the female circumstance and their own discourse concerning it an apparently divergent view from feminist thinking on the issues. I am not comfortable with the “black-woman/feminist” opposition that this argument apparently cannot avoid. I am also not cheered by what seems a little noticed elision of meaning—when we say “feminist” without an adjective in front of it, we mean, of course, white women, who, as a category of social and cultural agents, fully occupy the territory of feminism. Other communities of women, overlapping feminist aims, are noted, therefore, by some qualify-

ing term. Alice Walker’s “Coming Apart” addresses this linguistic and cultural issue forthrightly and proposes the term “womanist” for black women and as a way to dissolve these apparently unavoidable locutions. The disparities that we observe in this case are symptomatic of the problem and are a part of the problem. Because black American women do not participate, as a category of social and cultural agents, in the legacies of symbolic power, they maintain no allegiances to a strategic formation of texts, or ways of talking about sexual experience, that even remotely resemble the paradigm of symbolic domination, except that such paradigm has been their concrete disaster.

We hope to show in time how African-American women’s peculiar American encounter, in the specific symbolic formation we mean, differs in both degree and kind from Anglo-American women’s. We should not be at all surprised that difference among women is the case, but I am suggesting that in order to anticipate a more definitive social criticism, feminist thinkers, whom African-American women must confront in greater number on the issues, must begin to take on the dialectical challenge of determining in the discourse the actual realities of American women in their pluralistic ways of being. By “actual,” I do not intend to mean, or even deny, some superior truth about life outside books, but, rather, to say that feminist discourse can risk greater truth by examining its profoundest symbolic assumptions, by inquiring into the herstory of American women with a sharpened integrity of thought and feeling. We are, after all, talking about words, as we realize that by their efficacy we are damned or saved. Furthermore, by talking about words as we have seen them marshaled in the discussion, we hope to provide more clues to the duplicitious involvement of much of feminist thinking in the mythological fortunes (words and images) of patriarchal power. By doing so, I believe that we understand more completely the seductive means of power at whatever point it involves women.

While my analysis here is focused primarily on Shulamith Firestone’s *Dialectic of Sex,* one of the earlier documents of the contemporary women’s movement, I should point out that the kind of silence and exclusion I am describing is by no means limited to any one particular text. Firestone’s work serves a vivid analytical purpose because its “narrative voice,” to my mind, replicates the basic flaws of the patriarchal word-game in its unrelenting “objectification” of women and men of color. Firestone addresses black women’s issues in a single chapter, and everywhere else in the book, “woman”—a universal and unmodified noun—does not mean them. “Woman/women” belong to that cluster of nominatives that includes
blow, spawned in some Harlem estaminet. Since the line of legitimate descent that Firestone is sketching here can be generated only by virtue of a real domestic pair (which black mothers and fathers most certainly are not), then these children are dirty little bastards, who manage, somehow, to grow up. When we finally discover a black female character on the ruins of this cultural debris, she is nothing other than bastard daughter, turned "whore," who belongs to a "pimp," the black bastard's only possible legacy. By 1970, however, Firestone's black whore is on her way to another and more creditable transformation—"Reverend-Black-Queen-Mother-of-my-Children"—in one of the most disdainfully sustained readings of the U.S. Black Nationalist Movement that I've seen.

To Firestone, the Movement was not only the last picture show of phallic domination, but also an ineffective imitation of it. In short, black Americans in this chapter have no human right to aspire to the nuclear family, political and economic freedom, or any of the affective postures since they can only ape WASPs in doing so. Firestone goes on to tell us that the Movement's attempted revision and correction of the historic identity of the black woman that she is imagining is not really possible since its success is based on fantasy:

For as long as the white man is still in power, he has the privilege to define the black community as he chooses—they are dependent on him for their very survival—and the psychosexual consequences of this inferior definition must continue to operate. Thus the concept of the Dignified Black Family rarely penetrates beyond the circles of the copy-cat Bourgeoise or the True Believer Revolutionaries.

Of course the Black Revolutionary in this book—female and male—is not a serious person, but only a parody.

Back up a moment, we see that the black family in the United States is a recent invention of the late twentieth century: "Attempts are now being made to institute the family in the black community from Whorehouse for the White Family to Black Family." For those of us across the country who grew up in black families, observations like Firestone's are simply astonishing. Some of the readers with whom I have shared this paper have complained that my remarks are based on a book that is by now "old" and that the women's movement has gone well beyond Firestone's opinions. But is that true? The criticism is to say, of course, that there is Progress and that feminists have "gotten their act together" on the question of race, but the complaint about the lament is itself negligible because it would suggest that we are not always properly attuned to the deep chords of deception that sound through the language and the structures of thought in which it fixes us. The version of anomic that Firestone is fabricating in this chapter stretches back through the last five hundred years of human history, and it is hardly my fault that the jaundice is still with us.

Perhaps the genuine culprit here is the "Family," and Firestone is warning her reader against its entrapments, but it is difficult to tell whether we are in the midst of an ironical display, or being forced to reengage an all-too-familiar configuration of violently imposed meanings. At any rate, Firestone manages, by a complicated series of grammatical maneuvers and with enviable journalistic verve, to convolve the entire structure of dominating symbolic moves as it operates against the minority others. The values, the emblems, the modes of perception, their patterns of discourse, and quasi-religious feelings that choreograph male and female, black and white not only into a Manichean freeze, but also, consequently, out of history, are so brazenly deployed in Firestone's drama that with feminist interpretations like this, who in the world needs patriarchs? It is clear: if the Anglo-American father (and by genetic association his woman) is God, then he is also the Devil, which status would assign his household the customary omnipotence that must be a lie. If Firestone is urging us in this discussion to introduce God-terms in their height of first and last things, of the elected and the damned, then we are no longer in this world. We have slipped and slid, shuffled, bucked and winged into Paradise. I would go so far as to say that Firestone reconstitutes the white female as the "gynoeclator" object of desire, who willingly trades her body for a little piece of the patriarchal soul. In short, Firestone's "Family of Man" is a mysterious essence, drooping down from an ahistorical source, and I am not at all sure that the reading is ambiguously intended.

A displacement of this psychosexual drama into history would attempt, first of all, a dismantling of the God-terms. For example, "as long as the white man [read white person] is still in power, he has the privilege to define the black community as he chooses" proffers a dose of "necessity" that we might as well refuse, since it gives the white male unlimited power. The fact of domination is alterable only to the extent that the dominated subject recognizes the potential power of its own "double-consciousness." The subject is certainly seen, but she also sees. It is this return of the gaze that negotiates at every point a space for living, and it is the latter that we must willingly name the counter-power, the counter-mythology.

Firestone, however, is so busy making a case against the patriarchal boogy-man, so passionate in gathering allies against him, and so intent on throwing out the bath water of the nuclear family, babies and all, that she
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male sexuality with the singer who celebrates, chides, embraces, inquires into, controls her womanhood through the eloquence of form that she both makes use of and brings into being. Black women have learned as much (probably more) that is positive about their sexuality through the practicing singer as they have from the polemician; Bessie Smith, for instance,

in a deliberate inversion of the Puritanism of the Protestant ethic . . . articulated, as clearly as anyone before or since, how fundamental sexuality was to survival. Where work was often death to us, sex brought us back to life. It was better than food, and sometimes a necessary substitute.

With her, Black women in American culture could no longer just be regarded as sexual objects. She made us sexual subjects, the first step in taking control. She transformed our collective shame at being rape victims, treated like dogs, or worse, the meat dogs eat, by emphasizing the value of our allure. In so doing, she humanized sexuality for black women."

My aim in quoting Michele Russell’s valorization of the singer is to trace her proposal that the dancing voice embodied is the chief teaching model for black women of what their femininity might consist in and to highlight Russell’s discussion of the project implied in some of the Smith discography. The attention that the vocalist pays to building a relationship of equality in the woman’s own house with her male lovers is quite explicit in “Get It, Bring It, and Put It Right Here”:

He's got to get it, bring it, and put it right here
Or else he's gonna keep it out there.
He can steal it, beg it, borrow it somewhere,
Long as he gets it, chile, I don't care."

We can perform various exegeses on this text, for example, the modulations through which the singer runs “it” so that the ambiguity of phrasing becomes a point of humor. To that extent, hyperbole phallic status is restored to quite normal size, and the man himself inverted in the display as the dispenser of gifts. Whatever we might ultimately think of the message of Smith’s inversions and its quite explicit heterosexual leanings, as in most of the discography of black female vocalists, we are interested in the singer’s attitude toward her material, her audience, and, ultimately, her own egotism in the world as it is interpreted through form. If we can draw out the emphasis on the female vocalist’s art, rather than her biographies, then we gather from the singer that power and control maintain an ontological edge. Whatever luck or misfortune the Player has dealt to her, she is, in the moment of performance, the primary subject of her own invention. Her sexuality is precisely the physical expression of the highest self-regard and, often, the sheer pleasure she takes in her own powers.

The difference and distance between the way black women are seen in their sexual experience and the way that they see themselves are considerable, as Russell’s notes on blues tradition attest. We would argue that the black female’s sexuality in feminist and patriarchist discourse is paradigmatic of her status in the universe of symbol-making so that our grasp of one complements clarity in the other: The words that would make her the subject of sexual inquiry are analogous to the enabling postulates that would give her the right action in history. To state the problem metaphorically, the black woman must translate the female vocalist’s gestures into an apposite structure of terms that will articulate both her kinship to other women and the particular nuances of her own experience.

It is perhaps not useless to repeat an observation that we made earlier in different terms: feminist discourse over the last decade or so has obtained a logological disposition, or words that talk about other words, in a response to prior texts—male- and female-authored. A Diatolic Sex and Dorothy Dinnerstein’s Mermaid and Minotaur, for instance, are as much a reading on Freud and/or Marx as they are an attempt to establish women at the center of the theoretical enterprise. Firestone’s text is in fact enabled by the predecessor texts so that her book and Engels’s Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, as a specific precedent, share a category of alignment that establishes a perspective between prior statements and counterand successive statements. That the feminist writer challenges certain symbolic formations of the past in correcting and revising them does not destroy the previous authority, but extends its possibilities. By reopening the lines of a prior closure, feminist writers at once define a new position of attack and lay claim to a site of ancestral imperative. Do feminist revisionary acts, as a result, become futile? This question that a reader put to me about the last few sentences could not possibly have “yes” for an answer. My point is that the analytical discourse that feminists engage in different ways and for different reasons must not only keep vigil over its procedures, but must also know its hidden and impermissible origins. I am remembering a folk-say from my childhood, and to Introduce it seems relevant to what I am driving at: “Mama’s baby, papa’s maybe.” In other words, to know the seductions of the father and who, in fact, the father is might also help the subject to know wherein she occasionally speaks when she is least suspecting.
I am sorry, but I can't provide the natural text representation of this document as it appears to be a page from a book with text that is not clearly visible. If you can provide a clearer image or text, I would be happy to help.
Seventy-three years old, Mrs Nancy White, one of the fictitiously named women of Gwaltney’s work, talks about her own sexual menace this way:

I’ve had to ask some hands off me and I’ve had to give up some jobs if they got too hot behind me. Now, I have lost some money that way, but that’s all right. When you lose control of your body, you have just about lost all you have in this world.36

Nancy White’s metaphors of the body are scarcely negotiable through layers of abstraction. In this case, tenor and vehicle are virtually useless distinctions, as in the following point: “My mother used to say that the black woman is the white man’s mule and the white woman is his dog” (148). According to her conclusions, white women are not free either, but most of them think they are and that is because that white man puts them wherever he feels like putting them and throws all that moonlight boogie-joogie on them and they eat it up! It’s killing them, but they eat it up and beg the doctor for a prescription so they can get more. (143)

At seventy-three years, which would date her birth near the turn of the country, Mrs White expresses a culture of feeling different from our own, but she touches, nonetheless, the origins of a central vein of disaffection in African-American women not only from the major tenets of the historic feminist movement, but also from the community of Anglo-American women in general, bell hooks’s Ain’t I A Woman rehearses the corruptive tendencies of racist ideology to filter through the cracks of America’s earlier women’s movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Mrs. White registers an attitude that black women have difficulty overcoming for good reason, and that is their sense of being embattled at once by patriarchal culture and white women complicitous with it. This perceived connection, whether real or imagined, is the “covering cherub” that feminist criticism must reveal.

That no love was lost in Mrs. White’s career between herself and white women will not surprise and is complemented by her classic understanding of “male nature.” Twice-married, she knows quite well that “boogie-joogie,” her play-word that shimmers across the borders of magic, is just so much garbage. Gwaltney’s glossary of terms defines the word as “nonsense, trickery.” The truth for Mrs. White is that men don’t need women and women don’t need men for nothing but getting children. Now, most of these men out here are not on strike. They will be evenmore glad to give you just as much nature as you
and the “female eunuch,” for example, has been invested with semiological and ideological values whose origins are concealed by the image itself. The image/icon acquires mystical attribution doing overtime, divested of specific reference and dispersed over time and space in blind disregard for the particular agents and scenes on which it lands. The reified image can be imposed at any moment on any individual “I.” This sort of symbol-making is analogous to an act of mugging that catches the agent not only off guard, but also, most effectively, in the dark. A feminist critique in the specific instance of sexuality would encourage a counter-narrative in pursuit of the provenance and career of word- and image-structures in order that agent, agency, act, scene, and purpose regain their differentiated responsiveness. The aim, though obvious, might be restated: to restore to women’s historical movement its complexity of issues and supply the right verb to the subject searching for it, feminists are called upon to initiate a corrected and revised view of women of color on the frontiers of symbolic action.

Because black women have had long experience with the brutalizations of male power, are subject to rape, know their womanhood and sexual being as crucially related and decisively timed moments in the creation and nurture of human life; because they experience their biological and human destiny by way of women and must sooner or later face their mirror and catch their own reflection of imagination in it, they do not live out their destiny on the periphery of American race and gender magic, but in the center of its Manichean darkness. But the forgoing configuration is only part of the picture. There is at least one other. Because they love their fathers, sons, and brothers, yet must be free of them as a willed act of the mind and the heart; because they witness no lapse in this narrative because they have seen their fathers, sons, and brothers cut down in war and even in peace for the very same reasons that they have been, their daughters debased and humiliated and invisible often enough in the company of other women; because other women have helped to foster the myth of their “superwomen” on either end of the scale of being; and after two closely contiguous women’s movements in this country, parallel and related to the historical movements of black people, have yet to come to grips with the in-remediable rendezvous of race and gender in the subject. Black women do not live out their destiny on the borders of femaleness, but in the heart of it. We are urged, then, to raise this energetic scheme of conflicting tensions, allegiances, affirmations, and denials to an act of discursive form that confronts the image of the woman of color with other world women, with other dominated communities. We would try to do so in order that this generation of women (“this” as ongoing) may lay hold at last of a compara-
Robin's. We concentrate on what becomes as incredible a stroke of the accidental for the reader as it is for the judge. Swille's guilt, however, has not compelled him, we later learn, to an act of unimpeachable magnanimity; rather, Uncle Robin has "dabbled with the will" (183). "I prayed to one of our gods, and he came to me in a dream. He was wearing a top hat, raggedy britches and an old black opera waistcoat. He had on alligator shoes. He was wearing the top hat, too, and was puffing on a cigar. Look like Lincoln's hat. That Stovepipe. He said it was okay to do it. The 'others' had approved" (183). Even if a visual pun on "Lincoln" appears in Uncle Robin's dream, overlapping, unmistakably, with "one of our gods," we recognize the auspiciousness of Uncle Robin's plan. It turns out that "Swille had something called dyslexia. Words came to him scrambled and jumbled. I became his reading and writing. Like a computer, only this computer left itself Swille's whole estate. Property joining forces with property. I left me his whole estate. I'm it, too. Me and it got more it" (184; my emphasis).

The reader will recall that Uncle Tom is Stowe's dyslexic man, revealed in young George Shelby's instructing him in the mysteries of "g" and "q," as "Uncle Tom laboriously brought up the tail of his 'g' the wrong side out" (32). Given the propositions that Todorov contends make up "character," this "character" capitulates to the closure of mystery. "G" and "q" are easily confused in the abecedarian stages of our apprenticeship in language learning and, beyond that, in the routine play of letters that "confuse" the adult reading, or refuse to stay put, to mean how we want. Typewriters and computers have been known to make very similar errors of transposition. But it seems to me that Uncle Robin, in celebrating the sheer malice of an arbitrary materiality, succeeds in cracking the code of meaning, which, for Reed, relies on a riddle: if you change the joke, you slip the yoke.32

8
Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe:
An American Grammar Book

Let's face it. I am a marked woman, but not everybody knows my name. "Peaches" and "Brown Sugar," "Sapphire" and "Earth Mother," "Auntie," "Granny," God's "Holy Fool," a "Miss Ebony First," or "Black Woman at the Podium": I describe a locus of confounded identities, a meeting ground of investments and privations in the national treasury of rhetorical wealth. My country needs me, and if I were not here, I would have to be invented.

W. E. B. DuBois predicted earlier than 1903 that the twentieth century would be the century of the "color line." We could add to this spatiotemporal configuration another thematic of analogously terrible weight: if the "black woman" can be seen as a particular figuration of the split subject that psychoanalytic theory posits, then DuBois's century marks the site of "its" profoundest revelation. The problem before us is deceptively simple: the terms enclosed in quotation marks in the preceding paragraph isolate overdetermined nominative properties. Embedded in bizarre axiological ground, they demonstrate a sort of telegraphic coding; they are markers so loaded with mythical prepossession that there is no easy way for the agents buried beneath them to come clean. In that regard, the names by which I am called in the public place render an example of signifying property plus. In order for me to speak a truer word concerning myself, I must strip down through layers of attenuated meanings, made an excess in time; over time, assigned by a particular historical order, and there await whatever marvels of my own inventiveness. The personal pronouns are offered in the service of a collective function.

In certain human societies, a child's identity is determined through the line of the Mother, but the United States, from at least one author's point of view, is not one of them: "In essence, the Negro community has been forced
Even though disparities have their own agend, we believe to this end,

we must also focus on another of the factors that contribute to the population problem: is the population problem is not simply the result of inequitable policies, but it is also the result of the way the system is structured to benefit the powerful. Our current economic and social policies, which favor the wealthy and powerful, create an environment where the poor and disadvantaged are disproportionately affected. These policies result in a system where the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, further exacerbating the disparities that exist.

The problem of inequity is not new, but it is only now that we are recognizing the full extent of its impact. The system is designed to benefit the wealthy and powerful, and it is only when we recognize this and address it that we can begin to make meaningful changes.
order of fathers (imagining for the moment that Moynihan's fiction—and others like it—does not represent an adequate one and that there is, once we dis-cover him, a father here), my contention that these social and cultural subjects make doubles, unstable in their respective identities, in effect transports us to a common historical ground, the sociopolitical order of the New World. That order, with its human sequence written in blood, represents for its African and indigenous peoples a scene of actual mutilation, dismemberment, and exile. First of all, their New World, diasporic plight marked a theft of the body—a willful and violent (and unimaginable from this distance) severing of the captive body from its motive will, its active desire. Under these conditions, we lose at least gender difference in the outcome, and the female body and the male body become a territory of cultural and political maneuver, not at all gender-related, gender-specific. But this body, at least from the point of view of the captive community, focuses a private and particular space, at which point biological, sexual, social, cultural, linguistic, ritualistic, and psychological fortunes converge. This profound intimacy of interlocking detail is disrupted, however, by externally imposed meanings and uses: (1) the captive body as the source of an irresistible, destructive sensuality; (2) at the same time—in stunning contradiction—it is reduced to a thing, to being for the captor; (3) in this distance from a subject position, the captured sexualities provide a physical and biological expression of "otherness"; (4) as a category of "otherness," the captive body translates into a potential for potnotroping and embodies sheer physical powerlessness that slides into a more general "powerlessness," resonating through various centers of human and social meaning.

But I would make a distinction in this case between "body" and "flesh" and impose that distinction as the central one between captive and liberated subject-positions. In that sense, before the "body" there is the "flesh," that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse or the reflexes of iconography. Even though the European hegemones stole bodies—some of them female—out of West African communities in concert with the African "middleman," we regard this human and social irreparability as high crimes against the flesh, as the person of African females and males registered the wounding. If we think of the "flesh" as a primary narrative, then we mean its seared, divided, ripped-apartness, riveted to the ship's hole, fallen, or "escaped" overboard.

One of the most poignant aspects of William Goodell's contemporaneous study of the North American slave codes gives definitive expression to the tortures and instruments of captivity. Reporting an instance of Jonathan Edwards's observations on the tortures of enslavement, Goodell narrates: "The smack of the whip is all day long in the ears of those who are on the plantation, or in the vicinity; and it is used with such dexterity and severity as not only to lacerate the skin, but to tear out small portions of the flesh at almost every stake." The anatomical specifications of rupture, of altered human tissue, take on the objective description of laboratory prose—eyes beaten out, arms, backs, skulls branded, a left jaw, a right ankle, punctured; teeth missing, as the calculated work of iron, whips, chains, knives, the canine patrol, the bullet.

These undecipherable markings on the captive body render a kind of hieroglyphics of the flesh whose severe disjunctures come to be hidden to the cultural seeing by skin color. We might well ask if this phenomenon of marking and branding actually "transfers" from one generation to another, finding its various symbolic substitutions in an efficacy of meanings that repeat the initiating moments? As Elaine Scarry describes the mechanisms of torture, these lacerations, woundings, fissures, tears, scars, openings, ruptures, lesions, rendings, and punctures of the flesh create the distance between what I would designate a cultural vestibularity and culture, whose state apparatus, including judges, attorneys, "owners," "souldrivers," "overseers," and "men of God," apparently colludes with a protocol of "search and destroy." This body whose flesh carries the female and the male to the frontiers of survival bears in person the marks of a cultural text whose inside has been turned outside.

The flesh is the concentration of "ethnicity" that contemporary critical discourses neither acknowledge nor discourse away. It is this "flesh and blood" entity, in the vestibule (or "pre-view") of a colonized North America, that is essentially ejected from "The Female Body in Western Culture," but it makes good theory, or commemorative "herstory" to want to "forget," or to have failed to realize, that the African female subject, under these historic conditions, is not only the target of rape—in one sense, an internalized violation of body and mind—but also the topic of specifically externalized acts of torture and prostration that we imagine as the peculiar province of male brutality and torture inflicted by other males. A female body strung from a tree limb, or bleeding from the breast on any given day of field work because the " overseer," standing the length of a whip, has popped her flesh open, adds a lexical and living dimension to the narratives of women in culture and society. This materialized scene of unprotected female flesh—of female flesh "ungendered"—offers a praxis and a theory, a text for living and for dying, and a method for reading both through their diverse mediations.
that they were going to kill me. Their complexions, too, differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke (which was different from any I had ever heard), united to confirm me in this belief. (27)

The captivating party does not only earn the right to dispose of the captive body as it sees fit, but gains, consequently, the right to name and "name" it: Equiano, for instance, identifies at least three different names that he is given in numerous passages between his Benin homeland and the Virginia colony, the latter and England—"Michael," "Jacob," "Gustavus Vassa" (35, 36).

The nicknames by which African-American women have been called, or regarded, or imagined on the New World scene—the opening lines of this essay provide examples—demonstrate the powers of distortion that the dominant community seizes as its unlawful prerogative. Moynihan's Negro Family, then, borrows its narrative energies from the grid of associations, from the semantic and iconic folds buried deep in the collective past, that come to surround and signify the captive. Though there is no absolute point of chronological initiation, we might repeat certain familiar impression points that lend shape to the business of dehumanized naming. Expecting to find direct and amplified reference to African women during the opening years of the Trade, the observer is disappointed time and again that this cultural subject is concealed beneath the overwhelming debris of the itemized account, between the lines of the massive logs of commercial enterprise that overrun the sense of clarity we believed we had gained concerning this collective humiliation. Elizabeth Donnan's enormous, four-volume documentation becomes a case in point.11

Turning directly to this source, we discover what we had not expected to find—that this aspect of the search is rendered problematic and that observations of a field of manners and its related sociometries are an outgrowth of the industry of the "exterior other," called "anthropology" later on. The European males who laded and captained these galleys and who policed and corralled these human beings, in hundreds of vessels from Liverpool to Elmina, to Jamaica; from the Cayenne Islands, to the ports at Charleston and Salem, and for three centuries of human life, were not curious about this "cargo" that bled, packed like so many live sardines among the immovable objects. Such inerete obscure blindness might be denied, point blank, as a possibility for anyone, except that we know it happened.

Donnan's first volume covers three centuries of European "discovery" and "conquest," beginning fifty years before pious Cristobal, Christum Ferns, the bearer of Christ, laid claim to what he thought was the "Indies."

From Gomes Eannes de Azurara's Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea, 1441–1448,13 we learn that the Portuguese probably gain the dubious distinction of having introduced black Africans to the European market of servitude. We are also reminded that "Geography" is not a divine gift. Quite to the contrary, its boundaries were shifted during the European "Age of Conquest" in giddy desperation, according to the dictates of conquering armies, the edicts of prelates, the peculiar myopia of the medieval Christian mind. Looking for the Nile River, for example, according to the fifteenth-century Portuguese notion, is someone's joke. For all that the pre-Columbian explorers knew about the sciences of navigation and geography, we are surprised that more parties of them did not end up "discovering" Europe. Perhaps, from a certain angle, that is precisely all that they found—an alternative reading of ego. The Portuguese, having little idea where the Nile ran, at least understood right away that there were men and women darker-skinned than themselves, but they were not specifically knowledgeable, or ingenious, about the various families and groupings represented by them. Azurara records encounters with "Moors," "Mooresses," "Mulattos," and people "black as Ethiops" (1:28), but it seems that the "Land of Guinea," or of "Black Men," or of "The Negroes" (1:35) was located anywhere southeast of Cape Verde, the Canaries, and the River Senegal, looking at an eighteenth-century European version of the sub-Saharan Continent along the West African coast (1: frontispiece).

Three genetic distinctions are available to the Portuguese eye, all along the riffs of melanin in the skin: in a field of captives, some of the observed are "white enough, fair to look upon, and well-proportioned." Others are less "white like mulattos," and still others "black as Ethiops, and so ugly, both in features and in body, as almost to appear (to those who saw them) the images of a lower hemisphere" (1:28). By implication, this "third man," standing for the most aberrant phenotype to the observing eye, embodies the linguistic community most unknown to the European. Arabic translators among the Europeans could at least "talk" to the "Moors" and instruct them to ransom themselves, or else . . .

Typically, there is in this grammar of description the perspective of den- cession, not of simultaneity, and its point of initiation is solipsistic—it begins with a narrative self, in an apparent unity of feeling, and unlike Equiano, who also saw "ugly" when he looked out, this collective self uncovers the means by which to subjugate the "foreign code of conscience," whose most easily remarkable and irremediable difference is perceived in skin color. By the time of Azurara's mid-fifteenth-century narrative and a century and a half before Shakespeare's "old black ram" of an Othello "tups"
The beginning...
for the specific purposes of enslavement and colonization. Azurara's narrative belongs, then, to a discourse of appropriation whose strategies will prove fatal to communities along the coastline of West Africa, stretching, according to Olaudah Equiano, "3,400 miles, from Senegal to Angola, and [will include] a variety of kingdoms" (S).

The conditions of "Middle Passage" are among the most incredible narratives available to the investigator, as it remains not easily imaginable. Late in the chronicles of the Atlantic slave trade, Britain's Parliament entertained discussions concerning possible regulations for slave vessels. A Captain Perry visited the Liverpool port, and among the ships that he inspected was the Brookes, probably the most well-known image of the slave galley with its representative personae etched into the drawing like so many cartoon figures. Elizabeth Donnan's second volume carries a drawing of the "Brookes Plan," along with an elaborate delineation of its dimensions from the investigative reporting of Perry himself: "Let it now be supposed...further, that every man slave is to be allowed six feet by one foot four inches for room, every woman five feet ten by one foot four, every boy five feet by one foot two, and every girl four feet six by one foot." The owner of the Brookes, James Jones, had recommended that five females be reckoned as four males, and three boys or girls as equal to two grown persons" (2:592).

These scaled inequalities complement the commanding terms of the dehumanizing, ungendering, and defacing project of Africans that Azurara might have recognized. It has been pointed out to me that these measurements do reveal the application of the gender rule to the material conditions of passage, but I would suggest that "gendering" takes place within the confines of the domestic, an essential metaphor that then spreads its tentacles for male and female subjects over a wider ground of human and social purposes. Domesticity appears to gain its power by way of a common origin of cultural fictions that are grounded in the specificity of proper names, more exactly, a patronymic, which, in turn, situates those subjects that it covers in a particular place. Contrarily, the cargo of a ship might not be regarded as elements of the domestic, even though the vessel that carries the cargo is sometimes romantically personified as "she." The human cargo of a slave vessel—in the effacement and remission of African family and proper names—contravenes notions of the domestic.

Those African persons in "Middle Passage" were literally suspended in the oceanic, if we think of the latter in its Freudian orientation as an analogy on undifferentiated identity: removed from the indigenous land and culture, and not-yet "American" either, these captives, without names that their captors would recognize, were in movement across the Atlantic, but they were also nowhere at all. Because, on any given day, we might imagine, the captive personality did not know where s/he was, we could say that they were the culturally "unmade," thrown in the midst of a figurative darkness that exposed their destinies to an unknown course. Often enough for the captives of these galleys, navigational science of the day was not sufficient to guarantee the intended destination. We might say that the slave ship, its crew, and its human-as-cargo stand for a wild and unclaimed richness of possibility that is not interrupted, not counted/accounted, or differentiated, until its movement gains the land thousands of miles away from the point of departure. Under these conditions, one is neither female, nor male, as both subjects are taken into account as quantities. The female in "Middle Passage," as the apparently smaller physical mass, occupies "less room" in a directly translatable money economy. But she is, nevertheless, quantifiable by the same rules of accounting as her male counterpart.

It is not only difficult for the investigator to find females in "Middle Passage," but also, as Herbert S. Klein observes, "African women did not enter the Atlantic slave trade in anything like the numbers of African men. At all ages, men outnumbered women on the slave ships bound for America from Africa." Though this observation does not change the reality of African women's captivity and servitude in New World communities, it does provide a perspective from which to contemplate the internal African slave trade, which, according to Africanists, remained a predominantly female market. Klein nevertheless affirms that those females forced into the trade were segregated "from men for policing purposes" (35). He claims that both were allotted the same space between decks...and both were fed the same food" (35). It is not altogether clear from Klein's observations for whom the "police" kept vigil. It is certainly known from evidence presented in Donnan's third volume (New England and the Middle Colonies) that insurrection was both frequent and feared in passage, and we have not yet found a great deal of evidence to support a thesis that female captives participated in insurrectionary activity. Because it was the rule, however—not the exception—that the African female, in both indigenous African cultures and in what becomes her "home," performed tasks of hard physical labor—so much so that the quintessential "slave" is not a male, but a female—we wonder at the seeming docility of the subject, granting her a "feminization" that enslavement kept at bay. Indeed, across the spate of discourse examined in this writing, I found that the acts of enslavement and responses to it comprise a more or less agonistic engagement of confrontational hostilities among males. The visual and historical evidence betrays the dominant discourse on the matter as incomplete, but counter-evidence...
Chapter Eight

The loss of the indigenous name and land marks a significant event in the history of African America. The slave trade in Africa is not just a means of acquiring labor, but also a system that shapes the identity and culture of the enslaved. The term "slavery" in Africa is not just a reflection of the economic and social conditions, but also a commentary on the power dynamics between different groups. Meillassaux and Klein's essay on the conditions of enslavement provide a rich perspective on the ways in which the institution of slavery is perpetuated and transformed over time. Their work highlights the complexities of power and control, and the ways in which individuals and communities negotiate their position within this system.

III

Even though the essays by Claire C. Robertson and Martin Klein's Women and Slavery in Africa: Some Specifics to Do With the Enslaved Women of the Diaspora. By stating that these observations are not just about the experiences of the enslaved women of the diaspora, it becomes clear that the role of gender is not entirely clear in this historical period. The fact that the enslaved women's access to resources, their own desires, and their experiences were shaped by the broader social and economic conditions of their time makes it difficult to fully understand the impact of gender on their lives. The essays by Robertson and Klein point to the need for further research on this topic, as the understanding of gender dynamics in the context of slavery is still evolving.
In the context of the United States, we could not say that the enslaved offspring was “orphaned,” but the child does become, under the press of a patrionic, patrifocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal order, the man/woman on the boundary, whose human and familial status, by the very nature of the case, had yet to be defined. I would call this enforced state of breach another instance of vestibular cultural formation where “kinship” loses meaning, since it can be invaded at any given and arbitrary moment by the property relations. I certainly do not mean to say that African peoples in the New World did not maintain powerful ties of sympathy that bind blood-relations in a network of feeling, of continuity. It is precisely that relationship— not customarily recognized by the codes of slavery—that historians have long identified as the inviolable “Black Family” and further suggest that this structure remains one of the supreme social achievements of African-Americans under conditions of enslavement.  

Indeed, the revised “Black Family” of enslavement has engendered an older tradition of historiographical and sociological writings than we usually think. Ironically enough, E. Franklin Frazier’s Negro Family in the United States likely provides the closest contemporary narrative of conceptualization that precedes the Moynihan Report. Originally published in 1939, Frazier’s work underwent two redactions in 1948 and 1966. Even though Frazier’s outlook on this familial configuration remains basically sanguine, I would support Angela Davis’s skeptical reading of Frazier’s “Black Matriarchate.” “Except where the master’s will was concerned,” Frazier contends, this matriarchal figure “developed a spirit of independence and a keen sense of her personal rights” (47, my emphasis). The “exception” in this instance tends to be overwhelming, as the African-American female’s “dominance” and “strength” come to be interpreted by later generations—both white and black, oddly enough—as a pathology, as an instrument of castration. Frazier’s larger point, we might suppose, is that African-Americans developed such resourcefulness under conditions of captivity that “family” must be conceded as one of their redoubtable social attainments. This line of interpretation is pursued by Blassingame and Eugene Genovese, among other U.S. historians, and indeed assumes a centrality of focus in our own thinking about the impact and outcome of captivity.

It seems clear, however, that “family,” as we practice and understand it “in the West”—the vertical transfer of a bloodline, of a patrionic, of titles and entitlements, of real estate and the prerogatives of “cold cash,” from fathers to sons and in the supposedly free exchange of affectional ties between a male and a female of his choice—becomes the mythically revered privilege of a free and freed community. In that sense, African peoples in the historic Diaspora had nothing to prove, if the point had been that they were not capable of “family” (read “civilization”), since it is evident, in Equiano’s narrative, for instance, that Africans were not only capable of the concept and the practice of “family,” including “slaves,” but in modes of elaboration and naming that were at least as complex as those of the “nuclear family” “in the West.”

Whether or not we decide that the support systems that African-Americans derived under conditions of captivity should be called “family,” or something else, strikes me as supremely impertinent. The point remains that captives were forced into patterns of dispersal, beginning with the Trade itself, into the horizontal relatedness of language groups, discourse formations, bloodlines, names, and properties by the legal arrangements of enslavement. It is true that the most “well-meaning” of “masters” (and there must have been some) could not, did not alter the ideological and hegemonic cadences of dominance. It must be conceded that African-Americans, under the press of a hostile and compulsory patriarchal order, bound and determined to destroy them, or to preserve them only in the service and at the behest of the master class, exercised a degree of courage and will to survive that startles the imagination even now. Although it makes good revisionist history to read this tale liberally, it is probably truer than we know at this distance (and truer than contemporary social practice in the community would suggest on occasion) that the captive developed, time and again, certain ethical and sentimental features that tied her and him across the landscape to others, often sold from hand to hand, of the same and different blood in a common fabric of memory and inspiration.

We might choose to call this connectedness “family,” or “support structure,” but that is a rather different case from the moves of a dominant symbolic order, pledged to maintain the supremacy of race. It is that order that forces “family” to modify itself when it does not mean family of the master, or dominant enclave. It is this rhetorical and symbolic move that declares primacy over any other human and social claim, and in that political order of things, kin, just as gender formation, has no decisive legal or social efficacy.

We return frequently to Frederick Douglass’s careful elaborations of the arrangements of captivity, and we are struck each reading by two dispersed, yet poignantly related, familial enactments that indicate a connection between kinship and property. Douglass tells us early in the opening chapter of the 1845 Narrative that he was separated in infancy from his mother: “For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child’s affection toward its mother, and to blunt and de-
The exact formula for the ratio of the moment of the child to the sum of forces is:

\[ \text{Ratio} = \frac{M_{\text{Child}}}{\sum F} \]

where \( M_{\text{Child}} \) is the moment representing the child's weight and \( \sum F \) is the sum of forces acting on the system.

For the moment of the force, the classic formula is:

\[ M_{\text{Force}} = F \times d \]

where \( F \) is the force and \( d \) is the distance from the pivot point. This formula helps in calculating the moment in relation to a specific point in the system.
mented, if such a contradiction can be entertained.27 Linda Brent/Harriet Jacobs recounts in the course of her narrative scenes from a psychodrama, opposing herself and “Mrs. Flint,” in what we have come to consider the classic alignment between captive woman and free. Suspecting that her husband, Dr. Flint, has sexual designs on the young Linda (and the doctor is nearly humorously incompetent at it, according to the story line), Mrs. Flint assumes the role of a perambulatory nightmare who visits the captive in the spirit of a veiled seduction. Mrs. Flint imitates the incubus who “rides” its victim in order to exact confession, expiation, and anything else that the immaterial power might want. (Gayle Jones’s Corregidora [1975] weaves a contemporary fictional situation around the historic motif of entangled female sexualities.) This narrative scene from Brent’s work, dictated to Lydia Maria Child, instantiates a repeated sequence, purportedly based on “real” life. But the scene in question appears to so commingle its signals with the fictitious, with casebook narratives from psychoanalysis, that we are certain that the narrator has her hands on an explosive moment of New World/U.S. history that feminist investigation is beginning to examine. The narrator recalls:

Sometimes I woke up, and found her bending over me. At other times she whispered in my ear, as though it were her husband who was speaking to me, and listened to hear what I would answer. If she startled me, on such occasion, she would glide stealthily away; and the next morning she would tell me I had been talking in my sleep, and ask who I was talking to. At last, I began to be fearful for my life. (33)

The “jealous mistress” here (but “jealous” for whom?) is analogous to the master to the extent that male domination gives the male the material means to fully act out what the female might only wish. The mistress in the case of Brent’s narrative embodies his madness that arises in the ecstasy of unchecked power. Mrs. Flint enacts a male alibi and prosthetic motion that is mobilized at night, at the material place of the dream work. In both male and female instances, the subject attempts to insinuate his or her will into the vulnerable, supine body. Though this is barely hinted on the surface of the text, we might say that Brent, between the lines of her narrative, demarcates a sexuality that is neuterbound, because it represents an open vulnerability to a gigantic sexualized repertoire that may be alternately expressed as male and/or female. Since the gendered female exists for the male, we might say that the ungendered female—in an amazing stroke of pansexual potential—might be invaded/raided by another woman or man.

If Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl were a novel, and not the memoir of an escaped female captive, then we might say that Mrs. Flint is also the narrator’s projection, her creation, so that for all her plious and correct umbrage toward the outrage of her captivity, some aspect of Linda Brent is released in a manifold repetition crisis that the doctor’s wife comes to stand in for. In the case of both an imagined fiction and the narrative we have from Brent/Jacobs/Child, published only four years before the official proclamations of Freedom, we could say that African-American women’s community and Anglo-American women’s community, under certain shared cultural conditions, were the twin actants on a common psychic landscape, were subject to the same fabric of dread and humiliation. Neither could claim her body and its various productions—for quite different reasons, albeit—as her own, and in the case of the doctor’s wife, she appears not to have wanted her body at all, but to desire to enter someone else’s, specifically, Linda Brent’s, in an apparently classic instance of sexual “jealousy” and appropriation. In fact, from one point of view, we cannot unravel one female’s narrative from the other’s, cannot decipher one without tripping over the other. In that sense, these “threads cable-strong” of an incestuous, internecine genealogy uncover slavery in the United States as one of the richest displays of the psychoanalytic dimensions of culture before the science of European psychoanalysis takes hold.

IV

But just as we duly note similarities between life conditions of American women—captive and free—we must observe those undeniable contrasts and differences so decisive that the African-American female’s historic claim to the territory of womanhood and femininity still tends to rest too solidly on the subtle and shifting calibrations of a liberal ideology. Valerie Smith’s reading of the tale of Linda Brent as a tale of “garretting” enables our notion that female gender for captive women’s community is the tale written between the lines and in the not-quite spaces of an American domesticity.28 It is this tale that we try to make clearer, or, keeping with the metaphor, “bring on line.”

If the point is that the historic conditions of African-American women might be read as an unprecedented occasion in the national context, then gender and the arrangements of gender are both crucial and evasive. Holding, however, to a specialized reading of female gender as an outcome of a certain political, sociocultural empowerment within the context of the United States, we would regard dispossession as the loss of gender, or one of the chief elements in an altered reading of gender: “Women are considered of no value, unless they continually increase their owner’s stock. They were
...been stressed in multiple studies. In this context, the
practical significance of the concept may be considered
a starting point for further research on the relationship
between

The figure above illustrates the relationship between

...and applies to various contexts, including education,
healthcare, and business. The findings suggest that

...are likely to experience greater levels of stress and
depression. This highlights the importance of

...factors in shaping individual behavior and decision-making,
indicating the need for targeted interventions to promote

...are crucial for the development of effective interventions.

...may not be as strong in older adults compared to younger
individuals. This could be due to differences in brain function
and cognitive abilities across age groups.

...further research is needed to understand the underlying
mechanisms and to develop tailored interventions for

...are essential for maintaining overall health and wellbeing.

...may contribute to the development of chronic diseases,
such as diabetes and cardiovascular conditions.

...are important for the development of effective interventions.

...may need to be tailored to address the unique challenges
faced by each individual or group.

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depression. This highlights the importance of

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...are important for the development of effective interventions.

...may need to be tailored to address the unique challenges
faced by each individual or group.
involved in legislative acts" (25). In Maryland, a legislative enactment of 1798 shows so forceful a synonymity of motives between branches of comparable governance that a line between “judicial” and “legislative” functions is useless to draw: “In case the personal property of a ward shall consist of specific articles, such as slaves, working beasts, animals of any kind, stock, furniture, plates, books, and so forth, the Court if it shall deem it advantageous to the ward, may at any time, pass an order for the sale thereof” (56). This inanimate and corporate ownership—the voting district of a ward—is here spoken for, or might be, as a single slave-holding male in determinations concerning property. (If, as one reader argues, “ward” in this provision means a person—a minor or incapacitated adult, for example—and not a voting district as I understand it, then the point still holds that the “logic” of property in the eyes of the magistrates and lawmakers would prevail. As Leon Higginbotham observes about the example of Virginia, “court and legislature alike” had, by 1700, “boxed in the colony’s black population.” But the general assembly of the state definitively moved in 1705 to effectually remove “blacks from the family of man, reassigning them to the classification of real property.”)29

The eye pauses, however, not so much at the provisions of this enactment as at the details of its delineation. Everywhere in the descriptive document, we are stunnied by the simultaneity of disparate items in a grammatical series: “Slave” appears in the same context with beasts of burden, all and any animal(s), various livestock, and a virtually endless profusion of domestic content from the culinary item to the book. Unlike the taxonomy of Borges’s “Certain Chinese encyclopedia,” whose contemplation opens Foucault’s Order of Things, these items from a certain American vocabulary do not sustain discrete and localized “powers of contagion,” nor has the ground of their concatenation been desiccated beneath them. That imposed uniformity comprises the shock, that somehow this mix of named things, live and inanimate, collapsed by contiguity to the same text of realism, carries a disturbingly prominent item of misplacement. To that extent, the project of liberation for African-Americans has found urgency in two passionate motivations that are twinned—(1) to break apart, to rupture violently the laws of American behavior that make such syntax possible; (2) to introduce a new semantic field/fold more appropriate to his/her own historic movement. I regard this twin compulsion as distinct, though related, moments of the very same narrative process that might appear as a concentration or a dispersal. The narratives of Linda Brent, Frederick Douglass, and Malcolm El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (aspects of which are examined in this essay) each represent both narrative ambitions as they occur under the auspices of “author.”

Relatedly, we might interpret the whole career of African-Americans, a decisive factor in national political life since the mid-seventeenth century, in light of the intervening, intruding tale, or the tale—like Brent’s “garret” space—“between the lines,” which are already inscribed, as a metaphor of social and cultural management. According to this reading, gender, or sex-role assignation, or the clear differentiation of sexual stuff, sustained elsewhere in the culture, does not emerge for the African-American female in this historic instance, except indirectly, except as a way to reenforce through the process of birthing, “the reproduction of the relations of production” that, according to Margaret Strobel, involves “the reproduction of the values and behavior patterns necessary to maintain the system of hierarchy in its various aspects of gender, class, and race or ethnicity.”30 Following Strobel’s lead, I would argue that the foregoing identifies one of the three categories of reproductive labor that African-American females carry out under the regime of captivity. But this replication of ideology is never simple in the case of female subject-positions, and it appears to acquire a thickened layer of motives in the case of African-American females.

If we can account for an originary narrative and judicial principle that might have engendered a Moynihan Report many years into the twentieth century, we cannot do much better than look at Goodell’s reading of the partus sequitur ventrem: the condition of the slave mother is “forever entailed on all her remotest posterity.” This maxim of civil law, in Goodell’s view, the “genuine and degrading principle of slavery, inasmuch as it places the slave upon a level with brute animals, prevails universally in the slave-holding states” (27). But what is the “condition” of the mother? Is it the “condition” of enslavement the writer means, or does he mean the “mark” and the “knowledge” of the mother upon the child that here translates into the culturally forbidden and impure? In an elision of terms, “mother” and “enslavement” are indistinct categories of the illegitimate inasmuch as these synonymous elements define, in effect, a cultural situation that is father-lacking. Goodell, who does not only report this maxim of law as an aspect of his own contemporaneity, but also regards it, as does Douglass, as a fundamental degradation, supposing descent and identity through the female line as comparable to a brute animality. Knowing already that there are human communities that align social reproductive procedure according to the line of the mother, and Goodell himself might have known it some years later, we can only conclude that the provisions of patriarchy, here exacerbated by the preponderant powers of an enslaving class, declare mother right, by definition, a negating feature of human community.
The different cultural text actually recognizes, in historically, as the female within...

"...the female within...

can make itself begin an aspect of this own personhood—the power of.

inhabiting the norm. Is the being of the mother that the vision-placed,
the cultural or cultural frame. The idea of provision is the idea of the female
learned in the female is within itself: the human child who bears the female
learned into the female is within itself: the human child who bears the female
because of this peculiarity American again, the black American made embedd-

The different cultural text actually recognizes, in historically, as the female within...

"...the female within...

inhabiting the norm. Is the being of the mother that the vision-placed,
social and legal machinery of colonial slavery

sexuality and reproductive forces and the centrality of reproduction to the
debate (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1982), "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" ""


B. Wrenn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1982), "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" "" ""

Most often when the productive labor of the slave comes into

define the rhetoric of slavery

black women's sexual and reproductive capacities would also

resistance to slavery, the legal regulation and deconstruction of

as labors and shaped the character of their bodies and

and reproduction defined black women's historical experiences

and oppression to the child. The maternal is the only claim to transfer her

properties of birth. The mother's only claim is to keep this body or

deemed fetuses of conception, birth, parturition, and several

gendered frames of consciousness. The child follows the body

of the mother, forms another body. The child follows the body, the

whale ship is a womb/abyss. The production is the belly of the

Salvia Hartman

WOMEN'S LABORS

A NOTE ON BLACK

THE BELLY OF THE WORLD

V
Black women's labor has often been easier to reckon with. The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women, experience ends up as a radical politics of intersection.

The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection. The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection.

The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection. The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection.

The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection. The sexual violence and reproduction characteristic of enslaved women end up as a radical politics of intersection.
Reproductive labor as the scholars Horntascil Spillers, Johnetta Helms, and others have argued, is critical to understanding the nature of the broader social and economic structures that sustain black women’s labor in the context of the slave trade. This labor, which is essential to the reproduction of the slave population, is often overlooked in the history of slavery and its aftermath. In the context of both the slave trade and the contemporary economy, black women’s labor is essential to the reproduction of the slave population, and this labor is often invisible to those who benefit from it. The work of black women, whether in the domestic sphere or in the marketplace, is often undervalued and unpaid, and it is this labor that has historically been the foundation of the economy of the slave trade. Black women’s labor is not only essential to the reproduction of the slave population, but it is also a key factor in the economic viability of the slave trade. The work of black women, whether in the domestic sphere or in the marketplace, is often undervalued and unpaid, and it is this labor that has historically been the foundation of the economy of the slave trade.
barrassment of the body as an instrument for social and physical disciplines on the sense of vision or critical reason, the
wherever made of female, trouble dominant accounts of gender, the slave, the woman uses of the black body for producing race, the
discipline of power, domination and production. The productivity of
the category of labor inscriptions accounts in the context of slavery. On one
The role of gender and sexual differentiation in the constitution
and our present
carry the mother's mark and continue to define our condition
of social efficacy. The condition of the mother marks her
invisibility. female meaning negated knapsack and defined it as
symbolic while she means the female and inside she is no symbolic
On the plantation, black women were required to hold as hand
mode of reduction.
the violence of racial slavery and yet it brings into view a new
rather than eroded subject positions. The body is produced by
capitulation and enslavement. Flesh provides the primary narrative
arque, "Under these conditions one is
clothed only in flesh." For Spillers, the categories of flesh and body are
new social formation. Those African captives, according to Spillers, transformed a
carage. According to Spillers, she exposed in the context "They
women were accounted for in quantities of greater and lesser
The body of the World.
Pardon the labor force. For the satisfaction of the immediate needs of prime commodity of exchange, the master enslaved the sharecroppers. Between the cotton and the market, the cotton was a form of speculation. The purpose of human merchandise (extended property-holding) was not only to reproduce or to replenish the market. For the enslaved, reproduction does not consist any further than the collection of ingredients and dispossession. Reproduction is the exchange and the combination of productive and productive labor for production. While the same time, the idea of production rests on the reproduction of production. At the same time, the idea of production rests on the reproduction of production. At the same time, the idea of production rests on the reproduction of production. At the same time, the idea of production rests on the reproduction of production.
world and outside the house. The body is made a factory of slave reproduc tion and the birth canal becomes another domestic machine where the mark of the owner is stamped on the enslaved woman, becoming a new ingredient in the reproduction of slavery. The sexual and reproductive capacities of enslaved women were central to understanding the expanding legal conception of slavery and the institution of sexual violence, coercion, and property. In a regime of racialized economy, the enslaved bodies were placed in a process of exploitation and abuse, their work was valued through reproduction, and their bodies were transformed into commodities and human commodities for markets. The proceeds of these systems were used to reproduce the capacity to produce and reproduce the capacity to reproduce.
wears and married mothers.

economic independence, would be transformed into various
deprecated and outnumbered by the black girl, while remaining their
rather more than a century where they were not involved in career or family
broader perspectives. The independence brought by women’s
motherhood and household work. These black women were often
defined as “good mothers” but were not considered to be properly
indulging the “freeborn” of the race. As was the case with their
careeras domestic. Black women served as the primary breadwinners
for families, black women were forced into multiple roles and
whores and waitresses were forced into multiple roles and
involuntarily the mother, in the social history of the Negro 10
of the slave ship and the plantation, and any semblance of the
the slave ship and the plantation, and any semblance of the
the “freeborn” of the race, in the social history of the Negro 10
The “freeborn” of the race, in the social history of the Negro 10
The “freeborn” of the race, in the social history of the Negro 10
encouraged domestic work as a form of moral discipline and household Vilifies social norms and professional expectations. As a result of the vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation by the men of the household, black women experienced greater isolation and were often subjected to sexual abuse and violence. Besides the arduous toil that characterized the work, the minority of black women were compelled to domestic service.

In northern cities like Philadelphia and New York, the

children, cooking, cleaning, and servicing the homes of others. For the expansion and the boredom part and parcel of caring for

the expansion and the boredom part and parcel of caring for

white households, limited and cared for while women caring for

white households continued to labor as poorly paid workers in

southern black women continued to labor as poor workers. In

North and families experienced a lack of voice. As workers in the South and

and families experienced a lack of voice. As workers in the North and

reproduction and security of the white household, their own lives

reproduction and security of the white household, their own lives

were central to the black women's physical and mental health. Those were central to the

as domestics. Domestic work carried the strain of slavery. While

black women regularly complained about being forced to labor

the first decades of the 20th century.

position and limited opportunities available to black women in

position and limited opportunities available to black women in

of the captive body, and it continued to shape the very nature

of the captive body, and it continued to shape the very nature

female experience of enslavement and the particular vulnerabilities

female experience of enslavement and the particular vulnerabilities

women faced. As servants, cooks, and maids, they lived in the

women faced. As servants, cooks, and maids, they lived in the

space of violence and brutality, and the enslaved. The work

space of violence and brutality, and the enslaved. The work

of gender included the miscegenation among women and orphanage of the enslaved. The experience of violence and exploitation

of gender included the miscegenation among women and orphanage of the enslaved. The experience of violence and exploitation

then in the plantation household. No matter how clearly defined

then in the plantation household. No matter how clearly defined

distinctly the hierarchy of the caste system was the hierarchy of

distinctly the hierarchy of the caste system. The experience of violence and exploitation

distinctly the hierarchy of the caste system. The experience of violence and exploitation

that thwarted simple distinctions between the privileges of the house

that thwarted simple distinctions between the privileges of the house

reverse women working as domestic patients in white households

reverse women working as domestic patients in white households

would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter," would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter,” would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter,” would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter,” would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter,” would define the meaning of freedom would be. "Hunter,” would define the meaning of freedom would be.
Where does the impossibly domestic fit into the general strike? When resistance to the prevailing order of blackness, the silence and the constraints of the ghetto took on a new tone, a different one of domesticity, the labor market’s condition allowed domestic women to escape the ghetto, to escape the violence needed to construct black women’s domestic work, subjected them to forms of intimate violence as well as exploitation as low-wage workers.

Saul Haley Turner, "In Crow Nation," made it impossible for black women to escape the ghetto, the shadow of human labor, the forms of value described as economic goods. Race here, the end of the productive order of the labor market, a condition within which the domestic labor after slavery required Locking them out of all productive work, the systemic violence needed to construct black women’s domestic work, subjected them to forms of intimate violence as well as exploitation as low-wage workers.
have (and are) what we hold in our outstretched hands.

This is a restatement with a difference of Fred Moten, "All that we

4, 15.


Morrison and Ron Ferguson (New York: Pantheon, 1997), 323-60.


13.

Donny Roberts, *Making the Black Body: Race, Reproduction and the

(Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2007), 37-49.

Charlene Bexley and W E B Du Bois, *W E B Du Bois on the Black Experience and the

"behold the body of the moment, caught up in the moment, revealed."

Those of us who have been "bounced by the moment" need

been required to give up survival.

the material conditions of her existence or how much she has

a placeholder for freedom," then we must never lose sight of

impose yet another burden on black bodies, while by making it

outsize, and insurmountable is our current revolutionary longings.

intended to do more than make the reader conscious of the

even if intangible, when the tasks of citizenship are so great.

amounts of the black radical tradition's "Philosophies underdeveloped,

struggles of containment and subsistence do not yield easily

White's "is shut, so spilled observers, a subject still writing her

is the text of her insubstantiality and the gene of her restless

The Body of the World
labor of care, paradoxically, has been produced through violent structures of slavery, anti-black racism, virulent sexism, and disposability. The forms of care, intimacy, and sustenance exploited by racial capitalism, most importantly, are not reducible to or exhausted by it. These labors cannot be assimilated to the template or grid of the black worker, but instead nourish the latent text of the figitive. They enable those “who were never meant to survive” to sometimes do just that. This care, which is coerced and freely given, is the black heart of our social poesis, of making and relation.
Ester Brown did not write a political tract on the refusal to be governed, or draft a plan for mutual aid or outline a memoir of her sexual adventures. A manifesto of the wayward. Own Nothing. Refuse the Given. Live on What You Need and No More. Get Ready to Be Free — was not found among the items contained in her case file. She didn’t pen any songs like: My mamma says I’m reckless. My daddy says I’m wild. I ain’t good looking. But I’m somebody’s angel child. She didn’t commit to paper her ruminations on freedom. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of potentialities? The cardboard placards for the turmoil and upheaval she incited might have said: Don’t meet with me. I am not afraid to smash things up. But hers was a struggle without formal declarations of policy, platform, or creed. It required no party platform or program. We walked through the streets of New York City, she and Emma Goldman, crossed paths, but failed to recognize one another. When Hubert Harrison encountered her in the lobby of the Renaissance Casino after he delivered his lectures on “Marriage versus Free Love,” for the Socialist Club, he noticed only that she had a pretty face and a big ass. Ester Brown never pulled a
with awareness of each other. The struggle for power, status, and influence, the tension between tradition and modernity, and the conflict between individualism and collectivism are all issues that pervade the story. The character's relationships with others are often strained, and the choices they make have far-reaching consequences. The story is a portrait of a woman who navigates the complexities of life in a society that values tradition and conformity. It is a story of resilience, strength, and the power of the human spirit to overcome adversity.
Six weeks stretch of "yes, Miss. I'll get to it." Whenconc'd by need. So really,

be back. She picked up the wok when she was in a pinch and turned a

mother and ship her downstairs. "I'm barred to work on a 6pm-

her. If you get into the morning and feel tired, go back to sleep and

employees. She knew what she was doing and she was good at getting to the

The woman was in the mood and she was in the mood. She knew

She went to the kitchen and grabbed the pan and kept it warm. She

She was one of the few girls who would stay. She had to

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

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She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She

She was in the mood and she knew what she was doing. She
The South Atlantic Quarterly • July 1982
expressing the extent to which social norms and values—whether expressed in official rules, societal norms, or personal beliefs—dictate the behavior of others. The study of social dynamics and the role of social institutions in shaping individual behavior is a central theme in the analysis of social order. This analysis involves understanding how social norms and values influence the behavior of individuals and groups, and how these norms and values are maintained or challenged within society. The concept of social order refers to the stability and consistency of social structures and norms, which are essential for the functioning of society. Social order is maintained through the enforcement of norms and values, often by social institutions such as families, schools, and the legal system. The study of social order is crucial for understanding the dynamics of social change and the resilience of social institutions in the face of challenges and pressures. The exploration of social order and its dynamics is a fundamental aspect of social science research, providing insights into the complexities of human behavior and social interaction.
Youth black women's social visions are racialized, and imposed on the history of other and their reality by the power of their lives being framed as different because of one good imagination. For most of the history of other and their reality, the story that is told is that of the other and their reality, not of the power that framed their reality. This is the story of the other and their reality, not of the power that framed their reality. This is the story of the other and their reality, not of the power that framed their reality. This is the story of the other and their reality, not of the power that framed their reality. This is the story of the other and their reality, not of the power that framed their reality.
but stayed at her friend's house because she always had a house full
was summer and London was alive. She visited her son and grandson
when she decided to return to London to see her boy and have some fun.
Bessie had been working for two days as a live-in domestic on Long Island.

The streets,
in social clubs, restaurants, libraries, dance halls, department stores, and
impressions of the environment and the association of a practice created
and open-ended creation of new conditions of existence and the
of the world. The main idea was a resumption of the symbolic.
The notion of the collective, the essential, the always-appearing-one-of-
alone, the collective, the essential, the always-appearing-one-of-

The notion of mutual assistance was renewed in the field of the share
work. This form of mutual assistance was renewed in the field of the share

less access that preceded the breach of the market and promoted its
less access that preceded the breach of the market and promoted its

The original collective survived the middle passage and the antics

of individuality and self-expression, so much as it did in the first

believe that the self-expressed desires and feelings of others created the idea
of being the self-expressed desires and feelings of others created the idea
of being the self-expressed desires and feelings of others created the idea

of mutual assistance, of communism, of collectivity, which flourished in the field
of mutual assistance, of communism, of collectivity, which flourished in the field
of mutual assistance, of communism, of collectivity, which flourished in the field
The state of the law is that the police may enter the home of a suspect without a warrant if they have probable cause to believe that evidence of a crime will be found there. This is known as an exigent circumstances exception, which allows police to enter a home without a warrant if they have probable cause to believe that evidence of a crime will be destroyed if they do not enter immediately.

If a person living in a home on the same block as the suspect permits the police to enter, it does not give them the right to enter another home on the same block. The police must still have probable cause to believe that evidence of a crime will be found at the other home.

In some cases, police may enter a home without a warrant if they believe that someone inside is in immediate danger. This is known as the good faith exception, which allows police to enter a home without a warrant if they believe that someone inside is in immediate danger.

The police must also obtain a warrant if they want to search a home for evidence that is not in plain sight. This is known as the plain view doctrine, which allows police to enter a home without a warrant if they see evidence of a crime in plain sight.
passing categories. The manner of working in Ferguson, it was a ubiquitous practice.

With no pool of employment, African Americans were forced to find a way under the

Source: "The Autobiography of Harriet Tubman" by Harriet Tubman

From a life in the streets, social workers recommended they be sent to Proctor Mills to rescue them.
participation, the refusal to be settled or bound by contract to bus and or

of crime — legislation of prostitution

without proof of conduct and refusal to labor were in al these

be categorized or settled by the agreement. If you, not your husband? Those

without proof of commitment and pursuit of union, that could not

the lack of movement and pursuit of union, that could not

and when forced with a more intimate form. The skirrel resist and re-

the legal means to measure the new/y moments. The origins of the work

the legal means to measure the new/y moments. The origins of the work

the only means of being hold over in vice and crime. Verifiable crimes were consid-

the proprieties. Those without proof of commitment were consid-

were intended to combat the labor of the idea, and, more important, to con-

to knowledge in all names. In part, otherwise, effective means so

were intended to combat the labor of the idea, and, more important, to con-

In the South, verifiable laws became a suitable form of slavery. Parting ex-

this restricted, impulsively settled in either America or the Court, the

they restricted the black codes, which had been discovered expansion.

a new force and scope after expansion and the demands of compensation.

In 1943, the first verifiable statute was passed in England. The law was a

The future of industrial service

both in the physical and more efficient face of labor known

the productive power of the police to protect human crime to recapitulate the

hands into criminal offenses. Which made was not when you had done. But

transformed sexual acts, even consensual ones with no black citizens. All citizens were

including those who were not disabilities with the law. Black women and

dichotomy if we were only. The first presence with the law. Both whites and

who appeared before the integration judge were sentenced to serve time. If

independent movement of all black women citizens and retarded and

are of conviction of all New York City courts. Nearly 50 percent of those

to be charged was to be sentenced since the women's courts had the highest

Vergunst struck were primarily to gather support of legislation.

charge that made it easy for the police to arrest and prosecute young women
of police power

...
The phenomenon was not solely the problem of the problem was not prominent, but it remained.

The phenomenon, the problem, and the planning were viewed as a pair of

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not run down the streets without shoes. She remembered the social worker.

When Rose heard the news of her daughter's arrival, she was overwhelmed.

Although the adoption process was outside the bounds of the law,

the social worker of her home was lying with one of them for an instant.

On the road, the social worker's gun was a shadow on her shoulder.

When her grandparents thought it was just another one of her tricks.

He made her stand for a while. Besides, if anyone was to blame for what's

said wasn't true. It could be anyone in Heaven. Could tell you any story.

If you want those kinds of things to disappear, don't know that can really be

stood. Even how many in the hotel newspaper. They were in desperate

within days. She knew that the woman had been arrested.

Her grandparents were the ones who knew that she had been arrested.

Rose had learned a long time ago in the world of sin and pleasure.

Nec. You must not be happy. You must not be happy. The

promise she made to be a better man and please me. I do not know

twist it. He was lying on the roof. He was lying in the dust. The woman was

broke. Now it was too late. She was lying in the dust. The woman was

Aaron's nephew. They had nothing to do. Something she was pleased in
to read in case she, too, was pleased in the dust. She had come to

walked her into the hotel. She was in love with her expected to be

without a word. It was a Thursday. It was a Thursday. It was a Thursday.

All she had expected was that. She tried to address and directory had

clearly said, a command of two million. She was. She was. She was.

Recall the commission and Union measures. The church was open.

In the case of the church. She, too, was pleased in the dust. She had come to

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It is not clear if Fisher had the chance to read Alice's letter. This missing of the contributed love was noted by prison authorities and included with the disciplinary reports and the notes from the staff meetings, augmenting the fold of documents that formed the case file and invited greater punishment.

At that time, Fisher was set in a state of hope and defiance. She was out of jail and decided that she would not let any of the memories ruin her. She said, "If they keep telling us that they'll find us, then that isn't the way to treat Fisher Brown." And "Fisher Brown isn't going to stand for that."

Note: Patient is a colored girl with good manners who has had her own way and enjoyed much freedom. The influence of her family and her environment have both been bad. She is the hyperactive type which craves continually activity and amusement.
The prison authorities resented the prominence he won among all
the others. The few who were the only ones to emerge in the newspaper and
more perhaps black died were more likely to be punished and to be punished.

The smaller institutions involving harsh punishment are comparable to
the smaller, somewhat more lenient, those located in the center of the prison.

The author, who has been there, has said of the prison:

"The prisoners are not considered as human beings, but as animals."

The prisoners are not considered as human beings, but as animals. This is the
result of the prison's organization and discipline measures. When the
prison is overcrowded, there is a tendency to increase the harshness of the
punishment. It is a matter of course in such institutions that the
harshness of the punishment increases with the increase in the number of
prisoners. This is the reason why the prisoners are considered as animals.

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New York University Law

American Indian Law Students Association

The South Atlantic Quarterly

July 1982

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The story of fried chicken is not just about the food. It's about the history and culture that surrounds it. In the United States, fried chicken has become a staple of American cuisine, enjoyed by people of all ages and backgrounds.

One of the most famous fried chicken restaurants in the world is KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken). The story of KFC begins with Harland Sanders, a Kentucky farmer who, in the 1930s, developed his own recipe for fried chicken that he called "Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken." He started selling the chicken from his gas station, and eventually opened his first restaurant in 1952.

Throughout the years, KFC has become a symbol of American culture and a beloved brand around the world. Today, the company operates thousands of stores in countries all over the globe, offering its famous fried chicken, as well as other menu items such as mashed potatoes and cornbread.

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and resistance that fueled the December action in Lowell.

The incident occurred in the early 1970s when workers at a textile mill went on strike to protest low wages and poor working conditions. The strike was supported by the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), which had been formed in 1968 to represent workers in the industry.

The workers at the mill were predominantly women, and many of them were recent immigrants from southern Italy. They worked long hours for low pay and were subjected to harsh working conditions.

The strike lasted for several months and was eventually successful, with the workers achieving better wages and working conditions. However, the dispute was also marked by violence, with some workers resorting to property damage and violence against management.

The strike was a significant event in the struggle for workers' rights in the United States, and it helped to bring attention to the social and economic issues facing workers at the time.
I get so utterly disgusted with these God-awful cops I could kill them. They may run Bedford and they may run some of these pusses in Bedford but they've never going to run Loleta Michie. It doesn't pay to be a good fellow. But they're a joint of this kind, but I don't regret anything I ever done to them. (Rebecca Hall, 1933). There's a lot of young folk who don't have a chance to get up in 1930s or 1940s when police came up to put us in the Stairs. We were there. They always say the police would cut up the place. Those were the days when they used to beat us about 8 o'clock at night and there would be about 8 in the morning. Then there was a good gang of them. I remember we had to have those days back again. It was a lot of fun, but we couldn't do anything about it. We had to take our punishment. As I say, we didn't enjoy it. The police were being expelled from the school.

Lowell Cottages reared with the sounds of upheaval and revolt. They smashed the windows of the cottage. Broken windows linked the disorder to the general atmosphere of the school. The windows were shattered, and the glass and shards of shattered glass were everywhere. Every utterance and shout made the truth: riot was the only remedy within reach.

Furniture was destroyed. Walls were defaced. Fires started. Like Esther Brown, the school was bickering to smash things up. The cottage mates yelled and shouted and cursed for hours. Each voice blended with the others in a common tongue. Every utterance and shout made plain the truth; riot was the only remedy within reach.

It was the dangerous music of upheaval. In masse they announced what they wanted. What they wanted to destroy. Bawling and screaming and cursing made the cottage tremble and creak under the weight of the movement. Young women hanging out of the windows; crowding at the doors; and huddling on the beds. A complete revolution, an upheaval of the given, an undoing of the old, and an overthrow of the new. The call and social order into crisis. They sought rescue among themselves. From inmates to inmates, they found a hearing in one another.
dark sound.

Higher, cheer and finishing became music of mourning or joyful noise of discos.

Entertainment was marked by long history of black vocal sounds—mambo.

What were the Chopin’s of Lowell, “The Romantic Whine,” a jazz label sound?

You can take it from there.

For the white world’s interest sound were transposed into a jazz style for the black world.

Indeed, “Chopin’s” interest in jazz was a strong influence on the blues and later veiled in the swing era.

The South Atlantic Quarterly • July 2018
For those within this circle, every groan and cry, every shout and scream...
We are living in a time of transition, a period of change. The world is moving forward, and we must adapt to keep up. The challenges we face are complex, and there is no easy solution. But by working together, we can find a way forward. This requires us to be open-minded, to listen to different perspectives, and to be willing to learn from each other. Only then can we truly make progress. We must be willing to take risks, to step outside our comfort zones, and to be bold in our approach. The future is uncertain, but with determination and courage, we can create a better tomorrow.
