English 741 Seminar: Nineteenth-Century African American Autobiography Wednesday, 7:00-9:50 223 Colson Hall

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In this course, we'll consider the challenges of representing African American lives in the nineteenth century and the challenges of reading them in the twentieth-first century. Drawing on relevant scholarship and race theory, we will explore the shifting instabilities of racial identity and cultural performance in the nineteenth century, and we will examine the ways in which African American autobiographies produced throughout that century reveal various pressures that have directed the guiding currents of U.S. history. We'll explore a variety of (auto)biographical African American writing in the nineteenth century, though we'll limit our attention to those works included under the broad heading of "slave narratives." Along the way, we will encounter (1) multiple versions of autobiographical narratives; (2) biographies by white authors on black subjects; (3) (auto)biographies written by a white amanuensis; (4) hybrid narratives of fiction and autobiography; and (5) geographically-specific autobiographies--that is, those associated with especially significant or unusual historical sites. In all of these forms and contexts, African American writers faced the challenge of representing a life defined by race, resisting that definition while also cultivating community, negotiating the cultural politics of readership and of occasions for publication, and redirecting the trajectory of possibilities of and settings for African American identity. Indeed, because they were, of necessity, so directly, consistently, and profoundly engaged in the multifarious contradictions of American history and culture, African American autobiographiers developed approaches to life-writing capable of explaining a nation that often appears profoundly inexplicable.

Words of Wisdom to Guide Our Journey This Semester:

Truth, in my belief, is something which occurs when actions take place: not when phrases are contrived. Truth is not a word which represents correct response to an examination, nor a well-written piece of prose. Truth is not a "right word" which can be printed. It is (it is only) a "right deed" which can be done.

--Jonathan Kozol. The Night Is Dark and I Am Far from Home

Academic institutions offer myriad ways to protect ourselves from the threat of a live encounter. To avoid a live encounter with teachers, students can hide behind their notebooks and their silence. To avoid a live encounter with students, teachers can hide behind their podiums, their credentials, their power. To avoid a live encounter with one another, faculty can hide behind their academic specialties.

To avoid a live encounter with subjects of study, teachers and students alike can hide behind the pretense of objectivity: students can say, "Don't ask me to think about this stuff--just give me the facts," and faculty can say, "Here are the facts--don't think about them, just get them straight." To avoid a live encounter with ourselves, we can learn the art of self-alienation, of living a divided life.

This fear of the live encounter is actually a sequence of fears that begins in the fear of diversity. As long as we inhabit a universe made homogeneous by our refusal to admit otherness, we can maintain the illusion that we possess the truth about ourselves and the world--after all, there is no "other" to challenge us! But as soon as we admit pluralism, we are forced to admit that ours is not the only standpoint, the only experience, the only way, and the truths we have built our lives on begin to feel fragile.

If we embrace diversity, we find ourselves on the doorstep of our next fear: fear of the conflict that will ensue when divergent truths meet. Because academic culture knows only one form of conflict, the win-lose form called competition, we fear the live encounter as a contest from which one party emerges victorious while the other leaves defeated and ashamed. To evade public engagement over our dangerous differences, we privatize them, only to find them growing larger and more diverse.

If we peel back our fear of conflict, we find a third layer of fear, the fear of losing identity. Many of us are so deeply identified with our ideas that when we have a competitive encounter, we risk losing more than the debate: we risk losing our sense of self.

Of course, there are forms of conflict more creative than the win-lose form called competition, forms that are vital if the self is to grow. But academic culture knows little of these alternative forms--such as consensual decision making--in which all can win and none need lose, in which "winning" means emerging from the encounter with a larger sense of self than one brought into it, in which we learn that the self is not a scrap of turf to be defended but a capacity to be enlarged.

If we embrace the promise of diversity, of creative conflict, and of "losing" in order to "win," we still face one final fear--the fear that a live encounter with otherness will challenge or even compel us to change our lives. This is not paranoia: the world really is out to get us! Otherness, taken seriously, always invites transformation, calling us not only to new facts and theories and values but also to new ways of living our lives--and that is the most daunting threat of all.

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--Parker J. Palmer, The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life
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Yet if the discussion about the profession's contemporary status seems especially heated and confused, perhaps it is because we have never discerned so many intersecting, mutually implicating crises at one time. As we question the institutional practices by which literary canons are constructed and maintained, we also question, more broadly, the university's role as producer of knowledge and as reproducer of a social order in which knowledge is power and information is commodity. We question the relation of critical intellectuals to popular culture, as well as the relation between intellectuals and their institutional matrices of power. We question the relation of literary theory to pedagogical practice, as well as the relation of academic, professional criticism to the nonacademic literary culture around it.

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But precisely because I am located within these various debates, I don't believe we can talk very long about the social mission or legitimation practices of criticism without distorting, by totalizing, the very positions and practices we hope to illuminate. The "institution of literary criticism" is no longer (if it ever was) one solid, monolithic thing; its practices and positions are multiple and contradictory; its canons are diachronically, historically variable (like everything else) and synchronically, socially variable as well. It is true that we can discern, even amid these variables, some of the historical tendencies of academic criticism, and we can contest some of its contemporary practices; but I sincerely hope that the moment for describing "*the* function of criticism" has passed forever.

--Michael Berube. Marginal Forces/Cultural Centers: Tolson, Pynchon, and the Politics of the Canon

One has the feeling that nights are becoming sleepless in some quarters, and it seems to me obvious that the recoil of traditional "humanists" and some postmodern theorists to this particular aspect of the debate [she's talking about the debate over the literary "canon"], the "race" aspect, is as severe as it is because the claims for attention come from that segment of scholarly and artistic labor in which the mention of "race" is either inevitable or elaborately, painstakingly masked; and if all of the ramifications that the term demands are taken seriously, the bases of Western civilization will require re-thinking. Thus, in spite of its implicit and explicit acknowledgment, "race" is still a virtually unspeakable thing, as can be seen in the apologies, notes of "special use" and circumscribed definitions that accompany it--not least of which is my own deference in surrounding it with quotation marks. Suddenly (for our purposes, suddenly) "race" does not exist. For three hundred years black Americans insisted that "race" was no usefully distinguishing factor in human relationships. During those same three centuries every academic discipline, including theology, history, and natural science, insisted "race" was the determining factor in human development. When blacks discovered they had shaped or become a culturally formed race, and that it had specific and revered difference, suddenly they were told there is no such thing as "race," biological or cultural, that matters and that genuinely intellectual exchange cannot accommodate it.

--Toni Morrison. "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature"

Society has other uses for us than those we have generally chosen. It uses schools and colleges to sort out young people for various kinds of work. English teachers must do that and use literature to help in the sorting. Society needs help from the schools to justify its present divisions, including much inequality. There is pressure--indirect but heavy--on teachers of literature to join in this effort. The ruling classes want a culture, including a literature and a criticism, that supports the social order and discourages rebellion, while it sanctions all kinds of nonthreatening nonconformity. It we want to teach literature, we had better adapt it to this task, too.

How do these urgencies get transmitted to teachers and students of literature? I think that people are most malleable when they are advancing from one station in life to a higher one and trying to do so. The ideas that play a part in rites of passage make more of an impression than those ideas of smaller practical consequence. The values that inhere in rites of passage will be

influential values. And the styles that are rewarded at initiation tend to become the styles of the initiates.

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We train young people, and those who train young people, in the skills required by a society most of whose work is done on paper and through talk, not by physical labor. We also discipline the young to do assignments, on time, to follow instructions, to turn out uniform products, to observe the etiquette of verbal communication. And, in so doing, we eliminate the less adapted, the ill-trained, the city youth with bad verbal manners, blacks with the wrong dialect, Latinos with the wrong language, and the rebellious of all shapes and sizes, thus helping to maintain social and economic inequalities. Most of these are unwilled consequences, and, since they also run counter to the egalitarian ideology of the larger culture, it is not surprising that the English department fails to point them out when justifying its pay.

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Quite aside from the use of the humanities--of high culture--within universities to harden class lines and teach the skills and habits of mind that will serve the industrial system, the humanities have a flourishing existence outside the universities. When Exxon, Mobil, Chevron, and Amoco spend millions of dollars in television advertising to cash in on their altruistic leadership in the war on pollution and the search for new forms of energy, they are using rhetoric, drama, and visual design to maintain their power over the future and proclaim the health of the free enterprise economy. Given the stakes, it seems fair to say that the oil companies' use of the humanities is the reverse of liberating. Think of other parts of our humanistic culture: music, in the romantic tradition of Engelbert Humperdinck (the younger), assuring entranced listeners that their basic needs are personal and erotic rather than social; fiction, in confession magazines, pornography, and many other profitable forms of literature, maintaining sexual and social stereotypes; history, available publicly in the form of myths about the white man's sovereign rights over darker people and their land, and of traditional American freedom threatened by the cold war enemy; architecture and design, in a thousand suburban developments, creating the illusion of independence (home, the electronic castle), denying the existence of the other half of society, and forcing complete dependence on cars, appliance, and other profit-yielding artifacts. What are the connections between these exploitative, well-financed uses of the humanities and our high culture? "Teaching literature in a discredited civilization," to repeat Grossman's title, we either teach politically with revolution as our end or we contribute to the mystification that so often in universities diverts and deadens the critical power of literature and encysts it in our safe corner of society.

--Richard Ohmann. English in America: A Radical View of the Profession

In my belief, few books on education published in the past ten years are ethical books. They are not ethical because they are not invocations to lived visions. They *tell* of challenges, *refer* to agonies, *comment* on difficulties. They do not ask an answer in the form of action from the reader. Their power begins and ends within the world of words and paragraphs alone.

If the present book does not compel transformed behavior, in the life of its own author and in that of its authentic reader too, then it does not merit the expense of labor which it now commands and has commanded for the past five years; nor can it justify the pain and anguish I would wish it to provoke within the conscience of an undefended reader.

People who are looking for "a lot of interesting ideas," and hope to dabble her for little

more, offend the author and degrade themselves. They would do well to stop right now. Those who read in order to take action on their consequent beliefs--these are the only readers I respect or look for. Atrocities, real and repeated, proliferate within this social order. The deepest of all lies in our will not to respond to what we see before us. When we declare that we are troubled by the lockstep life that has been charted for us by the men and women who now govern and control our public schools, what we are doing is to state our disavowal of an evil and unwanted patrimony. We are not living in an ordinary time, but in an hour of intense and unrelenting pain for many human beings. It is not good enough to favor justice in high literary flourish and to feel compassion for the victims of the very system that sustains our privileged position. We must be able to disown and disavow that privileged position. If we cannot we are not ethical men and women, and do not lead lives worth living.

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Prison bars do not need to be made of steel and concrete. They can be fashioned also out of words and hesitations: an "interesting seminar on hunger," "a reasonable exchange of views about despair." The language that we learn in public school is one of ethical antisepsis and of political decontamination. It is the language of an intellectual cease-fire while the victims are still dying. It is also a language which, by failing to concede real oppositions, denies a child or adult right or power to make strong, risk-taking choices. The student learns to step back and to steer away from moral confrontations. He learns to ascertain the quickest highway and the best approach to middle places of inert compassion and dysfunctional concern: places where choice does not reside and anger does not threaten.

If the child studies hard, if he assimilates the language well, and if he should grow up by any chance to be a writer, teacher, commentator or a critic even of such areas as social justice in this nation, he will have learned by then the proper means by which to make himself provocative, but not unsettling: fashionable and delightful, but not feared. He will have become, by grotesque sequences of North American recirculation, a perfect item in the same machine that polished him to size. At worst he will be somebody like Moynihan. At best he may be somebody like Galbraith. There is no danger he will be Thoreau.

There are these words in the Bible: "Where there is no vision, the people perish." In my view, it is the business of the school to neutralize the dream and to indemnify the child against the dangers that may otherwise be inherent in his future decency. To institutionalize ecstasy, universities channel poets into the explication of their metaphors. To rectify zeal and to contain the vision of a generous or impassioned child, we construct school systems. . . . We teach children to adjust to evil carried out in their own name. We teach children to look on at misery without rage. We teach children *not* to vomit up the lie that poisons their own soul. The first moment in all of this process is to plant in each of us a simple and straightforward bias against ethics.

Even in the Intellectual Left, a lifetime of indoctrination sinks in deeply. Few, if they can possibly avoid it, will admit to doing something out of motives of compassion. Instead, we try to fabricate a good, "hard-headed" reason for our actions. To do something because "it makes sense" is a more attractive reason than because someone is in great pain. The U.S. government, in much the same way, used to justify the Job Corps on the grounds that it is easier to "train" an eighteen-year-old black man than to pay for his electrocution or incarceration in a prison. This is the tough, no-nonsense logic that the U.S. Congress finds unsentimental. Well-indoctrinated

students learn the lingo too.

In preference to the child who predates, by his rebellion, someone like John Brown or Malcolm X, we look for models of acceptable behavior to those who are prepared to understate their ethical intentions, imply a kind of quiet sense of decency that they do not like to boast of, and demonstrate instead a "realistic" capability for candid deprecation of their own worth. In intellectual terms, the highest goal is taken to be adept articulation. Cogency, even in the service of injustice, is granted more esteem than open advocacy of fair play. The ideal mix within the social setting is a certain quality of good intent, watered with realism, spiced with a drop of cynicism, stated with humor, believed in only with graceful reservation, and enacted only if absolutely necessary at pistol-point or in the full face of public desperation.

I suspect that many people who have had their education in the same time period as I, will recognize the sense of personal defeat I have in mind. We learn to tolerate, like a low flame on the fire or like a low fever in the body, a reasonable temperature-level of admitted cynicism. We learn to feel that it is not intolerable to "be" self-compromised if one is open and amusing in discussion of the matter; or, again, that cynicism, charmingly admitted-to and interestingly described, in some sense cancels itself out. It is not corrupt to "be" corrupt as long as a person is perceptive and articulate concerning his corruption. At this point, as we know, the word itself becomes a distant and quite bearable designation, one scarcely having to do with our own being any longer, but a label identified rather with some interesting character of our late-at-night imagination.

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There is, in 1975, a standard form of this postponement tactic. Weeks of research into that large area of human desperation, still so timidly referred to as "The Racial Situation," lead out, after all the obstacles have been transcended, into a "class report" which states that "some black people seem to favor integration, while others favor separatist development under community control." It is, in all respects, a serviceable conclusion; one which grants entire amnesty to those who, if they had been told which option of the two the largest numbers of black people choose, would still not dream of turning their own day-to-day existence upside down to *act* upon it.

"White people," says the final paper, "now must gather further information from all sources to determine which of these directions will receive the best acceptance in the black community . . ." In such a manner, child or adult (for it is done in very much the same way at both levels) is spared the anguish of a direct confrontation with the painful fact that either option, put into immediate effect, would make a massive difference in the lives of millions of black children and that the only thing white people ought to dare to "research" in this day and age is how best to raise enough Hell to bring *either* of these options into operation.

The purpose of research, however, as we know too well, is not to teach young people how to raise Hell. The purpose is to teach them how to sit still in their places, how to be "good children," how to be benign, inactive, terrified, respectable. The purpose is to teach them how to gather information, not in order to take action but in order to increase the body of material that they possess already. The goal of research in this context is not ethical action based upon reflection, but a self-perpetuating process of delay.

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In high schools, as in university circles, there is far more talk right now of "how we learn what we perceive"--still worse, of "how we learn to find out what we think we feel when we perceive"--than of the real thing which is somehow still there, at the long, long end of the extended telescope of our disjoined and neutralized perception. "Interesting things about the state of being known as RADICAL, LIBERATED, FREE" become far more important than those things that we are radical *about*, or liberated *for*. Little by little, we learn to remove ourselves from the immediate field of forces, actions, options or intentions, on which we have briefly stood, but always and forever at its indecisive margin, and situate ourselves instead upon a safe and sober ledge from which to look down on the action. It is as if the explication of the text were to precede the composition of the poem: still worse, as if *we* were to be the explicators. When we end up at the point of explication of the poem we have not written, and no longer dare to write, we have come to that point of ideal alienation at which we qualify for academic tenure, intellectual respectability and decent income.

--Jonathan Kozol. The Night Is Dark and I Am Far from Home

It may have been this contact [with white women active in the feminist movement] or contact with fellow white English professors who want very much to have "a" black person in "their" department as long as that person thinks and acts like them, shares their values and beliefs, is in no way different, that first compelled me to use the term "white supremacy" to identify the ideology that most determines how white people in this society (irrespective of their political leanings to the right or left) perceive and relate to black people and other people of color. It is the very small but highly visible liberal movement away from the perpetuation of overtly racist discrimination, exploitation, and oppression of black people which often masks how all-pervasive white supremacy is in this society, both as ideology and as behavior. When liberal whites fail to understand how they can and/or do embody white supremacist values and beliefs even though they may not embrace racism as prejudice or domination (especially domination that involves coercive control), they cannot recognize the ways their actions support and affirm the very structure of racist domination and oppression that they profess to wish to see eradicated. --bell hooks. "Overcoming White Supremacy: A Comment"

We are living in one of the most frightening moments in the history of this country. Democracies are quite rare and usually short-lived in the human adventure. The precious notion of ordinary people living lives of decency and dignity--owing to their participation in the basic decision making in those fundamental institutions that affect their life chances--is difficult to sustain over space and time. And every historic effort to forge a democratic project has been undermined by two fundamental realities: *poverty* and *paranoia*. The persistence of poverty generates levels of *despair* that deepen social conflict; the escalation of paranoia produces levels of *distrust* that reinforce cultural division. Race is the most explosive issue in American life precisely because it forces us to confront the tragic facts of poverty and paranoia, despair and distrust. In short, a candid examination of *race* matters takes us to the core of the crisis of American democracy. And the degree to which race *matters* in the plight and predicament of fellow citizens is a crucial measure of whether we can keep alive the best of this democratic experiment we call America.

--Cornel West. Race Matters

To engage in a serious discussion of race in America, we must begin not with the problems of black people but with the flaws of American society--flaws rooted in historic inequalities and

longstanding cultural stereotypes. How we set up the terms for discussing racial issues shapes our perception and response to these issues. As long as black people are viewed as a "them," the burden falls on blacks to do all the "cultural" and "moral" work necessary for healthy race relations. The implication is that only certain Americans can define what it means to be American--and the rest must simply "fit in."

--Cornel West. Race Matters

The woman's place of power within each of us is neither white nor surface; it is dark, it is ancient, and it is deep.

When we view living in the european mode only as a problem to be solved, we rely solely upon our ideas to make us free, for these were what our white fathers told us were precious.... But as we come more into touch with our own ancient, noneuropean consciousness of living as a situation to be experienced and interacted with, we learn more and more to cherish our feelings, and to respect those hidden sources of our power from where true knowledge and, therefore, lasting action comes.

I speak here of poetry as a revelatory distillation of experience, not the sterile word play that, too often, the white fathers distorted the word *poetry* to mean--in order to cover a desperate wish for imagination without insight.

For women, then, poetry is not a luxury. It is a vital necessity of our existence. It forms the quality of the light within which we predicate our hopes and dreams toward survival and change, first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action. Poetry is the way we help give name to the nameless so it can be thought.

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The white fathers told us: I think, therefore I am. The Black mother within each of us--the poet--whispers in our dreams: I feel, therefore I can be free. Poetry coins the language to express and charter this revolutionary demand, the implementation of that freedom.

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Sometimes we drug ourselves with dreams of new ideas. The head will save us. The brain alone will set us free. But there are no ideas still waiting in the wings to save us as women, as human. There are only old and forgotten ones, new combinations, extrapolations and recognitions from within ourselves--along with the renewed courage to try them out.

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In the forefront of our move toward change, there is only poetry to hint at possibility made real. Our poems formulate the implications of ourselves, what we feel within and dare make real (or bring action into accordance with), our fears, our hopes, our most cherished terrors.

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For within living structures defined by profit, by linear power, by institutional dehumanization, our feelings were not meant to survive.

If what we need to dream, to move our spirits most deeply and directly toward and through promise, is discounted as a luxury, then we give up the core--the fountain--of our power, our womanness; we give up the future of our worlds.

--Audre Lorde, "Poetry Is Not a Luxury"

I used to think that I talked to the reader and in a sense perhaps that was true but it is really the work that talks to the reader as it was the work that talked to the writer. The work and the artist say each other as I think lovers do and, in later contact, it is the work and the reader that say each other. Or the work may be mute and the reader stone deaf.

Insofar as there can be anything about me worth writing about it would have to be the work and the importance of the work can only be to the reader who has entered into a relation with it. This is at variance with the generally--not only academically--held idea that works of art can be examined, described and assessed as though they were precious stones. Or houses. But the importance of houses is lost in their selling price. We live in them. Or we don't.

--William Bronk

The quality of light by which we scrutinize our lives has direct bearing upon the product which we live, and upon the changes which we hope to bring about through those lives. It is within this light that we form those ideas by which we pursue our magic and make it realized. This is poetry as illumination, for it is through poetry that we give name to those ideas which are--until the poem--nameless and formless, about to be birthed, but already felt. That distillation of experience from which true poetry springs births thought as dream births concept, as feeling births idea, as knowledge births (precedes) understanding.

As we learn to bear the intimacy of scrutiny and to flourish within it, as we learn to use the products of that scrutiny for power within our living, those fears which rule our lives and form our silences begin to lose their control over us.

--Audre Lorde, "Poetry Is Not a Luxury"

Required Texts

Andrews, William L., ed. From Fugitive Slave to Free Man: The Autobiographies of William Wells Brown. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2003. ISBN: 0826214754

Andrews, William L., ed. *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. ISBN: 0195343328

Andrews, William L., ed. *Six Women's Slave Narratives*. The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-

Century Black Women Writers. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. ISBN: 0195060830

Andrews, William L., and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. *Slave Narratives*. New York: Library of America, 2000. ISBN: 1931082111

Brown, Henry. *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself.* Ed. John Ernest. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008. ISBN: 0807858905

Douglass, Frederick. *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Ed. John David Smith. New York: Penguin, 2003. ISBN: 0140439188

- Fisch, Audrey, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. ISBN: 0521615266
- Hughes, Louis. Thirty Years a Slave; From Bondage to Freedom; The Institution of Slavery As Seen on the Plantation and in the Home of the Planter; Autobiography of Louis Hughes. Montgomery: NewSouth Books, 2002. ISBN: 1588380912
- Keckley, Elizabeth. Behind the Scenes. Or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House. Ed. Frances Smith Foster. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001. ISBN: 0252070208

Requirements:

1. Two presentations on scholarship in the field (10% each)

Part of the purpose of this seminar is to give you some sense of what it means to be a scholar in the field of African American literary and cultural studies. Unless your education has been somewhat unusual, you probably have not received much instruction in or exposure to African American history, and much of what you have been taught in this regard has likely included a number of misrepresentations, misinformation, and faulty conceptual frameworks. Scholars devoted to African American Studies necessarily deal with these misrepresentations, and we work in a field that is constantly in a state of (re)construction. It is important, then, for us to cover a wide range of intellectual and cultural territory, and it makes sense to divide the labor and to rely on one another as we go.

Accordingly, each day we will have one or two reports on two works of scholarship that have been or should be important to the field. For each of your reports on scholarship (you will do two of them), I'd like you to summarize each book's argument (you will cover two books for each report) and offer some commentary on it, focusing on how it might be useful in our discussions. I do not expect you to have a detailed understanding of the texts or of their historical or scholarly contexts. We'll use this assignment as an entrance into a field of concerns that we can discuss, and for which I can provide background in class. For this assignment, you will need to practice that fine academic art of "layered reading" or skim reading.

As part of your report, you should prepare a one-page handout for the class. Include on this handout the author and title of each book, publisher and year of publication, a brief overview of each book's purpose (the sort of thing that one finds on the back cover or in the book's introduction), and perhaps one or two quotations from the books that you find particularly intriguing. For the brief overview, it is acceptable to reprint passages from the text or even from its back cover, as long as you are careful to note the source. But you should give the class some sense of how each book's argument is organized (chapter overview) and how the author defines her or his approach to the subject (theoretical or otherwise).

Since you will be *handing out* your one-page handout, you shouldn't read it for the presentation. Your audience is a group of scholars interested in learning more about the subject, and you should talk to them. Your tone should be informal (since you are talking with peers). Naturally, you will not master this subject in a short time, so in your presentation, you can talk of what you've learned so far and also lingering questions you'd like to address if you could have

more time. This report should last about 10-15 minutes. If it runs longer than 15 minutes, I will not say anything in class, but I will lower your grade for the assignment.

2. A presentation on a person or event, cultural movement, or activist forum (10%)

We are looking at a body of writing that was part of a very complex, divisive, hopeful, and (in many ways) incoherent culture. Accordingly, we will want to know something about some of the newspapers and magazines published during this period, and we will want to know something as well about certain significant events, governmental policies, and people. Again, we will share the labor on this. These presentations will provide us with an opportunity to address not only events and community forums but also misrepresentations of American history.

I'm open to a wide range of topics for this. You might report on important people or events in the antislavery movement; you might report on important organizations (the black state and/or national conventions, for example, or specific antislavery organizations); you might report on important laws or legal decisions (the Compromise of 1850, for example, or the Dred Scott decision); or you might report on the role of religion in antislavery/proslavery debates. These examples are only a few of the many I could offer, so let me know if you'd like some help coming up with a topic. For most of these reports, I recommend that you begin by getting the conventional wisdom from a specialized reference source--for example, the *Encyclopedia of African American Culture and History*, or the multivolume *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (a useful source for some of the publishers and literary figures). There are also encyclopedias devoted exclusively to the history of slavery, to African American religion, to women's history, and to numerous other subjects. I have many of these encyclopedias, as does the reference section of the library. So begin with the conventional wisdom and then follow the reference entry's bibliography for other useful sources. It can be useful as well to leaf through a time-line of American and/or African American history (also available in the reference section).

Again, you should prepare a one-page handout for the class with basic information--and, again, this report should last about 10-15 minutes

3. Four "Occasional Responses" (due as the occasions present themselves to you, as long as they present themselves to you once each month) (5% each)

This assignment is intended as an opportunity for you to try out ideas, ask questions, challenge assumptions, reconsider texts, or just rant about the infuriating complexity of it all. Anything, in other words, is fair game here. You can address any subject--perhaps especially those you don't feel comfortable addressing in class. I'll respond as helpfully as I can. If I don't have the answers to your questions, I'll try to figure out where we can find them.

Too often, I think, younger scholars are asked to present an argument in which they claim authority over the subject--in the form of a definite thesis and absolute conclusions. In my view, this practice encourages intellectual dishonesty, for you are asked to be certain about something about which you might feel very uncertain. There is much to learn about African American history, literature and culture--and there is a great deal of misinformation that you will need to sort through. It is simply good scholarship to note as much, and to recognize that although you can do some preliminary research and thinking this semester, you will hardly be in a position to claim ultimate authority over this subject. If all goes well, you will be in a position by the end of the semester to write a strong essay. That is, you'll know the kind of information you need to question, the kinds of questions you need to ask, the kind of conceptual frameworks you will need to develop over time, and the kind of essay you can honestly write in the meantime. It is good scholarly practice, in short, to recognize that you are involved in a process of understanding that will develop over time. Use this assignment to talk about where you are now, and where you are trying to go.

This assignment will provide me with an opportunity to help you prepare for the major course essay. Please keep that in mind as you write these responses, and let me know if there is anything in particular you would like me to attend to in my response to your comments.

Length on this one is up to you, though it should be at least two pages (typed, double-spaced). Don't be worried about writing too much: I love long responses. You should hand this in as questions or ideas occur to you--but since this is a process-oriented assignment, I'll need one response from you each month. There is no grade for this assignment; just be sure to hand in one each month, and at least four (more if you want) by the end of the semester.

4. 25-page (minimum) Seminar Essay, with prospectus (50% of final grade). Due Monday, December 8

This is the standard analytical/research essay. I recommend that you devote the essay to a single text or to a narrowly-defined set of concerns, but I'm open to all possibilities.

As you explore literary and cultural history, it is good to remember that what *and how* you see can depend significantly on what you know. You will need some historical and cultural background. I expect you to support any assertion you make about the past. I recommend that you begin by gathering the conventional wisdom on the subject, which you can do by consulting specialized encyclopedias and other texts in the library's Reference section.

I've included in the syllabus the "Guide for Papers" that I give to my undergraduates, which I hope will be helpful and not an insult to your intelligence and abilities. Although the document is designed to guide undergraduate writing, the advice is still useful at the graduate level. In my own work, I run into trouble whenever I stray from the guidelines I've put together in this document.

As soon as you are ready (or perhaps sooner), you should give me a prospectus in which you explain your plans for the essay. The purpose of this part of the assignment is to give me an opportunity to help you bring your topic into focus, define and refine your thesis, identify the sources you will need to consult, and plan the strategy for your argument. Accordingly, the more you can tell me in your prospectus, the more I can help you prepare for the essay. When you have a rough draft, I will be happy to skim-read the draft to look for potential problems or to evaluate the general shape and strategy of your argument. Although I'll read the opening paragraphs closely, I will use the draft only to comment on broader concerns. In other words, you'll need to proofread for the details (style, grammar, etc.) on your own.

For our final class, you will bring in, for discussion, copies of your essay's introduction. For a 25-page essay, the introduction should probably be about three pages long, and it should cover the essay's subject, topic, and thesis, as explained in the Guide for Papers. For examples of good introductions in essays devoted to literary criticism, you should consult articles published in *American Literature* or *PMLA*. If your paper is primarily historical, you should look at articles in *American Historical Review* or the *Journal of American History*.

Although this essay isn't due until the end of the semester, please start your work on it as soon as possible. You should make good use of the informal responses to prepare for this essay, which means that you should identify your topic for this assignment as soon as possible. I

expect detailed research and a finished essay that has benefitted from careful proofreading and revision.

Reading Assignments

Please note the theoretical and scholarly commentary presented just before each day's reading assignments below. Extra points to those who can make the connections between the theory/scholarship and the assigned readings.

8/20: Introductions, and discussion of A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw and The Confessions of Nat Turner

For any individual consciousness living in it, language is not an abstract system of normative forms but rather a concrete heteroglot conception of the world. All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. Contextual overtones (generic, tendentious, individualistic) are inevitable in the word.

As a living, socio-ideological concrete thing, . . . language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. And not all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them; they cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it; it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker's intentions; it is populated--overpopulated--with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process.

--Mikhail Bakhtin. "Discourse in the Novel"

We stole words from the grudging lips of the Lords of the Land, who did not want us to know too many of them or their meaning. And we charged this meager horde of stolen sounds with all the emotions and longings we had; we proceeded to build our language in inflections of voice, through tonal variety, by hurried speech, in honeyed drawls, by rolling our eyes, by flourishing our hands, by assigning to common, simple words new meanings, meanings which enabled us to speak of revolt in the actual presence of the Lords of the Land without their being aware! Our secret language extended our understanding of what slavery meant and gave us the freedom to speak to our brothers in captivity; we polished our new words, caressed them, gave them new shape and color, a new order and tempo, until, although they were the words of the Lords of the Land, they became *our* words, *our* language.

--Richard Wright. 12 Million Black Voices

8/27: 1. From Fugitive Slave to Free Man: The Autobiographies of William Wells Brown

If you want to know how somebody feels or thinks, ask him. If he can't tell you in words you understand, ask someone else. Not anybody else, but someone else. A relative of the man. A close friend. Somebody who seems to you very similar. And when you resort to these sources of information, qualify the value of your data: call it secondhand or worse.

This may strike you as elementary. And yet, there is a man who exists as one of the most popular *objects* of leadership, legislation, and quasi-literature in the history of all men. There lives a man who is spoken for, imagined, feared, criticized, pitied, misrepresented, fought against, reviled, and *loved*, primarily on the basis of secondhand information, or much worse.

This man, that object of attention, attack, and vast activity, cannot make himself be heard, let alone be understood. *He has never been listened to*. He has almost never been asked: What do you want? What do you think? Coverage of a man screaming in crisis is not the way to hear him think.

That man is Black and alive in white America where the media of communication do not allow the delivery of his own voice, his own desires, his own rage. In fact, the definitely preferred form of communication, Black to white, is *through* a white intermediary--be he sociologist or William Styron.

--June Jordan. "On Listening: A Good Way to Hear"

We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles; for though there are many in society who exercise towards us benevolent feelings; still (with sorrow we confess it) there are others who make it their business to enlarge upon the least trifle, which tends to the discredit of any person of color; and pronounce anathemas and denounce our whole body for the misconduct of this guilty one.

--editorial from the first edition of Freedom's Journal (1827)

9/3: 1. The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano (in Slave Narratives)
2. The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)
3. Philip Gould, "The rise, development, and circulation of the slave narrative" (in The Cambridge Companion to The African American Slave Narrative)
4. Vincent Carretta, "Olaudah Equiano: African British abolitionist and founder of the

African American slave narrative" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

The wealth, the intellect, the Legislation, (State and Federal,) the pulpit, and the science of America, have concentrated on no one point so heartily as in the endeavor to write down the negro as something less than a man.

--Thomas Hamilton. The Anglo-African Magazine (1859)

9/10: 1. Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave (in Slave Narratives)
2. John Stauffer, "Frederick Douglass's self-fashioning and the making of a Representative American man" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

According to its self-presentation, the central assumptions of epistemology are neutral and universally applicable. The criteria of objectivity and neutrality that govern its search for truth--together with "truth" itself--are criteria and goals that "most people" would unthinkingly endorse. Hence epistemology looks as if it should be immune to feminist critique, should count as explicitly gender-neutral and indeed as a model of disengaged neutrality. Yet I contend that mainstream epistemology, in its very neutrality, masks the facts of its derivation from and embeddedness in a specific set of interests: the interests of a privileged group of white men.

--Lorraine Code. What Can She Know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge

9/17: 1. Harriet Ann Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (in *Slave Narratives*) 2. Stephanie A. Smith, "Harriet Jacobs: a case history of authentication" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

There is one thing I would like to say to my white fellow countrymen, and especially to those who dabble in ink and affect to discuss the Negro; and yet I hesitate because I feel it is a fact which persons of the finer sensibilities and more delicate perceptions must know instinctively: namely, that it is an insult to humanity and a sin against God to publish any such sweeping generalizations of a race on such meager and superficial information. We meet it at every turn--this obtrusive and offensive vulgarity, this gratuitous sizing up of the Negro and conclusively writing down his equation, sometimes even among his ardent friends and bravest defenders.

Anna Julia Cooper. "The Negro as Presented in American Literature."

According to black theology, revelation must mean more than just divine self-disclosure. Revelation is God's self-disclosure to humankind *in the context of liberation*. To know God is to know God's work of liberation in behalf of the oppressed. God's revelation means liberation, an emancipation from death-dealing political, economic, and social structures of society. This is the essence of biblical revelation. There is no revelation of God without a condition of oppression which develops into a situation of liberation. Revelation is only for the oppressed of the land. God comes to those who have been enslaved and abused and declares total identification with their situation, disclosing to them the right of their emancipation on their own terms.

--James H. Cone, A Black Theology of Liberation

Black theology of liberation is a systematic and constructive movement arising from the reality of God's liberation power existing in all parts of life. There is no separation of sacred and secular because God's love for the least of society has no boundaries. The spirit of God's liberation is present in all aspects of black existence, especially that of the poor.

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The rhythm of black theology starts from faith in, commitment to, worship with, and work for the poor in the African American community. This is the first part of the rhythm. Because the spirit of comfort, hope, and liberation exists among the least in society even before the theologian works with them, the theologian has to be connected to this dynamic between the poor and a liberation spirituality.

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Moreover, each of the three beats of the rhythm requires interpretation consisting of context, content, construction, and commitment. What is the *context* of the community of faith involved in struggle on a daily basis? What are the structural, the routine, the cultural, and the language parts of that community? The poor are born into a given multilayered context. What is the *content* of this contextual framework? The context is filled with content--creative resources and new experiences at the service of the poor. What type of constructive activities are taking place? In other words, how has God called the poor to use this context and content to build something new? The poor's vocational act is the context, content, and content, thereby creating some type of different reality--a new *construction*. What unifies each step is the personal and collective *commitment* to the liberation of the poor. Do the context, content, and construction constitute commitments that are liberational or harmful? Black theology of liberation, then, is God's love for the least in society, and this love works to bring about each person's full humanity.

--Dwight N. Hopkins, Introducing Black Theology of Liberation

9/24: 1. Narrative of Sojourner Truth (in Slave Narratives)

2. Memoir of Old Elizabeth (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)

3. Yolanda Pierce, "Redeeming bondage: the captivity narrative and the spiritual autobiography in the African American slave narrative tradition" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

The important thing here, I believe, is that truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power: contrary to a myth whose history and functions would repay further study, truth isn't the reward of free spirits, the child of protracted solitude, nor the privilege of those who have succeeded in liberating themselves. Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.

--Michel Foucault. "Truth and Power"

... schoolteacher beat him anyway to show him that definitions belonged to the definers--not the defined. --from Toni Morrison's *Beloved*

Thus an active understanding, one that assimilates the word under consideration into a new conceptual system, that of the one striving to understand, establishes a series of complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements. It is precisely such an understanding that the speaker counts on. Therefore his orientation toward the listener is an orientation toward a specific conceptual horizon, toward the specific world of the listener; it introduces totally new elements into his discourse; it is in this way, after all, that various different points of view, conceptual horizons, systems for providing expressive accents, various social "languages" come to interact with one another. The speaker strives to get a reading on his own word, and on his own conceptual system of the understanding receiver; he enters into dialogical relationships with certain aspects of this system. The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener's, apperceptive background.

--Mikhail Bakhtin. "Discourse in the Novel

 10/1:
 1. Frederick Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom

 2. John Ernest, "Beyond Douglass and Jacobs" (in The Cambridge Companion)

James Harvey Robinson has reminded us that "history books are a poor place to look for history." They are an even poorer place to search for African-American history and African-American women's history. --Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, "The Politics of 'Silence': Dual-Sex Political Systems and Women's Traditions of Conflict in African-American Religion"

10/8: 1. The Story of Mattie J. Jackson (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)
2. Lucy A. Delaney, From the Darkness Cometh the Light (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)
3. Xiomara Santamarina, "Black womanhood in North American women's slave narratives" (in The Cambridge Companion)

They forget that underneath the black man's form and behavior there is the great bed-rock of humanity, the key to which is the same that unlocks every tribe and kindred of the nations of earth. Some have taken up the subject with a view to establishing evidences of ready formulated theories and preconceptions; and, blinded by their prejudices and antipathies, have altogether abjured all candid and careful study. Others with flippant indifference have performed a few psychological experiments on their cooks and coachmen, and with astounding egotism, and powers of generalization positively bewildering, forthwith aspire to enlighten the world with dissertations on racial traits of the Negro. A few with really kind intentions and a sincere desire for information have approached the subject as a clumsy microscopist, not quite at home with his instrument, might study a new order of beetle or bug. Not having focused closely enough to

obtain a clear-cut view, they begin by telling you that all colored people look exactly alike and end by noting down every chance contortion or idiosyncrasy as a race characteristic.

--Anna Julia Cooper. "The Negro as Presented in American Literature."

How can we get the concept of culture to do more work for us? We might begin by reflecting on the fact that the concept gestures toward what appear to be opposite things: *constraint* and *mobility*. The ensemble of beliefs and practices that form a given culture function as a pervasive technology of control, a set of limits within which social behavior must be contained, a repertoire of models to which individuals must conform. The limits need not be narrow--in certain societies, such as that of the United States, they can seem quite vast--but they are not infinite, and the consequences for straying beyond them can be severe. The most effective disciplinary techniques practiced against those who stray beyond the limits of a given culture are probably not the spectacular punishments reserved for serious offenders--exile, imprisonment in an insane asylum, penal servitude, or execution--but seemingly innocuous responses: a condescending smile, laughter poised between the genial and the sarcastic, a small dose of indulgent pity laced with contempt, cool silence. And we should add that a culture's boundaries are enforced more positively as well: through the system of rewards that range again from the spectacular (grand public honors, glittering prizes) to the apparently modest (a gaze of admiration, a respectful nod, a few words of gratitude). --Stephen Greenblatt. "Culture"

10/15: 1. Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb (in Slave Narratives) 2. Kerry Sinanan, "The slave narrative and the literature of abolition" (in The Cambridge Companion)

In the Anglo-Saxon branch of American folklore and in the entertainment industry (which thrives on the exploitation and debasement of all folk materials), the Negro is reduced to a negative sign that usually appears in a comedy of the grotesque and unacceptable. As Constance Rourke has made us aware, the action of the early minstrel show--with its Negro-deprived choreography, its ringing of banjos and rattling of bones, its voices cackling jokes in pseudo-Negro dialect, with its nonsense songs, its bright costumes and sweating performers--constituted a ritual of exorcism. Other white cultures had their gollywogs and blackamoors but the fact of Negro slavery went to the moral heart of the American social drama and here the Negro was too real for easy fantasy, too serious to be dealt with in anything less than a national art. The mask was an inseparable part of the national iconography. Thus even when a Negro acted in an abstract role the national implications were unchanged. His costume made use of the "sacred" symbolism of the American flag--with red and white striped pants and coat and with stars set in a field of blue for a collar--but he could appear only with his hands gloved in white and his face blackened with burnt cork or greasepaint.

This mask, this willful stylization and modification of the natural face and hands, was imperative for the evocation of that atmosphere in which the fascination of blackness could be enjoyed, the comic catharsis achieved. The racial identity of the performer was unimportant, the mask was the thing (the "thing" in more ways than one) and its function was to veil the humanity of Negroes thus reduced to a sign, and to repress the white audience's awareness of its moral identification with its own acts and with the human ambiguities pushed behind the mask.

--Ralph Ellison. "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke."

The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. And this network of references is not the same in the case of a mathematical treatise, a textual commentary, a historical account, and an episode in a novel cycle; the unity of the book, even in the sense of a group of relations, cannot be regarded as identical in each case. The book is not simply the object that one holds in one's hands; and it cannot remain within the little parallelepiped that contains it: its unity is variable and relative. As soon as one questions that unity, it loses its self-evidence; it indicates itself, constructs itself, only on the basis of a complex field of discourse.

--Michel Foucault. The Archeology of Knowledge

10/22: 1. Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown (including appendices) 2. Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., "Politics and political philosophy in the slave narrative" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

A reply to the subject's empty Word, even--or especially--an approving one, often shows by its effects that it is much more frustrating than silence. Is it not rather a matter of a frustration inherent in the very discourse of the subject? Does the subject not become engaged in an ever-growing dispossession of that being of his, concerning which--by dint of sincere portraits which leave its idea no less incoherent, of rectifications which do not succeed in freeing its essence, of stays and defenses which do not prevent his statue from tottering, of narcissistic embraces which become like a puff of air in animating it--he ends up by recognizing that this being has never been anything more than his construct in the Imaginary and that this construct disappoints all his certitudes? For in this labor which he undertakes to reconstruct this construct for another, he finds again the fundamental alienation which made him construct it *like another one*, and which has always destined it to be stripped from him *by another*.

--Jacques Lacan. Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis

Whitepeople believed that whatever the manners, under every dark skin was a jungle. Swift unnavigable waters, swinging screaming baboons, sleeping snakes, red gums ready for their sweet white blood. In a way, he thought, they were right. The more coloredpeople spent their strength trying to convince them how gentle they were, how clever and loving, how human, the more they used themselves up to persuade whites of something Negroes believed could not be questioned, the deeper and more tangled the jungle grew inside. But it wasn't the jungle blacks brought with them to this place from the other (livable) place. It was the jungle whitefolks planted in them. And it grew. It spread. In, through and after life, it spread, until it invaded the whites who had made it. Touched them every one. Changed and altered them. Made them bloody, silly, worse than even they wanted to be, so scared were they of the jungle they had made. The screaming baboon lived under their white skin; the red gums were their own.

--thoughts of Stamp Paid, in Morrison, Beloved

10/29: 1. Elizabeth Keckley, Behind the Scenes. Or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House

2. Robert F. Reid-Pharr, "The slave narrative and early Black American literature" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

Having already argued that literature might be considered a form of technology disguised as an attack upon it, I am additionally saying that it is a form of cultural and imaginative imperialism . . . To create an ingenious plot, to control the action, to dispatch a character who gets too big for his role in the play or the novel, all this deserves the highest literary commendation, and while I cannot be supposed to applaud the same activities in historical life, I am suggesting that there is an intriguing if limited equivalence, and that this may be a clue to the kinds of human energy excited by the prospect in life of any efficient form or system.

--Richard Poirier, The Renewal of Literature: Emersonian Reflections

11/5: 1. William Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom* (in *Slave Narratives*)
2. *Narrative of the Life of J. D. Green* (in *Slave Narratives*)
3. Robert S. Levine, "The Slave narrative and the revolutionary tradition of American autobiography" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

I argue in what follows that historical consciousness finds expression in different forms of dramatic unity,

that these forms have different conventionalities, that they make the past meaningful both in the conventionality of their textual nature and the conventionality with which they are received and heard. The past is constitutive of the present in the entertainment that histories give. Histories are the theatre of this entertainment. Rather, histories are the varied theatres of this entertainment. That is, histories are not just the content of a story or an interpretation of the past. Histories are not just a message. Histories are the mode of the story's expression, the public occasion of its telling.

One has to understand that "scientific history" or "academic history" is as cultural and as social as a dinner-table story or scripture or a political parable. The rhetoric about these logical systems of "academic histories" and the declaratory definition of what they are and are not sometimes hide what disciplines share with everyday cultural phenomena. Indeed the vested interest in making them seem different and above culture is the very quality that makes them the same.

One almost needs an ethnoscience to see the categories of the world as "scientific man" sees it. The begetting of science by science produces as many kinship and residence rules and boundary-maintaining mechanisms as any clan or society.

The transformation of the past in "academic history" is set in different social circumstances and performs different functions from other sorts of transformations of the past.

Scientific history was admirably suited for government, law, education, bureaucracy--everywhere where the transformation of the past had to be seen to be reliable, measured by the same criteria, true. The rub, of course, was in being true.

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Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that being accurate became equated with being true and that history became equated with historical facts.

Roy Wagner has offered us the disturbing notion that culture belongs to the stranger's eye--to the professional stranger, if he or she be an anthropological observer, say, or to the person who is distanced by reflection or role from what happened around him or her. Culture is a stranger's invention: it is the sense of wholeness and integration an outsider-outsider or an inside-outsider develops.

In a poetic for histories, one has to describe this same invention of the past. Whatever the different social expressions of historical consciousness, they are all born of the irony that things are never what they seem. Irony is history's trope. In the space between the meaninglessness of the present and the unknowable past is the entertainment of history. The artifice of history's words is to give historians, whoever they are-gossips, priests, academics--control over the past in a way participants could never control their present. Historians, again, whoever they are, are outsiders. They always make a drama out of what the participants experienced as one damn thing after another. Historians always see the past from a perspective the past could never have had. They are like meteorologists predicting yesterday's weather today. They get their certainties from consequences.

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In all of its varied expressions narrating is, in Roy Wagner's word, an impersonation--the clustering of signifying actions into recognizable roles, such as bard, novelist, prophet, historian.

Narrating both makes a now of the past and delivers the past in some dramatic display.

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"Theory" and "theatre" come to us out of the same Greek origin--*thea*, sight, viewing; *theoros*, spectator. Theory--a mind-set for viewing; theatre-a space-set for spectatoring; theatrical-a convention-set for mimesis. "The theater," wrote Roland Barthes, "is precisely the practice which calculates the place of things, as they are observed. If I set the spectacle here, the spectator will see this; if I put it elsewhere, he will not, and I can avail myself of this masking effect and play on the illusions it provides"

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The "theatricality of history-making" involves the notion of viewing in a space so closed around with convention that the audience and actors enter into the conspiracy of their own illusions. The paradox is that self-awareness, performance consciousness, does not disturb the realisms of their understanding. --Greg Dening, *Performances*

11/12: 1. Louis Hughes, Thirty Years a Slave; From Bondage to Freedom; The Institution of Slavery

2. Deborah E. McDowell, "Telling slavery in 'freedom's' time: post-Reconstruction and the Harlem Renaissance" (in *The Cambridge Companion*)

Our ideas, our values, our acts, even our emotions, are, like our nervous system itself, cultural productsproducts manufactured, indeed, out of tendencies, capacities, and dispositions with which we were born, but manufactured nonetheless....

When seen as a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior, extrasomatic sources of information, culture provides the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become. Becoming human is becoming individual, and we become individual under the guidance of cultural patterns, historically created systems of meaning in terms of which we give form, order, point, and direction to our lives. And the cultural patterns involved are not general but specific--not just "marriage" but a particular set of notions about what men and women are like, how spouses should treat one another, or who should properly marry whom; not just "religion" but belief in the wheel of karma, the observance of a month of fasting, or the practice of cattle sacrifice. . . .

--Clifford Geertz. The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays

11/19: 1. Kate Drumgoold, A Slave Girl's Story (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)
2. Annie L. Burton, Memories of Childhood's Slavery Days (in Six Women's Slave Narratives)
3. Cindy Weinstein, "The slave narrative and sentimental literature" (in The Cambridge Companion)

11/26: Thanksgiving Recess

12/3: Discussion of course essays. Bring in copies of your introduction for your seminar essay.

Monday, December 8: Seminar Essays Due

Professor John Ernest's Handy GUIDE FOR PAPERS

Part 1: Evaluation

I will evaluate your performance in three basic categories of concern: structure, content, and presentation. Each category will count for approximately one third of your grade for the paper—though, of course, poor performance in one category inevitably will affect the success of the others. That is, don't assume that I can or will "just read for the ideas" in a poorly presented

or illogically constructed essay. I am particularly dismayed when I see errors that are repeated from one draft to the next, so make a special effort to apply criticisms of earlier drafts to later writing assignments in the class. Please remember that I would love to talk with you about your paper at any and all stages of its development.

I've indicated throughout this Guide my standards for evaluation, but I will summarize a few points here, which I've adapted from similar summaries put together by friends and colleagues.

An"A" essay:

(1) has a clearly indicated thesis (or working hypothesis) to which all elements of the essay are relevant;

(2) has focused topic sentences that announce the central argument of each paragraph, connecting this new stage of the analysis to that of the previous paragraph;

(3) supports its argumentative claim with evidence from the text, and avoids being simply mechanical in citing evidence;

(4) attends to the implications of the central argument;

(5) is thoughtful and deliberate in its use of language, essay structure, and evidence;(6) considers, if only implicitly, the evidence and arguments that might undermine or challenge the essay's argument, and doesn't ignore important evidence or complications;(7) is free of recurring surface errors or errors of fact;

(8) is professional in its presentation—including the title of the essay, page numbers, works-cited format, and other issues of manuscript form;

(9) makes no unsupported claims about history, and demonstrates that the essay's author is aware of larger cultural and ideological concerns that might distort her or his judgment; (10) is equally attentive to detail and to the big picture;

(11) is compelling in its intellectual and ethical commitment to the essay's subject.

Here is another way to think about these concerns–this time with greater emphasis on your responsibilities as a scholar:

1. Focus. You should narrow down your concerns to a reasonably focused set of questions and/or concerns, and then use the essay to explore those concerns.

2. Specificity. You should be as specific as you can about the questions you have. If you have questions about religion, for example, you should focus on specific historical periods, specific situations, and perhaps even specific denominations or manifestations of religion. If you have questions about the system of slavery, push yourself to look beyond the abstract level and at specific issues within the system.

3. Literary Skill. You should include in your paper a discussion of at least one (and, depending on the length and complexity of the work, perhaps more) work of literature. We are reading literature as part of our effort to "read" U.S. history and culture. Present examples of literature that pertain to questions you raise about history and culture, and think about how the author's handling of the work of literature provides insights into, for example, how to interpret the

workings of culture.

4. Use of Information. The various texts we are reading provide a great deal of useful information. I expect you to make use of this information in your papers. Moreover, when you raise questions that can be answered by a quick look at an encyclopedia (especially specialized ones–for example, the *Encyclopedia of African American Culture and History*), I expect you to look at that encyclopedia. In other words, I expect you to do basic research on matters of simple information (people and events in history, for example)

5. Complexity. These papers should be challenging, for we are reading about and discussing challenging issues. I expect to encounter a certain intensity of thought in your essays, and I will be critical of any tendency to simplify the issues.

6. Grammar and Style. Your writing should be clear and correct, and I should be able to follow your line of thought without using a map.

7. Presentation. Remember to cite your sources, both in the body of the essay and in the bibliography or "works cited" page. For essays on literature, scholars generally use the Modern Language Association (MLA) or the Chicago format for citing sources.

Part 2: Manuscript Form and Presentation (and other important details)

Your paper *must* meet the grammatical and formal standards of academic prose. Leave yourself time to revise, and revise with a grammar handbook close by. Type carefully, and double-space the lines. For conventions concerning the proper handling of quotations, the presentation of titles of works, and the documentation of sources, see the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. A copy should be available in the library, or you could borrow mine. If you are an English major (or planning to be one) and do not yet own a copy of this book, buy one.

Remember also that academic conventions of clarity and formality are important. Avoid hazy generalizations and other forms of vagueness. A good way to check for this problem is to look at the main verbs and nouns in your sentences: do they tend to be abstract and general, or specific? If the former, change the noun or verb to something more specific rather than adding adjectives or adverbs. One source of ambiguity can be pronouns: make sure that your reader clearly knows what "this" and "that" refer to or, better yet, include clarifying nouns along with the pronouns ("this idea," "that action"). "This" or "that" should not be the subject of any sentence in your essay.

Avoid also cliches, jargon, reductive expressions, and hollow modifiers like "interesting," "positive," "negative," or "successful." Please use gender-neutral language: he or she, hers or his, etc. Remember that there is nothing that warms a professor's heart so much as the carefully, memorably turned phrase or well-written passage. Good writing simply gives your argument more authority and weight and demonstrates your care as an scholar (as well as stylist). All the elements that make for good creative writing also make for good academic writing, so show some creativity and care in your prose. Working within the formal conventions of academic writing does not need to be restrictive; working with and against those conventions fulfilling them, following the rules (and knowing when, how, and why to break the rules at times), while also speaking with an individual voice—can be a very creative process.

You are required to follow MLA format for citing your sources. I have used this format in this guide so that you will have a model to follow. At the end of this guide is a sample "Works Cited" page.

The following are special instructions or reminders—which means that ignoring them might have a special effect on your grade. If you do not follow these guidelines concerning spacing, citation, and/or page numbering, then the best grade you can get on your paper is an "A-".

1. Your essay must be typed, and double-spaced. You should have standard 1-inch margins on the top, bottom, and sides.

2. Note the proper form of parenthetical citation demonstrated in this guide. Remember to indent long quotations. Remember also to provide page numbers for all quotations.

3. Your essay should have a title. An intriguing title can actually add to the power of an argument.

4. Number the pages of your paper (upper right-hand corner; include your last name).

5. Please do not present your paper in a plastic cover. Simply staple the pages once, on the upper left-hand corner.

6. Keep a copy of your paper. I've never lost a paper, but you are required keep a copy just in case. Even if I lose your paper, you are still responsible for it.

7. **Proofread your paper before you submit it.** Correct errors before you hand in the paper. If you spot some at the last minute, when it is too late to print a new copy of the paper, please correct the errors neatly with a pen. Spelling and grammar count.

8. Use brackets when you insert something into or change something in a quotation. **example:** At first, Douglass seems optimistic, for his "new mistress [proves] to be all she appeared when [he] first met her at the door . . ." (77). In this case, I use brackets to indicate changes I have made to fit the quotation to the grammatical structure of *my* sentence.

Part 3: Assignment

You are required to write an analytical essay, not an informal discussion of or response to literature. An analytical essay presents an argument about how and why an author does certain things in his or her work; it examines the work's thematic, conceptual, or rhetorical infrastructure (infrastructure means "the basic, underlying framework or features of a system"). Textual analysis is not limited to discovering "what the author intended"; often, the purpose of textual analysis is to explore the cultural, historical, and/or philosophical implications of the text's apparent or implicit design—the patterns of ideas, images, language, and/or themes in the text, and the gaps or breaks in those patterns. In this way, reading a text is a way to learn how to be a better reader of one's world, of the cultural forces that shape one's thinking, one's personality, even one's adopted role in life. Textual analysis can make one conscious of all those things that one sees and does unconsciously on a daily basis; it can help us defamiliarize and thereby *see* and think about our familiar customs and surroundings.

I expect you to write a formal analytical essay even if you have not done so before. If you have never written this kind of paper, and if you have no experience reading texts analytically, I recommend that you look at Mortimer J. Adler's and Charles Van Doren's *How to Read a Book*, an excellent book (and not as simplistic as its title suggests). If you are an experienced analytical reader, and if you would like to develop your skills by thinking about theoretical approaches to literary criticism, I recommend that you look at *Critical Terms for Literary Study*. Finally, if you would like to increase your critical vocabulary, develop your understanding of terms that I mention in class, familiarize yourself with literary genres and periods, and read introductions to various critical theories, look through M. H. Abrams's A *Glossary of Literary Terms* (especially the sixth edition). All of these books are listed in the Works Cited at the end of this guide, and all should be available at our library, or you could order your own copies.

Remember that textual analysis is a formal academic discipline and that every paper you write will test your mastery of its principles. Let me stress that point: the papers *are* tests. When you write, then, your task is to demonstrate your ability to present a persuasive analysis, as well as to present your analysis in a coherent and grammatically correct format.

If you are not sure that you know how to write the kind of paper I am requiring, please don't hesitate to ask for advice or help. I will be happy to help you with each stage of the writing process.

Part 4: The Introduction

Your introductory paragraph should have three stages (three stages but only one paragraph). In a longer essay (20 pages or more), you would cover these same stages but in three or more paragraphs. The three stages are as follows:

- 1) **Subject**. In the first stage, you introduce your subject—the text itself. In a few (2-4) sentences, you should present the author and title of the work, along with a general overview of the work's plot, outstanding themes, or general achievement. The shorter the paper, the shorter this introductory passage should be; and in a very long essay (25-30 pages), the first few pages might well be devoted to this introductory passage.
- 2) **Topic**. In the next stage, you present your topic—the interpretive issue to which your paper is devoted. In a sense, you need to show that there is cause for confusion and misunderstanding, or that there is a dimension of the work that is not clear unless one looks at it a certain way (for example, by viewing it within its historical context). You might establish the interpretive problem or issue in a number of ways:
 - * explain the problem or issue for the reader.
 - * open with a question which you develop in the opening paragraph.
 - * use a passage from the work to illustrate the problem or issue.
- 3) In the third stage, you present your thesis—your answer to the questions or issues you raise in stage 2. Your thesis should be explicit and specific. Consider carefully the following discussion of the thesis.

Do not begin your essay from the beginning of time. Postpone your comments about your personal feelings or response to the work, and postpone also your comments on the twentieth

century when writing on literature from previous centuries. Usually, you can present material like this in your concluding paragraph, as you indicate the implications of the argument you have just presented. Get to the point elegantly, gracefully, directly, and quickly.

Part 5: The Thesis

An argument demonstrates the justice, value, and logical coherence of a *thesis*. Remember that a thesis is different from a subject or topic. The subject is the text you are analyzing. The topic is the interpretive issue you are trying to address. **The thesis is the stand you take on that issue.** A subject is what you are talking about; a topic is why you are talking about it; a thesis is what you are trying to say about that topic. A thesis is debatable; a topic is not, for a topic simply identifies—notes the existence of—grounds for debate or cause for confusion. A topic is something you can mention to a professor without feeling nervous; a thesis keeps you up at night.

This is not a thesis: "Melville uses symbolism in *Moby-Dick*." What kind of symbolism? How does he use it? To what purpose? Will you examine *all* examples of symbolism in the novel? Again, this is not a thesis: "Hawthorne examines history in *The Marble Faun*." You might develop this observation into a thesis by establishing the specific issue and taking a clear stand. Consider, for example, this statement from a published essay:

When Hawthorne says that those who object to the unresolved mysteries of *The Marble Faun*'s ending do "not know how to read a Romance," he means, as his work itself shows, that insofar as they expect definite answers to their questions or an unambiguous moral to the story, they do not know how to read history either. (Michael 150)

True, this is a *long* thesis; and, true, it makes the idea behind it sound more complicated than it actually is. Still, this scholar's purpose is clear, and one can anticipate what he will argue in the rest of the essay, and why.

* If you present your topic in the form of a question, your topic and thesis might look like this: What are we to make of Melville's emphasis on "The Whiteness of the Whale" in *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale*? Although it is tempting to assert that this "whiteness" has nothing to do the complex and contested racial landscape of the nineteenth-century United States, the novel offers significant evidence that race is indeed the issue to which all other concerns in this novel must be related.

* If you present your topic by quoting a sentence from the text, your topic and thesis might look like this:

In his appendix to *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave,* Douglass seems to worry about the implications of his comments on religion throughout the body of this text. "I have," he notes, "in several instances, spoken in such a tone and manner, respecting religion, as may possibly lead those unacquainted with my religious views to suppose me an opponent of all religion." But as he explains his distinction between "the Christianity of this land" and "the Christianity of Christ," Douglass reapplies his concerns and suggests that the white Christian reader is actually the one who should worry about being considered an opponent of all religion.

Part 6: Structure

Academic writing is very basic and straightforward. It is designed to allow one to read subtle arguments quickly. Accordingly, the structure of your argument is very important. Each paragraph should present a unified block of thought, a clear and significant stage of your argument. You should therefore avoid paragraphs that are too long (in a short essay, page-long paragraphs are too long, often a sign of unfocused thinking) or too short. As a general rule, each paragraph should have at least five sentences. Paragraphs with fewer sentences often indicate undeveloped or unsubstantiated thought. Each paragraph should build on what you have done in the previous paragraph, and should prepare your reader for what you will argue in the next paragraph. If you can move your paragraphs around without disturbing the nature of your argument, then you have not paid sufficient attention to the structure of your argument or have simply repeated yourself in the course of your paper.

My term for the structure of an academic essay is the "intellectual matrix" of the essay. The "intellectual matrix" is what you get when you read only the thesis statement and the topic sentence of each of your paragraphs (normally the first sentence of the paragraph). Just as your thesis indicates clearly the argumentative purpose of your paper, so should the first sentence of each paragraph, the topic sentence, indicate the argumentative purpose of that paragraph. I should be able to read only these sentences to determine the logical design of your argument. In other words, I should be able to summarize your argument from those sentences alone. Roughly one third of your grade will be based on the extent to which the "intellectual matrix" of your paper provides me with an accurate overview of your argument, and also on your ability to construct a systematic, unified argument that builds from one stage (one paragraph) to the next.

Part 7: Content

Remember that your assignment is textual, historical, and/or cultural analysis, not plot summary, and not simply general or subjective historical commentary. In textual analysis, your task is to show the connections between *what* the author says and *how* she or he says it—in other words, to identify and examine the implications of the author's strategies (style, themes, images, patterns of thought and of argument, etc.).

Remember that your reader has read and thought about the text to which your paper is devoted, and therefore does not need to be reminded of the plot. **Do not simply summarize the plot.**

Historical commentary is useful, usually even necessary (in small doses), but use it wisely, make sure you know what you are talking about, and do not allow it to distract you from your main task: informed analysis. Typically, the more general and abstract the historical context, the less useful it will be. Keep in mind that all people in a given time period did not think the same way, even if there are issues and ideas that did preoccupy many. Be attentive, in other words, to conflicts, differences, and changes among groups within a period, and never claim that "nineteenth-century Americans believed that . . .". Even more important, if you introduce historical commentary, you must take care that you provide some evidence for your historical claims and that you establish your historical context efficiently and succinctly. If you are using elements from an author's biography, for example, choose those elements that are relevant to your thesis and make sure that you establish why those elements are important *for understanding the work*.

Grades for papers based primarily on plot summary or on general historical commentary will begin somewhere in the area of a "C"—and they will go down from there.

You must present your argument carefully, methodically. In the early part of your paper, explain carefully the interpretive problem you intend to solve, and then proceed to solve it in stages. At each point of your paper, think about what your reader needs to know if he or she is to understand what is coming up in the next stage of your paper. At each stage, quote from your sources or from your primary text to show the basis for your interpretation. Show your reader that you are analyzing your topic or text and not just talking about it.

Focus is the key to success. You cannot hope to analyze an entire book, an entire century, or an entire social movement in a short paper. Therefore, you must isolate a representative portion of your topic. If you are writing about a literary text, for example, you might focus on a character, a scene, a rhetorical or ideological pattern, a pattern of allusions, or some other aspect of the author's techniques and strategies. Find something you can examine in detail and explain your interpretation carefully. Justify your choice at the beginning of your essay; at the end of your essay, indicate how your conclusions can enable readers to understand other aspects of the work.

Part 8: Research and Support—A Reminder

It is important to remember that you must support your claims, and that you must not make any claims that you are unable or unwilling to support. When you present an interpretation of a sentence or passage or episode in a text, you must explain carefully how the text supports that interpretation. If you make a point about history, then you must do the necessary historical research, and you must refer to that research in your essay (see me on how to do this if you have not done this before). If you say something about an author, then you must support that point with biographical research. If you say something about how critics have viewed a certain text, then you must support that with research. Avoid making claims about how readers respond to a certain text, for you cannot support such claims.

Part 9: Using Quotations

To present a persuasive argument, you must quote from the text you are analyzing, and you must explain carefully how the evidence you present leads to and supports your interpretation of the work. This is not to say that you should be blatant about this. That is, you shouldn't lead into a quotation by saying, "This interpretation is supported by the following quotation." Consider the following guidelines:

1. I should be convinced of the significance of the textual evidence (quotations from and allusions to the works) you present. In other words, don't just quote. Prepare your reader for the textual evidence you will present; present that evidence briefly (avoid long quotations); and then explicate, analyze, or otherwise explain the significance of that evidence. Never assume that a passage is self-explanatory.

2. Don't just present a quotation without introduction. I shouldn't suddenly encounter a quotation at the beginning of a new sentence, and you should never present a free-standing

quotation (that is, a sentence that contains nothing but a quotation); always lead into the quotation in your own words, and then follow it with commentary.

3. Never end a paragraph with a quotation. Always follow with commentary, so that you conclude each of *your* paragraphs with *your* own words.

4. Avoid long quotations. Whenever possible, integrate (with quotation marks) significant phrases from the text in your own sentences as you present and explain your interpretation.

5. Whenever you use a significant word or phrase from the text, use quotation marks to indicate that you are in fact using someone else's words.

The following is taken from one of my essays, "From Mysteries to Histories: Cultural Pedagogy in Frances E. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy*." I present this so that you can have a model for using quotations, but I do not expect you to simply imitate my style. Indeed, I wish you the good fortune of avoiding my overly complex style. Still, I hope you will find it useful to examine (and, perhaps, question) my use of textual evidence.

From the essay:

Harper establishes the terms of this argument, and begins the novel, by confronting her white readers with their inability to interpret culturally-familiar discourse. In the first pages of the first chapter, Harper draws readers into a "shadow" culture—that of the slaves—and introduces her readers to the discursive network of that culture, the "mystery of market speech." Her depiction of slaves talking enthusiastically about "splendid" fish, and about butter "just as fresh, as fresh can be" (7-8) invokes images of the stereotypical Black characters who inhabited the pages of white supremacist fiction gaining popularity at the time. On the novel's second page, though, the narrator wonders at this "unusual interest manifested by these men in the state of the produce market," and raises the question that many readers might well have forgotten to ask: "What did it mean?" (8). The answer is that, during the war, "when the bondman was turning his eyes to the American flag," "some of the shrewder slaves . . . invented a phraseology to convey in the most unsuspected manner news to each other from the battle-field" (8-9). The "mystery of market speech" is thus solved by learning this phraseology, this cultural discourse that appropriates authorized, and in that sense, legal language for illegal but moral ends.

The primary point here is not that this particular mystery is now clear, nor is it merely that the slaves had to formulate their own language to circumvent the will of the dominant race; rather, the point lies in the discursive nature of the mystery itself, the extent to which one's ability to understand is controlled by one's cultural training. As one reads, one encounters other such mysteries, each of which reveals the cognitive and moral limitations inherent in and enforced by the dominant cultural system. Consider, for example, Dr. Gresham, whom the reader first meets in a field hospital, and who is clearly attracted to Iola Leroy, whom he believes to be a white lady generously lowering herself to serve the needs of the Northern soldiers. Initially, Dr. Gresham cannot understand how Iola can bring herself to kiss a black patient; and as he explains this to Col. Robinson, the reader discovers the terms of his confusion:

I cannot understand how a Southern lady, whose education and manners stamp

her as a woman of fine culture and good breeding, could consent to occupy the position she so faithfully holds. It is a mystery I cannot solve. (57) This description is essentially a circular equation of cultural identity. If one is a Southern lady, then one must have the advantages of education and good breeding which provide the manners and fine culture that are, by definition, the qualities of a Southern lady. The perfect circle of definition represents the cognitive closure that is the *raison d'etre* of any culture system. When this closure leads to culturally exotic behavior, those within the cultural circle are faced with a

mystery they cannot solve. When Col. Robinson provides the essential information, that "Miss Leroy was a slave," Dr. Gresham can relocate her in the cultural formula, and he says revealingly, "What you tell me changes the whole complexion of affairs" (58). Dr. Gresham, in other words, is able to relocate Iola according to existing cultural categories and stereotypes.

Note on using quotations: In the example from my own writing, note how the material from the work is integrated with my own words, and how I combine both block quotations and in-text quotations to incorporate the evidence into the prose. The idea is to make sure that yours is the dominant voice in your writing, that you prepare your reader for the quotations, and that your essay is as smooth as possible. Try these techniques in your own work.

Part 10: A Sample Works Cited Page (MLA format)

Note: Different academic disciplines (Literature, History, etc.) require different approaches to documentation; most do not use the MLA format. Always check your syllabus, or check with your professor, to determine what form you should use.

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