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America's New Racial Heroes: Mixed Race Americans and Ideas of Novelty, Progress, and Utopia

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**America's New Racial Heroes: Mixed Race Americans and Ideas of
Novelty, Progress, and Utopia**

by

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Dissertation

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Dedication

To my wife, Natasha B. Sugiyama

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America's New Racial Heroes: Mixed Race Americans and Ideas of Novelty, Progress, and Utopia

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Supervisor: Neil Foley

My dissertation, “America’s New Racial Heroes,” is the first full-length intellectual history examining the fascination with mixed race people that has been concurrent with the stereotypes that pathologize them. Through five moments in United States history, this project asks what the idea of racially mixed people does for America, uncovering a set of vanguards who suggested that, rather than fear racial mixing, we should embrace it as a means to live up to ideals of equality and inclusion, thus benefiting the nation as a whole. Whether the subject is abolitionist Wendell Phillips’s defense of racial amalgamation, the popularity of the Melting Pot trope, *Time Magazine*’s 1993 New Face of America issue, or the promises of a “Multiracial” category on the 2000 census, similar notions regarding novelty, progress, and utopia repeat themselves. Rounding out “America’s New Racial Heroes” is an examination of contemporary praise of ambiguity at the same time Americans wish for quantifiable racial makeup. Overall, this project

warns against the giddy hope that racially mixed people alone can solve America's racial problems.

I have several models in bringing together these five cases, including George M. Fredrickson's *The Black Image in the White Mind*, Philip J. Deloria's *Playing Indian*, and Robert Lee's *Orientalists*. Each of these shows how discourses of science, nationality, and popular culture shape the identities of dominant and minority groups concurrently. Like these works, my project brings together archival research, cultural studies readings, and theories of racial formation to examine how pro-mixing advocates situate themselves within their own contexts and resonate through time. This work on mixed race identity has many intersections with both fields, accentuating the richness that can result from comparative, ethnic studies work across disciplinary boundaries.

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Introduction

Growing up in the 1970s, I learned very early that people found my racial makeup fascinating. “What are you?” and “Where are you from?” were the most common conversation starters I encountered from kindergarten on. More often than not, when meeting new people, whether at a school, church, or social function, they would say, “You’re mixed, aren’t you?” perhaps even before learning my name. This would lead to an explanation that I was half-black and half-Chinese, but adopted at three months by an all-black family. Faces would light up with hopes that I spoke Chinese, even after I repeated that I was three months old when I was adopted, too young to learn Chinese. I did meet a couple other adopted children, but I never met anyone with parents from two different racial groups until some time in high school. I came to see being mixed as a rare thing, confirming the reactions I got from other people.¹

Another emblematic experience from that time was watching the miniseries, *Roots*, which became my initiation into racism in the United States. As with many, it was my introduction to African American history, but considering that my parents had decided to raise me as all-black it was also an introduction to the history of my ancestors. While *Roots* was a story of survival, perseverance, and tradition, it was also one of cruel

¹ It is easy to see these as racist exchanges, much like the “forever foreigner” encounters Asian Americans have. The concept of “lumping” mixed race Americans even though their experiences are very diverse is another similarity between these two groups. Lastly, with the acceptance of some varieties of racial mixing over others, some mixed Asian Americans are most readily given an “honorary white” status. In fact, with the notion that Eurasians are more attractive, the station of mixed Asian Americans adds another level to the term, “model minority.” In these ways and more, the mixed race experience and the Asian American experience are bound together. Yen Le Espiritu goes as far as to suggest that, by its panethnicity, Asian America is multiracial by definition. Yen Le Espiritu, “Possibilities of a Multiracial Asian America,” in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*, ed. Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

slave owners, resentful Confederates, and lecherous white men. The fact that cross-burnings were still taking place in my native Baltimore made the history *Roots* presented truer. However, *Roots* did not prepare me for the treatment I got from fellow black children—the calls of “Ching-Chow-Ching” in my grandmother’s neighborhood, the requests that I show them some kung fu, and the incredulous looks when I maintained that I was black like them. It would take much longer to justify a black identity with a mixed identity, to appreciate the Asian American experience, or to devise different answers for different people.²

Racial name-calling ended after elementary school, but the fascination with my racial makeup continued. My teenage buddies would tell me “You could pass for anything—Hispanic, Middle Eastern, Italian, whatever—and date any kind of girl you want!” One guy I worked with at the neighborhood movie cinema told me about this other mixed kid he knew every time we met. “He’s just like you, half-black and half-Chinese.” I was curious, as I knew no other mixed kids. When I finally spotted him on the bus, me coming home from prep school with a tweed jacket, paisley tie, and Docksidors, and him with two, boisterous black girls, in a sweatsuit and Adidas, I knew we were nothing alike. Still, he seemed to be the only other mixed kid for miles.

² These three modes recall Kelly Ann Rockquemore and David L. Brunσμα’s suggestion that black and white biracial people construct a protean (sometimes white and sometimes black) identity, a border (biracial) identity, a singular (black or white) identity, or a transcendent identity beyond racial identification, all based on appearance, social network structure, and socialization factors. The protean identity consists of “multiple racial identities and personas that may be called up in appropriate contexts.” Michael Anft, “Uneasy Street,” *Baltimore City Paper*, <http://www.citypaper.com/news/story.asp?id=3729>; Kerry Rockquemore and David L. Brunσμα, *Beyond Black: Biracial Identity in America* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2002).

In the mid-1990s, when the topic of including a “Multiracial”³ category on the Census started to appear in the news, the front pages of the *New York Times* let me know that, even if I rarely knew any, there were other mixed people out there. They had families, similar experiences, and opinions about where they fit in American society. Still wary of umbrella categories, I never got in the habit of calling myself “Multiracial,” but I did follow the topic from time to time. Later, the federal Office of Management and Budget decision to use a method of multiple checking made sense to me. After all, identity is a complex thing, and multiple checking allows for a variety of self-identification that reflects a set of people who may be any combination of white, black, Asian, Indian, or otherwise.⁴

These days, the fascination with racial makeup seems higher than ever, beyond academia, where people are happy to talk about race and kind enough to praise my topic as “timely.” My position as one conversant with race seems to give people license to confess their secret beliefs about mixed race people. Whether at airport gates, weddings, or conference sessions, some bear with my suggestion (borrowing the title of Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima’s edited collection) that “the whole can indeed be greater than the sum of its parts” to reveal their special, precious thought on racial

³ I prefer the term *mixed race* to *multiracial*, mainly because it draws no associations with any particular racially mixed group, movement, or relation of power between two racial groups. Secondly, *mixed race* emphasizes inextricable blending rather than separable components (i.e., a multivitamin). I understand that many interchange these two, along with the term *biracial*, which I avoid because of its intimation of dualism. Throughout this project, *mixed race* will refer to the state of being. However, I will be using *multiracial* when referring to the movement. Likewise, I will be calling the movement the *Multiracial Movement*, since that’s what the activists call it themselves. The wide collection of terms in use points to the arbitrary nature of the terms, as well as the variety of ways people speak about these topics.

⁴ In defending multiple checking, Franklin D. Raines, Director of O.M.B., said, “We’re allowing people to express that multiracial heritage in whatever way they view themselves.” Ramon McLeod, “2000 Census Sets Compromise for Mixed Races.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 30 1997.

mixing: “You represent what this multiculturalism thing is all about. In the future, everyone will look like you.”⁵

You can see it in popular culture at large through the number of highly visible mixed race celebrities. A recent trip to the magazine aisle in Walgreens revealed that Tiger Woods, Vin Diesel, Rosario Dawson, and Lenny Kravitz all graced magazine covers at the same time. Hip-hop’s urban cool is the vernacular of many youth, and most are comfortable with the idea of cultural mixing. As one *Newsweek* article questions, “When you can go to a Korean hip-hop club in Los Angeles and dance to the all-black Wu-Tang Clan rapping about being Shaolin fighters, in a crowd sporting Tommy Hilfiger WASP-wear, who’s to say where racial boundaries lie?”⁶

And the numbers provide a truth easy to embrace: In Census 2000, 6.8 million, or 2.4%, of the population identified with two or more racial groups. The number of interracial marriages has increased from 149,000 in 1960, to 937,000 in 1990, to 1.26 million in 1997. A recent Gallup poll of 1,106 adults shows that Americans of all races

⁵ Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans, Asian American History and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 8.

⁶ John Leland and Gregory Beals make the common mistake of eliding cultural mixing with racial mixing, just as many others confuse multicultural with multiracial. This project will discuss a variety of phenomenon regarding race and mixing, following these guidelines: Mere integration is not mixing. People with different backgrounds can work with each other without any exchange going on. It is possible that they will make certain exchanges as they develop a deeper acquaintance, say, listening to Wu-Tang Clan and wearing Tommy Hilfiger, but this is merely cultural mixing. Interracial intimacy refers to sexual contact between people of different racial backgrounds. In this moment, different racial backgrounds refers mostly to people across the main, racial categories in the United States Census. (However, considering the variable and racialized experience of Latinos, contact between a Latino and a non-Latino of the same racial group could be interracial intimacy, just as contact between a long-standing, native American and a European immigrant in the late nineteenth century could be interracial intimacy. There must be some level of racialization within that historically-situated context for this project to call it interracial intimacy.) Going one step further, the production of racially mixed people falls under the label, racial mixing. This can happen within the sanctions of matrimony (interracial marriage, or intermarriage) or not. Lastly, the product of racial mixing will go by the name, racially mixed people. This project focuses on these latter, more intimate ends of this spectrum. Likewise, while interracial buddy movies do present a type of racial

overwhelmingly support interracial dating, with an equal number of men and women saying they have dated a person of a different racial/ethnic group. These opinions are virtually unanimous among younger people. I believe it when I see the number of mixed students on campus and at shopping malls. Five out of thirty-five students in the Introduction to Asian American Studies class I assisted with were mixed. I never knew five mixed kids at all when I was their age. It must be true. These mixed race kids are a sign of a changing racial environment.⁷

But are they really? As far as the rarity of mixed Americans goes, this is questionable, because the methods to account for them have been inconsistent. Mulattoes existed on the Census from 1850 through 1890, then 1910 and 1920, but no more after that. Now there is multiple checking, which has its strengths, but doesn't help with counting before 2000, and could it be moot if (or, as the history of Census categories has shown us, *when*) the racial categories change. As a reflection of self-identification, the number of multiple checkers is missing those who check one race when their parents are from two different racial groups. Lastly, as a new development for the Census, it only captures data about current respondents, not their racially mixed parents.⁸

mixing (with homosocial cooperation as the usual product) it lies outside this project, as it does not produce new, mixed bodies. John Leland and Gregory Beals, "In Living Colors," *Newsweek*, May 5 1997.

⁷ Nicholas A. Jones and Amy Symens Smith, "The Two or More Races Population: 2000," in *Census 2000 Brief* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001); E&P Staff, "Gallup: Americans Now Support Interracial Dating," Editor & Publisher, http://www.mediainfo.com/eandp/news/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1001264046.

⁸ Sharon Lee gives a history of racial categories in the United States Census and how they've changed nearly every ten years. Clara Rodriguez builds on Lee's scheme in her *Changing Race*, but also explores how many self-identify in contemporary times, in comparison with how enumerators identified people in the past. Ann Morning's work explores even more pitfalls to self-identification, questioning the accuracy of statistics that may or may not capture the number of mixed race people, and pointing out the challenges of justifying 2000 data with past surveys. Lastly, major newspapers presented a number of human-interest stories around the 2000 Census that indicate the misgivings people may have regarding choosing two or more races. Sharon M. Lee, "Racial Classifications in the U.S. Census: 1890-1990," *Ethnic and Racial*

As far as cultural mixing goes, its basis is the super-availability of commodities. So what if basketball stars have kanji tattoos, or chipotle-rubbed tandoori is on the menu, or young white men (the leading consumers of hip-hop) mash up 50 Cent and John Mayer? These trends reveal a tendency to confuse multicultural with multiracial. Hidebound racial identities persist regardless of these adornments and the racially ambiguous models to hang them on. The consumption of products does not protect disadvantaged groups from marginalization. In fact, it can lead to all-new practices. For example, college dudes often recognize Dave Chappelle's astute analysis, meanwhile using his show as license to yell, "I'm Rick James, bitch!" at women pedestrians, performing a blackface more emboldened than the blackface they perform at fraternity parties. As far as celebrity goes, for as many Tiger Woods, Vin Diesels, or Adrian Pipers suggesting anti-essentialist ways of identifying, there are as many Keanu Reeveses passing for white, Charles Byrds and other Multiracial activists who wish to "scrap all racial classifications," or Leo Feltons internalizing racism so far as to plan terrorist attacks on Jewish and black landmarks in the hope of inciting racial warfare.⁹

Studies 16, no. 1 (1991); Ann Morning, "New Faces, Old Faces: Counting the Multiracial Population Past and Present," in *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003); Clara E. Rodriguez, *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Eric Schmitt, "Blacks Split on Disclosing Multiracial Roots," *New York Times*, March 31 2001.

⁹ The conflation of *multicultural* ("of, relating to, or including several cultures") with *multiracial* ("made up of, involving, or acting on behalf of various races: *a multiracial society*") is another reason to use *mixed race* when referring to the state of "having ancestors of several or various races." Byrd, editor of *Interracial Voice* (<http://www.webcom.com/intvoice/>), an informational clearinghouse for mixed race topics, was one of the few Multiracial Movement leaders who decried O.M.B.'s decision to implement multiple checking. A conversation on *MacNeil/Lehrer's NewsHour* presents his position on racial categories. multicultural. Dictionary.com. *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/multicultural> (accessed: November 16, 2006), multiracial. Dictionary.com. *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/multiracial> (accessed: November 16, 2006) MacNeil/Lehrer

These contradictions should make one ask what has changed regarding racial mixing in the United States in recent decades, distrusting the autobiography I lay out above, which proposes that there are more mixed people, that race relations are better than ever, and that one can use their perspective now to judge their perspective in the past. Instead, I propose three guiding principles: First, as historians Gary Nash and Martha Hodes point out, there have been racially mixed people in the United States since the colonial period. Second, racially mixed people disrupt the “social projects which create or reproduce structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race” that have existed since that time, or before.¹⁰ In other words, they are “ideologically unacceptable.” Third, and most applicable to this intellectual history, positive and negative ideas regarding racially mixed people exist concurrently, rising and falling in currency, and even recycling, usually in response to the times. But what has changed is the language available to describe them and the number of voices employing this discourse through the many media outlets available to them. I hope to show, especially through the second look, that there are common trends in every period of United States history concerning mixed people, just as there have always been mixed people, whether we call them mulatto, libre, free persons of color, negro, biracial, multiracial, hapa, mixed race, half-breed, mestizo, or red-haired stepchild.¹¹

Productions, "Online Newshour: "Multiracial" Census Category -- July 16, 1997," PBS, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/fedagencies/july-dec97/census_7-16.html; Paul Tough, "The Black Supremacist," *New York Times*, May 25 2003.

¹⁰ I borrow this definition of racism from Michael Omi and Howard Winant. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 162.

¹¹ Martha Elizabeth Hodes, *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Gary B. Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America," *The Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (1995).

Within my own experience of racial naming, I grew up thinking of myself as black. My parents thought this would help prepare me for racism, but it also minimized my racial makeup to a side note. It never would have crossed their minds to think another way. Neither did *Roots*, as engaging as it was, help with accepting a mixed racial makeup. While the miniseries stayed clear of employing the Tragic Mulatto it also chose, as David Hollinger states, “to identify with Africa, accepting, in effect, the categories of the white oppressors who had determined that the tiniest fraction of African ancestry would confer one identity and erase another,” erasing (or “blackwashing?”) any features say, Ben Vereen as Chicken George, would get from his white father.¹² As a cursory history lesson, *Roots* glossed over the varying ways people with such features would identify, privileging the fact that white men raped black women over the fact that this produced mixed offspring who had to negotiate racial America one way or another. No wonder I tried so hard to convince people I was black. I had no language to explain my straight hair, narrow nose, or the fold in my eyes, nor how some blacks had features more “Asian” than my own. Now I am able to articulate a definition of race that reflects progressive, academic sentiments: that it is a social construction that greatly influences Americans’ lives but has no foundation in scientific distinctions; that there are other modes of analysis like class, gender, and culture that go hand in hand with race as a means to examine people’s lives, past and present; and that there are as many physical

¹² In *Postethnic America*, David Hollinger critiques Alex Haley for privileging his black heritage in *Roots*. In their own works, F. James Davis and Joel Williamson give more sympathetic histories of the one-drop rule, as well as how African Americans have promoted a sense of racial unity from it. F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition*, 10th anniversary ed. (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); David A. Hollinger, "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States," *American Historical Review* 108, no. 5 (2003):

features within a racial group as there are across racial groups. Better appreciating the fact of mixture and the practice of monoracial identification around me, I make sure to avoid applying new names to longstanding modes of identification, especially when they overlook the particularities of the people they attempt to signify.¹³

“America’s New Racial Heroes” is an intellectual history that keeps the principles above in mind while exploring the more celebratory ideas around mixed race people in United States history. It critiques notions that the presence of Americans of mixed racial backgrounds indicate an unmixed past, an improved present, or a utopian future. It asks, “What’s the big deal? Why are mixed race people so interesting? What does the idea of mixed race people do for America?” Of these, the third is the most significant. In fact, I consider this to be the meta-question guiding the whole work. It is the most open-ended question here, but it is also the most applicable, as it points to the notions that Americans have had about racial mixing. In a way, asking what mixed race people do for people places the ideas around them in the center. These are ideas about racial progress,

20; Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York: Free Press, 1980).

¹³ Take, for example, the label, “hapa,” and its widespread use to describe any mixed race Asian. It falls short when describing many instances of Asian mixing in the United States, such as the Punjabi-Mexicans of California, Chinese-Creoles of Louisiana, or black and Japanese residents of Seattle’s Central District. Sharon Begley, “Three Is Not Enough,” *Newsweek*, February 13, 1995; Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People without a History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984); Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (1991); Barbara J. Fields, “Ideology and Race in American History,” in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. C. Vann Woodward, J. Morgan Kousser, and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995); Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California’s Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*; Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle’s Central District, from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*, The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

inclusion, and the future of America that this dissertation is really exploring, rather than the fact that so-and-so said such-and-such. What I want readers to come away with from this work is a lens for understanding a variety of statements about race mixing.

While this project is about the positive conceptions, the negative will always be nearby for the sake of contextualization. More often than not, these come from those wishing to protect racial purity. These people dream of what Sollors calls “the eternal likeness of all after-generations to his or her own image; on a global scale it is the eternal perpetuation of the boundaries between races or stocks or groups that have been classified and organized hierarchically to the advantage of the purist.”¹⁴ On a personal scale the dream involves never having in-laws or grandchildren different from one self. Many antagonistic to interracial marriage and mixed race people invoke a “loss of culture,” as if there is one right way to do culture, innovation is dangerous, and their own practices must persist after their death. The purist can be one outside of the classifiers and organizers. Future generations, who may choose a different matrix of consent and descent, are threats to the ethnic purist. This is the gut fear at the basis of most efforts to preserve racial purity, including racial science, hypodescent, and segregation. In his *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*, David M. Schneider presents a fundamental dichotomy in American society: man vs. nature. But since man is a special animal with reason, this becomes reason vs. desire, with laws (and culture more broadly) regulating relationships. American laws open up relationships, placing either the social relationship or the physical act at their foundations. But the laws punish the transgression of the man

¹⁴ Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 224.

vs. nature and reason vs. desire *détentes*, in particular, when one participates in a relationship deemed unmanly or unreasonable. In this way, American culture has punished those who threaten the wish for racial purity, even though the natural urge has been to mix with others.¹⁵

The careers of both poles have been simultaneous, depending on who is writing and when. The moments producing literature on racial mixing in America gather around three periods: an Age of Pathology, an Age of Assimilation, and an Age of Celebration. The first includes the decades before the Civil War, when an American School of ethnology relied on polygenesis to explain human variety, defend slavery, and admonish the ills of racial mixing. The second featured an eventual movement away from essentialist, Lamarckian ideas of racial character to a more Mendellian understanding of heredity. At the same time, Robert E. Park and his followers posed assimilation as the solution for racism, with intermarriage as a key catalyst. The third period began with the growth of publishing around mixed race identity, starting with Maria P.P. Root's 1992 collection, *Racially Mixed People in America*, and continuing through the present moment. This project may become part of this "Age of Celebration," but hopefully its historical approach will distance the very framework of Ages. Rather than emphasize progress, I prefer to amplify discontinuities. Here I think of Michel Foucault's praise of historical works that "show that the history of a concept is not wholly and entirely that of its progressive refinement, its continuously increasing rationality, its abstraction gradient,

¹⁵ The dichotomies also lead to more specificity regarding types of relations (i.e., in-laws vs. parents), but it also gives two criteria to the idea of parentage, both the social and the biological. "Repugnant" and "unnatural" are two more terms American use to describe unacceptable relationships, often applying the latter to actions that transgress reason more than desire. David Murray Schneider, *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

but that of its various fields of constitution and validity, that of its successive rules of use, that of the many theoretical contexts in which it developed and matured.”¹⁶ While this project does have a chronological starting point, it is by no means a beginning. Likewise, while the cases follow in order, the contextualization within “the totality of relations that can be discovered”¹⁷ for each will separate them more than connect them. In the end, the hero may prevail—as a joke.

This project’s models are most apparent in several American Studies works, including Philip Deloria’s survey of the uses of the Native American image, *Playing Indian*, Robert G. Lee’s treatment of Asian Americans in American popular culture, *Orientalists*, and Eric Lott’s *Love and Theft*. While Deloria and Lee cover nearly two hundred years of material and Lott examines less than a century, they all examine how stereotypes both reflected and informed mainstream ideas around racial minorities. Second, they place these stereotypes in relation to concepts of nationality, inclusion, and identity. This is especially true for Deloria and Lee. Third, all three of these books point to concrete persons, places, and practices where these ideas reveal themselves, whether the Indian iconography of Tammany Hall, the popularity of the Model Minority stereotype, or the corroboration of the idea that blacks are naturally musical and comedic. Lastly and most importantly, they focus on ideas around groups in American history that have faced racial oppression, keeping both the positive and negative in mind. By relating these five historical moments to broader themes of *novelty, heroization, utopia, physical*

¹⁶ I refer to Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe’s three ages in her edited collection, *Mixed Race Studies: A Reader*. However, rather than claim we are firmly in an “Age of Critique,” I suggest that we may still be in the second, “Age of Celebration.” Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 4; Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe, *Mixed Race Studies: A Reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 8.

appearance, and *technology*, this dissertation hopes to shed light on this ambivalent dynamic and avoid celebration, self-absorption, and chauvinism present in many writings on mixed race.¹⁸

Primary is the theme of *novelty*, or the idea that mixed people are a new phenomenon. Since Hector St. John De Crevecoeur, rhetoric about American identity has often used the trope of the “new man.” Ralph Waldo Emerson also cast America as a “smelting-pot” that would create a new type in what Luther Luedtke called a “less bland, more tough-minded and challenging statement on the evolution of the American people than meets the random reader of his 1845 Journal.” Harlem Renaissance author, Jean Toomer, hails the birth of a new race, “neither white nor black nor in-between,” but wholly American.¹⁹ Joel Williamson’s history of mulattos America casts them as “New People” capable of transcending an “exclusive whiteness and an exclusive blackness.”²⁰ Often, praising racially mixed people as new can be a disparagement of minorities from traditional racial groups as old, much like Crevecoeur’s praise of the American was at the expense of old Europeans. This newness connects to an American, Protestant sensibility through ideas of regeneration, redemption, and perfectionism. It connects to concerns over the created-ness of America itself: America is new, the institutions, practices, and

¹⁷ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 191.

¹⁸ I also include Fredrickson’s *The Black Image in the White Mind*, for reasons similar to those for *Love and Theft*, and especially because it covers some of the same scientific racist material concerning nineteenth century amalgamation. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, Conn.; Scranton, Pa.: Wesleyan University Press; Distributed by Harper & Row, 1987); Robert G. Lee, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture*, Asian American History and Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁹ Jean Toomer and Frederik L. Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 105.

culture created here are new, and its people are the newest of the new. In a similar vein, those who place their hopes in mixed race people see them as a sign that the American experiment will succeed. In more recent contexts, this comes out most often in the belief that civil rights and immigration changes of recent decades have produced more mixed people. Academic, journalistic, and popular writers mistake the lack of statistics on mixed people as a sign that they did not exist before, continuing a trend since Crèvecoeur of binding together new-ness, mixed-ness, and American-ness when talking about diversity in the United States. In this way, novelty pervades every other theme in this work, below.²¹

Heroization is equally as central because it conveys the activity of mixed race Americans within the positive outlook. You can see this in the belief that the mere appearance of mixed people indicates improved relations between racial groups, thus conferring upon them the responsibility of repairing strife. However, I am less interested in cases where the racially mixed are heroes for one particular group, for example, Frederick Douglass's hopes that blacks will be "absorbed, assimilated, and will only appear finally, as the Phoenicians now appear on the shores of the Shannon, in the features of a blended race"; or Edward Reuter's suggestion that mulattoes were superior

²⁰ Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States*, 195.

²¹ Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967); Ralph Waldo Emerson et al., *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971); Luther Luedtke, "Ralph Waldo Emerson Envisions the 'Smelting Pot'," *Melus* 6, no. 2, *The Smelting Price* (1979): 8; Perry Miller, John Carter Brown Library, and John Carter Brown Library. Associates., *Errand into the Wilderness: An Address* (Williamsburg: William and Mary Quarterly for the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1952); J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, *The World's Classics* (New York: Duffield, 1904); Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*; Gordon S. Wood and Institute of Early American History and Culture (Williamsburg Va.), *The Creation of*

to unmixed blacks; or Thomas Jefferson's recommendation to absorb the Indians in exchange for their lands.²² More relevant to this project are examples where the mixed person is the hero for all. Currently, heroization expresses itself in the idea that a particular mixed person is a savior for the rest of us. In contemporary fantasies, you can almost imagine that they will swoop down, action movie-style, and take us away from this mess. Whether studying rates of intermarriage, puzzling over the appearance of computer-generated, mixed race cover stars, or passing over the new movie releases, both mixed and non-mixed Americans have participated in this heroization.²³

In *Ideology and Utopia*, Karl Mannheim defines *utopia* as "that type of orientation which transcends reality and which at the same time breaks the bonds of the existing order."²⁴ Whenever optimists give their vision of a utopian, improved America, it is usually in the future, which is the newest of the new, or the new-to-come. To discern the utopian from the ideological here, Karl Mannheim suggests that we can tell by looking into the past:

Ideas which later turned out to have been only distorted representations of a past or potential social order were ideological, while those which were adequately realized in the succeeding social order were relative utopias... The extent to which ideas are realized constitutes a supplementary and retroactive standard for

the American Republic, 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., 1969).

²² Frederick Douglass, "The Future of the Negro Race," *North American Review* 142, no. May (1886).

²³ Prominent examples of this include Tiger Woods and Barack Obama. Thomas Jefferson, *Policy of Civilization and Assimilation* (1803); Edward Byron Reuter, *Race Mixture; Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, inc., 1931); Kerry Ann Rockquemore, "Deconstructing Tiger Woods: The Promise and the Pitfalls of Multiracial Identity," (2001); Gary Smith, "The Chosen One," *Sports Illustrated*, December 23 1996; Time Magazine, "Time.Com: The Fresh Face," Time, Inc., <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1546362,00.html>.

²⁴ Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), 193.

making distinctions between facts which as long as they are contemporary are buried under the partisan conflict of opinion.²⁵

In other words, “A state of mind is utopian when it is incongruous with the state of reality within which it occurs.”²⁶ This seems to defend success of any new regime, but actually calls for vigilance towards that which goes on around us in the present. If it maintains an existent status quo, it is probably more ideological than utopian. But all kinds of ideologies wrestle on the ground, crusading to gain the privilege of securing their own versions of utopia. The imagined future with far more mixed people may as easily be ideological as it may be utopian. While we strive for racial justice, fulfilling American ideals of equality, we must beware of the ideologies appearing as seductive utopias, usually in the guise of a comely face.

Equally as important in discussing the creation of new, mixed Americans for an improved, utopian future, Werner Sollors puts the making of Americans in the context of typology, or “a form of prophecy which sets two successive events into a reciprocal relation of anticipation and fulfillment.”²⁷ This involves repetition of a prophecy to the point of overshadowing the promise. Like the jeremiad, this Biblical vision hails from the Puritans, who perfected a language of special purpose, voyaging, and promised lands—as well as the wilderness and the covenant that challenged them. For example, John Winthrop’s “A Modell of Christian Charity” binds together themes of Christian love, ethnogenesis, and the kingdom of God. Later, in the early eighteenth century, the “one blood” of Acts 17:26 began to figure greatly in rhetoric asserting the equality of all

²⁵ Ibid., 204.

²⁶ Ibid., 192.

mankind, as well as the promise of citizenship in the kingdom of God to all. But it also means that the anticipation increases with repetition, making signs of fulfillment (or imminent fulfillment) like increasing intermarriage or mixed race birth rates more prophetic. The anticipation becomes more important than the achievement of a utopian state.²⁸

Imagining the perfect American introduces the idea of *physical appearance*. There are two ways in which physical appearance is important in laudatory ideas around mixed race Americans: First, hand in hand with the idea that there are more mixed people now than ever is the idea that mixed people are younger than twenty years old. In fact, the news media took to mothers like Susan Graham, Executive Director of Project R.A.C.E. (Re-Classify All Children Equally), one of the organizations that pushed for a “Multiracial” category on the 2000 census, and created a sort of archetype that one could call The Angry White Mother, who protected her child (and future racial messiah) from the massacre of the innocents, becoming a sort of public face of the Multiracial Movement. Likewise, human interest stories around the 2000 Census often focused on middle-class families, who were also clean, healthy, and attractive. This tied middle class decorum, assimilation, and upward mobility to mixed race. How would the tenor of these articles change if they profiled poor families, mail-order brides, or the elderly

²⁷ Sollors uses Ursula Brumm’s definition of *typology*. Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 27.

²⁸ Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, 40-65.

mixed? Besides having to address class, gender, and age, the media would have had to let go of the most hopeful imagery to tell their stories.²⁹

The other side of the physical appearance theme is the popular idea that mixed people are more attractive, which people still voice on a day-to-day basis. In her exploration of the role physical appearance plays in racially mixed people's lives, Carla K. Bradshaw explains how society treats them as the Beauty and the Beast, especially when their racial makeup is unknown. "This increased attention to physical appearance is expressed in such labels as *exotic*, *beautiful* or *fascinating* (the Beauty)."³⁰ These exchanges reveal that the questioner gets some kind of visual pleasure from looking upon mixed race people and ascribes this comeliness to the fact that they are mixed. (Alternatively, the questioner may get a sense of gratification from solving the puzzle that one's racially ambiguous appearance presents.) In regards to physical appearance, this project pays attention to what the mixed people look like, whether they are the populace of abolitionists' utopian imaginings, the benevolent smile of the New Face of America, or the distinct but standard ambiguousness of fashion models.

²⁹ These articles tell this kind of story: Julie Kershaw, of Baltimore County, Maryland, refuses to choose "Black," "White," or "Other" for her five year-old. Michelle Erickson, of Chicago, reluctantly chooses to designate her son as "Black," the race of his father, and vows never to choose under coercion again. Debra Bekele, of Buda, Texas, says of her children, "They are not black. They are not white," and hopes to avoid racially identifying them. Cynthia Burrus, of Killeen, Texas, asks, "How could a child be born from a white body and still be black?" and believes they shouldn't have to choose. Loretta Edwards, of Mobile, Alabama, became so mad that people called her daughter something she wasn't that she pressed a lawsuit against the federal government to adopt a "Multiracial" category. Mary A. Johnson, "Multiracial Identity No Option in Schools," *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 8 1993; Starita Smith, "Racially 'Mixed' Seek Category in Census," *Times-Picayune*, June 2 1996; Jennifer C. Yates, "Maryland Considers Choosing 'Multiracial'," *New York Beacon*, October 15 1997; Gary Younge, "Multiracial Citizens Divided on Idea of Separate Census Classification," *Washington Post*, July 19 1996.

³⁰ Carla K. Bradshaw, "Beauty and the Beast: On Racial Ambiguity," in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992), 77.

Technology: This refers to the metaphors one uses when describing racial mixing, and the ideologies these communicate. Here Donna Haraway's "Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture," which lays out the shifting paradigms regarding racial science in the United States, is instructive. Attention to historically-situated discourses of technology reveals how Americans imagine racial mixing happens. Often it is in terms of the technology of the times, whether racial science, metallurgy, computer-generated images, demographics, psychological tests, or the human genome. But technology also comes through via the arithmetic of racial makeup and the idea that mixed people repair the nation. In this language, America is the lab where a great scientific experiment is taking place, the refinery that is smelting a new alloy, or the computer terminal morphing together different ethnic features. On a private level, the bedroom is the lab, refinery, or computer terminal taking part in the project of creating kinship. But the theme of technology also refers to the language one uses to describe mixed people, as well as the process of racial mixing. Often this is along the lines of their being new and improved, giving the impression that people are like the latest models of cars; or that mixed people combine the talents of their parent, racial groups, giving a half-black, half-Chinese person skills in basketball and mathematics; or where mixed race people act as the "patch" to fix a software problem. However, the same praise of the new remains no matter what technology one invokes; a contemporary essence "in the genes," which refers to contemporary genetics, does the same as a nineteenth century essence "in the blood," which refers to past ideas of pathology.

Ultimately, asking "What does the idea of mixed race people do for America?" has helped me sift through the sources I have collected over the recent years and helped

me realize that the more compelling artifacts reflect the themes above. Altogether, they coalesce around five moments to create a narrative about race, which contribute to continuity in “America’s New Racial Heroes.” Even though this dissertation’s structure revolves around five moments, these are peaks, rather than islands, in a narrative about race. The first examines radical abolitionist Wendell Phillips’s defense of amalgamation. Archival research into this Christian activist’s life before and during the Civil War reveals more about his belief that “No nation ever became great which was born of one blood.”³¹ Exploring his statements on this topic can broaden our understanding of how the abolitionists differed on such a controversial topic. They can also add depth to his thoughts on racial equality and civil rights, which set him apart from many of his peers and made him the target for those who opposed racial amalgamation. From Massachusetts legislative records of 1838 to *Liberator* articles of the 1860’s, Phillips remained steadfast in his beliefs. While others were more cautious, he was more outspoken about amalgamation than most, leading to some believing he was the author of the 1864 *Miscegenation* pamphlet that equated a Lincoln re-election with giving black men the license to have sex with white women.³²

³¹ Wendell Phillips, “The United States of the United Races,” *National Era*, September 15 1853.

³² I choose Phillips as a starting point over Crevecoeur mainly because his *Letters* clearly excluded blacks and Indians. As Doreen Alvarez Saar has pointed out, the letters purvey a very Anglocentric point of view, with a clear hierarchy and a favoring of assimilation towards Englishness. Intermixture between Europeans is acceptable, but mixing with natives would produce what she describes as a “mongrel breed of unpleasant and immoral character.” Thomas Jefferson’s *Policy of Civilization and Assimilation* (1803) suggested letting “our settle-ments and theirs meet and blend together, to intermix, and become one people.” However, as Frank Shuffelton describes, Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* is steeped in the essentialist anthropological method of the time, denigrating blacks as unworthy for intimacy with whites: “Jefferson’s anthropologically based skepticism distances him from the brutal self-assurance of racism even as it is finally unable to free him from the tyranny of a racist discourse of anatomy and appearance.” In comparison, Jefferson’s policy towards the Indian is far more generous, but it still holds them as inferior, and the motivation to gain territories is obvious. Likewise, Emerson’s ambivalence regarding the station of blacks excludes him as a starting point. Nor do I include Frederick Douglass’ statements regarding race

Chapter Two uses Israel Zangwill's 1908 play, *The Melting-Pot*, as a starting point to discuss sociologists' placement of his trope at the center of discourse around assimilation, especially Robert E. Park's followers. At the hands of sociologists, the Melting Pot has become the most popular trope to describe intermarriage. Besides encouraging intermarriage at a time infamous for its nativism, Zangwill proved himself an iconoclast by critiquing the Ku Klux Klan and exploring the intersections of nationality and diversity. However, Zangwill, was a vanguard with inconsistencies; the 1914 edition of the play included an Afterword that excluded racial minorities. Meanwhile, Harlem Renaissance writer, Jean Toomer, coined his own term, "the stomach," to symbolize America's assimilative mission, and articulated a future, mixed, American race that included racial minorities. In comparing the two tropes, this chapter also covers the legacy of the melting pot in assimilation theory. The trends of the past one hundred years call for a re-examination of its inclusions and exclusions.³³

mixing because, even though he was black, his statements revolved around uplifting blacks. On the other hand, Phillips is clearly discussing the amalgamation of very different racial groups. Douglass, "The Future of the Negro Race."; Emerson et al., *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*; Jefferson, *Policy of Civilization and Assimilation*; Thomas Jefferson and David Waldstreicher, *Notes on the State of Virginia: With Related Documents* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *Journal of Negro History* 34, no. 3 (1949); Elise Virginia Lemire, *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America*, [New Cultural Studies] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Gilbert Osofsky, "Wendell Phillips and the Quest for a New American Identity," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 1 (1973); Doreen Alvarez Saar, "The Heritage of American Ethnicity in Crevecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer," in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Frank Shuffelton, "Thomas Jefferson: Race, Culture, and the Failure of Anthropological Method," in *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America*, ed. Frank Shuffelton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*; Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" *American Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1964); Milton Myron Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Charles Hirschman, "America's Melting Pot Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983); Gregory Rodriguez, "Mongrel America," *Atlantic Monthly*, January/February 2003 2003.

³³ Jill Smolowe, "Intermarried... with Children," *Time*, Fall 1993; Lauren Gail Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*, Series Q (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Donna Jeanne Haraway, *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Mike Hill,

The third chapter examines the *Time* Magazine's Fall 1993 issue on immigration, memorable for its computer-generated "New Face of America" cover, which combined features of many ethnic types to symbolize the new diversity of the United States. Scholars such as Lauren Berlant, Donna Haraway, David Roediger, Mike Hill, and Caroline Streeter have written on the significance of this "SimEve," pointing out that she represents "normative citizenship," or "unrequited" interracial love, or a "multiracial denial of racial reality."³⁴ However, and few have analyzed the other articles on immigration in the magazine, its wish "to return America to an unhyphenated whole," or the uses of the New Face over the past thirteen years.³⁵ In the end, I argue that the New Face is similar to the Melting Pot as an icon, even if only we academics ponder it. This continues in popular and academic use of "the new face," after 1993. Like the elder symbol, it ameliorates fears about racial change by giving Americans an attractive image to dwell on. The anxieties regarding diversity remain, but the "New Face of America" offers a utopian way to discuss it, echoing others who cite racial mixing as a means to overcome racial divisions in America.

After Whiteness: Unmaking an American Majority, Cultural Front (Series) (New York: New York University Press, 2004); David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London; New York: Verso, 1991); Caroline A. Streeter, "The Hazards of Visibility: "Biracial" Women, Media Images, and Narratives of Identity," in *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003).

³⁴ Smolowe, "Intermarried... with Children," 65.

³⁵ Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (London: Methuen, 1992); Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000); George Lipsitz, "Noises in the Blood: Culture, Conflict, and Mixed-Race Identities," in *Crossing Lines: Race and Mixed Race across the Geohistorical Divide*, ed. Marc Coronado, et al (Santa Barbara, CA: MultiEthnic Student Outreach, 2003); Minkah Makalani, "A Biracial Identity or a New Race? The Historical Limitations and Political Implications of a Biracial Identity," *Souls* 3, no. 4 (2001); Paul R. Spickard, "Does Multiraciality Lighten? Me-Too Ethnicity and the Whiteness Trap," in *Crossing Lines: Race and Mixed Race across the Geohistorical Divide*, ed. Marc Coronado, et al (Santa Barbara, CA: MultiEthnic Student Outreach, 2003); Naomi Zack, "Life after Race,"

A few years later, the news media once again cemented the connection between racial mixing and progress, covering the possibility of a “Multiracial” category on the 2000 census. By time the Office of Management and Budget called for multiple checking on all federal forms reporting racial statistics, a number of opinions concerning the issue rose, and a Multiracial Movement solidified. Some within and outside their ranks believed that mixed race people could dismantle America’s racial order or end racial categories altogether—thus removing the sin of racism from us. Many have critiqued this position, especially in regards to the predominance of whiteness in the United States, but none have put it in conversation with past calls for racial progress through racial mixing. I use the countless news articles, the nascent scholarly work on mixed race identity, and texts like philosopher Naomi Zack’s “Life After Race,” Kwame Anthony Appiah’s “Illusions of Race,” and Paul Gilroy’s *Against Race* to re-tell this story, emphasizing how traditional civil rights groups invoked old struggles, Multiracial Movement activists hoped for a new racial order, and racial abolitionists offered a premature solution to bring us closer to a sort of utopia.³⁶

Rounding out “America’s New Racial Heroes” is an examination of contemporary praise of ambiguity at the same time Americans wish for quantifiable racial makeup, showing that Tiger Woods’s racial candor, advertisers’ use of racially ambiguous models, and the popularity of commercial DNA tests operate within these dynamics. Sports writer, Ralph Wiley, recognizes that “What are you?” is a rude question to ask racially

in *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, ed. Naomi Zack (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995).

³⁶ Some of the most articulate critics of this position include George Lipsitz, Minkah Makalani, and Paul Spickard. Ralph Wiley, “One-Man Rainbow Coalition,” ESPN.com, <http://sports.espn.go.com/espn/print?id=1385444&type=page2Story>.

ambiguous people like Woods, and puts his finger on why people ask it: “It’s like people need to know where you stand... on yourself. But mostly where you stand in relation to them. People ask not for clarity but for their own comfort.”³⁷ By giving his exact racial makeup, Woods satisfied this need, allowing him to achieve even greater popularity as a mixed race figure. The same phenomena are apparent in advertising and marketing, where executives, recognizing that many Americans enjoy puzzling over mixed race celebrities, actors, and models, give the public more of what they expect—in the name of selling products. In recent years a trend has been developing that poses the Asian-white mix as the most attractive, appealing, and acceptable. Lastly, rather than “believe the myths on which racism is based” as companies like DNAPrint claim to do, the consumer genomics tests they offer re-inscribe 18th century racial orders of Carolus Linnaeus and Friedrich Blumenbach.³⁸

Trained in American studies, I believe “America’s New Racial Heroes” reflects that field’s interdisciplinary examination of cultural history. As Mary Helen Washington recommends in her 1997 American Studies Association presidential address, this dissertation aims to “disturb the peace,” go beyond celebrating diversity, and situate itself within ethnic studies more broadly.³⁹ After all, the goal of the growing “Mixed race Studies” literature should be in “reconfiguring race and rearticulating ethnicity,” as Williams-León and Nakashima suggest, using mixed race to its most productive ends

³⁷ Dana Hawkins Simons, "Getting D.N.A. To Bear Witness," *U.S. News & World Report*, June 23 2003.

³⁸ Mary Helen Washington, "'Disturbing the Peace: What Happens to American Studies If You Put African American Studies at the Center?'" Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, October 29, 1997," *American Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (1998).

rather than suggesting that racially mixed people are new. In the end, “America’s New Racial Heroes” will contribute to American studies and ethnic studies in ways similar to *Playing Indian*, *Orientalism*, *Love and Theft*, and other models I have cited. There have been many works on the Tragic Mulatto, the miscegenation taboo, and the legacy of *Loving v. Virginia*, but none that parse optimistic ideas around racial mixing as this research does.

There is no single explanation for the combination of fascination and antipathy towards mixed race people in United States history. The latter attitude has been more prevalent, and one can argue that reinforcing the color line against racially ambiguous people has been a central racial project since the colonial era. However, by emphasizing a set of vanguards who spoke against the fear of racial mixing, this dissertation hopes to broaden people’s thinking on these topics. My intention is to contribute to discussion of the bigger topics around American nationality well beyond the contemporary enthrallment with mixed race, and well into the future.

³⁹ Williams-León and Nakashima, *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*.

Chapter 1: Wendell Phillips: Unapologetic Abolitionist, Unreformed Amalgamationist

INTRODUCTION

By the antebellum period, many states had laws against interracial intimacy since the seventeenth century, one of the many steps that created a racial order in the North and South that preserved white racial purity, white male sexual privilege, as well as property, through the bastardy of mixed offspring. Besides law, popular culture, literature, and science were other areas of discourse that disdained racial mixing and racially mixed people. Blackface minstrelsy lampooned mulattos by playing out black-white sexual fantasies on white, male bodies. Melodramas like Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon* perpetuated the Tragic Mulatto myth through themes of atavism, incest, or doomed love. Lastly, by the 1850s, racial science, under the name of "ethnology," had produced a body of work that defended slavery by giving authority to polygenism, the idea that different human species spawned from different continents. Using methods now questionable, such as craniometry, these scientists justified their belief in black inferiority. Nearly as important as defending slavery was the task of denigrating the offspring from black and white parentage. If various geographical groups made up species of varying superiority, then the idea of inter-species mingling was naturally repugnant. In titles such as "The Mulatto a Hybrid - Probable Extinction of the Two Races if the Whites and Blacks are Allowed to Intermarry," scientists like Samuel Morton, George Gliddon, Josiah Nott, and Louis Agassiz held racial mixing as bad for whites, blacks, and the nation as a whole. Nott Gliddon, created the master work of the American School, *Types of Mankind*, which

codified the position on mulattoes, that they were weaker than both the white and black races, that they were doomed to extinction within a few generations, and that the black characteristics of even the lightest mulatto would reveal themselves. This was the predominant belief of the time, one that has prevailed to the present day through various incarnations, whether the tragic mulatto, the marginal man, or the outcast, interracial couple.¹

In the 1850s, to receive the label, “amalgamationist,” was a slur reserved mainly for the abolitionists. Newspapers used it to attack abolitionists, suffragists, and any position they disdained. For example, the *New York Herald* wrote of the 1850 Women’s Rights Convention,

From our published reports of the proceedings, the speeches, the declarations, and the resolutions of the Worcester Convention, it will be seen that their platform is made up of all the timbers of all the philosophers and spiritual advisers of the Tribune, founded upon the strong pillars of abolition, socialism, amalgamation and infidelity, compassing all the discoveries in heaven and earth.²

“Amalgamationist” became a cover-all epithet against any political stance that defended blacks, reflecting an association between civil rights and social rights, assuming that

¹ Werner Sollors’s *Neither Black nor White yet Both* focuses mostly on literature featuring mulattoes, exploring the Tragic Mulatto in depth. Sollors uses Boucicault’s *The Octoroon* to illustrate all of his major themes. Dion Boucicault, *The Octoroon* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Literature House, 1970); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, Rev. and expanded. ed. (New York: Norton, 1996); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Samuel Morton, “Hybridity in Animals, Considered in Reference to the Question of the Unity of the Human Species,” *American Journal of Science* 3 (1847); Josiah Clark Nott, “The Mulatto a Hybrid - Probable Extinction of the Two Races If the Whites and Blacks Are Allowed to Intermarry,” *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* 6, no. 11 (1843); Josiah Clark Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind: Or, Ethnological Researches, Based Upon the Ancient Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and Upon Their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History* (Miami, Fla.: Mnemosyne Pub. Co., 1969); Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); William Ragan Stanton, *The Leopard’s Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* ([Chicago]: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

racial equality would lead to interracial intimacy. Southerners who defended slavery but disagreed with any portion of the proslavery argument had to deny that they were “amalgamationists” themselves. For example, Samuel Morton’s opponent in the monogenism-polygenism debate was John Bachman, a Charleston naturalist who saw the polygenesis stance as inconsistent with biblical scripture. The two sparred in scientific journals and lecture circuits during the early 1850s. Bachman took delight in debating with Morton, pointing out that the data in his “Hybridity in Animals, Considered in Reference to the Question of the Unity of the Human Species” was narrow, that the presence of so-called hybrids contradicted his argument that they are unnatural, and that the existence of species (i.e., the common wolf) across continents complicates polygenesis. However, Bachman did agree with Morton that the Negro was unequal with whites. He stressed the point that he was no abolitionist, and defended the “institutions of South Carolina.”³

There were abolitionists who agreed that racial mixing was distasteful, and that mixed offspring were weak. They imagined an end of slavery, but also the deportation of blacks to Africa through organizations such as the American Colonization Society. For example, Harriet Beecher Stowe was a supporter of repatriation, the fate of the mulatto characters in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. In a conversation regarding the future of the black

² "Woman's Rights Convention. Awful Combination of Socialism, Abolitionism, and Infidelity," *New York Herald*, October 25 1850.

³ John Bachman, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science* (Charleston, S.C.: C. Canning, 1850); Morton, "Hybridity in Animals, Considered in Reference to the Question of the Unity of the Human Species."; Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59*.

race, Stowe confided, “The black children get on just as fast as white children... The mixed race is weaker;” her husband, Calvin, added that they would die out.⁴

Abolitionists such as Lydia Maria Child and Theodore Tilton used the presence of mixed offspring as proof of southern hypocrisy, but hesitated before defending interracial intimacy. In fact, Child supported emancipation to stop amalgamation. In general, the abolitionists had a hard time justifying civil rights with social interaction. William Lloyd Garrison defended the idea of interracial marriage, but later retracted these statements. While a few like Elizur Wright condemned their fellows for such equivocation, many abolitionists concentrated on allaying fears of interracial intimacy when speaking of emancipation. For example, Samuel G. Howe offered the escaped slaves in Canada as proof that freedom would not mean amalgamation.⁵

On the other hand, Wendell Phillips made a handful of statements, mostly between 1853 and 1863, describing America as a place where republicanism would finish the job that Protestantism began, overcoming despotism and becoming the one place to provide liberty, equality, and fraternity for all. Among the individual freedoms Christianity and democracy conferred was the freedom to marry whomever one chose. It was the nation’s destiny to become a multiracial society where “you will not be able to tell black from white, for any purpose that you now make the distinction,” a sentiment we

⁴ Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59*, 191.

⁵ Articles by Leon Litwack, William and Jane Pease, and Louis Ruchames have been instructive in addressing abolitionist attitudes towards racial mixing. The challenge remains in discerning what the rank-and-file abolitionist thought beyond the “loud applause” the *Liberator* constantly reported in its articles. Leon F. Litwack, “The Abolitionist Dilemma: The Antislavery Movement and the Northern Negro,” *New England Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1961); William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, “Antislavery Ambivalence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race,” *American Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1965); Louis Ruchames, “Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts,” *Journal of Negro History* 40, no. 3 (1955).

hear to this day.⁶ Exploring Phillips's statements on this topic can broaden our understanding of how the abolitionists differed on such a controversial topic. They can also add depth to his thoughts on racial equality and civil rights, showing that his convictions that "No nation ever became great which was born of one blood" relate to themes of novelty, heroization, utopia, and physical appearance. Most of all, attention to this matter can reveal the possibilities of iconoclasm during a time unwelcoming to the ideas. Phillips' vision of a racially mixed America is relevant to the rest of this project.

FROM BRAHMIN TO RADICAL

Wendell Phillips, most renowned for his oratorical talents during the antebellum and Civil War years, was born on November 29, 1811. His family first came to America in 1630 and his father, a corporate lawyer, was Boston's first mayor. He received the best education available, including Boston Latin School, Harvard University, and Harvard Law School. Many attribute his coming to abolitionism to seeing abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison barely escape an angry gang.⁷ But others put his courtship of Ann Greene, a young, zealous abolitionist, at the center of his conversion, portraying his early professional years as a period of finding himself and often clashing

⁶ Phillips, "The United States of the United Races."

⁷ There have been around a dozen biographies of Wendell Phillips, the first published shortly after his 1884 death. The earlier are mostly celebratory and focusing solely on the actions of Phillips and other Civil War-era leaders. These are also the works most likely to cast Phillips' conversion as an epiphany that Lovejoy's killing inspired. James J. Green, *Wendell Phillips* (New York: International publishers, 1943); Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Wendell Phillips* (Boston New York: Lee and Shepard, Charles T. Dillingham, 1884); Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974); W. Carlos Martyn, *Wendell Phillips: The Agitator. With an Appendix Containing Three of the Orator's Masterpieces, Never before Published in Book Form, Viz.: The Lost Arts, Daniel O'Connell, the Scholar in a Republic*, Rev. ed.

with his family.⁸ He rose to the forefront of the antislavery movement in 1837 when, at a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, he delivered a resounding condemnation of the proslavery mob that had killed the abolitionist editor Elijah Parish Lovejoy in Alton, Ohio. Some suggest that these two episodes of violence demark his conversion from Brahmin to radical.⁹

Phillips subsequently lectured in many parts of the country against slavery, and participated in 1840's World Anti-Slavery Convention, in London. As a follower of Garrison, he contributed numerous articles to *The Liberator*. Like many religious abolitionists, he believed slavery was a sin that the nation must rid itself of without hesitation. Through his genealogy and through his activism, it is easy to see him as a descendant of Puritan leaders, especially in his inherent individualism, the regard for private conscience, and the ultimately revolutionary implications nurtured by Puritan doctrine. As Robert Abzug explains in his *Cosmos Crumbling*, post-Revolutionary, New England reformers adopted the Puritan equation of industry with virtue, broad individualism under community, and the expansion of New England's covenant to the

(Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969); Oscar Sherwin, *Prophet of Liberty: The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

⁸ The more modern set of Phillips biographies begins with Sherwin's 1973 *Prophet of Liberty*, which serves well as an introduction to the era as a whole. Irving Bartlett's covers a bit more of the material relevant to this chapter, especially Phillips's activity around the Massachusetts intermarriage prohibition. The most recent biography, James Stewart's *Wendell Phillips: Liberty's Hero*, reflects the interests of American history over the recent decades, including the role of his wife (even moreso than Bartlett, who also edited a collection of writings between the couple), the influence of his social class, and his psychological development. Irving H. Bartlett, *Wendell Phillips, Brahmin Radical* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973); ———, *Wendell and Ann Phillips: The Community of Reform, 1840-1880* (New York: Norton, 1979); James Brewer Stewart, *Wendell Phillips, Liberty's Hero* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

⁹ Most notable of these is Stewart, but Louis Ruchames also interrogated the centrality of Lovejoy's killing in a 1974 article. Louis Ruchames, "Wendell Phillips' Lovejoy Address," *New England Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1974); Stewart, *Wendell Phillips, Liberty's Hero*.

whole nation. He and other New England abolitionists saw purging slavery as their responsibility, or risk the downfall of the whole nation.¹⁰

As dis-unionists during the antebellum years, Phillips, Garrison, and others believed it would be better to separate from the slave states. Even though they were critical of Abraham Lincoln, with the beginning of the Civil War Phillips and Garrison believed that it could result in a nation that would fulfill its promise in regards to blacks. They believed that the individual could perfect him- or herself and that the nation could do the same. Sectional conflicts brought to light that America was failing its promise, but this stoked the abolitionists towards moving the United States back towards the utopia that it could be. As Richard Hofstadter further describes:

Like so many other Americans of this period, Phillips had an unconquerable faith in moral progress. He believed that he was living in an age of ideas—a democratic age, in which the ideas of the masses were the important thing. There was no higher office, he felt, than exercising the moral imagination necessary to mold the sentiments of the masses into the form most suitable for the next forward movement of history.¹¹

Molding the sentiments is what he applied his oratorical skills towards. While Phillips' program for racial, gender, and labor equality lacked in many ways, his efforts towards shaping the public's ideas was his main contribution. Among the ideas he circulated was the amalgamation of the races, as this chapter shows. Certainly, Phillips' anti-slavery, pro-suffrage, and pro-labor work has out-shadowed his activity around racial amalgamation. However, exploring his few statements on this topic can broaden our

¹⁰ Perry Miller's *Errand into the Wilderness* asserts that we can see these Puritan values throughout American reform. "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Dinner of the Pilgrim Society in Plymouth, December 21, 1855," *Liberator*, December 28 1855; Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*, 6-7; Miller, John Carter Brown Library., and John Carter Brown Library. Associates., *Errand into the Wilderness: An Address*; Osofsky, "Wendell Phillips and the Quest for a New American Identity."

understanding of the America he imagined. These are the reasons why Phillips's activity is the center of this chapter, rather than the abolitionists who did so mainly to critique some aspect of Southern life (i.e., Tilton or Child). Phillips repeatedly considered blacks as equals. It was never about lifting them up, but rather, giving them their rights. It was not a solution for the black man alone, but for the country as a whole.

Keeping the prevailing, nineteenth century attitudes concerning racial mixing in mind—whether from proslavery ethnologists or the most active abolitionists—this chapter starts with Phillips' involvement with the Lynn, Massachusetts, women's efforts to strike down that state's anti-intermarriage laws. He was most active in this campaign between 1838 and 1841, as its legal counsel, but he became even more outspoken regarding intermarriage in the following years. He gained such a reputation as a defender of amalgamation that when the 1863 hoax pamphlet, *Miscegenation*, appeared many suspected that he was its author. After tracing his statements during these years, this chapter continues with an analysis of how the pamphlet borrowed language from him, sometimes expressing this project's major themes more distinctly than Phillips did himself.¹²

MARRIAGE LAW PETITION AND EUROPE

Phillips's activism around intermarriage was one of the earliest projects he was central in, eventually becoming legal counsel to a effort to repeal all Massachusetts laws discriminating against people on account of color. Central in this was the state's anti-

¹¹ Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*, 137.

intermarriage law, which had stood since 1705. Initiated in February, 1831, this was one of Garrison's least popular campaigns, but for a while he persisted in defending intermarriage, a position that followed his belief in one human race, created by God. At the time, Garrison declared, "As civilization, and knowledge, and republican feelings, and Christianity prevail in the world, the wider will matrimonial connexions extend; and finally people of every tribe and kindred and tongue will freely intermarry. By the blissful operation of this divine institution, the earth is evidently to become one neighborhood or family."¹³ The promise of Christianity was central in Garrison's utopian vision, and in turn, the position of *The Liberator*, even if rank and file abolitionists held varying opinions on interracial marriage. Garrison's contemporaneous statements defended the unity of the human race. Rather than repugnant, intermarriage was only natural. He continues:

If He has 'made of one blood all nations of me for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' then they are one species, and stand on a perfect equality: their marriage is neither unnatural nor repugnant to nature, but obviously proper and salutary; it being designed to unite people of different tribes and nations, and to break down those petty distinctions which are the effect of climate or locality of situation, and which lead to oppression, war and division among mankind.¹⁴

Garrison posits nature against repugnance to emphasize a higher authority in regard to marriage. Natural law, a singular family of man, and "the principles of the gospel" would prevail over the scientists' claims. Interracial marriage was central in improving the relations between the races. Wendell Phillips would take up some of the same rhetoric in

¹² Ibid; Robert D. Marcus, "Wendell Phillips and American Institutions," *The Journal of American History* 56, no. 1 (1969); Osofsky, "Wendell Phillips and the Quest for a New American Identity."

¹³ "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Dinner of the Pilgrim Society in Plymouth, December 21, 1855."

¹⁴ Garrison, like many others, uses Acts 17:26 to invoke the unity of Christ. Ibid; Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, 60-65.

his own speeches, sticking to his position regarding interracial marriage throughout his career, while Garrison hedged. On one hand, the president and editor praised intermarriage as the fulfillment of the gospel and the hope for relations between racial and ethnic groups. But he also qualified his statements, saying that “the common sense of mankind and the usages of society will regulate this indispensable union.”¹⁵

This difference between Garrison and Phillips mirrors many of the differences between them. While both wanted immediate emancipation, rejected political parties, and denounced the constitution, Phillips did examine institutional means for subverting slavery, relying less on moral suasion as Garrison did. He was a student of political economy, delving into topics such as India’s cotton trade to better understand the interests that kept slavery going. Similarly, he regretted that, with no economic appeal, the abolitionists had no grounds to convince “that large class of men with whom dollars are always a weightier consideration than duties.”¹⁶ Lastly, he knew that it would take three or more generations to re-educate Americans regarding race relations, even with immediate emancipation. As Robert Marcus describes, Phillips developed a critique of American institutions suggesting that they were actually weak, subject to public opinions. His hope as a reformer was to influence the opinions and then radically change the institutions, not just dismantle them as Garrison suggested.¹⁷

¹⁵ "The Marriage Law," *Liberator*, February 15 1839.

¹⁶ Wendell Phillips, *Speeches, Lectures, and Letters. Second Series, The Anti-Slavery Crusade in America* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 11.

¹⁷ Marcus insightful article, even as it points out Phillips’ underdeveloped program, casts Phillips as head and shoulder above Garrison, even if the latter was the ground-breaker: “Phillips in so many ways seems a far larger man than Garrison: a superior thinker and speaker, a more talented organizer, a more subtle politician within the movement, a man of more with, tact, and perception.” Marcus, "Wendell Phillips and American Institutions," 42-45.

In 1831, the first year of the marriage law campaign, John P. Bigelow, a Whig legislator, represented the effort to strike down the statute. Responding to accusations that he was promoting intermarriage, he voiced the sentiment of many in the movement, that his aim was to dismantle a law that denied that all men were free and equal. The next year, the New England Anti-Slavery Society stated this more clearly in their Constitution:

ARTICLE 2. The objects of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by the law, humanity and religion, to effect the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.¹⁸

This was the overarching goal for the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Within this was the leeway for Bigelow to emphasize the abolitionists' civil rights aims while calling interracial marriage "the gratification of a depraved taste."¹⁹

Their efforts would fail for two consecutive years, laying dormant during the next six years of growth in the abolitionism. Then a group of ladies in Lynn, Massachusetts, re-submitted a petition to the legislature urging the repeal of all state laws which discriminated against people on account of color. They did this at Garrison's prompting, targeting the statute preventing intermarriage between blacks and whites. The new campaign reflected a change in the movement; over the previous years Massachusetts abolitionists had resolved that blacks could join their societies, and decided to add all prejudice to their mission. They saw the state's prohibition as one of many civil rights areas that needed improvement. In regard to interracial marriage, they remained

¹⁸ Ruchames, "Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts," 33.

ambivalent, but they saw their region and Massachusetts in particular as the starting point for their campaign to bring equal rights to blacks. As the Constitution of the New England Anti-Slavery Society states, “Before New England can go forward boldly and efficiently in the cause of emancipation, she must elevate her colored population, and rank them with the rest of her children. Reform, not partial but entire—not in the letter but the spirit—must first commence at home.”²⁰ They would best create a utopia in Massachusetts by rectifying the wrongs of licentiousness, bastardy, and family desertion, three main results of slavery. In hoping to strike any law in that state that made distinctions by difference of color, they wanted to set an example for the rest of the nation.²¹

The 1838 campaign was unsuccessful, but the next year, more than 1,300 women from Lynn, Brookfield, Dorchester, and Plymouth petitioned against the law, receiving verbal attacks from Lynn townsmen, who petitioned to let them “embrace some *gay Othello*.”²² State Representative Greenleaf, of Bradford, suggested that the women acted in ignorance. Another representative, Colonel Minott Thayer, unleashed the greatest abuse, suggesting there was not “a virtuous woman among them.”²³ The Committee on the Judiciary reviewed the petition for repeal, along with another for retaining the law, ultimately defending the state’s right to regulate marriage and denying that the standing law implied racial inequality. Furthermore, the committee reported that children had

¹⁹ “The Marriage Law,” *Liberator*, April 30 1831.

²⁰ “Constitution of the New England Anti-Slavery Society,” *Abolitionist*, January 1833; Ruchames, “Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts,” 254-55.

²¹ Litwack, “The Abolitionist Dilemma: The Antislavery Movement and the Northern Negro.”; Pease and Pease, “Antislavery Ambivalence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race.”; Ruchames, “Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts.”

²² “The Marriage Law.”

signed the petition, and that many of the Brookfield signatures were by one person. Lastly, the committee appointed Minott Thayer to head a task force to investigate the possibly fraudulent petition. The Thayer Committee held many of the same positions as the state, and suggested it was immodest for “a virtuous woman to solicit the repeal of laws restraining the union of the white and black races in marriage.”²⁴

A speech of Phillips’ at Boston’s Marlboro Church, after he became the group’s counsel in the 1838 Thayer Committee hearings, rebuked the legislature and the governor for their attitude toward the petition. It is out of print, but those present described how he “tore the legislature all to pieces.”²⁵ Minot Thayer was among his targets, even though he was an acquaintance of the legislator. Later, he complained to the abolitionist about the “severe and unjust sarcasm against [his] character” the speech deployed.²⁶ Years later, he referred to the campaign as part of a movement towards making Massachusetts an example, recounting, “In the first place men said, If you repeal the law that white men and colored women shall not marry, we shall have amalgamation throughout the Commonwealth. Half the legislators, for a dozen years, were afraid to act. Finally, after as many years as the Greeks spent in taking Troy, the statute was erased from the statute book, and no one has heard of it since.”²⁷ Even with his actual speech hard to find, this later comment confirms that Phillips was in accord with the campaign and its principles.

²³ Ibid., February 15.

²⁴ The state’s arguments are similar to anti-intermarriage arguments throughout the twentieth century, up to the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* case. Ibid; Ruchames, “Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts,” 257-63.

²⁵ Stewart, *Wendell Phillips, Liberty's Hero*, 72-73.

²⁶ “The Marriage Law.”, Stewart, *Wendell Phillips, Liberty's Hero*, 72-73.

²⁷ “Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the Cooper Institute, New York,” *Liberator*, May 29 1863.

The marriage law campaign was one of many things that met with resistance during the antebellum and Civil War years.

In February, 1839, Garrison wrote in *The Liberator*, “At the present time, mixed marriages would be in bad taste,” maintaining that common sense, societal mores, and the principles of the gospel would regulate people’s marital choices.²⁸ So great was the antagonism towards interracial marriage that leaders who defended it would recant within the pages of their own publications. By this point, Garrison had decreased his involvement with the efforts as Phillips became its legal counsel. Others in Massachusetts had come to accept the possibility of interracial relationships, even outdoing *The Liberator*. An editorial in the *Lowell Journal*, a non-abolitionist, local newspaper supported the campaign, saying, “We have no hesitation in saying, that the law ought to be struck from the statute book, nor are we haunted with any apprehensions of seeing, in consequence thereof, a new race spring up in our commonwealth, bearing the distinctive marks of the Anglo-Saxon mingled with those of the African.” The *Journal* maintained that marriage was a private choice, something that the state should not interfere in. Even if the editor doubted the interracial marriages would increase, he maintained that “if, perchance, they should occasionally happen, no very great evils would result therefrom.”²⁹

Another event that shaped Phillips’s position towards interracial interaction was his 1839-41 tour of England, France, and Italy in middle of the marriage law campaign. He went with his wife, Ann, hoping to find a more suitable climate for her health, and to

²⁸ "The Marriage Law."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, May 15.

meet with British abolitionists. In Rome, he found black priests leading Catholic services without recoil from the parishioners. In Paris, he found a civilization that “estimates a man by his manhood, and not by his color.”³⁰ He encountered “half a dozen couples, black and white, parading the Boulevard” a sight so different than his experience in the States that it made him “turn around and stare.”³¹ At the same time, he witnessed great poverty and gender inequality in Europe that kindled his sensitivity towards other issues. He was willing to praise these countries for their racial equality, but he believed that America could better give its people their rights and accept the blending of the races more so, as a republican, protestant nation.³²

Since many of the abolitionists avoided promoting interracial marriage, their vision of a place with interracial couples was vague. Most stopped short of casting the presence of mixed race people as an indicator of achieving this utopia. The mixed race hero is missing from their imaginings. Instead, they bestow upon themselves the mantle of heroes. They would be the heroes for blacks, for Massachusetts, and for the whole nation. By 1840, the women tried the petition again, this time, making sure to conduct it more thoroughly. The legislature finally repealed the law in 1842, providing a major victory for the abolitionists work. Throughout the eight attempts over nearly a dozen years, the whole campaign was for civil rights more broadly, not intermarriage in particular. But in an effort to strike down any racial law, they were willing to attack prohibitions of interracial marriage, showing that permissive attitudes towards

³⁰ "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the Cooper Institute, New York."

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

intermarriage have developed in a stop and go fashion throughout United States history. Rather than a positive, linear function of time that casts contemporary America as more permissive than any time in the past, attitudes towards intermarriage always varied, from indifferent to punitive, depending on the place and time.³³

THE UNITED STATES OF THE UNITED RACES AND BEYOND

In 1853, Phillips wrote one of his most outstanding statements defending racial mixing in *The National Era*. Founded in 1847, the abolitionist weekly hoped to provide a “complete discussion of the Question of Slavery, and an exhibition of the Duties of the Citizen in relation to it.” Phillips’s editorial, “The United States of the United Races,” appeared in the September 15 issue of the weekly paper. After opening with a list of peoples present in the United States, Phillips declares, “Whether the varieties of the race began in one family or not, they are destined to meet in one family of people at last,” providing destiny as the answer to scientists’ monogenesis/polygenesis debate. Whether the human race spawned from one place or many, and whether some held others in slavery was insignificant to the idea that here, in the United States, they would join into one race. The inclusion of various racial and ethnic groups into American society was one of Phillips’s concerns in the 1850s, and rather than suggest any limitations, he imagined a future America that was racially integrated and mixed. In fact, in “The United States of the United Races,” Phillips maintains that it is inevitable that America will become a racially mixed country. It is a path of progress following from Christ’s

³³ "Speech of Wendell Phillips at the Celebration of the 1st of August at Abington," *Liberator*, August 14 1857, 269-73; Ruchames, "Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts."

mission to Roman Catholicism, which did unite men under one faith. However, it took Protestantism to “shake off the shackles of civil and ecclesiastical despotism.” From there, the values of Republicanism would bring about the realization of “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity” for all. As he predicts, “It is coming, and must come. America has every variety of climate and soil, with all the accommodations of political and religious institutions, and room enough, besides, for the wide world’s widest range of wants, and the happiest conditions for the furtherance of its welfare.”³⁴ In this schema, America stood as the fulfillment of this vision, and its varied lands, climates, and institutions would be the home of a diverse, democratic, and equal people. The continent itself was the perfect setting for a bounteous utopia.

“The United States of the United Races” mainly addresses the inclusion of Asians, referring to the Chinese “flocking into California” and the East Indians coming through Jamaica, Cuba, and Guiana. He asks, “What if they were to apply for naturalization?” He acknowledges that they are not white, as the law from 1790 required, but he asserts that it is kinship in Christ, not color, that will settle the question of their citizenship. He predicts,

In short, the doctrine of despotism, ecclesiastical and political, which has served you so well and so long in the extreme cases to which it has been applied, is going to be gradually dissolved in the intermediate shades of coloring to which it will be exposed, so that you will not be able to tell black from white, for any purpose that you now make the distinction. Reason, religion, and republicanism, have all failed with you; but now Providence is about to take you in hand, and you are as good as done for.³⁵

³⁴ Phillips, "The United States of the United Races."

³⁵ Ibid.

Equal rights will lead to amalgamation and the fulfillment of America's destiny. There is no use resisting. The inability to tell "black from white" hints at the physical appearance Phillips proposes. "Any purpose" included slavery, segregation, and defending racial purity. The nation of "intermediate shades," describes the future, racially mixed people who will dissolve racial inequality. This description foreshadows all others of a future America in this project.

As Phillips suggests, if Chinese immigrants of the 1850s can learn Christianity and American ways, then they can be one with all the other Americans. The last stage would feature their intermarrying into American families: "If Fum Hoam can learn Christianity as well as silk-weaving and card-painting, he can substitute phonography for his alphabet of three thousand characters; and, after calling you brother for a generation or so, in good Yankee, he will marry your cousin, and then, how will you keep him out of Congress?"³⁶ This is assimilation, more inclusive and more explicit than later sociologists' model. Learning to speak "good Yankee" English, adopting the dominant religion, and marrying into native families were indicators of integration to Phillips, just as they would be for social scientists dealing with racial intermarriage through the twentieth century.

At that year's First of August celebration, which commemorated the British abolition of slavery in 1833, Phillips defined a republic as "a government where the rulers are initiated by the votes of a majority of the people. A Republic is an educated community, where ideas govern; - ideas stamped into laws by the majority, and submitted

³⁶ Ibid.

to by the minority.”³⁷ New York fell short of this standard because of the martial law there, as did Kansas for its rule of violence, and the entire South for the retaliation against those who questioned slavery and its sway over President Buchanan. In 1859, Phillips expanded on the republic he wished for. “My idea of American nationality makes it the last, best growth of the thoughtful mind of the century, treading under foot sex and race, caste and condition, and collecting on the broad bosom of what deserves the name of an Empire, under the shelter of noble, just, and equal law, all races, all customs, all religions, all languages, all literature, and all ideas.”³⁸ He follows by telling the story of a man in Milwaukee whose Asian wife had passed away, wishing for the cremation of her body. The sheriff led a mob to retrieve the body for Christian burial. Rather than this, Phillips envisioned a multicultural society like ancient Rome, as symbolized by Trajan’s column, which illustrated that emperor’s return to the city, “leading all nations, all tongues, all customs, all races, in the retinue of his conquest.” Phillips idealizes the diversity of Rome, overlooking its slave system, as well as its urge to conquer the known world, but this analogy emphasizes how the empire included all kinds of people under one banner. Phillips wishes the same for the United States, including negroes and women. “Just such is my idea of the Empire,—broad enough and brave enough to admit both sexes, all creeds, and all tongues in the triumphal procession of this great daughter of the west of

³⁷ "Speech of Wendell Phillips," *Liberator*, July 16 1858; W. Caleb McDaniel, "The Fourth and the First: Abolitionist Holidays, Respectability, and Radical Interracial Reform," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 1 (2005); "Speech of Wendell Phillips at the Celebration of the 1st of August at Abington."

³⁸ "Address by Wendell Phillips," *Liberator*, October 7 1859.

the Atlantic.” As opposed to his comments about “Fum Hoam” in 1853, this conception of nationality is far more pluralistic.³⁹

Phillips’s statements on racial mixing became more explicit in the 1860s. At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in 1860, he said, “I never did dread that terrible word amalgamation. I hold it to be the secret of almost all progress, viewed from the point of race. We Saxons were nothing while we were pure Saxons. I hold the German race, at a sad discount, on many points, and the English race superior to it in those very respects, because the English race adopted the principle of amalgamation.”⁴⁰ Phillips takes a racialist stance, referring to Germans as a distinct group, and the English as less developed until they mixed with other groups in the North Atlantic. This interaction would continue with England’s colonial successes, and ultimately the mixture of people in the United States. Meanwhile, the Germans had no such expansion and gain the label of inferiority because of it. He continues in his description of “English blood”:

And I believe, with Mr. Martin, that, as far as our eyes can divine the future of Providence, it means that the next chapter of the progress of race shall be another mixture of that English blood, that our thirty States are probably to receive the finish and complement of civilization by the melting of the negro into the various races that congregate on this continent, and that the historian of a hundred years hence will view with utter incredulity the popular nightmare of amalgamation, and will trace some of the brightest features of that American character which is to take its place in the catalogue of the world’s great races, to the root of this black race, mingling with the others that stand around them. Undoubtedly, to every thoughtful mind, that is the ultimate solution of the problem which is working out in these States.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "Speech of Wendell Phillips," *Liberator*, February 10 1860.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Here he gives a vision of the future America, where fear of racial mixing would become an oddity of the past. Lastly, Phillips suggests that interracial intimacy will solve the sectional problems that were rising in the nation at this moment.⁴²

A year later at the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Phillips expressed his distaste for racial homogeneity: “I despise an empire resting its claims on the blood of a single race. My pride in the future is in the banner that welcomes every race and every blood, and under whose shelter all races stand up equal. I hope the negro never will die out. God grant he may figure on the monuments of America a thousand years hence, a symbol of the breadth of our nationality!”⁴³ Unfortunately, this monument, like Trajan’s column, is a static symbol, making it hard to tell what these Americans of the future do, or whether racial mixing is widespread. However, bestowing equality upon all and casting them in close association implies that there is little social distance between them, and that they will intermarry. He continues, in language that pokes fun at racial science, he imagines blacks participating in society, “I do not care for his race, whether it is first, second, or third. I don’t care for his brains, whether they weigh much or little.” Having brains enough to vote, stand trial, or follow the law is enough to gain social rights and equal opportunity in education and employment. Presaging Martin Luther King’s “content of his character,” Phillips emphasizes one’s “worthiness by character, ability and success.” However, even if he dismisses racial hierarchies and craniometry, hoping for the day when “there is nothing in the heart of the

⁴² Phillips also mentions *The Octoroon*, the quintessential Tragic Mulatto play, as an example of the type of spectacle many who idealize abolitionism may be drawn to, asserting that these casual followers are as likely to dabble in anti-slavery as they were in racial melodrama. Ibid.

American which recognizes races,” he still does believe in races, as shown by his consistent use of the term, *race*, to signify groups of peoples with common blood. But his optimism in American nationality indicates a move towards Du Bois’s conception in “The Conservation of Races,” where groups do find unity in racial and blood identity, but more so through “a common history, common laws and religion, similar habits of thought and a conscious striving together for certain ideals of life.”⁴⁴ Phillips’s hope is that after true emancipation and suffrage, nationality will someday trump race as a measure of inclusion.⁴⁵

On May 11, 1863, at the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association meeting, Phillips did something different than ever before, presenting a mixed child as a symbol of reunion with the slave South. Following a reminder that he had no faith in political parties and calling for “death to the system and death to the master,” Phillips summoned a light-skinned, part-black and part-white girl to demonstrate his vision of the South after the end of the Civil War, calling her the representative of “the party for whom I have conciliation.” He continues,

In the veins that beat now in my right hand runs the best blood in Virginia’s white races, and the better blood of the black race if the Old Dominion—a united race, to whom, in its virtue, belongs in the future a country, which the toil and labor of its ancestors redeemed from nature, and gave to civilization and the nineteenth century... This blood represents them all—the repentant master, when he sees

⁴³ "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the Cooper Institute, New York."

⁴⁴ W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races," in *W. E. B. Du Bois Speaks; Speeches and Addresses*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970).

⁴⁵ Much of this address demands that the Negro receive his rights to vote and participate in society. He also refers to the marriage law campaign, dismissing fear of amalgamation. In regards to giving blacks equality he says, “It will take all our thirty years to learn it. I do not expect this nation can come out of its chrysalis in less than a generation.” In other words, it will take at least thirty years to achieve the utopia he imagines. "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the Cooper Institute, New York."

matters in their true light, the salve restored to his rights, when at last for the first time in her history, Virginia has a government, and is not a horde of pirates masquerading as a government.⁴⁶

This is a rare statement from the Civil War era explicitly tying racially mixed people to progress, racial improvement, and the fitness of the nation. Other abolitionists had begun using fair, mixed children born into slavery to gain sympathy for their cause. Leaders such as Henry Ward Beecher held anti-slavery auctions to buy the freedom for such children as early as 1848. During the Civil War, *Harper's Weekly* featured photographs of white-looking slave children in vignette style to evoke "sympathy, speculation, voyeurism, and moral outrage."⁴⁷ (See Fig. 1, below.) More often than not, what made these photo cards effective was the subject's "white" appearance, and the associations of purity, innocence, and femininity it would evoke. In these cases, the maltreatment of children, the splitting of families, and the fate a light-skinned slave girl would face in the "fancy" trade were the consequences these photos decried. However, for Phillips, the mixed child is the avatar of racial harmony and peace. She symbolizes a future after the Civil War, free of slavery, with the union intact, and rights conferred upon the blacks. While Phillips does overlook the power and gender relations between white men and black women that brought the child into being, he does indicate equality of the eminent white and black heritages.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ "Speech of Wendell Phillips Delivered before the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association at the Cooper Institute, New York," *Liberator*, June 5 1863.

⁴⁷ Mary Niall Mitchell, "'Rosebloom and Pure White,' or So It Seemed," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2002): 373.

⁴⁸ His use of blood, race, and civilization may be off-putting to us, but it does reflect the idea of race as distinct and inheritable through the blood that most held during the nineteenth century, whether abolitionist unafraid of amalgamation, or ethnologist arguing polygenesis. *Ibid.*: 3-25; Stephan Talty, *Mulatto America: At the Crossroads of Black and White Culture: A Social History*, 1st ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).

Just a month later, Phillips provided his most unequivocal endorsement of amalgamation, at his July Fourth address in Framingham, Massachusetts. Here he makes more explicit his position from “The United States of the United Races,” that it was America’s destiny to become multiracial and mixed. “This country has no value, except as the home of all races. That is the idea underlying all our history,” Phillips says. He gives examples of ethnic groups that would never “lie down together” in their home lands—the English and the Irish, the French and the English, and a variety of other European nationalities with centuries of hostility between them. Here in the United States, “their children are at the same schools, worshipping at the same altars, fighting under the same flag, dying for the same idea, mingling their blood in the same channel.” Then Phillips poses a question that many would avoid: “By what logic is it made out that the black race is an exception to the law which governs all others?” Phillips includes African Americans as equals in the America of the future. This is not a matter of lifting them up or pondering their unassimilability. He wishes to apply the same to all the races.⁴⁹

Then Phillips spoke at length on amalgamation, a topic sensationalists like the New York *Herald* liked to publicize.

Remember this, the youngest of you: that on the 4th day of July, 1863, you heard a man say, that in the light of all history, in virtue of every page he ever read, he was an amalgamationist to the utmost extent. I have no hope for the future, as this country has no past, and Europe has no past, but in that sublime mingling of races which is God’s own method of civilizing and elevating the world. Not the amalgamation of licentiousness, born of slavery—and the ruin of both races—but that gradual and harmonizing union, in honorable marriage, which has mingled all

⁴⁹ It is hard to say what his reaction to present intermarriage rates would be, whether racial groups’ resistance to intermarriage would matter, or if inequality would be a greater wrong.

other races, and from which springs the present phase of European and Northern civilization.⁵⁰

While *The Liberator* claims his speech met with “loud applause,” there are few direct responses to Phillips’s statements on amalgamation beyond the universal distaste for interracial intimacy. What did the other abolitionists think about racial mixing? Was their marriage petition success in mind when imagining the rest of the nation would follow Massachusetts? Or, if the petition was merely part of a broader, civil-right-in-general campaign, had it receded into the back of members’ memories? It is possible that no one would oppose them Garrison’s and Phillips’s preeminence, especially at organizational gatherings. Considering how marginal positions abolitionist leaders held, it is possible that members considered their more far-flung ones with reservations. When it came to the abolitionists’ social interaction with African Americans a variety of opinions existed, from prejudice to patronization to idealization. So, it is possible that many followers were uncomfortable with Phillips’s statements on racial mixing, even if *The Liberator* reported “loud applause.” After all, many of the abolitionists wanted equality for blacks in an abstract way, but were uncomfortable with actual, social interaction.⁵¹

PHILLIPS AND MISCEGENATION

However, amalgamation did become a national topic in 1864, the pamphlet, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White*

⁵⁰ "Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq. At Framingham, July 4, 1863," *Liberator*, July 10 1863.

Man and Negro, which appears to be an iconoclastic promotion of interracial relationships in the United States. When considering whether the nation's central values will prevail against racial separation, it claims that "[C]hristianity, democracy, and science, are stronger than the timidity, prejudice, and pride of short-sighted men; and they teach that a people, to become great, must become composite." The truth is that *Miscegenation* was a hoax, a piece of anti-Republican propaganda written by two New York journalists, David Goodman Croly and his junior co-author, George Wakeman. Croly was managing editor of the New York *World*, "the ablest and most influential Democratic journal in the country, the organ of the high-toned Democrats of New York City and State."⁵² The two wrote the pamphlet in their spare time, and Croly bankrolled its printing. As historian Sidney Kaplan explains, "This pamphlet, a curious hash of quarter-truths and pseudo-learned oddities, was to give a new word to the language and a refurbished issue to the Democratic Party—although its anonymous author, for good reason perhaps, never came forward to claim his honors." Many of its assertions are extreme, especially those in favor of the secret love whites have for blacks, the conjoined future of the Irish and the blacks, and the benefits of social intercourse between blacks and whites in the South. However, its reliance on "irrefutable facts" is similar to other writing of the time. Its convenient rejection of theories contrary to its apparent aim makes it similar in tone to ethnological works like *Types of Mankind*. Taken at face value, *Miscegenation* casts itself as thoroughly earnest in its claims, and its chapters

⁵¹ Litwack, "The Abolitionist Dilemma: The Antislavery Movement and the Northern Negro."; Pease and Pease, "Antislavery Ambivalence: Immediatism, Expediency, Race."; Ruchames, "Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts."

⁵² Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," 284.

address topics such as the “Physiological Equality of the White and Colored Races,” the “Superiority of Mixed Races,” and “The Blending of Diverse Bloods Essential to American Progress.” From a present-day perspective, as well as from that of its earlier readers who believed its conceit, this similarity in tone can be convincing. Kaplan cites an author from 1939 who believed that the pamphlet was sincere. My own research led me to a column from 1999 that imagines Croly was “a Northern White abolitionist, a Republican, and an integrationist.”⁵³

A true interdisciplinary text, *Miscegenation* cites texts by abolitionists such as Theodore Tilton, scientists such as James Pritchard, and an occasional passage from Tennyson, Shakespeare, and Lowell praising of mulatto women. However, its calls for racial equality and fraternization between blacks and Irish were provocations aimed at its New York readership. After maintaining the physiological equality of all races, it argues that, “If any fact is well established in history, it is that the miscegenetic or mixed races are much superior, mentally, physically, and morally, to those pure or unmixed.” The author goes on to attribute the success of certain nations to their varied racial makeup, and the decline of others because of the increased in-marriage since their more successful days. The similarity between Croly’s writing and Wendell Phillips’s other statements on amalgamation continue when comparing the pamphlet’s positions to his. First, as Phillips joins Christianity with republican values to produce “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,” *Miscegenation* claims that “Christianity, democracy, and science, are stronger than the timidity, prejudice, and pride of short-sighted men.” The Introduction continues,

⁵³ Ibid.: 305; R. Edward Lee, “Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races Applied to the American White Man, and the Negro,” *Blacfax* 1999.

suggesting that these values lead to the same results as Phillips “United States of the United Races.” Echoing Phillips’s praise of the English from 1860, Croly credits their success to the mixture of their people, writing, “Whatever of power and vitality there is in the American race is derived, not from its Anglo-Saxon progenitors, but from all the different nationalities which go to make up this people. All that is needed to make us the finest race on earth is to engraft upon our stock the negro element which providence has placed by our side on this continent.”⁵⁴ The use of “continent” and “providence” is similar to Phillips’s in “The United States of the United Races,” as well as his 1860 speech. Lastly, just as Phillips imagines monuments of the future, *Miscegenation* portrays travelers approaching Washington, D.C. from a distance, admiring the bronze statue on the dome of the Capitol:

When the traveler approaches the city of magnificent distances, the seat of what is destined to be the greatest and most beneficent power on earth, the first object that will strike his eye will be the figure of Liberty surmounting the capitol; not white, symbolizing but one race, nor black typifying another, but a statue representing the composite race, whose sway will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, from the Equator to the North Pole—the Miscegens of the Future.⁵⁵

The pamphlet’s utopia echoes Phillips’s, although it lacks any deeper conception of the characteristics of a republic, the means by which citizens will assimilate, or his correlation to ancient Rome.

Later chapters claim that the *miscegen*, or ideal, racially mixed person, will combine “all that is passionate and emotional in the darker races, all that is imaginative and spiritual in the Asiatic races, and all that is intellectual and perceptive in the white

⁵⁴ David G. Croly, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro* (New York: H. Dexter, Hamilton & Co., 1864), 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

racess.” He will have brown skin, with dark, wavy hair and full features, much like the Biblical Adam. In the end, the text maintains that, “The bloods of all nations find their level,” and that the future will have “no white, no black.” This echoes Phillips’s prediction in “The United States of the United Races.” It is easy to imagine Croly and Goodman working from transcripts of their opponents’ speeches. In fact, the authors use Phillips’s name throughout. They name him as an example of how humans are attracted to their opposites.

The same is true of Mr. Wendell Phillips. He, too, is the very opposite of the negro. His complexion is reddish and sanguine; his hair in younger days was light; he is, in short, one of the sharpest possible contrasts to the pure Negro... The sympathy Mr. Greeley, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Tilton feel for the negro is the love which the blonde bears for the black; it is a love of race, a sympathy stronger to them than the love they bear to woman.⁵⁶

The pamphlet claims that this attraction is “natural law,” but in reality the assertion is a slur, questioning their tastes and their sexuality.⁵⁷

As the controversy around the pamphlet mounted, some began to attribute authorship to various figures. This finger-pointing mainly took place in the newspapers, with accusations that Greeley was its author, which the editor quickly denied in the *National Antislavery Standard*. The reputation of the pamphlet provided anti-abolitionists opportunities to use its anonymous source in their favor. For example, the mere distribution of flyers advertising it during a speech could lead to people attributing its authorship to whoever was speaking. This is how one abolitionist speaker, Anna

⁵⁶ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁷ Elise Lemire suggests that the pamphlet’s main accomplishment was to combine anti-amalgamation rhetoric from different fields all in one place, offering something very familiar for its readers (or dupes). The pamphlet is a sort of clearinghouse of antebellum thought on race mixing.

Dickinson, came to be one of the suspects for its authorship. Needless to say, Phillips became one of the suspects for its authorship. After all, most of the language was his.⁵⁸

In the reactions to this hoax we can see a variety of pro- and anti-slavery attitudes towards racial mixing. Of the abolitionists Croly sent the pamphlet to seeking endorsement, Lucretia Mott was most cautious, admitting little familiarity with the scientific theories and calling the conclusions untenable. She shied away from considering a miscegenation plank in the anti-slavery platform and clarified that the Massachusetts campaign was to remove civil and social disabilities rather than to advocate racial intermarriage. Sarah and Angelina Grimké enjoyed the liberality of the document, but disagreed with some of its flamboyant claims, especially the attraction of opposites. They did admit to weariness with the United States' caste system, but in the end, they thought it rash to publish such a pamphlet, warning that the opposition to amalgamation could retard the greater work of gaining justice and equality for blacks. Parker Pillsbury was far more enthusiastic, agreeing with the ideas, but reserving any public endorsement. Albert Brisbane saw the pamphlet "*as a sign of the times, rather than a solution for a great problem.*"⁵⁹

Samuel Cox, United States Congressman from Ohio, brought the topic to the Capitol floor, warning that miscegenation was a central platform of the Republican Party: "The senate of the United States is discussing African equality in street cars. All these things... culminating in this grand plunder scheme of a department of freedmen, ought to convince us that the party is moving steadily forward to perfect social equality of black

⁵⁸ Phillips did not reply to the copy sent to him, and his copy ended up in the Boston Public Library. Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," 291.

and white, and can only end in this detestable doctrine of—Miscegenation!”⁶⁰ Cox’s equation of social intercourse with sexual intercourse received some heckling while he delivered his speech, but it also received wide circulation in the Democratic press of the country. John Van Evrie, editor of the *New York Weekly Day-Book (Caucasian)* and author of the proslavery book, *Negroes and Negro “Slavery:” The First an Inferior Race; the Latter Its Normal Condition*, even lambasted Cox for taking too favorable a stance towards abolition. For Van Evrie, one had to support slavery, or else be in support of racial mixing. As he claimed, “Every man, therefore, opposed to ‘slavery’ is in necessity for amalgamating with negroes.”⁶¹ The pamphlet became an item of debate up and down the East Coast, forcing the Republicans to make explicit the difference between amalgamation and emancipation. Croly took out advertising space for the pamphlet in other papers, yet avoided the topic in the *World*, protecting its true authorship from the public. Some like Cox accepted “the genuineness and seriousness of the document” while others like the *National Antislavery Standard* reported that it was a burlesque, satire, or jest. The abolitionist paper suggested that the Democrats gained nothing from the controversy.⁶²

Still, the challenging party harped on the miscegenation issue up to the last minutes of the campaign. However, Fremont’s withdraw from the race and the victories by Sherman in Atlanta and Farragut at Mobile Bay drastically reversed that party’s fortunes. In the end, the truth behind the pamphlet came out in England, via a dispatch

⁵⁹ Ibid.: 290.

⁶⁰ Ibid.: 296-97; Samuel Sullivan Cox, *Eight Years in Congress, from 1857 to 1865* (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1865), 354.

⁶¹ *New York Weekly Day-Book*, March 12, 1864.

by the New York correspondent from the London *Morning Herald*. The article that appeared on November 1, 1864 revealed that “two young gentlemen connected with the newspaper press of New York, both of whom are obstinate Democrats in politics,” had written and distributed the pamphlet, but did not reveal their names. Croly never accepted responsibility for the hoax, although his wife credited him with coining the term, *miscegenation*. The affair remains “a kind of well-kept secret to this present day.”⁶³

CONCLUSION

Overall, one can characterize Wendell Phillips as privileged, Puritan, and resolute. In his analysis of him as a “professional reformer” and critic of American institutions, Robert D. Marcus calls him, “Not simply an angry man, but a witty one as well, he was an excellent student of the American conscience and traced it through conventions and elections, meetings and mobs, in print and in action.”⁶⁴ Richard Hofstadter calls Phillips “a thorn in the side of complacency” right up to his final days. If Phillips was one who thinks “in terms of the ultimate potentialities of social conflicts rather than the immediate compromises by which they are softened,” then his viewpoints are absolute, extreme, and uncomfortable. “But,” as Hofstadter writes, “when a social crisis or revolutionary period at last matures, the sharp distinctions that govern the logical and doctrinaire mind of the agitator become at one with the realities, and he appears overnight to the people as a plausible and forceful thinker.”⁶⁵ This is one way to view how the abolitionists went

⁶² *National Antislavery Standard*, March 5, 1864.

⁶³ Kaplan, “The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864,” 336.

⁶⁴ Marcus, “Wendell Phillips and American Institutions,” 43.

⁶⁵ Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*, 137.

from marginal eccentrics to having a grasp on the root issues of the antebellum and Civil War years.

However, unlike his peers, Wendell Phillips remained steadfast, making a handful of statements, mostly between 1853 and 1863, describing America as a place where republicanism would finish the job that Protestantism began, overcoming despotism and becoming the one place to provide liberty, equality, and fraternity for all. Among the individual freedoms Christianity and democracy conferred was the freedom to marry whomever one chose. It was the nation's destiny to become a multiracial society where racial distinctions would be useless. Comparing Phillips's involvement with the Massachusetts marriage law campaign to his statements in the *National Era* and his later speeches etc., shows how his position became more explicit as the years passed. He rightfully gained a reputation as an "amalgamationist," so much that David Goodman Croly drew from Phillips's language for his own, anti-integrationist project. Another effect of Phillips's prolonged unconventionality is that his position seems to echo in later statements defending racial mixing and the racially mixed. But succession does not mean causality. Even though he never practiced interracial intimacy, his statements on the topic do express positive ideas about racial mixing that we can hear to this day. In this project, he serves as the first of these vanguard figures, incongruent with their times but with their eyes on the future. Phillips passed away in 1884, but his invocations of novelty, heroization, utopia, and physical appearance are relevant to every defender of racial mixing that follows.

Chapter 2: Israel Zangwill's Melting Pot vs. Jean Toomer's Stomach

British playwright Israel Zangwill's 1908 play, *The Melting-Pot*, tells the story of David Quixano, an orthodox Jew who moves to New York after escaping from Czarist Russia. David, an idealist and a composer working on an "American Symphony," voices Zangwill's rejection of the xenophobia of the time, ultimately falling in love with Vera Revendal, whose father led the pogrom that killed half of David's family. But the love he has found in America cures past injuries, so they can create a new, stronger America. The play is most famous for coining the term "the melting pot," a social metaphor descending from the third of Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's *Letters of an American Farmer*, where he asks, "What then is the American, this new man?" This is one of the first statements that tie together novelty, mixedness, and American character.¹ By answering, "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world," Crevecoeur hints at America's special destiny in his definition.² In 1845, Ralph Waldo Emerson described the creation of a new, American race as creating an alloy from "the energy of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Poles & Cossacks, & all the European tribes, of the Africans, & of the Polynesians," a process he locates in "the smelting-pot."³ Later, Frederick Jackson Turner would continue the invocation of metallurgy in his "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In fact, the first influence of the frontier that he lists is

¹ Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?"; St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*.

² St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*.

³ Emerson et al., *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*; Luedtke, "Ralph Waldo Emerson Envisions the "Smelting Pot"."

“the formation of a composite nationality for the American people,” continuing the trend of tying newness and mixedness to American identity.⁴ He writes, “In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics. The process has gone on from the early days to our own.”⁵ Like those before him, Turner would suggest a utopian end result: “a new product, which held the promise of world brotherhood.”⁶ As with these predecessors, central in Zangwill’s words is the idea that intermarriage between ethnic groups will lead to a new, superior, American type. While Zangwill’s position, like Wendell Phillips’, was iconoclastic for its time, and it has become popular shorthand for the process of creating the future American.

However, the questions *The Melting-Pot* avoids point to faults in its preeminence; the primary of these is Zangwill’s uncertainty regarding racial minorities. Are they participants in the melting pot? In assimilation more broadly? To what extent? Addressing these is the impetus for this chapter. Along with surveying some of the intellectual and social trends of the period between Wendell Phillips’ death and the first performance of *The Melting-Pot*, this chapter explores its shortcomings as a symbol of universal, equitable, racial mixing, its legacy as a positive way to discuss intermarriage, and its changing place in assimilation theory over the past one hundred years. I argue that the play’s greatest vagueness is in neglecting to describe what the future, mixed America would be like. What activities would take place from day to day? What values

⁴ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1920), 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 351.

would be paramount? Even a romanticized image of mixed race comeliness would clarify his position regarding blacks and Asians. However, Zangwill does not describe what the “real American,” the “superman,” the “fusion of all races” will look like.⁷ As with assimilation theory more broadly and the changes in inclusion over the past century, Zangwill excludes these groups. In response, some have devised their own tropes to describe the novel, heroic, and utopian potential of racial intermarriage. As a counterpoint to Zangwill’s *Melting Pot*, this chapter explores Harlem Renaissance writer Jean Toomer’s vision of interracial intimacy in writings spanning from 1920 to 1936, including his assertion that America was a “stomach” processing racial and ethnic types to draw nutrients for the whole body.

Like all periods of United States history, the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century was a time of restriction as well as transformation. Through the publications of Herbert Spencer and others, Social Darwinism influenced scholars, philanthropists, and politicians towards a view that individual achievement or failure depended on their physical fitness. This re-tooling of Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution emphasized “survival of the fittest,” maintaining that those more fit to succeed in society did, while the less fit remained at the bottom. Thus, the success of a society depended on the success of its members, who competed for survival with other individuals. Those at the bottom deserved to be there because of their inferiority. This school of thought dovetailed with the Lamarckian belief in essences and practices like

⁷ Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*, New and rev. ed. (New York: The Macmillan company, 1914), 34.

craniometry to justify the superiority of some groups (namely, Northern European males) above others. At the same time, this period has picked up the moniker, “the Progressive Era,” reflecting a middle-class desire to eliminate the inefficiencies of society. Philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie gave millions to establish public museums, libraries, and universities. Reformers worked for social justice, general equality and public safety. Often, efforts such as family aid, settlement houses, and temperance involved the moral reform of its beneficiaries. While there were many contradictions in the movement, it was also a period of heightened civic engagement.⁸

While Social Darwinists suggested that hands-off policies would weed out the less desirable, American and British eugenicists advocated practices such as anti-miscegenation laws, sterilization, and immigration limitations to move nations to a more eugenic, or well-bred, state. According to Francis Galton, human civilization had thwarted the mechanisms of natural selection, allowing the less fit to survive and pull societies towards a dysgenic state. The racialist work of eugenicists gained popular acceptance; for example Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* appeared as a conversation piece in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*, and later as a major influence on Adolf Hitler’s racial thought. But this was also a period when the natural sciences began to move away from essentialist, Lamarckian ideas of racial character

⁸ Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought*, American Civilization (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979); Nicola Kay Beisel, *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America*, Princeton Studies in American Politics (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); Michael E. McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

towards a Mendellian understanding of genetics. This fitful transformation lasted through the 1920s, with racial mixing standing at the forefront of the debate. Many geneticists, like Charles Davenport, held on to the idea of hybrid degeneracy, while a few, like William Castle, who had introduced Mendel's ideas on heredity, argued that racial mixing could produce superior offspring. In between were many who could apply this idea to corn, mice, and livestock, but never humans. On the other hand, the turn of the century saw a change in the natural sciences, at the hands of anthropologist, Franz Boas, and his followers. While Social Darwinists and eugenicists believed that some groups were more advanced than others along the same scale, placing industrialized Europeans at the top and indigenous groups at the bottom, Boas stuck closer to Charles Darwin's attention to adaptation as the relationship between a species and its environment, rather than how natural selection eliminates some from their environments. Boas's belief that any given population's development was separate from independent variables like time would alter the study of anthropology for the rest of the century, emphasizing empirical study over theories of social and cultural evolution. Believing that scholarship had moral consequences, Boas greatly influenced the intellectual development of W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, and Robert E. Park. His leadership contributed to a major shift in the conception of race, away from a static understanding, like that of the American School ethnologists in Chapter 1, towards one that appreciated independent development and historical changes of fortune.⁹

⁹ For the most part, turn of the century thought on racial mixing remained consistent with past essentialism and the Jim Crow system. The landmark case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, brought the complaint of Homer Plessy, a man with one, black great-grandparent forced to sit in the negro section of a train, to the Supreme Court. The decision protected the notion of "separate but equal," bolstering segregation and the one-drop rule. By the 1920s, African Americans and the disappearing mulatto class were consolidating into one group, as a

Lastly, the turn of the century was a period of increased immigration and anxiety about the Eastern and Southern Europeans entering the country. Followers of Social Darwinism and eugenics concerned themselves with the swarthy masses, with the former group happy to exploit them as labor yet unconcerned with their survival, and the latter wishing to limit their entry. The Progressives addressed the well-being of the immigrants, but also wanted to influence their moral development. Among the immediate concerns regarding immigration was whether they would take jobs from native-born Americans. However, another concern was whether they would become full citizens. Americanization became the dominant approach for transforming newcomers into mainstream society, emphasizing English proficiency, consumption of mass culture, and conformity to social norms. However, American nativism fluctuated with the fortunes of the country at large, increasing with the Depression of 1893, but contracting

means of racial unity during this, the “nadir of American race relations.” Later, Melville Herskovits wrote *The American Negro and Race Crossing in the United States*, calling African American a homogeneous yet greatly mixed group native to the United States, estimating that eighty percent of African Americans had mixed backgrounds, and defending the study of the Negro as key to understanding race relations. Lee D. Baker, *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896-1954* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); W. E. Castle, "The Explanation of Hybrid Vigor," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 12, no. 1 (1926); ———, "Mendel's Law of Heredity," *Science* 18, no. 456 (1903); Edwin Grant Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press; [etc., 1915]; C. B. Davenport, "Race Crossing in Jamaica," *The Scientific Monthly* 27, no. 3 (1928); ———, "Some Criticisms of "Race Crossing in Jamaica", " *Science* 72, no. 1872 (1930); Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*; Melville J. Herskovits, *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1928); Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity*, 1st Harvard University Press pbk. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Edward Byron Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States: Including a Study of the Role of Mixed-Blood Races Throughout the World* (Boston: Badger, 1918); George Harrison Shull, "Beginnings of the Heterosis Concept," in *Heterosis: A Record of Researches Directed toward Explaining and Utilizing the Vigor of Hybrids*, ed. John Whittemore Gowen (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1952); George W. Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology: With a New Preface*, Phoenix ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict* (New York, Chicago [etc.]: C. Scribner's Sons, 1937); Vernon J. Williams, *Rethinking Race: Franz Boas and His Contemporaries*

with optimism over the Spanish-American War. At the same time that nativists wanted to limit immigration, some believed that America could absorb all the newcomers and transform them into true Americans.¹⁰

Theodore Roosevelt was a figure who embodied these contradictions. While he urged native Americans to have large families, restricted women's marriage choices, and excluded racial minorities, he helped develop a liberal nationalism that emphasized the values of tolerance, equality, and individual rights. He also believed in a nationalism that rejected purity as a prerequisite, believing that the most vigorous people (the Americans, the British, and the Australians) achieved their potency from bringing together different strains. To a degree, Roosevelt was comfortable with including Southern and Eastern Europeans, believing that they would assimilate and participate in national projects like expansion.¹¹

This type of nationalism influenced many, including Israel Zangwill, a British Jew born in 1864 who had received success as a writer of fiction, poetry, and drama in

(Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1996); Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States*.

¹⁰ These trends are just a few that circulated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is possible to create pairs of opposites, following the order they appear above. However, it may be more useful to divide them into two clusters, with social Darwinism, eugenics, and nativism as ideological forces, and progressivism, cultural relativism, and liberal nationalism as utopian. This way, considering any pair across the divide can yield areas of inquiry—for example, the relationship between Social Darwinism and liberal nationalism. None of them are free of contradictions, and Americans of the time held beliefs that combined any of them. However, those within the ideological group were certainly dominant, reflecting the more influential beliefs of the time. This schema illustrates the interplay between dominant and alternative discourse during any period of history. Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America*, New ed., Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

¹¹ Gary Gerstle disagrees with other historians claiming that Roosevelt had a lifelong preferences for immigrants from Northern Europe, presenting his endorsement of *The Melting-Pot*, his sympathy for women garment workers in New York City, and his experience in the Spanish-American War as proof of a more inclusive, yet inconsistent, civic nationalism. Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

England. He devoted himself to the Zionist movement in 1896, upon meeting Theodor Herzl, and remaining active in it throughout his lifetime. While his 1897 essay, “The Realistic Novel,” advises writers to remain true to their perspective and keep a sense of humor, his own writing would use these maxims to dramatize the social ills of his time. The adaptation of his novel, *Children of the Ghetto*, was his first play to appear on a New York stage in 1899. *Merely Mary Ann* followed in 1903, and Zangwill made the United States his home. At the same time he defended the “Uganda Plan” to establish a Jewish territory in East Africa, he also praised the Pilgrims for founding “the great country in which we stand” from the modest beginnings of the Plymouth colony.¹² His position on a homeland for Jews oscillated between two options: to renationalize or denationalize; unless a state was established, he advocated integrating into the societies in which they lived. His own life reflected this, via his success as a writer in England and America, and through his marriage to Edith Ayrton, the Christian daughter of a prominent, English scientist. Still, Zangwill knew America had its faults, namely racism, xenophobia, and urban poverty, all visible in New York.¹³

His 1908 play, *The Melting-Pot*, is a conscious effort to address these issues and propose the United States as a place that could achieve peace between different nationalities. Two passages in the play express Zangwill’s hope. The first is in Act I, when David describes America as “God’s Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the

¹² Israel Zangwill, *The East African Question. Zionism and England's Offer*, Zionist Essays and Addresses (New York: The Maccabean Publishing Company, 1904), 52.

¹³ “Zangwill, Israel, 1864-1926,” ProQuest Information and Learning Company, http://gateway.proquest.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&xri:pqil:res_ver=0.2&res_id=xri:i:lion-us&rft_id=xri:lion:rec:ref:5876; Joseph Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1957); Maurice Wohlgelemer, *Israel Zangwill; a Study* (New York:

racess of Europe are melting and re-forming!”¹⁴ Like Crevecoeur’s earlier conception, the American David describes leaves behind the animosities of Europe, submitting to God’s will to form the American from Germans and French, Irish and English, Jews and Russians. His uncle, Mendel, suggests that there are already eighty million Americans, and David replies, “No, uncle, the real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the Crucible, I tell you—he will be the fusion of all races, perhaps the coming superman.”¹⁵ While the first portion of this speech appears relevant only to Europeans, the latter suggests that the melting pot includes racial minorities. The reliance on providence recalls Wendell Phillips’ “United States of the United Races,” which also included racial minorities. However, Zangwill’s vision features two aspects that Phillips’ earlier editorial did not. First, he describes the creation of the future American as a process, rather than an end result. Second, he describes the American of the future as a “superman.” If he was following a Nietzschean sense, translating the philosopher’s term, *Übermensch*, then he means a figure who would transcend contemporary morals to create his own. The superman would succeed through trusting his own intuition, not necessarily through physical strength as later uses of the term would suggest.¹⁶

Columbia University Press, 1964); Zangwill, *The East African Question. Zionism and England's Offer*; Israel Zangwill, *Without Prejudice* (New York: Century Co., 1896), 83-85.

¹⁴ Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*, 33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁶ Some consider Superman, the comic book character, to be an allegory for the immigrant experience. A few have gone as far to suggest that the comic strip, developed by two Jewish writers, was a veiled fantasy of Jewish supremacy. Dennis Dooley and Gary D. Engle, *Superman at Fifty! The Persistence of a Legend*, 1st Collier Books ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1988); Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 486-87; Phillips, "The United States of the United Races."; St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*; Joseph Wallace, "Superman Vs. Übermensch," Nationalist Free Press, <http://www.liesexposed.net/nfp/issue0104/super.htm>.

The second speech comes at the end of the play, when David commits to his relationship with Vera. This time, he explicitly includes blacks and Asians, along with all of the world's people and religions in the melting pot: "Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to about and look forward!"¹⁷ The play ends here, once again suggesting that the will of God would bring together all of these people, making the United States an example greater than past civilizations. At the play's October 5, Washington, D.C., debut, President Roosevelt provided an endorsement that would headline much of the play's promotion material by cheering, "That's a great play, Mr. Zangwill, that's a great play!"¹⁸ Critical reception of the play was lukewarm, especially in Chicago, and especially with most Jews, who were uncomfortable with its nonchalance regarding the disappearance of Jewish culture. However, it produced solid ticket sales, playing 136 times on Broadway.¹⁹

Philip Gleason has offered one of the most cogent (and most cited) analyses of the melting pot trope in his 1964 article, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" He asserts that its usage is more evocative as a symbol ("Millions of immigrants came fumbling into the melting pot") than a simile ("America is like a melting pot") or a

¹⁷ Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*, 184.

¹⁸ Leftwich, *Israel Zangwill*, 252.

¹⁹ Elsie Bonita Adams, *Israel Zangwill* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971); Internet Broadway Database, "Internet Broadway Database: The Melting Pot Production Credits," The League of American Theatres and Producers, <http://www.ibdb.com/production.asp?ID=6834>; Joe Kraus, "How the Melting Pot Stirred America: The Reception of Zangwill's Play and Theater's Role in the American Assimilation Experience," *Melus* 24, no. 3, *Varieties of Ethnic Criticism* (1999); Guy Szuberla, "Zangwill's the Melting Pot Plays Chicago," *Melus* 20, no. 3, *History and Memory* (1995).

metaphor (“America is a melting pot”).²⁰ However, as a symbol, it is an ambiguous one, with no clear, theoretical framework to support it. So, from its earliest re-deployment onward, the melting pot’s ambiguities fostered and reflected confusion in the public mind regarding its usage. This is true for those supporting the ideas of inclusion and mixing, and for those opposed to them. However, the rhetorical alternatives rising in following decades lack its adaptability. For example, the mosaic is an especially static symbol; once the pieces are in place, they remain there forever. The salad captures the proximity of elements, but they only produce new flavors through mastication. The quilt emphasizes a larger picture, but puts pieces in contact only with their immediate neighbors. The symbol of the stew overlooks the process of ingestion, as well as the possibility of ruining the dish. Lastly, the kaleidoscope captures the overall picture and the constant flux, but it also prohibits the individual pieces from changing. As Gleason writes, “It is the unique merit of the melting pot that the element of ever-changing process is intrinsic to the symbol itself, and that which is symbolized, ethnic interaction, is above all an ever-changing dynamic process.”²¹

In his own examination of the melting pot as a “semantic safety valve,” Werner Sollors puts it in context with the themes, consent, which includes relations by law and choice, and descent, or relations defined by inheritance or biological substance. This pair overlay well onto David M. Schneider’s dualisms of man/nature and reason/desire. The process of becoming an American is one that balances these two. While descent alludes

²⁰ Gleason, “The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?” 27.

²¹ Philip Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Gleason, “The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?” 45.

to what we are born into and have no control over, consent emphasizes the decisions we (consciously or unconsciously) make. The home is one locale where day-to-day functioning depends on consent to the creation of a new culture. In society more broadly, we consent to adopt mainstream norms and de-emphasize aspects of our ancestry to practice some configuration of American-ness. *The Melting-Pot* dramatizes the two, especially through the notion that romantic love can abolish prejudices of descent. Zangwill's play resists the wish to protect purity by arguing that mixing is congruent with the vision of America as and democratic.²²

However, in the second edition of the play, Zangwill equivocates, suggesting that “only heroic souls on either side should dare the adventure of intermarriage,” effectively plucking blacks and Asians out of the melting pot.²³ Instead of taking part in the “fusion of all races,” he suggests that blacks put their efforts into Liberia, the establishment of a black territory in the United States, or asserting their rights in the South. Zangwill places the “spiritual miscegenation” that has produced African American cultural products as ample mixing with blacks in the United States. According to the 1914 Afterword, the same is true for the Jew as well: “The action of the crucible is thus not exclusively physical—a consideration particularly important as regards the Jew. The Jew may be Americanised and the American Judaised without any gamic interaction.”²⁴ It is disappointing that Zangwill would recant his earlier idealism, first remaking the melting

²² Werner Sollors laments that many have read *The Melting-Pot* as social criticism rather than literature. Among these, sociologists have adopted the trope of the melting pot towards whatever ends they wish. Sollors wishes for “better ways in which literary and historical-sociological methodologies might be combined in order to illuminate the conflict between consent and descent as it operates in American culture.” Thinking of these texts thematically frees them from the exclusive, genre bounds. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, 3-19, 66-101.

²³ Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts*, 207.

pot as a Eurocentric affair, and then excusing his own group from the physical mixing that the play originally defended. The 1914 Afterword effectively shuts the case on whether Zangwill meant to include racial minorities in the mixing that would create the future, utopian America. After World War I, Zangwill turned to nonfiction to address social issues. In time, his disillusionment grew, and he even distanced himself from the Zionist movement. In 1916, he would suggest that people would naturally resist mixing and coalesce around identities like “Christian” and “Jew.”²⁵

While some opposed the liberal nature of the melting pot trope, in some quarters receptive to inclusion, it became synonymous with the “100 percent American” campaign to transform immigrants into loyal, normative citizens. For example, Ford Motor Company’s educational program for its immigrant employees held pageants that featured immigrants entering an eight foot-high cauldron in their traditional garb, and exiting, exhibiting good grooming, wearing business suits, and waving American flags. The melting pot received opponents on the liberal end of the spectrum because of its connection with such Americanization. The most vocal of these were Horace M. Kallen and Randolph S. Bourne. The former directly addressed Zangwill’s trope in a 1915 essay, “Democracy Versus the Melting Pot,” which decried Americanization in favor of preserving ethnic, cultural differences, with English merely as the *lingua franca* of the land. He picks up Zangwill’s use of the symphony to describe the sound of American diversity, claiming, “so in society each ethnic group is the natural instrument, its spirit

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Zangwill, Israel, 1864-1926."; Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963), 290; Wohlgelelnter, *Israel Zangwill; a Study*.

and culture are its theme and melody, and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all make the symphony of civilization.”²⁶ Bourne, a Progressive-era writer who was born into a prestigious family, followed Kallen’s position in his “Trans-National America,” which also asserts that the United States’ strength would come from its hyphenated citizens. Kallen would later coin the term, “cultural pluralism,” to describe his antidote to assimilation, and it would become the central tenet of the multicultural movement decades later. However, both Kallen and Bourne were far more interested in preserving immigrant cultures than they were in mixing bodies, barely mentioning intermarriage in their proposals; Kallen mentions it as one of the regrettable forces of Americanization, while Bourne omits it completely.²⁷

Others would have to answer the questions regarding what the future American would look like, and what life with universal, interracial intimacy would be like. One of these was Jean Toomer, author of the novel, *Cane*. Born on December 26, 1894, Toomer (Nathan Eugene Pinchback) was the grandson of P.B.S. Pinchback, a politician who had been Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana during Reconstruction, and then Governor for thirty-five days after the impeachment of Henry Clay Warmoth. Toomer’s family was part of the mulatto elite in Washington, D.C., and the boy grew up in a white

²⁶ Horace Meyer Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting-Pot," *The Nation*, February 25 1915, 220.

²⁷ Still, like the usage of the melting pot and assimilation, invocations of pluralism and cultural pluralism have been ambiguous. Philip Gleason’s 1979 reconsideration of the Zangwill’s catch phrase argues that mention of the melting pot had become generally negative, because of associations with Americanization. Rather than question the assumptions about assimilation, many had come to see it as a failure, pointing to the fact that so many had held on to their ethnic identities. Most notably, many had constructed a dyad, with the melting pot on one side and pluralism on the other, the former as the villain and the latter as the hero. As Gleason writes, “But they have been reified on such a low level of conceptual clarity that, when applied in discussions of group life and social policy, they *prevent* us from grasping complexities or appreciating ambiguities.” Randolph Silliman Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks, *History of a Literary Radical, and Other Essays* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, inc., 1920); Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity*:

neighborhood, apparently free of prejudice. Later, he would describe his ancestry as Negro, Indian, Scotch, Welsh, German, English, French, Dutch, and Spanish. At age nineteen, Toomer first had the notion to consider himself an American, neither white nor black. He began to believe that almost all Americans possessed a number of ancestries, but few were aware of it. His conception of national identity would develop in the coming years, exerting a major impact on his literary career, his personal relationships, and his spiritual quest. Toomer briefly attended the University of Wisconsin, but found it hard to settle into one field of study or line of work. He moved to New York City, began reading broadly, and became friends with Waldo Frank and other writers. In 1920, he returned to Washington to be with his ailing grandfather and begin writing in earnest.²⁸

In the October 10, 1920, issue of the *New York Call*, Toomer responded to “New York: Dictator of American Criticism,” an editorial by the author Mary Austin alleging that Jews had inordinate control over the critical tastes of America. While Toomer admires Austin’s concern for American culture, he censures her on three points: First, the influences on American letters outside of New York disprove her assertion. Second, her statements resemble those of whites in the Jim Crow South who wished to keep blacks away from the polls. Lastly, her emphasis on ethnic origins detracts from the development of the “evolved American... universal of sympathies and godlike of

Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America, 32-46; ———, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?"; Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 248.

²⁸ Trudier Harris-Lopez and Thadious M. Davis, *Afro-American Writers from the Harlem Renaissance to 1940*, Dictionary of Literary Biography; V. 51 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Co., 1987), 274-88; Therman B. O'Daniel and College Language Association (U.S.), *Jean Toomer: A Critical Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1988), 49-53; Peter Quartermain, *American Poets, 1880-1945, First Series*, Dictionary of Literary Biography; V. 45 (Detroit, Mich.: Gale Research Co., 1986), 405-09; Jean Toomer and Darwin T. Turner, *The Wayward and the Seeking: A Collection of Writings by Jean Toomer*

soul.”²⁹ Similar to Nietzsche’s superman, the race he describes in the essay is yet to materialize, but its spirit is visible in some creative artists of the day.

It is certain that it will be a composite one, including within itself, in complementing harmony, all races. It will be less conscious of its composite character than the English are of theirs, and it will be considerably more aware of the grandeur of its destiny... The resultant temper will be broad, inclusive, aware of one race only, and that the American. In fine, in our future national type humanity will have again achieved the constructive association of its varied elements.³⁰

He would later describe the race as “interracial and unique” and “structurally distinguishable from the heretofore existing types.”³¹ However, physical appearance is of minimal concern to Toomer, who focuses more on the spiritual aspects of transformation. He directly addresses Zangwill’s melting pot at two points in this article, first, referring to the distaste some Christians have for intermarriage with Jews, and vice versa; and, second, criticizing Austin’s “focus on the unfused metals of the melting pot,” pointing out that regardless of what some narrow-minded people think, the future American will encompass all of us, the more and the less assimilated, and the more and the less open-minded.³² Like Phillips and Zangwill, Toomer believed it was destiny for the nation to bring forth a new, superior, moral race.³³

In 1922, at the invitation of the head of a black school in Sparta, Georgia, Toomer went south to be the school’s temporary principal and immerse himself in what he

(Washington: Howard University Press, 1980), 91-94; Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 105.

²⁹ Jean Toomer, "Americans and Mary Austin," *New York Call*, October 10 1920.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Jean Toomer and Robert B. Jones, *Jean Toomer: Selected Essays and Literary Criticism*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 58.

³² Toomer, "Americans and Mary Austin."

³³ Jean Toomer and Robert B. Jones, *Jean Toomer: Selected Essays and Literary Criticism*, 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 58-59, 69.

considered to be a dying, black culture. This experience would be the impetus of *Cane*, the manuscript that Waldo Frank would help him find a home for. However, when Boni & Liveright published it in 1923, Toomer accepted that the firm may market his book as negro literature. But he directed them to avoid calling him a “negro” in advertisements or materials going out with review copies, even though black life was at the center of the book. When they disappointed him, he wrote Horace Liveright, “My racial composition and my position in the world are realities which I alone may determine... As a unit in the social milieu, I expect and demand acceptance of myself on their basis. I do not expect to be told what I should consider myself to be.”³⁴ He continues, directing the publisher to refrain from insinuating that he is “dodging,” or hiding aspects of his racial identity—that is, that he is racially passing for white.³⁵

At the time, the appearance of *Cane* was like no other piece of fiction by an African American author. Its modernist sensibility brought new forms to an exploration of traditional, black culture. His belief in an emergent negro found favor with Alain Locke, who published excerpts of *Cane* in his landmark, 1925 collection, *The New Negro*. Toomer became the vanguard of that literary movement, even though he primarily wanted to be known as an American writer. The experience of pigeonholing

³⁴ These assertions foreshadow the twelve tenets in psychologist Maria P.P. Root’s “A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People,” which protest society’s tendency to fragment and fractionalize people. See Chapter 4, below, for more on Root’s writing and the Multiracial Movement. Maria P. P. Root, “A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People,” in *The Multiracial Experience: Racial Borders as the New Frontier*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (London [Eng]; Thousand Oaks, Cal.: Sage, 1996); Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 94.

³⁵ In a 1922 letter to Waldo Frank, Toomer uses language prescient of late-twentieth century racial theory, explaining that he only uses the term “negro” when he wants to evoke an emotion associated with the black experience, and that he no longer thinks of people according to their “color and contour.” Instead, he sees “differences of life and experience,” which often lead him to racial experiences. This is an assertion that race is a lived experience, but also a social construction. However, his attempt to jettison physical

increased Toomer's distaste for racial thinking, and even before *The New Negro* came out, he had attended the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man, south of Paris, France. Founded by Greek-Armenian mystic, Georges I. Gurdjieff, the Institute taught his philosophy of unitism, which maintained that the remedy for the ills of modernism—war, materialism, crime, and economic troubles of the Great Depression—lie in “transcending the multiplicity of particularities and individualities.”³⁶ Later, Toomer would claim that Locke had included the excerpts without his permission, and he would avoid being in any future collection that centered around the racial identity of the authors. As he wrote in a letter to James Weldon Johnson, declining to be in his *Book of American Negro Poetry*:

I aim to stress the fact that we all are Americans. I do not see things in terms of Negro, Anglo-Saxon, Jewish, and so on. As for me personally, I see myself an American, simply an American.

As regards art I particularly hold this view. I see our art and literature as primarily American art and literature. I do not see it as Negro, Anglo-Saxon, and so on.

Accordingly, I must withdraw from all things which emphasize or tend to emphasize racial or cultural divisions. I must align myself with things which stress the experiences, forms, and spirit we have in common.³⁷

In his journals, Toomer admitted that this was “a stand more extreme than I really wanted it to be.”³⁸ Johnson responded, respecting his wishes, but asserting that the time was too soon to emphasize the fundamental Americanization of all Americans. However,

appearance in favor of social descriptors was incomplete, as he still referred to racial groups as discrete bloods and races. Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 93-94.

³⁶ Harry L. Jones, "Jean Toomer's Vision: 'Blue Meridian'," in *Jean Toomer: A Critical Evaluation*, ed. Therman B. O'Daniel and College Language Association (U.S.) (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1988), 337.

³⁷ Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 105-06.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

Toomer maintained that the time was right, and set his efforts towards describing a country that reflected his mystical vision.³⁹

Some of Toomer's most explicit statements came about because of his 1931 marriage to Margery Latimer, a white author he had met in a Gurdjieff group he led in Portage, Wisconsin, the previous summer. In a statement he wrote shortly before his wedding, he explained his faith in a new race in America, which he considered himself a member of. This new race

is neither white nor black nor in-between. It is the American race, differing as much from white and black as white and black differ from each other... But the old divisions into white, black, brown, red, are outworn in this country. They have had their day. Now is the time of the birth of a new order, a new vision, a new ideal of man. I proclaim this new order. My marriage to Margery Latimer is the marriage of two Americans.⁴⁰

These are beliefs he had conceived of in 1914. As opposed to other voices in this project, such as Wendell Phillips and Israel Zangwill, Toomer considered himself a member of the new, mixed, heroic race. Unlike Phillips, he was describing a progression that was taking place in his lifetime, rather than in the future. He maintained that it was common for Americans to bring together the bloods of many ethnic groups, and that this combination was bringing forth the true Americans. Toomer could recognize his heritage, but wanted one label only—American. Word of the nuptials came out a few months later, nationwide, in any press wishing to publicize their interracial marriage. As *Time* wrote, describing a party with the couple's friends in Carmel, California, "No Negro can legally marry a white woman in any Southern State. But Wisconsin does not

³⁹ Many have considered Toomer's involvement with Gurdjieff as the end of his literary career, overlooking his continued (yet unpublished) productivity through the decades after *Cane*. Ibid., 102-04.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 105.

mind, nor California.”⁴¹ The article describes a Gurdjieff exercise that Toomer, “who has a small mustache and few Negroid characteristics,” led guests through, and then quotes him in his assertion that, “Americans probably do not realize it, but there are no racial barriers any more, because there are so many Americans with strains of Negro, Indian and Oriental blood.”⁴² It is notable that he lists minority racial groups in this list, rather than the European ethnicities he often used. Tailor-made for periodicals that would like to sensationalize it, this seems to be a conscious effort to include them in his public statements about the process of mixing with racial minorities that had already begun.

Then, in the same statement he gave to those calling his home, Toomer goes even further in distinguishing himself from Zangwill, coining his own symbol: “As I see America, it is like a great stomach into which are thrown the elements which make up the life blood. From this source is coming a distinct race of people. They will achieve tremendous works of art, literature and music. They will not be white, black or yellow—just Americans.”⁴³ The metaphor has faults, switching from the body’s digestive system to the circulatory system (thus eliding the obvious outcome of digestion), but even in that, it is evocative, suggesting a transformation from solid food into life-sustaining liquid. Both Zangwill’s and Toomer’s symbols are scientific, but while the melting pot works within the realm of industry, the stomach is part of a human body. The former is part of the world as it is, while the latter imagines being part of a body that is capable of

⁴¹ “Just Americans,” *Time*, March 28 1932.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Black and white predominate his rhetoric, but this is a reflection of the racial groups relevant to his experience, rather than privileged states of being. *Ibid.*

anything. In this, he suggests that works of art will be the activity of the Americans, reflecting a high esteem for creative artists, the kind of people he admired the most.

In what appears to be the introduction to a would-be book on the matter of the Americans, Toomer expands on the idea of the stomach, asserting that a country's strength depends on its capacity to "digest, assimilate, and transform all the diverse materials present in it," turning all of its food into a distinctive blood, as well as the "people, bodies and souls, and customs and culture special to it."⁴⁴ He continues, directly addressing Zangwill, "It has been said that America is a melting-pot. Rather I would view it as a stomach. Rather I would view it as the place where mankind, long dismembered into separate usually repellant groupings, long scattered over the face of the earth, is being re-assembled into one whole and undivided human race. America will include the earth."⁴⁵ Just as food dies when one eats it, racial groups would die as the country transforms them. Suggesting that this activity is important to undertake on a personal level, he adds, "This is true of the individual members of a nation."⁴⁶ Toomer echoes the American exceptionalist notion that this land will be the site of Acts 17:26's "one blood." While he believes that there already are many who fit this description through their mixed backgrounds, and that this transformation involves the whole earth, those who share these values with him are the ones he calls "the Americans."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 107.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Regarding racial purity, he asserts two things: first, just as oxygen and hydrogen lose their form when they make water, humans become one, indivisible being when their diverse parents create them; and second, that there is just one pure race, the human race. *Ibid.*, 107-10.

In a 1935 essay from his unpublished papers, Toomer recounts many of his life's experiences—moving between various groups, being the target of a variety of racial slurs, and accusations of racially passing. Whereas most Americans lived their whole lives with people similar to themselves, maintaining “queer unreal views of the people of other groups,” Toomer viewed his own life as “not typically American.”⁴⁸ He admits that he has moved through many circles, making each his own in a Whitmanesque sense. He hopes that this will characterize American life in the future, and suggests that it will take more than three hundred years to “consolidate and blend the mixtures existing here into an American people.”⁴⁹ Toomer describes his utopia as dependent on racial mixing. It is the site of civic values, most notably, humanism. He also provides an estimation of how long it could take to fulfill. However, he also fears that his vision may fall the way of Whitman's, with a hundred years passing without any development along these lines.⁵⁰

The poem that began as “The First American” in 1921 and appeared as “Brown River, Smile” in 1932, was published in the *New Caravan* in 1936 as “The Blue Meridian.” It is an homage to the American people reflecting the influence of Gurdjieff's philosophy of unitism. As with his other statements, “The Blue Meridian” suggests how the pursuit for wholeness can be a means for the country to reconcile its differences. Three meridians divide the poem's 843 lines into three stages in the transformation. The black meridian, which is first, stands for longing before the second, white meridian, which refers to awakening or re-birth. The final meridian is blue, representing the final, transcendent union.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 100.

*Blue Meridian, banded-light,
Dynamic atom-aggregate,
Awakes upon the earth;
In his left hand he holds elevated rock,
In his right hand he holds lifted branches,
He dances the dance of the Blue Meridian
And dervishes with the seven regions
of America, and all the world.*⁵¹

In this last stage, old races and old religions are the fodder for the creation of “the man of purple or blue,” who possesses a higher consciousness, and is able to create new morals, much like the Nietzschean superman Zangwill mentions.⁵² Even though the poem appeared in limited circulation, with little critical response, later scholars consider it Toomer’s second greatest achievement behind *Cane*. While that novel focuses mostly on the past in order to preserve it, “Blue Meridian” considers the past as a stage in progressing towards a utopian future.⁵³

Meanwhile, the melting pot became a central element in the development of the assimilation school of race and ethnic studies in American sociology. It the melting pot’s involvement in these theories splits into two periods. The first spans from the play’s first performance through Milton M. Gordon’s 1964 book, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. In 1921, Robert E. Park and Ernest W.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 95-101.

⁵¹ Lines 816-823. Jean Toomer, Robert B. Jones, and Margery Toomer Latimer, *The Collected Poems of Jean Toomer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 74.

⁵² Line 739. Frederik Rusch also calls this figure “The Blue Man.” These are not literal skin pigments, but rather, spiritual states. The use of such hues de-emphasize any particular, physical appearance. [Walter Mosley’s *Blue Light?*] Ibid., 72; Toomer and Rusch, *A Jean Toomer Reader: Selected Unpublished Writings*, 79-80.

⁵³ More specifically, he says that “here in America we are in the process of forming a new race, and that I was one of the first conscious members of this race.” Bernard W. Bell, “Jean Toomer’s ‘Blue Meridian’: The Poet as Prophet of a New Order of Man,” in *Jean Toomer: A Critical Evaluation*, ed. Therman B. O’Daniel and College Language Association (U.S.) (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1988), 347; Harris-Lopez and Davis, *Afro-American Writers from the Harlem Renaissance to 1940*, 274-88; Jones,

Burgess published their famous textbook, *The City*, which put forth definitions of assimilation and accommodation. However, he did introduce a fundamental principle in these pages: While ethnic antagonism would arise naturally, assimilation (the “process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life”) was inevitable.⁵⁴ For the rest of the twentieth century, intermarriage became the principle indicator of assimilation, as well as the final product of assimilation’s success. Assuming that the home is the site of “interpenetration and fusion,” rates of intermarriage became the indicator par excellence of this process, more so than socioeconomic status, segregation, education, or attitudes.⁵⁵

However, just as the melting pot was an ambiguous symbol, assimilation remained ambiguous until the early 1960s, when Milton M. Gordon canonized it in his *Assimilation in American Life*. The book’s main contribution is in suggesting three kinds of assimilation theory. The first is Anglo-Conformity, in which newcomers comply with dominant, Anglo norms. This has been the most prominent in American history, but to describe assimilation as a one-way process is to believe an illusion. Second is Cultural Pluralism, which reflects Kallen’s notion that cultural diversity enriches the whole nation. Gordon names the third type “the Melting Pot,” which would produce a new, distinct, improved type from the characteristics of those who come to America. Even though

"Jean Toomer's Vision: 'Blue Meridian'," 337-38; Toomer and Turner, *The Wayward and the Seeking: A Collection of Writings by Jean Toomer*, 120-21, 99.

⁵⁴ Robert Ezra Park et al., *The City* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1925).

cultural pluralists often define all assimilation as Anglo-Conformity and suggest that the melting pot is a mechanism for this, Gordon makes an important intervention by asserting that Zangwill's writing reflects a different assimilation that has its roots in the writings of Crevecoeur, Emerson, and Turner.⁵⁶

In the end, Gordon maintains that structural pluralism (separation based on many races and religions) is the dominant social condition. It also is an obstacle to structural assimilation, the final prerequisite for intermarriage.⁵⁷ Even when it is not the final product (as Park's definition suggests), intermarriage is a sign that we have overcome structural pluralism, on our way to the success of assimilation. This is the case if one believes in Anglo-Conformity or Cultural Pluralism (which deal more with culture), as well as the Melting Pot set of theories. This leads to perpetual anticipation of intermarriage as the fulfillment of assimilation's promise.

If *The Melting-Pot's* 1908 debut and Gordon's 1964 book mark one period in the symbol's career, then the 1965 Immigration Act marks the beginning of the second, even if that legislation's effects would become most noticeable some twenty-five years later with the rise of multiculturalism and the 1990s "culture wars." While multiculturalism was a movement initiated by African Americans who wished for more inclusion in the

⁵⁵ Hirschman, "America's Melting Pot Reconsidered."; Robert Ezra Park and Ernest Watson Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

⁵⁶ Gordon names types of assimilation within these three categories, including: cultural (behavioral), structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic. Published a year earlier, Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* emphasizes, "The initial notion of an American melting pot did not, it seems, quite grasp what would happen in America." This two-year period is a locus of skepticism regarding assimilation theory—or perhaps a sort of house-cleaning before the 1965 Immigration Act struck down many racial and ethnic limitations on newcomers. Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 13; Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, 3-18, 70-71, 129.

narrative of United States history, others joined in, resulting in a push to represent many ethnic and racial traditions in schools. The melting pot would become a symbol of cultural pluralism for some, as well as (ironically, at the hands of those who asserted that multiculturalism threatened central, American values) Anglo-Conformity. As historian and former aid to John F. Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., would write in 1990, “Instead of a transformative nation with a new and distinctive identity, America increasingly sees itself as preservative of old identities.” He exaggerates the resistance to Anglo-Saxon norms, equating *new* with improvement and a unified future, and *old* with pain and the divisive past. As he continues, “The melting pot yields to the Tower of Babel.”⁵⁸

In the early 1990s, scholarship on assimilation had come to realize that the “new man” of Zangwill’s melting pot was white, and assimilation had become synonymous with the consolidation of white ethnics. Sociologist Mary C. Waters’ *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* begins by surveying the literature on assimilation with the contention that it was always about ethnic whites. Her interviews with sixty adults and analysis of Census data show that many see race and ethnicity as biologically rooted and discernable by physical appearance. At the same time, non-Hispanic whites have been

⁵⁷ Gordon also provides working definitions for acculturation, assimilation, and amalgamation. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, 61-63, 80, 235.

⁵⁸ A third period of assimilation theory began in 1997 with a special issue of *International Migration Review* that brought together scholars reconsidering assimilation after three decades of increased Asian and Latin American immigration. This phase has continued through the 2004 publication of Tamar Jacoby’s, *Reinventing the Melting Pot*, a collection of essays that mostly disagree with the old vision of assimilation, giving more credit to how it is a two-way process, but also agreeing that assimilation is inevitable. Richard D. Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); Richard Alba and Victor Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration,” *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (1997); Tamar Jacoby, *Reinventing the Melting Pot: The New Immigrants and What It Means to Be American* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Arthur Meier Schlesinger, “The Return to the Melting Pot,” in *From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*, ed. Ronald T. Takaki (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 293.

able to practice symbolic ethnicity, “choosing among elements in one’s ancestry and choosing when and if voluntarily to enjoy the traditions of that ancestry.”⁵⁹

Sociologist Richard D. Alba’s *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*, the product of extensive surveying in New York State, adds to Waters’s arguments that ethnicity among non-Hispanic whites is undergoing a major shift: “Ethnic distinctions based on European ancestry, once quite prominent in the social landscape, are fading into the background; other ethnic distinctions appear more highlighted as a result. In a sense, a new ethnic group is forming—one based on ancestry from *anywhere* on the European continent.”⁶⁰ Overall, he argues that ethnic identity among whites of European origin is more and more of a personal and voluntary matter. While past decades may have placed more importance on ethnic identity, currently, white, ethnic identities are more nominal. However, in a society with racial and ethnic divisions, those unable to practice the symbolic ethnicity that Waters and Alba write about find themselves at disadvantages because of their physical appearance (for example, African Americans and Asian Americans), even if they have reached the same cultural and socioeconomic level as whites. More importantly, these results show that the melting pot

⁵⁹ “Non-Hispanic white” refers to those who racially identify as white, and who do not check “Hispanic or Latino,” which refers to an ethnic group consisting of members across the major racial groups. While one can be Latino and white, to this day, such people may experience a kind of racialization similar to that of racial minorities in the United States. A common practice among whites is to believe that one has no identity, reflecting a semi-conscious effort to cast whiteness as blank, unmarked, and unexamined. Ross Chambers, “The Unexamined,” in *Whiteness: A Critical Reader*, ed. Mike Hill (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Richard Dyer, *White* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997); Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 167.

⁶⁰ Richard D. Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 3.

has been a success in producing what Zangwill's 1914 Afterword would allow—a seemingly ambiguous, conglomerate, and European, “real American.”⁶¹

At the same time, another set of scholars pointed out the blatant exclusion of blacks from assimilation literature. In a 1993 essay in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nathan Glazer poses the question, “Where are the blacks?” to Crevecoeur, Emerson, Woodrow Wilson, John Dewey, Horace Kallen, Randolph Bourne, and other thinkers on assimilation, with their lists of other ethnic groups as a universal response. For this omission, he argues, “The failure of assimilation to work its effects on blacks as on immigrants, owing to the strength of American discriminatory and prejudiced attitudes and behavior towards blacks, has been responsible for throwing the entire assimilatory ideal and program into disrepute.”⁶²

Others have joined in pointing to low rates of black intermarriage as a sign of their estrangement from the melting pot. For example, Andrew Hacker praises Asians and Latinos for their ability to adjust, intermarry, and produce children who will “undoubtedly be regarded as a new variant of white,” while blacks’ adherence to the one-drop rule excludes them from any benefit of intermarriage. In a *National Review* column claiming opposition to interracial relationships by black women and Asian men, Steve Sailer posits, “Nor is it surprising that white-Asian marriages outnumber black-white marriages: the social distance between whites and Asians is now far smaller than the distance between blacks and whites”—a generalization that assumes the universality of the model minority for Asian Americans and dysfunction for African Americans. From

⁶¹ Ibid; Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*.

here, he suggests that black women and Asian men should enter into relationships with each other as a solution for their exclusion from the trends everyone else is participating in.⁶³ In *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution*, Michael Lind observes, “The prospects for amalgamation between whites, Hispanics, and Asians are no doubt better than the prospects for fusion between black Americans and other groups,” citing many blacks’ resistance to interracial intimacy as one of the factors limiting the acceptance of black-white unions.⁶⁴ Later, in a *New York Times Magazine* essay, Lind posits that Asian and Latino acceptance of intermarriage with the few whites who accept it will lead to “a white-Asian-Hispanic melting-pot majority—a hard-to-differentiate group of beige Americans—offset by a minority consisting of blacks who have been left out of the melting pot once again.”⁶⁵ Legal scholar Rachel Moran adopts Lind’s prediction, predicting that blacks will remain isolated from other groups if black distaste for intermarriage persists. She says, “While most Asian Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans now have at least a distant white relative through intermarriage, blacks are much less likely to report a kinship relationship to any other group.”⁶⁶

These assertions raise three questions: Why is having a white relative an indicator of social distance when there are so many others from the arenas of education, housing,

⁶² Nathan Glazer, "Is Assimilation Dead?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993): 122.

⁶³ Steve Sailer, "Is Love Colorblind?" *National Review*, July 14 1997.

⁶⁴ Michael Lind, *The Next American Nation: The New Nationalism and the Fourth American Revolution* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1996), 294.

⁶⁵ Michael Lind, "The Beige and the Black," *New York Times*, August 16 1998.

⁶⁶ Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (New York: Scribner's, 1992), 8, 11, 13; Rachel F. Moran, *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race & Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 165-66, 75.

and employment? Why, even as scholars recognize the shortcomings of assimilation theory, is intermarriage the prime indicator of an improved America, racial equality, or new human types? What about rates of intermarriage for non-Hispanic whites, the group with the least amount of out-marriage? Three trends join together as the answer to these. First, many Americans like to believe in the melting pot as a symbol; although ambiguous, it has entered our vernacular as a social good. Second, statistics provide an alluring argument that race relations are improving—and that some groups are beyond hopes of improvement. With intermarriage as a central feature in assimilation theory, a scale has appeared, praising minorities who intermarry as more adjusted. However, this trend is a smokescreen for the third trend: Even with the mid-twentieth century civil rights movement, changes in immigration, and the abolition of anti-intermarriage laws, preserving white racial purity is still a priority for non-Hispanic whites, the nation's historically predominant group. At 69.1% of the population in 2000, they still are. This may have dropped from 75.6% in 1990, but the feared, majority-minority moment is still well into the future. In regards to interracial marriage, Waters shows that middle-class, non-Hispanic whites see racial difference as a higher barrier to intermarriage than religion or social class. Prior to the publication of *Ethnic Options*, her 1988 longitudinal study with Stanley Lieberson showed that endogamy between non-Hispanic whites was higher than one would expect, given the number of generations their subjects had been in the country. Even those who were from mixed, non-Hispanic backgrounds showed a preference for some portion of common ancestry. The most recent Census data show that 96.3% of married, non-Hispanic whites are married to other non-Hispanic whites, a rate higher than any other non-Hispanic racial group. Maybe non-Hispanic white resistance

to interracial marriage is the true indicator of assimilation, rather than minorities' uphill battle of gaining acceptance from them. Perhaps there should be a moratorium on celebrating the curative power of racial mixing until this number drops.⁶⁷

Written during a time renowned for its nativism, Israel Zangwill's *The Melting-Pot* provided the past century's most popular symbol for American inclusion. While opponents to Anglo-Conformity have taken it to task, the melting pot does more than suggest that immigrants transform into the acceptable Americans; it presents intermarriage as the site where the "real American," the "fusion of all races," the American "Superman" is forming. As Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan wrote in 1963, "Yet looking back, it is possible to speculate that the response to *The Melting Pot* was as much one of relief as of affirmation: more a matter of reassurance that what had already taken place would turn out all right, rather than encouragement to carry on in the same direction."⁶⁸ They point out an important fact: Zangwill's intervention is really an anesthetic for anxiety over changes in diversity. Its entry into our national, civic vernacular has provided a positive way to speak about ongoing changes, whether one is

⁶⁷ Blacks and Asians follow with 90.7% and 90.6% endogamy rates, respectively. The rate for Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders was 54.5%, and the rate for American Indians was 45.1%. Both Waters and Bonilla-Silva report a variety of colorblind yet prejudiced reasons for white antipathy for intermarriage. Chapter 3 will further discuss the threat of white demographic diminution. In any case, even if this happens, whites could still maintain their privileged position. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner, 2001), 143, 45-47, 49, 55-57; CensusScope, "CensusScope -- Population by Race," http://www.censuscope.org/us/chart_race.html; Stanley Lieberson, Mary C. Waters, and National Committee for Research on the 1980 census., *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America*, The Population of the United States in the 1980s (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988); Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*, 103-5, 08-10, 14, 65, 67; Bureau of the Census U.S. Department of Commerce, "Hispanic Origin and Race of Coupled Households (Phc-T-19)," <http://www.census.gov/population/www/cen2000/phc-t19.html>.

for, against, or indifferent to intermarriage. Over the past century, the boundaries between first-class and second-class citizens have changed, often along the lines of inclusion in the white group. This period began with Southern and Eastern Europeans beyond the lines, and those native to the United States within. As many spoke of European nationalities as being different races (i.e., Zangwill's, Crevecoeur's, and Emerson's lists), to be intimate with them was repugnant. Anglo-Saxon chauvinists and followers of eugenics saw intermarriage with the new immigrants as an act that could jeopardize the fitness of the nation, nearly as unnatural as the polygenesists considered mixing between racial groups. However, through assimilation (as well as benefiting from the New Deal and the G.I. Bill), these ethnic groups have been able to gain inclusion in the predominant group. Decades later, intermarriage across European groups is simply natural. Likewise, those who have various European ancestries often describe themselves as "just American." Milton M. Gordon has pointed out that there are various kinds of assimilation. However, intermarriage remains the privileged one, because it is quantifiable, and because it kindles the notions of anticipation and fulfillment of assimilation's success. So, just as the definition of whiteness (or first-class citizenship) has changed, so has the definition of intermarriage.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 289.

⁶⁹ I use "line of inclusion," "first-class citizens," and "second-class citizens" to avoid the reification of whiteness. As historian Eric Arnesan warns, defining that term too broadly can make it "an inadequate tool of historical analysis." In any case, while some whiteness studies works have elided ethnicity, ignored legal structures that define whiteness within specific moments, and lacked specificity, some have been instructive for this section. For example, the movement of Irish, Jews, and Italians towards inclusion and first-class citizenship is the central theme of Matthew Frye Jacobsen's *Whiteness of a Different Color*. George Lipsitz's *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness* draws out some of the economic benefits of whiteness in the late twentieth century. Eric Arnesan, "Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60, no. Fall (2001); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Even as a believer in the process making the future, mixed Americans, Zangwill let several aspects of the melting pot remain vague. The first is in regards to cultural assimilation and conformity, which critics Horace M. Kallen and Randolph S. Bourne immediately attacked. Later followers of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism followed, making the melting pot the symbol of everything they disliked about mainstream, American culture. More importantly, the melting pot has been vague about what the future, mixed America would be like. More importantly, Zangwill's removal of racial minorities from the intimate process of making the future, mixed American in the 1914 edition of the play compounds the omission. The first stage of assimilation theory followed his model, concerning itself exclusively with European immigrants. Longitudinal studies and demographic snapshots by Mary C. Waters and Richard D. Alba reveal that the melting pot has succeeded at its purpose of creating a mixed, white American.

In response to the narrow conception of the melting pot, racial minorities imagining a mixed, utopian America have had to develop their own tropes. Foremost of these was Harlem Renaissance writer, Jean Toomer, who spent most of his adult life maintaining an identity that appreciated his mixed background and resisted pigeonholing into just one group. He believed in a new race of Americans that would include others like himself, along with those who were more mixed than they believed. At several points, Toomer critiqued the melting pot, and offered an alternative, "the stomach," which would process racial and ethnic types to draw nutrients for the whole body. While

Press, 1998); George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

his esteem for artists, inclusion, and new morals is clear, the stomach, like the melting pot, remains vague. Distance from literary circles during the later decades of his life may have deprived him of the exchange of ideas that could have clarified this symbol. Only after scholars' rediscovered Toomer after the 1960s has there been a serious consideration of his later writing. So, unlike Israel Zangwill's melting pot, Jean Toomer's stomach has remained an obscure symbol. However, similar idealism has recurred through those publicly emphasizing an American identity above any, particular, racial ancestry; for those who imagine that future, mixed children will be citizens of an America free of racial problems; those who believe that a new, "Multiracial" category will allow mixed race Americans to lead the way towards dismantling race; and those wishing to abolish racial categories altogether to free ourselves from racial thinking. These subsequent thinkers also participate in anticipation and fulfillment. However, they move away from using inanimate objects as symbols, towards mixed race bodies, whether real or virtual.

Chapter 3: The New Face of America: The Beauty, the Beast

In the fall of 1993, I was working retail sales at Baltimore's Harborplace when I came across something I had never seen at B. Dalton Books. On the cover of *Time* Magazine was a smiling, racially ambiguous face with the following headline: "Take a good look at this woman. She was created by a computer from a mix of several races. What you see is a remarkable preview of... The New Face of America: How Immigrants Are Shaping the World's First Multicultural Society."¹ I was twenty-three at the time, and racially mixed myself, but I had never heard the description, "mix of several races." Nor had I seen anything like the magazine's centerfold, a matrix showing the combinations of fourteen men and women of various racial and ethnic backgrounds made possible by computer manipulation. At that point in my life, I had let go of thinking of myself as exclusively black, as my upbringing dictated, but I also had no other words to describe the identity I was exercising at the time.

However, I knew that even if racially mixed people were few and far between in my milieu, this was a new way of presenting them. Now, years later, I would say *imagining* them, putting this cyber-creation with Dion Boucicault's tragic mulatto, E.B. Reuter's hybrid as a sociological type, or Robert E. Park and Everett V. Stonequist's marginal man. These constructions, tropes, and myths spring more so from the racial order of their times than the actual experiences of racially mixed Americans. The New Face (as I will call her, or "Eve" or "SimEve" as others do) is a way of picturing a future with a diverse mix of Americans. More explicitly, *Time* suggests that racial mixing

would be central in this America of the future, tying The New Face to past examples of this project, including Wendell Phillips's use of the mixed girl, Israel Zangwill's American of the future, and Jean Toomer's new race.. In imagining the future, *Time* conjures the newest of the new, or a future utopia. The New Face is the hero, a sign that America can survive widespread racial mixing. As with other periods in United States history, positive portrayals of racial mixing were in the minority, so it was shocking that a mainstream news magazine had put this on its cover. At the time, the representations of mixed race Americans in the media revolved mostly around half-black and half-white celebrities who identified as black, including Lisa Bonet, Lenny Kravitz, Halle Berry, Rain Pryor, Giancarlo Esposito, and Jasmine Guy. So powerful was the black-white paradigm of race relations that the mixing of any other (or more) races only seemed possible in cyberspace.

Since then, scholars of race have articulated some of the deeper meaning around The New Face. Through their writing, the cover image has gained a longevity it never may have on its own, and deservedly so. After all, it is an evocative symbol of racial diversity in the United States. The points they make often mesh with themes of novelty, heroism, utopia, physical appearance, and technology at the center of this project. However, they often overlook *Time*'s other articles on intermarriage and immigration and the uses of The New Face over the past fourteen years. The goal of this chapter is to enrich their points with some of this missing material. In the end, I argue that The New Face is similar to the "Melting Pot" as a national icon, even if only we academics ponder

¹ A reproduction of the cover is at <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19931118,00.html>. "The New Face of America," *Time*, Fall 1993.

it. Like the elder symbol, it ameliorates fears about racial change by giving Americans an attractive image to dwell on and a utopian way to discuss white demographic diminution. But it is also dreadful as a symbol of that threat.²

The early 1990s were the coda on what Michael Omi and Howard Winant have called “anything but a slow, steady evolution to a ‘color-blind’ society.”³ Both neoconservatives and neoliberals abandoned racial politics, even as the Rodney King beating and Los Angeles riots amplified the idea that we live in, as Andrew Hacker called it, “two nations, black and white, separate, hostile, unequal.”⁴ On all levels of society, whether politics, popular culture, or day-to-day interactions, Americans quit acknowledging race, even as racial inequality persisted. Various forms of discourse asserted that this state of affairs was the result of anything but race, usually culture (i.e., “culture of poverty”), which often stands in for race. This denial served those antagonistic to racial justice, those who thought racism was a thing of the past, and those who rarely stopped to think about it. As Eduardo Bonilla-Silva writes, “In contrast to race relations in the Jim Crow period, however, racial practices that reproduce racial inequality in contemporary America are (1) increasingly covert, (2) embedded in normal

² The truth is, she could have any number of meanings, depending on the viewer, and depending on how many meanings her creators may have intended for her. Here, Stuart Hall’s emphasis on the social positioning of the viewers of mass media texts is instructive. Positioning may result in a dominant reading, a negotiated reading, or an oppositional reading. However, this assumes that the creators had encoded just one latent meaning in mind. This chapter will explore some likely encodings and decodings, considering the historical context of late-twentieth century United States, attempting to accept the creators’ testimony at face value. However, this is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the topic. Stuart Hall, *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London [Birmingham, West Midlands]: Hutchinson; Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1980); Stuart Hall, David Morley, and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, Comedia (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

³ Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*.

⁴ Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, 1st Scribner trade pbk. ed. (New York: Scribner, 2003).

operations of institutions, (3) void of direct racial terminology, and (4) invisible to most whites.”⁵ The racialized social system that oppressed minorities for much of United States history persisted, in different forms, and despite the social movements of the mid-twentieth century. Even though it appeared that our society was becoming more equitable during these years, an ideology of “color-blind racism,” which attaches nonracial causes to apparent racial inequality, had arisen, exonerating whites of any responsibility for minorities’ trials.⁶

This passive-aggressive conservatism persisted in regards to other issues as well. Even before the Republican Party’s Contract with America, the early 1990s featured a backlash against multiculturalism, as well as political correctness. Comedians, pundits, and politicians voiced their disdain for the effort to respect difference in race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and disability. The term, “politically correct,” became a slur for any position that challenged those resentful for high expectations of sensitivity, much like “amalgamationist” was during the Civil War era. Considering the “greater degree of attention to minorities and women and their role in American history and social studies and literature classes”⁷ in the preceding years, some scholars claimed that multiculturalism threatened to balkanize the country. The first of these was Arthur

⁵ Bonilla-Silva, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, 48.

⁶ For a characterization of this time, Hacker’s book is chock full of disheartening statistics, and Omi and Winant’s is helpful for the political culture. However influential and insightful their work is, though, they neglect that racism is a total system involving far more aspects of society. Bonilla-Silva remedies some of this in his characterization of recent decades in the United States. Ibid; Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006); Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*; Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*.

⁷ This is Nathan Glazer’s definition of *multiculturalism*. His treatment of the trend in *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* is more positive than many others, including Schlesinger and Todd Gitlin, going as far as describing the movement as a success. Todd Gitlin, *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America*

Schlesinger, Jr., who authored *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*. Schlesinger's essay accuses those who wanted a more pluralistic education system as a threat to the unifying American identity that has brought together many ethnicities for over two centuries. He asserts that the new emphasis on difference replaces assimilation with fragmentation, integration with separatism. "It belittles *unum* and glorifies *pluribus*."⁸ He sets up an opposition between the one nation and the many people many would adopt at this time.

In the realm of immigration, the "undocumented worker" or "illegal alien" represented the ills begotten of the 1965 Immigration Act, whether sneaking across the U.S.-Mexico border, or stowing away on freighters from China. By 1993, the shortcomings of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act had become clear, and the state of California was just one year from Proposition 187, which hoped to deny social services, health care, and public education to undocumented immigrants. Using the Los Angeles riots as a starting point, George J. Sánchez describes how the new, color-blind racism combined with traditional forms of nativism in the 1990s, producing a new racial nativism on both ends of the political spectrum. One can characterize this trend through the insistence on the black-white racial paradigm, even as American cities feature more Asians and Latinos.⁹

Is Wracked by Culture Wars, 1st ed. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1995); Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 14.

⁸ It is notable that many revered Schlesinger's message, since he was a "liberal"—thirty years prior, in the Kennedy administration. Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, Rev. and enlarged ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 21.

⁹ George G. Sanchez, "Face the Nation: Race, Immigration, and the Rise of Nativism in Late Twentieth Century America," *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (1997).

This is the real environment The New Face sprung from, not the Quadra computers running Morph 2.0, nor the Garden of Eden, nor Aphrodite's sea foam. *Time's* work to make immigration and racial mixing attractive was incongruous with contemporary concerns. Analysis of the magazine shows the trepidation *Time* communicated along with the optimism, resulting in a contradictory message. This ambiguity, which favors the negative, makes the special issue different from other cases in this project, all of which are decidedly celebratory of intermarriage. One could say the magazine's staff was practicing journalistic impartiality, but it is more likely that they were disingenuous regarding one outlook or another. A closer look at the articles on immigration will illustrate the tension between these two tendencies.

In "The Global Village Finally Arrives," essayist Pico Iyer compares cities around the world that resemble the eclecticism of Southern California, saying, "More and more of the globe looks like America, but an America that is itself looking more and more like the rest of the globe."¹⁰ His article cites the movement of workers, language, and mass media as proof of a world that is going global. More than anything else, though, the article is full of examples of America's presence: theme restaurants, Burger King, Madonna, the nighttime drama, Santa Barbara, CNN, Levi's 501s, the Super Bowl, Amy Tan, Janet Jackson, *Dances with Wolves*, baseball, hip-hop, Pizza Hut... He presents these most prominently as our contributions to the growing transnationalism. The United States has existed in a global media well before 1993, but his list is especially salient in the later years of the century, with the technology available to purvey conceptions of the

nation around the world. So, even if the magazine deals with domestic issues, its international audience is always in mind. Its content, imagery, and cover models must also appeal to the world at large. In this selection, America is a cornucopia of ephemera, but also a set of values, and Iyer suggests that America has exported its belief in “upward mobility and individualism and melting-pot hopefulness” to Taiwan, Vietnam, and India, as if those people could never possess those values on their own. Characterizing the nation by cheerful consumerism and excluding the challenges we deal with, this selection sets the model for the articles celebrating immigration, racial mixing, and changing diversity in America.

This trend continues with “Art of Diversity,” which praises Gloria Estefan’s appearance on MTV Latino, the dramatization of *The Joy Luck Club*, and the latest title by Nobel-winning poet, Derek Walcott, as indicators that recent newcomers have changed the Eurocentric nature of American culture. This simplifies the matter of assimilation by suggesting that recent immigrants introduce more change than previous immigrants had. This also naturalizes some items as just being mainstream, rather than coming from older immigrant groups at other points in United States history. Examples of these include spaghetti, St. Patrick’s Day, and Santa Claus, which have become so ordinary that few think of them coming from anywhere in particular. Celebrating the products of Asian, Latino, and Caribbean immigrants as special suggests that those of past European immigrant groups are the norm. Later in the issue, authors will rue the hyphen in ethnic, American identities, like Schlesinger does in *The Disuniting of*

¹⁰ Pico Iyer, “The Global Village Finally Arrives: The New World Order Is a Version of the New World Writ Large: A Wide-Open Frontier of Polyglot Terms and Post National Trends,” *Time*, November 18

America. Like Horace M. Kallen and Randolph S. Bourne, Christopher John Farley celebrates the hyphen as a connection to another place. “To be an immigrant artist is to be a hyphen away from one’s roots, and still a thousand miles away. But it is often that link to a foreign land—another way of seeing things—that allows such artists to contribute ideas to American culture that are fresh and new. That slim hyphen, that thin line that joins individual Americans to their past, is also what connects all America to its future.” Farley intimates novelty and utopia, suggesting that the immigrant revitalizes the United States, and allows for the country to enjoy a new future. In this, the immigrant’s connection to the past is an asset, rather than something to forget through Americanization. He also offers the street fair “with various booths, foods and peoples, all mixing on common sidewalks” as a replacement for Anglo-Conformity theories of assimilation. This is useful in its focus on urbanity and free movement, but it forefronts commodification rather than interaction. Passersby get to consume cultural products but never learn anything about the vendors (assuming that the wares and their handlers hail from the same place). If you don’t like the looks of a thing there’s no reason to go near it. You can go home, whistling the tune from the indigenous flute music you heard during your outing.¹¹

Similarly, as “It’s a Mass Market No More” reports, efforts to appeal to minority consumers have led to corporations spending more on ethnic marketing. At the same time, they are cleaning up the images from their advertising, whether dark-skinned island primitives in a Taco Bell commercial or the gushing champagne bottles of a Citibank ad

deemed too suggestive by Chinese audiences. Corporations recognized that African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos spent \$600 billion on consumer goods, and could make up 30% of the economy by the end of the decade. They expanded their ethnic marketing efforts (which, in some cases, had begun in the 1970s), hiring minority consultants, and doubling the \$250 million they had spent five years prior. It looked like they would double that number by 2000.¹² As one expert admits, “None of this would be happening if corporate America wasn’t making money.”¹³ These positive articles by Pico Iyer, Christopher John Farley, and Thomas McCarroll give the impression that immigration is good—for business.

On the grim side are a series of articles that cast immigration as a threat, even though they address issues of equality, inclusion, and access. In “Sometimes the Door Slams Shut,” John Elson gives a capable summary of immigration and naturalization laws, including 1798’s efforts to raise residency requirements and exclude incendiary political refugees, 1882’s Chinese Exclusion Act, and the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act. More recently, the 1965 Immigration Act finally ended racial quotas, and the 1980 Refugee Act enlarged the definition of political asylum. However, the author laments that it has been too lenient and vulnerable, leading to demands for immigration limits just a dozen years later. “Still, for the first time in its history, the U.S. has an immigration policy that, for better or worse, is truly democratic.”¹⁴ Elson creates a history of

¹¹ Christopher John Farley, "The Art of Diversity: Hyphenated-Americans Can Be Found Along the Cutting Edge of All the Arts," *Time*, December 2 1993.

¹² Thomas McCarroll, "It's a Mass Market No More: The New Ethnic Consumer Is Forcing U.S. Companies to Change the Ways They Sell Their Wares," *Time*, December 2 1993.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ John Elson, "Sometimes the Door Slams Shut," *Time*, December 2 1993.

legislation as more permissive over time, but then casts aspersions on the process. The rest of the pessimist articles follow suit.

“Not Quite So Welcome Anymore” opens with a series of current events that have convinced Americans that the country “has lost control of its own borders,” placing us “under siege” from Egyptian, World Trade Center bombers, Chinese running aground on Long Island, Haitian boat people, and hundreds of Mexicans who illegally commute to El Paso for day jobs. Journalist Bruce W. Nelan compares contemporary sentiments towards immigration to those of the 1870 and 80s, a time when the economy was poor and anxieties regarding immigration (from China and Southern and Eastern Europe) were high. Both periods featured a perceived strain on public resources and doubts regarding the immigrants’ ability to assimilate. Just as a *New York Times* editorial from May 1880 asserted, “There is a limit to our powers of assimilation, and when it is exceeded the country suffers from something very like indigestion,” conservatives like Daniel Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (F.A.I.R.) claim, “nations do not have an unlimited capacity to absorb immigrants without irrevocably altering their own character,” advocating a total moratorium on immigration. Nelan makes an intervention by explaining the difference between legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, and asylum seekers, but points out that many Americans believed that there should be restrictions for all three groups. In the end, Nelan admonishes Americans to “spend some time debating how many of [the world’s 100 million displaced people] they are willing to take in.”¹⁵

¹⁵ Bruce W. Nelan and David Aikman, “Not Quite So Welcome Anymore: As Reflected in a Time Poll, the Public Mood over Immigration Is Turning Sour Again,” *Time*, December 2 1993.

In “Three Cheers for the WASPs,” Richard Brookhiser praises white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants as the founders of the country, as well as the industrious, utilitarian, conscientious, and civic-minded source of the American character. The senior editor at *The National Review* asserts, “Whether we like it or not, all the rest of us in becoming American have become more or less Wasps. Americanization has historically meant Waspification.” Even if we accept this as the chief dynamic in assimilation, it overlooks how minorities, newcomers, and the lower classes have shaped America, proposing that assimilation is a one-way process. While Brookhiser can accept the decreasing number of Anglo-Saxons, he does warn of the disappearance of their values. Brookhiser connects this “decline” and “shrinkage” to a nameless threat:

The danger is not that a new post-Wasp personality will emerge. A nation’s character is not so mutable; it takes major upheaval—revolution, conquest—to transform it... Most of us will keep behaving the way we always have, without knowing why, while the rest will act differently, simply for the sake of being different. It is a sad end for an ideal—especially for one that has been as fruitful as the Wasp’s.¹⁶

But this is a special issue on immigration, and immigration is the force that can transform national values. Brookhiser may not name it, but this is what he is hinting at. More specifically, he is taking a stand similar to Schlesinger’s, blaming the nonconformity of multiculturalism for the decline of the WASP.¹⁷

Lastly, in “America’s Immigrant Challenge,” Steve Liss names the core preoccupation of the issue as a whole, the engine of worry that drives the whole publication: “Even more startling, sometime during the second half of the 21st century

¹⁶ Brookhiser speaks of dissenters as adolescents going through a phase. Richard Brookhiser, “Three Cheers for the Wasps: When It Comes to Being American, They Wrote the Book,” *Time*, December 2 1993.

the descendants of white Europeans, the arbiters of the core national culture for most of its existence, are likely to slip into minority status,” a prospect that “hardly pleases everyone.”¹⁸ The truth is, with so many Hispanic whites joining the ranks of non-Hispanic whites, whites comprise the largest and fastest growing racial group in the United States. With the past transformations of Irish, Italians, Jewish, and others into mainstream whiteness, this group always has been the most inclusive. However, the article’s plea depends on ignorance of these trends, letting the fear of white demographic diminution stand. While few may speak openly about it, this fear of racial extinction surely resonates with readers, just as the fear of racial impurity had for much of United States history. By voicing this fear, these negative articles speak more truth about how Americans think, vote, and act on immigration than the others, which are about what they buy, the movies they see, and how advertisers communicate to them.

Time’s special issue provides another mechanism for dealing with the fear of minority-majority status: Talk about it in rosy terms. If immigration and racial mixing go hand in hand as the trends that have allegedly transformed America, the latter appears in the magazine, both in the articles and on the cover, to provide a sweet icing to make the former more palatable. If immigration is inevitable, at least there is the hope they will be productive, buy goods, and marry native Americans. This strategy may fail for those opposed to mixing, but it is effective for all others. The main article on interracial marriage, “Intermarried... with Children,” profiles five couples. The first, Reuben and Marna Cahn, received support from three out of four of their parents, until the birth of

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Steve Liss, “America’s Immigrant Challenge,” *Time*, December 2 1993.

their baby son won over the last, who had refused to attend the wedding. The same is true for Kyoung-Hi Song and Robert Dickson, demonstrating how the birth of a child validates socially questionable marriages. Two others (Tony Jeffreys and Alice Sakuda Flores, and Candy Mills and Gabe Grosz) speak of the prejudices their friends are willing to express, even when they are in mixed company. Kathleen Hobson and Atul Gawande designed a wedding ceremony with readings in both Hindu and Christian texts to prevent scaring off relatives who didn't want to expose their children to other beliefs. They also describe the common ground between them: "an upper-middle-class upbringing in tight-knit families, a Stanford education and a love of intellectual pursuits."¹⁹ Coded in this list are a set of values the magazine is promoting: the pursuit of prosperity, commitment to family, liberal arts education, and self-improvement—some of the same Puritan characteristics Brookhiser applauds. Like the other article, this one calls for the preservation of these values, this time in the arena of heteronormative families.

The article's author, Jill Smolowe, quotes anthropologist Karen Stephenson, who says, "Marriage is the main assimilator. If you really want to effect change, it's through marriage and child rearing."²⁰ Smolowe denies that this is assimilation in the Eurocentric way, but the way she describes her subjects does—with some cultural accommodation. The end result is a promotion of the traditional sense of assimilation. Still ambivalent about the challenges of interracial marriage, the piece offers, "Such pain is evidence that America has yet to harvest the full rewards of its founding principles. The land of immigrants may be giving way to a land of hyphenations, but the hyphen still divides

¹⁹ Smolowe, "Intermarried... with Children."

²⁰ Ibid.

even as it compounds. Those who intermarry have perhaps the strongest sense of what it will take to return America to an unhyphenated whole.”²¹ Like Schlesinger, the author rues the hyphen, but also she sees intermarriage as key in dissolving it. Since there never was an unhyphenated whole, it is impossible to say what that was like, but there are two principle ways to read this closing wish: that Americans will become one, tawny race snacking on chips and salsa; or that the mere appearance of mixed race children will inspire the elders to trade in their racial and ethnic differences (and practices) and behave—like WASPs. The article suggests that traditional, heteronormative, etc., values are necessary to initiate this, but children can guarantee it. As she writes, “Perhaps [Candy Mills’s] two Native American-black-white-Hungarian-French-Catholic-Jewish-American children will lead the way,” conferring upon them the responsibility of being racial heroes.²²

At the center of the magazine is a chart with seven women from various ethnic groups across the top and seven men from the same groups along the side—what I call “The Miscegenation Matrix.” It allows readers to pick racial types they identify with and then imagine producing children with a man or woman of some other. Alternatively, exploring the spread can be like visualizing another pair of adults racially different from oneself copulate. The choice of racial types subscribes to typological categories of past racial science, limiting many people to their physical features. In other words, the labels assert that *this* is what Middle Easterners, Italians, Africans, Vietnamese, Anglo-Saxons, Chinese, and Hispanics look like. The seven men and women all have the same facial

²¹ Ibid.

expression, unremarkable hairstyles and lack of facial hair, making those physical features uniform. Nor are any of them short, fat, or middle-aged.

The article accompanying the chart, “Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style,” explains how the staff created these faces, using Gryphon’s software application to find a medium between points on each source face. Of physical features, eyes, skin color, and neck shape were the most crucial in producing a successful blend. The article says that most of the “morphies” are 50-50 combinations between their two progenitors, but in some cases the designers would use more of one feature than another to create a face that complied with notions of what a male or female looks like. The author jokes, “One of our tentative unions produced a distinctly feminine face—sitting atop a muscular neck and hairy chest. Back to the mouse on that one.”²³ This is an admission that they made conscious decisions and exclusions. As with many media producers, they describe their processes in naïve terms that emphasize aesthetics, but these choices are never neutral, no matter how ignorant they are. In any case, they have produced faces that have no personalities, experiences, or histories that real people share with their ancestors. They are free of any struggles to come to the country, the day-to-day difficulties they may face as minorities in America, or the challenges that arise when two disparate people enter into a relationship. Lastly, the layout proposes that this is the first generation of mixing, as if it were a new phenomenon.

There is another cultural product that *Time*’s centerfold evokes, *casta* paintings of colonial Mexico. The Spanish produced these works throughout the eighteenth century,

²² This hope in mixed race youth as the peacemakers between racial groups reappears more broadly in Chapter 3, which covers the Multiracial Movement of the 1990s. Ibid.

documenting the race mixing between themselves, the Indians, and the Africans around them. Many were individual scenes on sixteen, separate canvases, but often one frame would contain a four-by-four grid with all sixteen. These are the paintings that most resemble the Miscegenation Matrix. Within each cell are a man and a woman from different racial groups, along with their offspring and a label for the mixture in that scene. As the series progresses, the subjects become less “pure” (that is, Spanish), and include those who were mixtures of other mixed offspring. Likewise, the clothing, occupations, and backgrounds of those later in the series indicate lower levels of privilege, making the *casta* paintings documents of pigmentocratic hierarchy as well as sociological observation. They document the upper, Creole class’s wealth, provide a visual and verbal nomenclature for racial mixture, and memorialize the titillation of European collectors with visions of sexual escapades in the New World. *Time*’s grid replaces that display of wealth with one of hygienic fitness. Otherwise, the concerns are the same in eighteenth century *casta* paintings and 1993’s “Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style”: obsession with race, prurient voyeurism, and making sense of changes in diversity. The Miscegenation Matrix lacks the racial names for each of the 49 combinations, as well as the background, clothing, or occupations. But the homogeneity of their look makes the names unnecessary. Instead, these naked, young, fit bodies symbolize the perpetuation of centrist values. Rather than appear in the field, villa, or wilderness, they appear before a blank background, doing nothing. Perhaps the blankness is a conception of the blank

²³ "Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style," *Time*, Fall 1993.

palate of imagination. More likely, it suggests that they are *tabula rasa*, blameless, like healthy newborns of the future America.²⁴

Like the figures from the centerfold, The New Face is fresh, clean, and symmetrical, reflecting the appealing, feminine set of features her designers' assembled. Following John Berger's maxim, "Men act, women appear," The New Face does nothing but smile out to the viewer, enigmatically.²⁵ If we accept Laura Mulvey's assertion regarding the predominance of the male gaze in narrative film and popular culture more broadly, then we can say that The New Face is available for men to ogle. Her appearance also brings the narrative to a halt. This happens, physically, as the passerby in B. Dalton Books stops to see what this pretty face is doing on *Time*. The pause also happens in thinking about her as a symbol of a multicultural United States. In the narrative about racial mixing, her smile symbolizes a pause before widespread mongrelization, the end of white demographic predominance, or the filling of neonatal wards with mixed race heroes here to end racial strife.²⁶

However, her presentation differs from those in the grid, offering another aspect to interpret. While the forty-nine others appear on a white background, she appears with a washed out representation of the Miscegenation Matrix behind her. The text on the cover makes her a sort of leader to the others. More likely, rather than "SimEve," mother of them all, as Donna Haraway describes her, she is supposed to be the daughter of them all, racial mixing carried to its logical end. Inside, the managing editor reveals that

²⁴ Ilona Katzew, "Casta Painting: Identity and Social Stratification in Colonial Mexico," *Laberinto*, <http://www.gc.maricopa.edu/laberinto/fall1997/casta1997.htm>; ———, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo America."

Morph 2.0 was the tool that made The New Face, “symbol of the future, multiethnic face of America,”²⁷ possible. Then he divulges her genealogy:

A combination of the racial and ethnic features of the women used to produce the chart [at the center of the magazine], she is: 15% Anglo-Saxon, 17.5% Middle Eastern, 17.5% African, 7.5% Asian, 35% Southern European and 7.5% Hispanic. As onlookers watched the image of our new Eve begin to appear on the computer screen, several staff members promptly fell in love. Said one: “It really breaks my heart that she doesn’t exist.” We sympathize with our lovelorn colleagues, but even technology has its limits. This is a love that must forever remain unrequited.²⁸

She is an object of desire, existing solely through her looks. In her exploration of the role physical appearance plays in mixed race people’s lives, Carla K. Bradshaw explains how many treat them as the Beauty and the Beast, especially when their racial make-up is unknown. “This increased attention to physical appearance is expressed in such labels as *exotic*, *beautiful* or *fascinating* (the Beauty),” referring to the popular notion regarding mixed people’s good looks. She continues, “Obstacles to claiming racial belonging unambiguously leave the individual constantly vulnerable to rejection and identification as “the Other” (the Beast).” This is true for The New Face, who is the beast because she is unnatural. But she also is a symbol—of something dreadful: the extinction of white

²⁵ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Viking Press, 1973).

²⁶ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1977).

²⁷ James R Gaines, "From the Managing Editor," *Time*, Fall 1993, 2.

²⁸ Among many reactions to this write-up, one is skepticism, especially in regards to The New Face’s makeup. Even those unfamiliar with the 1990 census data knew that the nation’s population was far from the percentages the design team used, showing that aesthetic choices were more important than truly reflecting the nation’s demographics. The 1990 census actually resulted in 83.1% white, 11.7% black, .6% American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut, 2.9% Asian and Pacific Islander, and 3.0% Other. Nine percent said they were Hispanic, an ethnic designation that consists of members of many other racial groups. In any case, this kind of exact, yet unique, makeup will reappear in Chapter 5’s discussion of consumer genomics tests. Ibid; Bureau of the Census U.S. Department of Commerce, "We Asked. You Told Us: Race," (Washington, D.C.: 1992); ———, "We Asked. You Told Us: Hispanic Origin," (Washington, D.C.: 1992).

people as we know them. To put it another way, she possesses the beauty—of a mushroom cloud.²⁹

Along with an analysis of these images, attention to the uses of the term, “the new face of America,” since 1993 can shed light on how these themes have permeated society. These fall into two groups, popular and academic, the former coming from newspapers and magazines, and the latter from critical scholars. The first popular re-use of The New Face appeared in *The National Review*, the unabashedly conservative biweekly, in 1994. The front of its February 21 issue placed *Time*’s cover on an imaginary wall, with an African American youth leaving the scene. It suggests that the boy has marked The New Face in black ink with a beard, mustache, and the words, “Demystifying Multiculturalism,” the title of publication’s own, special issue on diversity. Inside, John O’Sullivan praises *Time* for moments of good journalism (including his colleague, Richard Brookhiser’s, elegy for the W.A.S.P.), but he takes the other magazine to task for “exiling America’s central tradition, based upon Anglo-American institutions and the English language, to a nativist limbo.”³⁰ As far as The New Face goes, the editor claims, “Problem is, she doesn’t look very multicultural. She is a perky all-American girl from deepest suburbia.”³¹ If multicultural means racially mixed and deepest suburbia means white, then O’Sullivan’s interpretation is far different than most, who do recognize her as racially mixed. One wonders if he is holding multicultural in opposition to perky all-

²⁹ Bradshaw, "Beauty and the Beast: On Racial Ambiguity," 77.

³⁰ John O’Sullivan, "Losing Face," *The National Review*, February 21 1994.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

American, suggesting that immigration's face should be morose and soiled, like those in Jacob Riis' *How the Other Half Lives*, rather than a clean, smiling one.³²

In September 1994, the cover of *Mirabella* imitated The New Face by presenting the image of a tanned woman glistening in the southwestern sun. A caption asks, "Who is the face of America?" and a write-up inside tells the story of how this model was chosen. By hinting, "Maybe her identity has something to do with the microchip floating through space, next to that gorgeous face," the editors reveal that she was computer-generated.³³ The author continues, "America is a melting pot. And true American beauty is a combination of elements from all over the world. Is our cover model representative of the melting pot? All we're sure of is that her looks could melt just about anything."³⁴ In a cheeky tone similar to James R. Gaines', *Mirabella*'s editors describe her as an object of desire. Also a composite of several women, the cover model on *Mirabella* is similar to The New Face before her. The magazine's staff has made a mystery of her racial origin and put her good looks at the center of her identity, making her the Beauty. Then, by revealing that she is not real, they make her into the Beast, unnatural and without humanity.

Use of the term, "the new face," has continued, often when writers want to link comeliness, mixedness, and diversity. For example, a 2004 piece in *Brandweek* praises the "new face of beauty," profiling Ethiopian model, Liya Kebede, and praising Estee Lauder's efforts in ethnic marketing, both domestically and internationally. They admit

³² Jacob A. Riis and Luc Sante, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, Penguin Classics (New York: Penguin Books, 1997).

³³ "Who Is the Face of America?" *Mirabella*, September 1994, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

that it simply makes good business sense to feature models who can appeal to possible customers from Latin America, Asian, Europe, and Africa. A similar phrase, “the changing face,” conveys some of the same ideas. For example, a 1997 piece in *Newsweek* asserts that the social mores of multicultural youth culture “reflects the changing face of the nation” brought on by the legalization of interracial marriage and ease in immigration, suggesting that the face of America is changing before our eyes, ever elusive, and beyond our control.³⁵ A later editorial from *USA Today* describes “the new face of America” as “blended races making a true melting pot.”³⁶ This article suggests that the presence of good-looking mixed race Americans is leading to a state where racial/ethnic identity doesn’t matter anymore.³⁷

In 2001, former president Jimmy Carter deployed “the new face of America” in a different way, as the title of an editorial asserting that the nation is under the leadership of “a core group of conservatives who are trying to realize long-pent-up ambitions under the cover of the proclaimed war against terrorism.”³⁸ However, SimEve reclaimed the title from Dick Cheney by 2004, when Cokie and Steven Roberts suggested, “If you want to see the new face of America, come to California. It’s turning more Hispanic, more Asian and more gay.”³⁹ Making the common mistake of believing that demographic projections can predict the future, their editorial in the *Chicago Sun-Times* states, “By 2050, the

³⁵ Leland and Beals, "In Living Colors."

³⁶ Maria Puente and Martin Kasindorf, "The New Face of America: Blended Races Making a True Melting Pot," *USA Today*, September 7 1999.

³⁷ Chapter 5 will discuss marketers’ use of ambiguity more fully. Christine Bittar, "The New Face of Beauty," *Brandweek*, January 19 2004; Puente and Kasindorf, "The New Face of America: Blended Races Making a True Melting Pot."

³⁸ Jimmy Carter, "The Troubling New Face of America," *Post*, September 5 2002.

³⁹ Cokie Roberts and Steven Roberts, "The Rest of America Will Just Be Catching up to Where California Is Today," *Sun-Times*, April 2 2004.

number of Asians and Hispanics in this country will triple, and the white population will drop from almost 70 percent to barely 50 percent. But the rest of America will just be catching up to where California is today.”⁴⁰ The Roberts threaten an exponential increase in immigration and homosexuality nationwide. Without a graphic representation like SimEve, these uses of “the new face of America” rely on words alone to convey what the future America will look like, and they often are less evocative.

However, over the past two years, “the new face” has passed down to a new symbol of mixed race Americanness, Senator Barack Obama of Illinois, whose white grandparents emigrated to Hawaii from Kansas, where their daughter met Obama’s father, an international student from Kenya. Obama was born in 1961, but his father soon left Hawaii (where their marriage was an oddity) to seek a Ph.D. at Harvard and then move back to Kenya (where their marriage would be even more unacceptable). His mother remarried a few years later, to an Indonesian businessman, and the family moved to Djakarta. She sent Barack back to Hawaii to attend a prestigious prep school and live with his grandparents. He attended Occidental College in Los Angeles, and then transferred to Columbia University. At Harvard Law School, Obama became the first black editor of the *Harvard Law Review*, which gave him his first taste of national recognition and a book deal with Random House. While his memoir, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (1995), certainly follows the conventions of a *bildungsroman*, it concerns itself much more with the ways of the world than constructing a mixed race identity. As a boy, his absent father is more more troubling for Barry than his mixed background. As he says, “I would not have known at the time, for I

⁴⁰ Ibid.

was too young to realize that I was supposed to have a live-in father, just as I was too young to know that I needed a race.”⁴¹ Meanwhile his white grandfather, who accepts Hawaii as a polyglot society and treats all with a Dale Carnegie handshake, deflects strangers’ prejudiced remarks about his grandson’s seemingly native ability to swim. As an adolescent, he begins to notice that Cosby never got the girl on *I Spy* and that no one looked like him in the Sears Roebuck catalog. However, the absent father, who later dies in a car crash, is the constant in the story. Barack decides that he is black, perhaps different than most African Americans, but black nonetheless. Upon receiving an invitation from his father during his college years, he reflects on being unable to go to Hawaii or Africa:

And if I had come to understand myself as a black American, and was understood as such, that understanding remained unanchored to place. What I needed was a community, I realized, a community that cut deeper than the common despair that black friends and I shared when reading the latest crime statistics, or the high fives I might exchange on a basketball court. A place where I could put down stakes and test my commitments.⁴²

That place would be Chicago, and public service would be his proving grounds. Indeed, *Dreams from My Father* is much closer to Richard Wright’s *Black Boy*, with its migration to Chicago and involvement with social movements, than James McBride’s *The Color of Water*, with its constant ruminations on blackness and whiteness.⁴³

⁴¹ Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*, 1st pbk. ed. (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2004), 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴³ Obama also provided his racial makeup soon after entering the national spotlight. This maneuver can lead to boundless acceptance by the American public, which desires these facts far more than they desire racial ambiguity. Chapter 5 further discusses this ambivalence regarding ambiguity. McBride’s is the better crafted work, weaving together his own story and that of his mother’s far more smoothly than Obama’s 450-page yarn. James McBride, *The Color of Water: A Black Man's Tribute to His White Mother* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1996); Richard Wright, *Black Boy: (American Hunger): A Record of Childhood and Youth*, 60th anniversary ed. (New York: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2005).

Even though these two memoirs are very different, a 2004 profile on Salon.com titled “The New Face of the Democratic Party—and America” mentions them in the same breath, calling them tales of “living astride America’s racial categories.”⁴⁴ As attorney and mystery novelist Scott Turow writes, “No other figure on the American political scene can claim such broad roots within the human community. Obama is the very face of American diversity.”⁴⁵ He goes on to praise the politician for the way he works across racial groups. Even though Obama rarely speaks of feeling like a bridge between races as an adult, writers often describe his *modus operandi* as a product of his makeup, as if it is an inborn talent. They overlook the fact that he reconciled his racial identity even before finishing college or becoming a politician. In apotheosizing Obama, they suggest that it is his destiny to bring balance to the races and move us towards a better America. Writing from the perspective of Obama’s early political career, Turow ends his piece by suggesting that he may “become the embodiment of one of America’s most enduring dreams.”⁴⁶ Is this dream individual success? Minority representation among the nation’s legislators? Freedom from the tokenism of Condoleezza Rice, Colin Powell, and Alberto R. Gonzalez? Most likely, he is talking about any or all of the above.

More recently, a *Time* article (“The Democrats’ New Face”) describes the freshman senator as “the political equivalent of a rainbow—a sudden preternatural event inspiring awe and ecstasy,” praising his ability to find common ground with political

⁴⁴ Scott Turow, “The New Face of the Democratic Party -- and America,” Salon.com, <http://dir.salon.com/story/news/feature/2004/03/30/obama/index.html>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

opponents, but also suggesting that he brings together all colors.⁴⁷ Articles like these suggest that his political method is a product of his racial makeup rather than a well-learned political strategy. “He transcends the racial divide so effortlessly,” Klein writes, “that it seems reasonable to expect that he can bridge all the other divisions—and answer all the impossible questions—plaguing American public life.”⁴⁸ The expectations Obama faces seem to match the special talents his racial makeup has conferred upon him, when in fact, they surpass him. But just as mixed race children are supposed to fix the strife in their families, a mixed race politician is supposed to fix the whole nation’s divisions.

Obama has joined the ranks of Tiger Woods, Oprah Winfrey, and Michael Jordan, celebrities who have transcended racial stereotypes. The senator prefers to ascribe this esteem to the “core decency to the American people that doesn’t get enough attention.”⁴⁹ He says that this kind of black celebrity gives people “a shortcut to express their better instincts,” hoping that it will spread to more kinds of people who deserve a chance.⁵⁰ However, because of their individual accomplishments, it is more likely that these are figures many cite as proof that we have achieved an equitable meritocracy free of prejudice. The center of Obama’s popularity depends on a belief in Americans’ better qualities, individual success, and impeccable composure. Like Woods, he is a certain kind of mixed race celebrity, “articulate and bright and clean and a nice-looking guy,” to

⁴⁷ In reality, considering the hesitations African Americans have about his immigrant background, he may bridge blacks and whites less than one may assume. Some acquaintances have reported that many are oblivious to his mixed background. Debra J. Dickerson, "Colorblind: Barack Obama Would Be the Great Black Hope in the Next Presidential Race -- If He Were Actually Black," Salon.com, <http://www.salon.com/opinion/feature/2007/01/22/obama/>; Joe Klein, "The Democrats' New Face," Time, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1546302,00.html>; Rachel L. Swarns, "So Far, Obama Can't Take Black Vote for Granted," *New York Times*, February 2 2007.

⁴⁸ Klein, "The Democrats' New Face."

⁴⁹ Ibid.

use Senator Joe Biden's ill-chosen words.⁵¹ These are the qualities Americans associate with the latest incarnation of The New Face. The thing with heroization, anticipation, and fulfillment is that if a hero falls short, it doesn't matter. We can go on and anticipate the next hero. Those who delight in *schadenfreude* may secretly wish for a mix race hero to fail.

In contrast to the popular uses, scholars have done a great service articulating what is so uncanny about The New Face and the Miscegenation Matrix. Chapter 1 of Michael Rogin's *Blackface White Masks* (1996) triangulates The New Face with two works of blackface minstrelsy. The first is *The Jazz Singer* (1927), starring Al Jolson, which exemplifies the immigrant's advancement towards advantageous whiteness by performing stereotypes of African Americans. It is especially poignant that the Jewish immigrant's blackening up was the showcase in the first movie with a sound track. The second, D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915), dramatized the punishment of blacks for engaging in miscegenation. According to Rogin, the lightening of African Americans (called "Africans") in *Time*'s centerfold further excludes them from the act of making future Americans, which all three are so concerned with. The homogenous look of all fourteen models does the same to all of the racial and ethnic groups present. This observation helps link "Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style" to Griffith's landmark movie, which, Rogin asserts, unified native, white Americans with newer, white immigrants. He continues, "In "Rebirth" as in *Birth*, moreover, the inclusion of some people is predicated on the violent exclusion of others; for even after restricting marriage

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Adam Nagourney, "Biden Unwraps His Bid for '08 with an Oops!" *New York Times*, February 1 2007.

partners by age, color, and aesthetic ideal of facial beauty, Morph still produces monsters—only now, in keeping with homophobic demonology, they are sexual instead of racial.”⁵² As with the rest of his reading of blackface, Rogin’s interpretation of *Time*’s special issue is insistently indicting. However, his attention to homogenization, exclusion, and heterosexual norms does introduce themes that later scholars would employ in addressing *The New Face*. Rogin’s essay expands on many of the things a reader may notice, but find hard to articulate, whether the models’ appearance, the reverberations of past works, or the eugenic undertones of the staff’s quips. Ironically, much of what he says about the demonization of blacks echoes Toni Morrison’s essay, “On the Backs of Blacks,” which appears in *Time*’s special issue. In fact, they share the same thesis, that newcomer inclusion always involves the denigration of blacks. She closes her essay, seeming to comment on the whole magazine:

The old stereotypes fail to connote, and race talk is forced to invent new, increasingly mindless ones. There is virtually no movement up—for blacks or whites, established classes or arrivistes—that is not accompanied by race talk. Refusing, negotiating or fulfilling this demand is the real stuff, the organizing principle of becoming an American. Star spangled. Race strangled.⁵³

It is doubtful that the editors meant to include such an indictment of their own work right in middle of their special issue, but it is possible that they simply could not refuse a contribution from the recent Nobel laureate. In any case, she points out the ugly side of the assimilation myth, as Rogin does three years later. In a stroke that hints that Morrison has seen page proofs, she calls *The New Face* a “new, increasingly mindless” stereotype,

⁵² Michael Paul Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 8.

⁵³ Toni Morrison, “On the Backs of Blacks,” *Time*, December 2 1993.

a description apropos for the computer-generated figure. Overall, her essay stands as a warning sign of the “race talk” that the rest of the magazine takes part in.⁵⁴

In her 1997 exploration of United States biological kinship categories, feminist theorist Donna Haraway suggests that in the later part of the twentieth century, the human genome became the key object of knowledge for the American scientific community, replacing the idea of populations from the post-World War II period, which replaced the idea of race from before the war.⁵⁵ While racial science changed drastically over the twentieth century, her schema captures many of its facets, as well as how other aspects of society reflect or rupture this discourse. She presents SimEve as the family portrait for the later part of the century, just as the gorilla diorama at the American Museum of Natural History and the 3.6 million year-old fossil footprints of Laetoli were for the pre- and post-World War II eras, respectively.⁵⁶ Likewise, the “Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style” centerfold is the period’s icon of national and international discourse,

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ These periods echo a history of racial science over the twentieth century that recognizes a progression in the scientific community, from a obsession with fitness and purity, then a disavowal of eugenics after the war. The 1950s focus on human populations and universality reversed with advances in biogenetics, which placed DNA as the central item of inquiry. Since the 1970s, decoding the genome has given scientists (and lay people) hope of discerning the discrete differences in human diversity. Haraway’s examination of kinship presents more facets than Schneider’s, but his dichotomies still underlie her focus on disciplining deviants. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars*; Theodosius Dobzhansky, “Evolutionary and Population Genetics,” *Science* 142, no. 3596 (1963); Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*; Donna Jeanne Haraway, “Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture. It’s All in the Family: Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States,” in *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Ashley Montagu, *Statement on Race*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Robert A. Nye, “The Rise and Fall of the Eugenics Empire: Recent Perspectives on the Impact of Biomedical Thought in Modern Society,” *Historical Journal* 36, no. 3 (1993); William B. Provine, “Geneticists and the Biology of Race Crossing,” *Science* 182, no. 4114 (1973).

⁵⁶ The display at the American Museum of Natural History uses taxidermy to place a group of gorillas together in an arrangement resembling an acceptable, human family. Laetoli, Tanzania, was the site where scientists found a set of Plio-Pleistocene, hominid footprints in 1978. While there is nothing to confirm that they were a family, verbal and visual representations of the scene (for example, Scientific American’s cover painting for the issue breaking the news) did so.

just as D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* and the Museum of Modern Art's *The Family of Man* exhibit had been.⁵⁷ Her treatment of the contemporary moment covers several popular deployments of species, family, and race in visual culture. In this, she describes SimEve as "the new universal human, mother of the new race, figure of the nation; and she is a computer-generated composite, like the human genome itself."⁵⁸ In other words, through knowledge of the human genome and computerized image manipulation, *The New Face* updates the earlier works Haraway ascribes to past eras. Especially poignant is her reading of *Time*'s "From the Managing Editor" column, which questions the "love that must forever remain unrequited," pointing out that the ideal that SimEve represents is unattainable. One wonders if James R. Gaines and his associates are actually against mixing, producing an ironic text like David Goodman Croly's *Miscegenation* pamphlet before it.⁵⁹

Also instructive to my own reading of *The New Face* is Lauren Berlant's "The Face of America and the State of Emergency," published the same year. Focusing on issues of citizenship and the private sphere, she emphasizes how *The New Face of America* is "an imaginary solution to the problems of immigration, multiculturalism, sexuality, gender, and (trans)national identity that haunt the U.S. present tense."⁶⁰ *The New Face* is also a tool of hygienic governmentability, or the "dramatic attempt to

⁵⁷ *The Family of Man* exhibit opened in 1955, displaying 503 photos of subjects from all around the world, illustrating common themes such as love, children, and death. Its aim was to assert a universal nature of human existence.

⁵⁸ Haraway, "Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture. It's All in the Family: Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States," 265.

⁵⁹ It is notable that Gaines says nothing of the other faces' attractiveness, hinting that immigrants and minorities are undesirable, but mixing them together into an ideal image is. Gaines, "From the Managing Editor."; Haraway, "Race: Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture. It's All in the Family: Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States."

maintain its hegemony by asserting that an abject population threatens the common good and must be rigorously governed and monitored by all sectors of society.”⁶¹ Although The New face is pleasant, it disciplines immigrants, homosexuals, welfare mothers, etc., for their deviance. The New Face presents a future with normative, heterosexual families that erase particular histories and deviance. Ruining these homogenizing forces, Berlant asserts that the private act of creating such families recreates acceptable values on a large scale.⁶² However, Berlant omits any description of what *Time*’s future America looks like on a large scale. What are the people doing in the utopic nation and the world at large? Through my reading of the other articles in *Time*’s special issue, I add that consumerism is central in this process as well, both publicly and privately. They are buying things at a street fair, eating fast food around the world, and dipping into products like salsa, sushi, and henna tattoos recently-inducted into the mainstream. The New Face watches, threatens extinction, and symbolizes the unknown future, but it also titillates, teases, and promises a future free of current strictures on relationships. She is available for the taking—some time in the future.

David R. Roediger begins his 2002 book, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*, by asking, “Is race over?” This is a direct challenge to writers such as public intellectual, Stanley Crouch, and Harvard sociologist, Orlando Patterson, who had suggested that race problems would disappear by the end of the twenty-first century at the hands of racial mixing and immigration. Crouch made this assertion in a 1996 *New York*

⁶⁰ Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*, 176.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 175.

Times Magazine essay, where he predicts, “One hundred years from today, Americans are likely to look back on the ethnic difficulties of our time as quizzically as we look at earlier periods of human history, when misapprehension defined the reality.”⁶³ Rather than bland uniformity, Crouch predicts a vibrant culture of cross-assimilation. Somehow, Americans will accept diversity and mixing, simply because it is unsound business practice to reject it. Accompanying the text are photos of mixed race youth between five and fourteen years of age, along with captions providing their parent racial or ethnic groups (e.g., “Saira Asim, 10, Pakistani/African-American,” Daniel Cohen-Cruz, 11, Russian-Polish Jewish/Puerto Rican,” and “Paloma Hagedorn-Woo, 12, Chinese/American Indian/ Filipino/Scottish”). These must be The New Faces who will precipitate the demise of racial and ethnic discord. By 2096, they would be the departed great-grandparents, the last generation to remember ethnic difficulties, just as our own were the last to remember ice boxes—except that the past use of racism reverberates more powerfully than the past use ice boxes.

Patterson’s essay in *The New Republic*, “Race Over,” asserts, “The racial divide that has plagued America since its founding is fading fast—made obsolete by migratory, sociological, and biotechnological developments that are already under way. By the middle of the twenty-first century, America will have problems aplenty. But no racial

⁶² Berlant also analyzes 1986’s “Changing Face of America” issue, pointing out, “When a periodical makes a ‘special issue’ out of a controversy, the controversy itself becomes a commodity whose value is in the intensity of identification and anxiety the journal can organize around it.” *Ibid.*, 192-200, 08-09.

⁶³ Interestingly, the companion piece by novelist Richard Ford offers much more in regards to the predominance of race talk, coming to terms with the past, and the experience of being “in the same boat” as Crouch, both figuratively, as fellow Americans, and literally, during a peripatetic, Mississippi River boat ride meant to simulate the journey in Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*. Stanley Crouch, “Race Is Over,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 29 1996; Richard Ford, “In the Same Boat,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 29 1996.

problem whatsoever.”⁶⁴ At the same time, he envisions a set of geographic regions each with its own hierarchy based on privilege and origin. Both authors’ predictions are even more optimistic than *Time*’s special issue, relying on unbounded progress in immigration, mixing, and technology. Roediger takes these “postrace-ists” to task mainly for their neglect of power and privilege through time.⁶⁵ As such, he is skeptical of demographic projections (even though he devotes a page to them), censuring their inattention to history. His introduction points the reader to the end of the nineteenth century, another period where immigration and mixing both threatened the Anglo-Saxon race, and promised to create new, vibrant American race, depending on one’s perspective. Roediger points out that the ethnic groups of that time dissolved the hyphen too—and became white. Through his analysis, *The New Face* is a “multiracial denial of racial reality,” a reminder that white supremacy may persist regardless of racial mixing and immigration.⁶⁶

Mike Hill further explores the connection between the study of whiteness and *The New Face*. His book, *After Whiteness: Unmaking an American Majority* (2002), picks up where Roediger leaves off, describing *Time*’s cover star as the face of “the passing of the white majority and the anticipation of a future that surely cannot be known in advance”—in other words, the end of whiteness as we know it.⁶⁷ This emphasizes that she does not exist as a person, but only as a graphic approximation of what the normative American

⁶⁴ Orlando Patterson, “Race Over,” *The New Republic*, January 10 2000.

⁶⁵ The postrace-ists imagine an America where racial mixing has led to the dissolution of racial problems, while a group I call “racial abolitionists” argue that quitting the idea of race altogether will lead to this end. As Chapter 5 discusses, racial mixing and racially mixed people are peripheral to many of the latter group’s arguments.

⁶⁶ David R. Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past, American Crossroads; 10* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 3-26.

could look like one hundred years into the future. However, that reverie unravels upon considering if Americans could look like this in the future. If we read *Time*'s caption as *the* "New Face of America" and accept her as the end product of all racial mixing, then the answer is no; it is impossible to create identical humans from free, coital reproduction. If we read it is *one* "New Face of America," it is more plausible to imagine Americans looking like her—and her forty-nine fellow "morphies." Still, this relies on unbound racial mixing. In any case, Hill agrees that The New Face ameliorates fears about racial change by giving Americans an attractive image to dwell on.⁶⁸

More recently, in exploring the "hazards of visibility" for mixed race women in advertising, Caroline Streeter points out how use of The New Face's elides the terms multicultural and multiracial, mostly to gloss over the experiences of real, racially mixed women and the racial and ethnic groups they hail from.⁶⁹ Also, Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe's comprehensive, edited collection, *'Mixed Race' Studies: A Reader*, uses The New Face as its cover image, perhaps pushing her to the next stage of her career—Big Sister. Like Streeter, Ifekwunigwe reminds us that racial mixing has been going on for centuries, often by force, producing faces like *Time*'s cover star around the world.⁷⁰

These ideas are all instructive, but they often focus too narrowly on the cover image, the Managing Editor's comments, and the magazine's centerfold. By examining the other articles, we can see how *Time*'s special edition used The New Face as an

⁶⁷ Hill, *After Whiteness: Unmaking an American Majority*, 11.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9-12.

⁶⁹ Ironically, the title of the collection containing Streeter's essay is *New Faces in a Changing America*. Caroline A. Streeter, "The Hazards of Visibility: 'Biracial' Women, Media Images, and Narratives of Identity," in *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003).

⁷⁰ Ifekwunigwe, *'Mixed Race' Studies: A Reader*, 1-3.

analgesic against the other controversies of the early 1990s. Still, the cover and the other content are unlikely to change anyone's mind on the issues. Readers may celebrate intermarriage and their offspring as a sign of racial progress, shudder at the threat of the United States becoming a minority-majority country, or remain indifferent, finding the previous week's issue on Billy Graham or the following week's issue on downsizing more relevant to their lives. Any particular week, the editors could use any topic to appeal to any set of readers (regardless of those readers' positions on the topic). Each week, the cover appeals to some, but remains unmemorable to many, even among those one could assume would find it memorable. After all, selling magazines from week to week is the business of the folks at 1271 Avenue of the Americas, not promoting racial harmony. In the fall of 1993, interracial marriage joined the ranks of topics viable as cover stories. Overall, even though it has had a shorter career, the "New Face" has served a role like "The Melting Pot," giving Americans a utopian way to discuss racial diversity, even if the ambivalence remains.

Chapter 4: Census 2000 and the End of Race as We Know It

Records of social groups supporting interracial couples and mixed race people begin with Manasseh Clubs founded in Chicago and Milwaukee between 1892 and 1932. This history continues with the Penguin Club and others in major U.S. cities through the 1940s, and then with groups such as Interracial/Intercultural Pride, The Biracial Family Network, and The Interracial Family Circle through the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Association of MultiEthnic Americans (A.M.E.A.) was founded on November 12, 1988 in Berkeley, California, by representatives of fourteen charter organizations from across the country, becoming the first national federation of its kind, defining itself as an educational organization that “promoted a positive awareness of interracial families and multiethnic people and families.”¹ Among other officers, they elected Carlos A. Fernandez, a Bay Area attorney, as its president, Ramona Douglass as its Vice President, and G. Reginald Daniel, a scholar on mixed race identity, as its Secretary. In order to transform a dominant ideology of mixed race people and interracial couples as dysfunctional or pathological, A.M.E.A. aimed to redefine its interests, choosing political advocacy work as its central function. In its early years, the organization thought of itself as a budding business venture; reflecting the professionalism of its executive committee, A.M.E.A. quickly drafted two-year and five-year plans. In order to have an effect on the national level, it published a quarterly newsletter and drew on the commitment of its member organizations, which included existent chapters of I-Pride, BFN, and IFC. Within five years, it hoped to launch an educational and legal defense fund, establish a

multicultural resource center, and staff a political action committee that would lobby for a “Multiracial”² category on federal forms, with the ability to check all races that applied. Limited resources and staff made some of these goals unattainable, but A.M.E.A. did gain 501c3 (nonprofit) status within a few years, and began utilizing a national 1-800 number. In future years, like other multiracial groups, it would use the internet to publish its newsletter and communicate to its members. As part of its alliances with other groups, A.M.E.A. also tracked state and federal decisions affecting its constituents.³

Above all, A.M.E.A. made great strides in lobbying for the “Multiracial” category. As news media attention to this issue increased through the early 1990’s, Fernandez often appeared in print decrying, saying, for example, “It’s offensive for young people to confront this—a white parent and a nonwhite parent and to have to choose between them. It’s also an intrusion into the family that is unjustified.”⁴ However, he and others in the executive committee also cared about how a “Multiracial” identifier would affect race-based government initiatives, making a point of expressing solidarity with traditional minority groups. “It’s wrong, destructive and very negative to think that those of mixed race are setting themselves apart from any of their ancestral groups, particularly blacks,” Fernandez stated in the *New York Times*, well before

¹ Carlos A. Fernandez, "A.M.E.A. Mission Statement," (Tuscon, AZ: Association of MultiEthnic Americans, 1990), 14.

² As with the other chapters, I will be using *mixed race* or *racially mixed* to refer to the state of having parents from two or more United States racial groups, unless writing from the perspective of those who advocate a multiracial identity; in those cases I will use *multiracial*. When referring to the social movement, *Multiracial Movement* will appear with capitalization.

³ Nancy G. Brown and Ramona E. Douglass, "Evolution of Multiracial Organizations: Where We Have Been and Where We Are Going," in *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003); G. Reginald Daniel, "Beyond Black and White: The New Multiracial Consciousness," in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992); Carlos A. Fernandez, "Amea Mission Statement," (Tuscon, AZ: Association of MultiEthnic Americans, 1990).

opposition to the category arose from established, black civil rights organizations and the black press.⁵

Another organization to lobby for a “Multiracial” category was Project R.A.C.E. (Reclassify All Children Equally), founded by Susan R. Graham, a mother of two mixed race children in Roswell, Georgia. Project R.A.C.E.’s main goal was to achieve “a multiracial classification on school, employment, state, federal, census, and medical forms requiring racial data.”⁶ Upon the experience of having to pick just one box on school forms for her son, whose father was black, Graham cited the mental health of the children as the main motivator for her activism. “It’s for the self-esteem of multiracial people. They have every right to call themselves biracial and for other people to recognize them as biracial, because that’s what they are.”⁷ She believed that children should not have to pick between one aspect of their heritage or the other, reject one parent or the other, or be placed with a race they may not want to identify with. Often the group multiracialists wanted to distance themselves from was African American, with an emphasis on embracing their whiteness. This led to criticisms from many concerned with African American interests. To them, in addition to callousness to the black inequality, they were skirting the issue of economic, social, and political gains that come with white identity. For example, historian Minkah Makalani points out that embracing whiteness happens within the context of race and racism as structural relationships, rather than a

⁴ Barbara Vobejda, "Categorizing the Nation's Millions of 'Other Race'," *Washington Post*, April 29 1991.

⁵ Lena Williams, "In a 90's Quest for Black Identity, Intense Doubts and Disagreement," *New York Times*, November 30 1991.

⁶ Project Race, "Project Race: About Project Race: Why We Need a Multiracial Classification - Biracial Mixed Race," <http://www.projectrace.com/aboutprojectrace/>.

⁷ Robert Anthony Watts, "Not Black, Not White, but Biracial," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, December 1 1991.

vacuum. On the other hand, historian Paul Spickard reminds us that, while an emphasis on mixed race identity can lead to a reification of mixedness (just as whiteness studies tended to do the same to white identity), mixed race does not necessarily corrode the racial order, lead to a whitening process, nor diminish efforts for civil rights.⁸

Meanwhile, studies by psychologists have shown how mixed race youth develop healthy self-esteem without a custom, racial label to pick; that there is no significant difference between the social adjustment of mixed children and that of other children of color; and that factors such as single-parent homes, less contact with non-custodial parents, and narrow discussions of matters of race affect positive psychosocial adjustment for mixed teens more than self-naming. This tendency to associate maladjustment with mixed race identity stems from the body of work casting mixed race people as pathological, including influential works by Chicago School sociologists Edward Reuter and Everett Stonequist. These often praised racially mixed people as possessing some unique talents, but generally occupying a middle ground between whites and blacks. Both Reuter's *The Mulatto in the United States* and Stonequist's *Marginal Man* attribute an array of neuroses to the position of being caught in the middle, socially, intellectually, and emotionally. Even when promoting a positive image, Multiracial Movement activists tended to adopt these tropes. It is also a byproduct of identity politics campaigns of past decades, which often favored individual lament over broader issues. In fact, sociologist Rebecca Chiyoko King frames the Multiracial Movement as a conflict between individual and groups rights, arguing "that it is because the Census attempts to recognize

⁸ Makalani, "A Biracial Identity or a New Race? The Historical Limitations and Political Implications of a Biracial Identity."; Spickard, "Does Multiraciality Lighten? Me-Too Ethnicity and the Whiteness Trap."

both *individual* racial/ethnic identities and *collective* racial identities *simultaneously* that the change in the Census has been so controversial.”⁹

It is notable that Graham applies the term biracial to her children as if the term has always existed, rather than the description of a complex, social construction that makes sense in a specific, historical moment. Actually, these labels for racially mixed people reflect the times and ideologies from which they sprouted. For example, *biracial*, *multiracial*, or *interracial* began as terms to describe the presence of two or more racial groups, like a *biracial committee*. Appropriating them to describe the experience of having parents from two or more racial groups stakes a claim for personal identity, but it overlooks how the understanding of race has changed through time, location, or mere inclination. Parents like Graham wanted to free children from narrow choices, but they ultimately restricted their choices to two terms of their picking—biracial or multiracial.

Central in the story of the Multiracial Movement is the United States Census, as its system of racial categorization was A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E.’s point of contention. The census is a mirror for a number of aspects of the nation’s population, including race, age, and marital status. But it is incomplete, showing some facets of society but not others, depending on the federal government’s needs. Looking at how racial categories have changed since the first census (1790), one can trace racial thinking

⁹ Historian Paul Spickard calls this tendency towards self-absorption “troubling.” Ana Mari Cauce, et al, “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Social Adjustment of Biracial Youth,” in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992); Jewelle Taylor Gibbs and Alice M. Hines, “Negotiating Ethnic Identity: Issues for Black-White Adolescents,” in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992); Rebecca Chiyoko King, “Race, Racialization, and Rights: Lumping and Splitting Multiracial Asian Americans in the 2000 Census,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* (2000); Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States: Including a Study of the Role of Mixed-Blood Races Throughout the World*; Edward Byron Reuter, *Race Mixture: Studies in Inter-marriage and Miscegenation* (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book

over the years. From its conception through 1840, the census focused on who was free and who was enslaved, without mention of race, except for “Indians, not taxed” (those who lived on reservations or with their tribes). Instead, the term, “free colored persons,” captured all those whom enumerators would identify as free and non-white. This included Indians who did pay taxes, Creoles of color in Louisiana, and those living in tri-racial isolates, but many other categories fell into this group. Beginning in 1850, racial categories on the census did account for blacks and mulattoes, reflecting the need to account for “three fifths of all other persons” for taxation and congressional representation. These were the same years that ethnologists wrote, defending slavery and victimizing mulattoes, as discussed in Chapter 1.¹⁰

After emancipation, “slave” disappeared from the census, but “mulatto” remained through 1930. This category disappeared in 1900, coincidentally the first census after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision. At the same time, African Americans began to invoke racial unity, consolidating mulattoes, quadroons, and blacks under the term “Negro.” By the 1920s, this sentiment gained momentum through two contemporaneous, intellectual projects. First was in anthropology, following the humanist lead of Franz Boas, and resulting in Melville Herskovits’ characterization of African Americans as a “homogeneous population group, more or less consciously consolidating and stabilizing

Company, inc., 1931); Spickard, "Does Multiraciality Lighten? Me-Too Ethnicity and the Whiteness Trap."; Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*.

¹⁰ Both Clara E. Rodríguez and Sharon M. Lee have written capable summaries of the transformation of Census racial categories since 1790. While the Census Bureau web site (<http://www.census.gov>) is the premier clearinghouse for all things decennial, the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series-U.S.A. web site (<http://usa.ipums.org/usa/>) consolidates census forms from 1850 in one location. Also, CensusScope (<http://www.censuscope.org/>) is useful for its collection of maps, charts, rankings, and segregation indices. Lee, "Racial Classifications in the U.S. Census: 1890-1990."; Rodríguez, *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States*.

the type of which he has commenced the formation.”¹¹ Second was the Harlem Renaissance, which included writers like Langston Hughes, Alain Locke, and James Weldon Johnson, all of whom were light-skinned thinkers who opted to identify as black rather than mulatto. This use of the one-drop rule for racial unity became the foundation of black thought on racial unity throughout the twentieth century—as well as the foundation for black antagonism towards the Multiracial Movement during the close of the century.¹²

The 1920 census also marked a confirmation of hypodescent, or the idea that one drop of minority blood made one a minority, upon all racial minorities. As the Bureau of the Census guidelines stipulated, “A person of mixed blood is classified according to the nonwhite racial strain or, if the nonwhite blood itself is mixed, according to his racial status as adjudged by the community in which he resides.”¹³ The concept of hypodescent had been circulating since before the Civil War, but 1920 marks when it became official policy, closing the door on the recognition of racially-mixed people as its own class. While it has resulted in racial unity for minority groups, it also has influenced racially

¹¹ Herskovits, *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing*, 82.

¹² “Quadroon” also appeared, once, in 1890, never to be relevant again after the legalization of segregation. The decades leading to the turn of the century also introduced “Chinese” and “Japanese” to the Census, reflecting both groups immigration into the country. The exclusion of Asian groups from naturalization insured that they would remain on the Census, in order to track these “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” This, along with the United States’ expansionist ventures, led to the expansion of categories to describe Asian and Pacific population groups, all of which appear and disappear from the Census at the same time as their immigration, annexation, or inclusion into the citizenry. Lee, “Racial Classifications in the U.S. Census: 1890-1990.”

¹³ Bureau of the Census U.S. Department of Commerce, *Population, 1920, Volume Iii, Fourteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1920*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922).

mixed people to choose one aspect of their background over any other for decades to come.¹⁴

The multiracial groups that advocated a new category in the 1990s recognized that the census is a race-making tool as well as a numeric account of race. In other words, we think of races falling into certain categories because we see these categories on certain forms; changing the forms can have an effect on changing the vernacular on race. While A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E. may have had different approaches, their efforts to add a “Multiracial” category reflected optimism that they could change the discourse on race in America, thus invoking novelty, utopia, and heroic individualism through the “Multiracial” category. These notions place mixed race Americans on a pedestal, charging them with the nation’s racial progress in ways that can marginalize as well as lionize. As with Phillips’ presentation of the mixed girl, Zangwill’s imperfect Melting Pot, and *Time* magazine’s New Face of America, this heroization comes into focus when the speaker presents a symbolic, mixed race body to lay hopes upon, and during this period, mixed race visibility was high enough to facilitate this. The activism around placing a “Multiracial” category on the 2000 census provides a moment when mixed race people themselves were complicit in this discourse, accepting the role of hero. Lastly, this case is notable because of the intellectual sophistication its spokespeople possessed. This chapter will survey their arguments and reveal how they wished to employ a new racial category to re-align the idea of race in America. At the same time, some writers

¹⁴ Joel Williamson and F. James Davis have both provided overviews of the unifying uses of the “one-drop rule” by African Americans. Novelist Gish Jen writes of prioritizing Chinese culture in raising her Chinese American and Irish American son. F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991); Fernandez, "A.M.E.A. Mission Statement."; Gish

and philosophers called for the abolition of all racial categories. They all aimed to dismantle race as we know it, with an appreciation of mixed race identity as the first step. No matter how premature their prescriptions were, these writers, activists, and politicians believed that mixed race Americans could contribute to an improved America, racial equality, or new human types—components of a new, utopian America.

As discussed in Chapter 3, this was a period when the mass media purveyed ideas that heroize mixed race Americans, whether print news, entertainment, or advertising. As with the New Face of America, this coverage naturalized the idea of an attractive, multiracial future, even if anxieties regarding race in America remained. Projections of change in American diversity went hand in hand with aestheticized images of mixed bodies to produce a positive message regarding racially mixed people. Interracial marriages appeared to increase from 65,000 to 220,000 between 1970 and 1990. While the Census Bureau did not track mixed race births at this time, the National Center for Health Statistics estimated that such births had risen from 8,800 to 41,300 per year between 1970 and 1990.¹⁵ As historian George J. Sánchez describes in his essay, “¿Y Tú Qué? (Y2K) Latino History in the New Millennium,” the early 1990s were a period when the positive, symbolic uses of the racially mixed body rose, often with little appreciation of power dynamics and historical contexts. Similarly, as Cynthia Nakashima writes concerning the discursive service mixed race Americans offered, “In fact, these days just

Jen, "An Ethnic Trump," in *Half and Half: Writers on Growing up Biracial and Bicultural*, ed. Claudine C. O'Hearn (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998).

¹⁵ Watts, "Not Black, Not White, but Biracial."

about every political and ideological camp utilizes mixed race people in support of their arguments.”¹⁶

Thinkers outside of the Multiracial Movement praised racial mixing, most notably Arthur Schlesinger and David Hollinger, showing that the positive notions around racial mixing had gained a more noticeable voice. Emphasizing the institutions that join the nation’s diverse population, the first chapter of Schlesinger’s *The Disuniting of America* presents a roll call of American figures who have equated America’s newness with racial mixing, including Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, George Washington, Herman Melville, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Israel Zangwill. In defense of “the original theory of America as ‘one people,’ a common culture, a single nation,”¹⁷ Schlesinger claims that the nation is becoming more racially mixed, asserting, “Tiger Woods—one-fourth Thai, one-fourth Chinese, one-fourth black, one-eighth white, and one-eighth American Indian—foreshadows the future. We can, I am sure, count on the power of sex—and of love—to defeat those who would seek to divide the country into separate ethnic communities.”¹⁸ Tiger Woods had come to national fame between the publication of the first and second editions of Schlesinger’s book, and he serves as the ideal model for the historian to invoke—mixed race, comfortable with all of his backgrounds, successful in predominantly-white arenas, and more interested in unifying people rather than pointing out their differences. His parents, Earl and Kultida Woods, married while Earl was a

¹⁶ Cynthia L. Nakashima, "Servants of Culture: The Symbolic Role of Mixed-Race Asians in American Discourse," in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*, ed. Teresa Williams-Leão and Cynthia L. Nakashima (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 42; George J. Sanchez, "¿Y Tú Qué? (Y2k) Latino History in the New Millennium," in *Latinos: Remaking America*, ed. Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela Páez (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁷ Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

Green Beret and Vietnam veteran stationed in Southeast Asia. They moved to Long Beach, California, where Tiger was born in 1975.¹⁹

The heroization of Tiger Woods started in 1996, after he left Stanford University to become a record-setting professional golfer. In his 1996 *Sports Illustrated* Sportsman of the Year write-up, "The Chosen One," Gary Smith wrote of Tiger fulfilling his father's prophecy to more have impact than Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, or the Buddha. His mother echoes, "He can hold everyone together. He is the Universal Child."²⁰ Participating in a popular debate of whether fame, riches, and commercialism will defeat Woods, Smith asks, "Who will win? The machine... or the youth who has just entered its maw?"²¹ In the end, he sides with the young athlete, suggesting, that in consuming him, we "swallow hope in the American experiment, in the pell-mell jumbling of genes. We swallow the belief that the face of the future is not necessarily a bitter or bewildered face; that it might even, one day, be something like Tiger Woods' face: handsome and smiling and ready to kick all comers' asses."²² This language may be an appropriate match for Woods' talent, however, it also reflects the flattering stereotypes (e.g. that mixed race people are "the race of the future," "the best of both worlds," and "bridges between parents' races") that Cynthia L. Nakashima discusses in "An Invisible Monster: The Creation and Denial of Mixed race People in America."²³

¹⁹ Earl Woods and Fred Mitchell, *Playing Through: Straight Talk on Hard Work, Big Dreams, and Adventures with Tiger*, 1st ed. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998).

²⁰ Smith, "The Chosen One."

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Cynthia L. Nakashima, "An Invisible Monster: The Creation and Denial of Mixed-Race People in America," in *Racially Mixed People in America*, ed. Maria P. P. Root (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992).

Journalist Jack E. White used reactions to Woods' statement as an entry into examining the "melding [sic] pot" and "America's failure to come to grips with the perplexing and rapidly evolving significance of racial identity in what is fast becoming the most polyglot society in history."²⁴ This language conveys the anxiety over growing diversity along with the belief in linear progress and American exceptionalism. *Newsweek* voiced the opinion that "'alternative,' ethnic ambiguity confers both individuality and a sense of shared values. Tiger Woods... represents the most exciting facet of this matrix."²⁵ In regards to the growing number of mixed race Americans, the article's authors wrote, "[T]hey can throw light on the nation's racial irrationality, even pressure it. But this alone does not ease it, any more than Tiger Woods is the happy ending to our unhappy racial saga. He is merely the next chapter, and they, along with him, 2 million strong, and counting."²⁶ This sketch of the future should never distract us from the fact that, as historian Henry Yu writes, "Tiger Woods Is Not the End of History."²⁷ In other words, the enduring dynamics of power and oppression remain with us even in an age of new, mixed race figures.

Conservatives invoked Tiger Woods as proof that "merit trumps race" in America. *Washington Post* columnist James K. Glassman asserts, "In fact, Woods is making \$60 million in large part *because* he is black... Tiger Woods may be just the guy to change things—not by being portrayed as a phony victim but by being celebrated as a

²⁴ Jack E. White, "I'm Just Who I Am," *Time*, May 5 1997.

²⁵ Leland and Beals, "In Living Colors."

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Henry Yu, "Tiger Woods Is Not the End of History: Or, Why Sex across the Color Line Won't Save Us All," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 5 (2003).

master of a very difficult, very beautiful game.”²⁸ *The Economist* praised Woods for claiming “no special privilege” for his race, abstaining from playing the race card, and getting over whatever racial obstacles there may have been. In fact, the magazine’s recent feature on Woods uses him as a proof that “[T]he idea that there is a specific racial barrier in modern American sport, as opposed to barriers of poverty and background that apply to all races, looks increasingly hard to sustain.”²⁹ Woods has been a convenient rebuttal against those who emphasize the few opportunities for racial minorities.

At the same time, Woods became a poster boy for the Multiracial Movement. In her exploration of how these activists privileged certain racial identity choices for mixed race people, sociologist Kerry Ann Rockquemore provides four reasons for why the Multiracial Movement adopted the young golf star as “the ideal symbol of multiracialism in the United States.”³⁰ First, Woods’ Masters success occurred at the same time the Office of Management and Budget was tying up deliberations over a possible “Multiracial” category. Second was Woods’ apathy towards any political position (except for, maybe, giving inner-city kids an opportunity to practice golf). Third, even though privilege and celebrity facilitated the success of his self-definition, his example showed how one could successfully identify him- or herself. Lastly, and most importantly, “Cablinasian” closely resembled the singular, border identity, “Multiracial,” which was the one designation for mixed race people the Movement was lobbying for.

²⁸ James K. Glassman, "A Dishonest Campaign," *Washington Post*, September 17 1996.

²⁹ "Tiger, Tiger, Burning Bright," *The Economist*, June 16 2001.

³⁰ Rockquemore, "Deconstructing Tiger Woods: The Promise and the Pitfalls of Multiracial Identity."

These all contribute to their adoption of Woods in 1997, later attaching his name to the congressional bill that would trump any bureaucratic decision.³¹

In any case, Schlesinger's prediction is different than Stanley Crouch's and Orlando Patterson's promises that ethnic difficulties and racial problems will become a distant memory, because he is simply wishing for the rabble-rousers to disappear. For Schlesinger, racial mixing will defeat the multiculturalists who wish to balkanize the nation with an over-emphasis on difference. Most similar to the elder scholar's position is David Hollinger's prescription for voluntary affiliations over orthodox identity politics and inclusive cosmopolitanism over divisive pluralism. The younger historian suggests that interracial marriage, double-minority mixed race people, and the Multiracial Movement threaten predominant racial thinking, which he describes as a pentagon with a racial group at each point. He writes, "While the demand to add mixed race to the federal census can be construed as merely an effort to turn the pentagon into a hexagon, the logic of mixed race actually threatens to destroy the whole structure," suggesting that those who assert a mixed identity intrinsically dismantle racial categories.³² Hollinger repeats an assumption about race and mixed race that many make: that one can be mixed, or one can be un-mixed and monoracial. From that point, it is easy to reject "African American," "Asian American," etc., as labels of oppression, embracing "Multiracial" as a curative that dismantles racial categories. While it is possible to adopt a primarily "Multiracial" identity and reject other racial labels, mixed race people often construct racial identities that can be any combination of traditional racial groups; they are not

³¹ Ibid.

³² Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*, 45.

mutually exclusive. Later in *Post-Ethnic America*, Hollinger asserts, “Mixed race people are performing a historic role at the present moment: they are reanimating a traditional American emphasis on the freedom of individual affiliation, and they are confronting the American nation with its own continued reluctance to apply this principle to ethno-racial affiliations.”³³ It is possible that mixed race Americans who move between racial, ethnic, and social groups do challenge observers’ conceptions of affiliation; however, does being mixed automatically do this? Is it possible to be mixed and uphold traditional, racial, gender, and class hierarchies? Can others with less racial mixture practice diverse affiliations? Hollinger praises voluntary affiliation, but then conscripts racially mixed people to the role of hero. Recognizing these assumptions weakens the arguments that heroize racially mixed Americans.³⁴

Unlike Schlesinger and Hollinger, some others were personally invested in the role of mixed race Americans, as they were mixed themselves. At the same time that organizations lobbied for a “Multiracial” category and the press reported on the topic, publishers produced academic, personal, and fictional titles, making sophisticated writing around the subject identity bounteous. By 1996, psychologist Maria P.P. Root had edited both of her groundbreaking collections, *Racially Mixed People in America* and *The Multiracial Experience*, as did philosopher Naomi Zack, with *Race and Mixed Race* and *American Mixed Race*. Some of the foremost of these scholars, including Root and

³³ Ibid., 166.

³⁴ This is a sort of biological determinism George J. Sanchez and George Lipsitz decry, the former for being a cost-free solution to racial problems, and the latter for forcing mixed race Americans to choose a heroic mission. Lipsitz, "Noises in the Blood: Culture, Conflict, and Mixed-Race Identities."; Sanchez, "¿Y Tú Qué? (Y2k) Latino History in the New Millennium."

Daniel, saw themselves as part of the movement, counseling the organizations and providing research that bolstered their aims.

Root often expressed notions similar to Hollinger's as an intellectual sage to the movement. *Racially Mixed People in America* opens by asserting, "The emergence of a racially mixed population is transforming the 'face' of the United States. The increasing presence of multiracial people necessitates that we as a nation ask ourselves questions about our identity: Who are we? How do we see ourselves? Who are we in relation to one another?"³⁵ According to Root, these questions have become more relevant because of the "biracial baby boom" that started with the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* decision. This statement suggests that the mere existence of mixed race people is bringing about a "full-scale 'identity crisis' that this country is ill equipped to resolve."³⁶ Their presence is supposedly the catalyst for the crisis, but also the solution. As she claims,

The presence of racially mixed persons defies the social order predicated upon race, blurs racial and ethnic group boundaries, and challenges generally accepted proscriptions and prescriptions regarding inter-group relations. Furthermore, and perhaps most threatening, the existence of racially mixed persons challenges long-held notions about the biological, moral, and social meaning of race.³⁷

Root suggests that the mere presence of racially mixed people acts as a catalyst for change. As she writes, "Everyone who enters into an interracial relationship or is born of racially different heritages is conscripted into a quiet revolution."³⁸ These statements echo Phillips' use of a mixed child as a symbol of a future America, Zangwill's hope in

³⁵ Maria P. P. Root, ed., *Racially Mixed People in America* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992), 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Root, "A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People," 9.

intermarriage as the solution for inter-ethnic strife, and Jill Smolowe's articles praise of interracial couples as the vanguard to bring "America to its unhyphenated whole."

In 1996 Root offered "A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People," which she hoped would "express how insidiously entwined the mechanics of oppression are in our everyday lives—systematic beliefs, biased data or interpretation of data, rationalization, and ultimately social distance."³⁹ Her manifesto centers on the refusal to fragment people. Of the twelve tenets in her Bill of Rights, one is of particular interest: "I have the right to create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial." She goes on to say that "self-labeling is empowerment," a "proclamation of existence."⁴⁰ This emphasis on self-naming undergirds the whole Multiracial Movement.

Another sage to the movement, Reginald Daniel, has been officer, advisor, and liaison to A.M.E.A and Project R.A.C.E., as well as a professor of sociology. In his scholarly work, he aims to challenge essentialist ways of thinking that place black and white at opposite poles and rely on notions of authentic identity. As Daniel observes, these often work together to re-inscribe his principle nemesis: polar, oppositional, mutually-exclusive thinking, whether black/white, white/non-white, or black/non-black. In his book, *More Than Black: Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order*, Daniel credits the late 1960s black power movement for fostering group pride, solidarity, self-respect, as well as its interrogation of assimilation. However, he points out some of the inconsistencies of radical Afrocentrism, namely its critique of racial essentialism while relying on essentialism to define itself, which one can see in the tendency to apply the

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

term “black” to anything remotely connected to Africa. It is easy to interpret his statements as advocating that mixed people with black parentage abandon blackness, but that would overlook a large portion of Daniel’s argument. While some Multiracial Movement activists like Susan Graham and others who wish to embrace their whiteness, do abhor the label “black,” what Daniel wants is a “more inclusive constructions of blackness and whiteness.”⁴¹ While some have associated the Multiracial Movement with denial of the least advantageous part of one’s heritage, Daniel actually hopes to “provide the basis for new and varied forms of bonding and integration.”⁴² This would appreciate a variety of black subjectivities without harming the broader idea of black, racial unity. Never does he advocate abandonment, nor assert that his “new multiracial identity” replaces identification with traditional racial groups. When he uses the term “stigma of blackness” it is more likely that he is describing the racial inequality that African Americans face, rather than describing his own sentiments.

In opposition to the old modes of identification, Daniel consistently characterizes “multiracial consciousness” as new, or “the next logical step in the progression of civil rights, the expansion of our notion of affirmative action to include strategies not only for achieving socioeconomic equity, but also for affirming a nonhierarchical identity that embraces a ‘holocentric’ racial self.”⁴³ This requires the creation of “new identities, new

⁴¹ G. Reginald Daniel, *More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), 175.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Root, "A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People."; G. Reginald Daniel, "Multiethnic Individual: An Operational Definition" (paper presented at the Kaleidoscope, the Annual Conference of Multiracial Americans of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, 1988); Daniel, "Beyond Black and White: The New Multiracial Consciousness."

collective subjectivities, and new meanings”⁴⁴ His emphasis on novelty continues in an action-packed description of the transformative power of multiracial identity: “As multiracial-identified individuals climb over walls, cross the borders, erase and redraw the boundaries that separate them, everyone will be reminded that they actually live most of their lives in the liminal gray space between the extremes of black and white, whether or not they are conscious of that fact.”⁴⁵ Daniel promises that a new consciousness would “ensure that wealth, power, privilege, and prestige were more equitably distributed than has ever been the case before in this country. Such a transformation in thought and behavior would move the United States closer to the ideal of a land of equal opportunity for all.”⁴⁶ While some of Daniel’s language is for dramatic effect, the mobilization of mixed race Americans in the actions of climbing, crossing, erasing, and redrawing certainly gives them physical, heroic qualities. It also suggests that multiracial identity can transform America into a more equitable society. Most notably, he suggests that the result would be the nation’s fulfillment of its promise of equality. In other words, vocal mixed race Americans can bring about the same fulfillment of national values that Phillips, Zangwill, *Time* magazine suggest.

During the same period, some thinkers on race, including philosophers Naomi Zack, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and Paul Gilroy, went even further than proposing a new multiracial identity, suggesting that racial categories themselves were invalid. Of these, Zack focused the most on the topic of mixed race, arguing that, since “all racial identities

⁴⁴ G. Reginald Daniel, "Black No More or More Than Black? Multiracial Identity Politics and the Multiracial Movement," in *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence*, ed. Paul R. Spickard and G. Reginald Daniel (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 280.

⁴⁵ Daniel, *More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order*, 194.

rest on ideologies that require energies of determination and control—of will—to maintain,” then the idea of mixed race is contradictory, and racial purity is untenable.⁴⁷ For Zack, nothing good can come out of holding on to the idea of race, which is based on faulty science. Central in her work is “a strong repudiation of all racial identity—black, white, and even mixed race.”⁴⁸ As she claims, “The illusion of mixed race needs to be written and talked out before the illusion of race itself can be dispelled.”⁴⁹ A racial nominalist, she believes that race exists in name only, ignoring the fact that race is a lived experience. Ironically, though, she privileges mixed race as the last type of racial identity to discuss before discarding it.⁵⁰

In the end, Zack avoids praising mixed race Americans as a sign of an improved America. If anything, she points to the mixed race experience as a site where American racial logic fails. Even her concept of “microdiversity,” which recognizes the “racial difference within individuals,” is something she’d like to abandon, as it would join the ranks of racist thought. Her prescription goes even further: “The next step after microdiversity is racelessness... I propose that we write ourselves out of race as a means of constructing racelessness or removing the constructions of race. And our language

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Zack, “Life after Race,” 300.

⁴⁸ Naomi Zack, *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995), x.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ As Michael Omi and Howard Winant suggest, rather than an illusion, race becomes real through historically situated processes of racialization, or as they call them, racial projects. Philosopher Ronald R. Sundstrom agrees with this intervention, arguing that mixed race does exist as a social reality, one different than traditional racial identities (even if those are part of), and one that can contribute to the liberatory concerns of the traditional racial groups. On the other hand, abandoning race would “gravely hamper” those struggles. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*; Ronald R. Sundstrom, “‘Racial’ Nominalism,” *Journal of Social Philosophy* 33, no. 2 (2002).

itself, or at least English, underscores such a move.”⁵¹ Unlike Root and Daniel, Zack is outside of the Multiracial Movement, as she only sees value in discussing mixed race identity as a means to dismantle it in the end. Zack emphasizes how the words and labels we use to talk about race all spawn from a racist system, so we must abolish them. By abandoning racial labels, which are inherently racist, we can abandon racism, suggesting that racial names are the end product of racism, but also the cause. This is similar to Root’s and some other Multiracialists’ optimism, but instead, Zack wants to abolish racial names rather than invent a new one. However, avoiding the labels will not change the lived experience of racialized peoples, nor does the coinage of a new label.

Second among these race abolitionist was Kwame Anthony Appiah, professor of philosophy at Princeton University, author of *In My Father’s House*, and collaborator with Henry Louis Gates (a former colleague at Harvard University) on *Transition* magazine, the *Africana* encyclopedia, and *The Dictionary of Global Culture*. In “The Uncompleted Argument,” an article from 1985, Appiah complicates W.E.B. Du Bois’s “Conservation of the Races,” an 1897 paper that defines race as “a vast family of human beings, generally of common blood and language, always of common history, traditions and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life.”⁵² For Du Bois, membership in a race relies on common sentiment, rather than biology, allowing for a pluralistic, American race comprised of people from many ethnic groups. The deeper bonds are cultural (as in values), rather than biological, even if the common physical

⁵¹ Zack, "Life after Race," 301.

⁵² Du Bois, "The Conservation of Races," 75-76.

appearances persist. Du Bois writes, “But while race differences have followed mainly physical race lines, yet no mere physical distinctions would really define or explain the deeper differences—the cohesiveness and continuity of these groups. The deeper differences are spiritual, psychical, differences—undoubtedly based on the physical, but infinitely transcending them.”⁵³ In both the 1985 essay and the similar chapter of *In My Father’s House*, Appiah compliments Du Bois for moving away from biology, but critiques the reliance on a common history, because identifying with historical events of a people produces circular reasoning; you have to pick the people you want to identify to pick the events you want to identify with. (Hollinger points to the same thing w/ Alex Haley’s neglect of his Irish background in *Roots*.) In his 1992 book, Appiah advocates jettisoning the idea of a racial essence, suggesting, “If we let go of racial essence, logically, we’d have to let go of racial hierarchy.”⁵⁴ He continues, “The truth is that there are no races: there is nothing in the world we can ask race to do for us. As we have seen, even the biologist’s notion has only limited uses, and the notion that Du Bois required, and that underlies the more hateful racisms of the modern era, refers to nothing in the world at all.”⁵⁵ Appiah argues that race has no scientific basis, and membership is arbitrary. While this position builds upon to the earlier “The Uncompleted Argument,” it gained attention as *New York Times* Notable Book of the Year and recipient of the African Studies’ Association’s Herskovits Award. In the end, he acknowledges that

⁵³ However, it does nothing for nonconformists or dissenters, those less likely to feel similar sentiments. *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁴ Kwame Anthony Appiah, “The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race,” in *Race, Writing, and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 39; Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*, 19-50.

⁵⁵ Appiah, “The Uncompleted Argument: Du Bois and the Illusion of Race,” 45.

people will cling to racial essence, often as a “badge of insult,” i.e., for past experiences of oppression, but he warns that this can lead to cultural nationalism.

Later, in 2000, Paul Gilroy, author of *The Black Atlantic*, published a book-length denouncement of racial thinking and cultural nationalism titled *Against Race*. His prior book stands as a classic in black studies, foregrounding the idea of diaspora and crossings (both of bodies and cultural practices) rather than nationality. His newer book takes a more daring stance that often gained opposition from those most fond of the prior. Not only does he attack racial thinking in the “raciology” of pseudoscience, and condemn attempts to preserve racial purity, but he also critiques the idea of black, racial unity. He points to the slippery slope from biological essentialism, to nationalism, to fascism, as shown by Nazism and Marcus Garvey’s Back to Africa movement. In fact, through his exploration of how consumption shapes identity, he argues that the marketplace can initiate this descent into nationalism. For Gilroy, there is a very short distance between the final steps of this progression. Overall, *Against Race* “seeks to engage the pressures and demands of multicultural social and political life,” an arena where “the old, modern idea of ‘race’ can have no ethically defensible place,” as its application is usually harmful to the idea of human freedom.⁵⁶ Gilroy attempts to let go of the idea of race, meanwhile appreciating diversity and struggles for equality. Even though he wants to jettison racial identity, he hopes for “planetary humanism” and “strategic universalism” which he describes as “a fundamental change of mood upon what used to be called “antiracism.” It has been asked in an explicitly utopian spirit to terminate its ambivalent relationship to the idea of “race” in the interest of a herterocultural, postanthropological, and

cosmopolitan yet-to-come.”⁵⁷ His is a utopian vision that would appreciate all cultures, de-emphasize the reliance on physical appearance to describe people, and nurture the same kind of cosmopolitanism that Hollinger defends in *Post-Ethnic America*. However, Gilroy makes no mention at all of racially mixed people, the usual touchstone when discussing the dismantling of racial thinking. Perhaps he recognizes that, in order to discuss racial mixing, one must recognize race. In other words, discussing racially mixed people brings with it all of the things he wants to abandon. The experience of mixed race people amplifies the fact that Gilroy offers little guidance on how to form an identity without race or nationality. How does one describe the experience of having parents from different racial groups without re-inscribing these? How do you discuss any particular power relationship without referring to it either? This is where all of the racial abolitionists fall short; they either focus on the racial names and overlook the lived experience of race, suggest cosmopolitanism without questioning the challenges its practice, or ignore the lived experiences that rely on race to describe.⁵⁸

Both the intellectual arguments of multiracial thinkers, racial abolitionists, and others bear upon the activities of the movement. Altogether they were optimistic and utopian, if not naïve as well. In the early 1990s, Project R.A.C.E. successfully promoted legislation to include a “Multiracial” category in Illinois, Ohio, Georgia, and Michigan, with Florida, Indiana, and North Carolina following close behind. States such as

⁵⁶ Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*, 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 334.

⁵⁸ Gilroy does hope that “the perceptual and observational habits that have been associated with the consolidation of today’s nano-science might also facilitate the development of an emphatically postracial humanism,” suggesting that developments such as the human genome project can diminish the reliance on race and physical appearance to define humanity. However, as Chapter 5 will show, mixed race once again

Maryland, Texas, and Minnesota were much slower to introduce the new category. During the same period, A.M.E.A. concerned itself more with change at the national level, leaving the local efforts to Project R.A.C.E. The two organizations also differed on the structure of the race question that should appear on the 2000 census. A.M.E.A. wanted a two-part reporting standard that would ask if someone was multiracial and then ask for the respondent's parent races. The organization also wanted to discern whether one's parents were mixed race. Project R.A.C.E. was in on these discussions, but abandoned the two-part question because "it took up too much space."⁵⁹ Fernandez and A.M.E.A. declared that they wanted to create statistics that were accurate, continuous, and relevant, displaying concerns with the methodologies, semantics, and repercussions of a "Multiracial" category. Meanwhile, Graham and Project R.A.C.E. consistently addressed the more emotional aspects of adding a "Multiracial" category, continuing to base its arguments on more emotional pleas.⁶⁰ As Susan Graham attested, "I care about accurate data, too. But I'm not a scholar, statistician, attorney, or lawmaker. I'm just a mother. A mother who cares about children, and whether I like it or not, I realize that self-esteem is directly tied to accurate racial identity."⁶¹ A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E. both considered themselves extensions of the civil rights movement, but their differences

confounds this. *Ibid.*, 37; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

⁵⁹ Daniel, *More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order*, 137.

⁶⁰ Reginald Daniel gives an extensive history of the Multiracial Movement and his role as liaison between A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E. *Ibid.*, 125-51.

⁶¹ Susan R. Graham, "Grassroots Advocacy," in *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, ed. Naomi Zack (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995).

in style and strategy strained the relationship between them. As Reginald Daniel writes, A.M.E.A. was more conciliatory, while Project R.A.C.E. was more confrontational.⁶²

Visibility for the Multiracial Movement increased in June, 1993, when Fernandez and Graham testified before the Congressional Subcommittee on Census, Statistics, and Postal Personnel concerning the need for a “Multiracial” category on all federal forms that collected racial data. Congressman Thomas Sawyer (D-Ohio), who chaired the deliberations over revising the racial categories, said that the “Multiracial” category was “an issue coming to a ripeness that makes it difficult to ignore,” and claimed that, as a nation, “We are really at the threshold of another major adjustment in the way we think of ourselves as a people.”⁶³ However, appealing to the technocrats, he also repeated three truths about racial statistics: “First, many people agree on the need to continue collecting ethnic and racial data. Second, the data must be uniform across the government. Third, racial categories must be relevant to the public, or the public won’t cooperate.”⁶⁴ While the “Multiracial” category was one of several proposals before the subcommittee and the decision process promised to be a long one, this was a period of great optimism for A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E.. The subcommittee’s decisions could lead to changes in the federal Office of Management and Budget’s (O.M.B.) Directive 15, which sets the standard for the collection of racial data.

Increased visibility also brought increased opposition, mainly from more traditional civil rights organizations, but also from scholars concerned with

⁶² Daniel, *More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order*, 137.

⁶³ Gabrielle Sandor, "The 'Other' Americans," *American Demographics*, June 1994.

⁶⁴ Rogers Worthington, "Between Black and White the Old Questions of Origin and Race No Longer Add Up," *Toronto Star*, July 7 1994.

demographics. From 1993 to the Congressional subcommittee’s final decision in 1997, civil rights leaders, journalists, and scholars opposed the “Multiracial” category through the same activities as those who promoted it—lobbying, issuing statements, and stating their positions in the media. During these years representatives from the N.A.A.C.P., the National Council of La Raza (N.C.L.R.), the National Congress of American Indians (N.C.A.I.), and others, voiced their arguments in the same news pieces that noted the advances of A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E. They often raised any of these four points: First, beyond civil rights issues and racial identity, many questioned the “Multiracial” category’s usefulness for fields such as health, education, and immigration research. Many of these academics emphasized the challenge in constructing continuity with past census data; some pointed out the limitations of practicing statistical projections, even with intermarriage in mind; and others questioned the usefulness of a new, umbrella category, for their particular fields of study.⁶⁵

Second, opponents pointed out the similarity between the “Multiracial” category and other middling, mixed race statuses around the world, most notably Apartheid-era South Africa, where “Coloured” was an official racial classification for mixed, East Indian, and light-skinned peoples. In exchange for support for the Apartheid system, those deemed “Coloured” enjoyed greater privileges than the indigenous black majority, but still held a secondary status behind whites. State Representative, Ed Vaughn, who opposed Project R.A.C.E.’s efforts in Michigan, often evoked this argument, and named

⁶⁵ The papers resulting from “Multiraciality: How Will the New Census Data Be Used?” a September 2000 conference at Bard College’s Jerome Levy Economics Institute, provide an excellent, interdisciplinary overview, including the challenges to statistical continuity.

places like Haiti, New Orleans, and much of Latin America, where the intermediary, mixed classes put greater distance between the white rulers and the darker oppressed.

Third, opponents of the “Multiracial” category cited the fact that it would negatively affect race-based government initiatives, such as voting rights, fair employment, and equal housing. Even though mixed race people made up a small percentage of the population, these opponents evoked the threat of flight that would harm the larger racial groups. In the press and in his own testimony before Congress, Billy Tidwell, Research Director for the National Urban League, went as far as to predict that 10% would desert from the “Black” category. While African American groups were the most vocal about the “flight” issue and civil rights repercussions, Latino, American Indian, and Asian groups voiced the same opinions. Between the first Congressional hearings and O.M.B.’s final decision, many of these groups issued statements against adding a new category, sponsored research into its effects, and lobbied against it. The irony is that the Multiracial Movement, which saw itself as a relevant to civil rights, gained the ire of all the premier civil rights organizations. They saw themselves as visionary, but others saw them as misguided, repeating that, considering the persistence of racial oppression, it was too soon to add the new category. As opposed to the promises of a new multiracial identity, they imagined a dystopia if the Multiracial category came into being. Warning that a “Multiracial” category would come at the expense of blacks, Journalist Itabari Njeri asserts, “If African Americans are not included in the designation—and in a way that ensures our hard-won constitutional protections—

there should be no such designation.”⁶⁶ Lisa Jones, daughter of Amiri Baraka and Hettie Jones, even accuses Multiracialists of trying to steal mixed, African American figures like Langston Hughes, an act insensitive to a history “where black people have had their every gift confiscated and attributed to others.”⁶⁷ Jon Michael Spencer makes explicit the preeminence of black history in opposition to the possibility of a “Multiracial” category:

It has been by our numbers and unity, both a result of the one-drop rule, that we have made strides in attaining civil rights in this country. In fact, from the days of slavery we were Colored, Negro, Black, Afro-American, and African American together, and together we have come this far “by faith.” By that faith and determination black leadership and grassroots activism have pushed the needs of the black community and the ideals of the country to the forefront of the national consciousness and of political agendas.⁶⁸

With this perspective, it is clear to Spencer that “we need to count every black or part-black as black.”⁶⁹ Like the others, he evokes a very traditional and popular way of thinking about the black experience, one that apotheosizes the civil rights movement to the point of resistance to any other means to make gains for racial equality. By railing against new modes of identification, these opponents defended older modes resembling hypodescent.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Itabari Njeri, “The Last Plantation,” in *Mixed Race’ Studies: A Reader*, ed. Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 300.

⁶⁷ Lisa Jones, *Bulletproof Diva: Tales of Race, Sex, and Hair*, 1st Anchor Books ed. (New York: Anchor Books, 1995), 61-62.

⁶⁸ Jon Michael Spencer, *The New Colored People: The Mixed-Race Movement in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 75.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷⁰ During the two years I worked with The Ford Foundation’s portfolio in Racial Justice and Civil Rights, 1999-2001, this issue had passed; yet executive directors, including Karen Narasaki of the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, Gary Flowers of Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights, Raul Yzaguirre of the National Council of La Raza, and Joann K. Case of the National Congress of American Indians continued to maintain the position that even a small percentage of “deserters” would be detrimental to traditional minority groups. *Ibid*; Hanna Rosin, “Count Us In: Multiracial Groups Don’t Want to Be Boxed out by Census,” *Rocky Mountain News*, January 2 1994; Daryl Strickland, “Interracial Generation: ‘We Are Who We Are.’” *Seattle Times*, May 5 1995; Linda Mathews, “Beyond ‘Other’: A Special Report,” *New York Times*, July 6 1996; Haya El Nasser, “Panel: ‘Multiracial’ Census Label Unneeded Suggests

The objection most relevant to this project, though, is their perpetuation of the idea that racially mixed people are a new phenomenon in the United States. As discussed in the Introduction, this is an untenable position, since there has been racial mixing in the United States since first contact. In the late twentieth century, it is also questionable whether there has been a “biracial baby boom.” This assertion depends on the matching of 2000 data, which included those who checked two or more races, with past iterations of census data, which allowed for only one race. This can give the impression that racially mixed people appeared out of nowhere within the past decade or so. Secondly, the number of mixed births appears to have skyrocketed because determining who had parents from different racial groups becomes more and more complex as you go back farther in time, resulting in the erasure of past generations of mixed people. Third, this becomes more complex for decennial surveys that relied on enumerators identifying the population based on physical appearance. Lastly, asserting a “biracial baby boom” depends on voluntary self-identification with two or more races. There are many who have racial mixture in their immediate parentage who checked just one race in 2000. While immigration reform, the end of anti-intermarriage laws, and social integration have changed society immensely, accounting for mixed births becomes a complex thing that current statistics may or may not corroborate.⁷¹

Besides the challenges of quantifying a “biracial baby boom” at the core of the Multiracial Movement’s impetus, there is the question of what kind of perspective on

Allowing Multiple Checks in Race Categories," *USA Today*, July 9 1997; Laura Flores, "Multiracial Groups Seek Identity; U.S. Census Urged to Add Category," *Times-Picayune*, December 10 1995.

⁷¹ Ann Morning covers many of these issues of quantification in her “New Faces: Old Faces: Counting the Multiracial Population Past and Present.” Morning, "New Faces, Old Faces: Counting the Multiracial Population Past and Present."

history this position implies. First, suggesting that racially mixed people are new presents a static, presentist notion of race and race mixing, where, in reality, both ideas have changed. Second, a supposed increase in interracial relationships implies that race mixing always has been taboo in the United States, in all regions and all pockets of the continent, throughout our history, when there are many cases of mutual acceptance. Lastly, celebrating the trends of recent decades casts a triumphal regard upon the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century, as if the 1960s civil rights, immigration, and intermarriage legislation marked the end of inequality, and the world started anew in 1967.

During these years, O.M.B. and the Census Bureau ran several tests by phone, mail, or door-to-door enumerators to assess the efficacy of a “Multiracial” category. They estimated that only 1.6% of all Americans would choose it. At the same time that O.M.B. stated, “We would not make a change unless we were convinced it would increase the accuracy and the value of the data collected,” Graham expressed her dedication to the cause, claiming, “So even if the O.M.B. doesn’t do the right thing, we’re not going away.”⁷² As a hedge against possible disappointment, Project R.A.C.E. pushed legislation to Congress, sponsored by Representative Tom Petri (R-Wisconsin) and called the “Tiger Woods Bill”—independent of any endorsement by the golfer himself—that would establish a national multiracial category. Success by Petri would supersede any O.M.B. decision. The months leading to the federal agency’s

⁷² Scott Shepard, “Moving from ‘Other’ to ‘Multiracial,’” *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, July 7 1997.

recommendation were optimistic for A.M.E.A. and Project R.A.C.E.'s campaign, even though opponents continued their arguments against them.⁷³

On October 30, 1997, the Congressional Subcommittee on Census, Statistics, and Postal Personnel and O.M.B. announced that they would allow Americans to check off as many race categories as they want. This followed an earlier O.M.B. recommendation that the "Multiracial" category

provided no useful information and the research showed that there is no general understanding of what the term means. Further, having a separate category would, in effect, create another population group, and no doubt add to racial tension and further fragmentation of our population. To provide information about their mixed racial heritage, individuals should be able to check one or more of the historical categories that have been used for the past twenty years.⁷⁴

Federal agencies found "Multiracial" too ambiguous, and they decided to go with a method that would protect the civil rights interests of more traditional racial groups. At the same time, the decision enacted a simple idea that A.M.E.A. had introduced four years earlier with its proposed reporting standards: allowing respondents to pick more than one race. As Franklin D. Raines, Director of O.M.B., further explained, "We're allowing people to express that multiracial heritage in whatever way they view themselves."⁷⁵ While this may come across as terse and patronizing, it does point out the flexibility of multiple checking. For years leading up to this moment, Graham and others

⁷³ This period, 1996-1997, also marked the beginning of my interest in the "Multiracial" category. I remember seeing some of the headlines in the *New York Times* provocative, but also feeling a great ambivalence towards the new category, especially its shortcomings as an umbrella classification. Suzann Evinger, "How to Record Race: Categories of Race and Ethnicity and the 2000 Census," *American Demographics*, May 1996; Mathews, "Beyond 'Other': A Special Report."; Younge, "Multiracial Citizens Divided on Idea of Separate Census Classification."; Haya El Nasser, "Measuring Race Varied Heritage Claimed and Extolled by Millions," *USA Today*, May 8 1997; Shepard, "Moving from 'Other' to 'Multiracial'."

⁷⁴ Candy Mills, "Interrace Matters: Mixed Blessings," *Interrace*, September 30 1997.

in the Multiracial Movement wanted to call mixed race people “exactly what they are” but took for granted that all agreed with the “Multiracial” label, which was a gross simplification of most people’s heritage. O.M.B.’s solution made it clear that the government was enumerating membership in (and across) racial groups, leaving the matter of fine-tuning for individuals to sort out some other time with lower stakes. Multiple checking allows for a variety of self-identification that reflects a group of people who may be any combination of white, black, Asian, Indian, or otherwise. O.M.B. promoted a conception of mixed race as consisting of the legacies of standing racial groups that still depend upon racial enumeration. Rather than adopt a new vocabulary to describe the mixed race experience, it opted for a new method of employing the standing vocabulary, taking the wind out of the racial heroes’ cape.

Fernandez, who had concluded his term as A.M.E.A. president by this point, responded that although he preferred the “Multiracial” category, the decision was “the best compromise possible at this time.”⁷⁶ Also disappointed, Graham said that the recommendations “fall short of what is needed for accuracy and clarity on the United States Census and on federal forms. Multiracial children deserve the dignity and inclusion of having a racial term that describes exactly who they are.”⁷⁷ Graham lamented, “We do not want to be the check-all-that-applies community. We want to be the multiracial community.”⁷⁸ While these two indicated that they would continue to advocate for the “Multiracial” category and hoped that the census would enumerate those

⁷⁵ Steven A. Holmes, “People Can Claim One or More Races on Federal Forms,” *New York Times*, October 30 1997.

⁷⁶ Mills, “Interrace Matters: Mixed Blessings.”

⁷⁷ Ibid.

who checked two or more racial groups separately, Ramona Douglass, the new president of A.M.E.A., called the decision a “victory for the whole country in the sense that Americans will no longer be cubby-holed into rigid categories. This decision really puts it to all of us to look at each other and how we identify in a different way. The country is no longer one or two races, and that’s been obvious for a long time.”⁷⁹ Representative Tom Petri said he was satisfied with the decision, marking the end of the Tiger Woods Bill, and Candy Mills, editor of the newsletter, *Interrace*, responded, “Let’s not argue about semantics. After all, our children defy racial categories—even the multiracial one.”⁸⁰

In the end, 2.4% of the U.S. population checked two or more races, or approximately 7 million out of 281 million people. In total, there were 63 possible combinations, with the four most common combinations being “White” and “Black,” “White” and “Asian,” “White” and “American Indian/Alaska native,” and “White” and “Some Other Race,” a box that census officials said was checked mainly by Latinos. Five percent of blacks, 6 percent of Hispanics, 14 percent of Asians and 2.5 percent of whites identified with two or more races. The number of people checking two or more races also varied by state, with Mississippi at the low end with less than 1%, and California at top with 4.5%.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Wiley A. Hall, "Denying Our Diversity Makes No Census," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 12 1997.

⁷⁹ McLeod, "2000 Census Sets Compromise for Mixed Races."

⁸⁰ Aziz Haniffa, "Listing under More Than One Race to Be Allowed," *India Abroad*, November 7 1997; Mills, "Interrace Matters: Mixed Blessings."

⁸¹ D'Vera Cohn and Darryl Fears, "Multiracial Growth Seen in Census; Numbers Show Diversity, Complexity of U.S. Count," *Washington Post*, March 13 2001; Kirk Kicklighter, "Millions Claim Multiple Races;

There were five proposed methods for how to tabulate the new data. First, a full racial distribution would report each possible combination and the five, major racial groups separately. This could result in a divid-and-conquer outcome, and the eventual elimination of racial tabulations altogether. Second, a collapsing technique would only count a combination of races if a critical mass of people responded that way. Census statisticians would put those in combinations with fewer numbers into their parent, racial groups. This could increase the numbers for some minority groups, but its treatment of smaller groups would be unequal. The third, a combining/priority reassignment method, would place multiple-checkers into the smallest group they checked. This could solve some of the problems with the collapsing method, but (besides resembling hypodescent) it could be a disadvantage to those whose local communities are different than the national distributions—for example, Asian-Latino people in a predominantly Asian neighborhood. An algorithmic method would reassign mixed people to traditional category, either by equal fractions, proportional fractions, random generation, or inductive reasoning (i.e., by one's community). Besides treating people like fractions, this would most likely be a boon to the white racial group and not minorities. Lastly, an all-inclusive system would count each time someone checked any of the racial groups, producing a total of racial checks above the total number of persons in the United States. This would address the issues of recognition for the Multiracial Movement, and give the best advantage to smaller groups. However, it would cause the most challenges in

Census Broadens Its Range of Racial Classifications," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, March 13 2001; Eric Schmitt, "For 7 Million People in Census, One Race Category Isn't Enough," *New York Times*, March 13 2001.

aligning old data with new. Ultimately, the Bureau of the Census sided with this system in matters of civil rights and equal protection.⁸²

However, it is the conservative use of the Multiracial category by leaders like Newt Gingrich and Ward Connerly that casts light on how far some of the Multiracial Movement had moved from concerning itself with civil rights. Before O.M.B.'s 1997 decision, Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, submitted testimony to the 1993 subcommittee and wrote a letter to the agency endorsing an umbrella "Multiracial" category. Susan Graham had taken pains to get the support of the fellow Georgian, whose conservative program could use the ambiguous category as a tool for weakening race-based, federal initiatives. This alliance amplified the differences within the Multiracial Movement and solidified the perception that its activists were hostile to the concerns of other civil rights organizations. After he left Congress, Graham wrote in an elegy, "First, like him or not, the multiracial community has lost an important supporter; a person who could have assured us of getting legislation PASSED."⁸³ After the release of 2000 census data, Ward Connerly, the opponent of race-based affirmative action in California, who is also mixed race, began to court those in the movement who wished to abolish the idea of race altogether. In several editorials on Charles Michael Byrd's online newsletter, *Interracial Voice*, Connerly argued that the growing number of interracial families was evidence of the extinction of racism, that recording race was a violation of privacy, and that eliminating them would be "the next step in America's quest to

⁸² Daniel, *More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order*, 148-51; King, "Race, Racialization, and Rights: Lumping and Splitting Multiracial Asian Americans in the 2000 Census."

⁸³ Susan R. Graham, "Project Race: From the Director: Multiracial Life after Newt," Project R.A.C.E., <http://www.projectrace.com/fromthedirector/archive/fromthedirector-110998.php>.

eradicate race from our national psyche.”⁸⁴ Byrd argued that the root cause of racism is the “belief in ‘race’ itself” and became a staunch supporter of Connerly’s “Racial Privacy Initiative,” a three-page proposed amendment to the state constitution that would prevent state and local government agencies from collecting data on race, ethnicity, color, or national origin. Another newsletter and website, the admittedly libertarian Multiracial Activist also supported the R.P.I. (Proposition 54). As with Graham’s alliance with Gingrich, these unions furthered the perception that the Multiracial Movement’s desire for its own racial category was antagonistic to civil rights more broadly. In a “color-blind” America, the aims of the Multiracialists dovetail well with those who would like to diminish race as a valid explanation for inequality, as well as those who would like to believe Americans can “transcend” race.⁸⁵

Leading up to California’s 2003 run-off elections, Proposition 54 received no backing from leading candidates; for example, future governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger called its supporters “right-wing crazies.”⁸⁶ In the end, 63.9% of California voters rejected it. Besides the implications for civil rights, fair housing, and equal employment enforcement, many recognized that the legislation was unclear about how it would affect

⁸⁴ Ward Connerly, "Interracial Voice - Guest Editorial," *Interracial Voice*, <http://www.webcom.com/~intvoice/connerly3.html>.

⁸⁵ Meanwhile A.M.E.A., Hapa Issues Forum, and the MAVIN Foundation decried the initiative, discussing it in their email listservs, but doing little visible activism around the topic until it re-emerged as an issue before the University of California Board of Regents. Daniel HoSang, "Hiding Race; Daniel Hosang Traces the Rise (and Fall?) of yet Another Racist California Initiative," *ColorLines*, December 2000; Lipsitz, "Noises in the Blood: Culture, Conflict, and Mixed-Race Identities."; Mills, "Interrace Matters: Mixed Blessings."; Michael Omi, "Counting in the Dark: Michael Omi Shows That the Census Has Become a Critical Racial Battleground," *ColorLines*, April 30 2001; Rainier Spencer, "Census 2000: Assessments in Significance," in *New Faces in a Changing America: Multiracial Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Loretta I. Winters and Herman L. DeBose (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2003); Sasha S. Welland, "Being between; Can Multiracial Americans Form a Cohesive Anti-Racist Movement Beyond Identity Politics and Tiger Woods Chic?" *ColorLines*, June 8 2003.

other areas, like health, education, and law enforcement. Most saw protecting privacy as a low priority in comparison to the other work that racial data does. As one editorial in the *Sacramento Bee* says, "Proposition 54 pretends that if we just stop counting, society's race consciousness will disappear, and so will the discrimination that comes with it. But we still live in a time when vigilance over discrimination is necessary. Proposition 54 would only make us blind to it."⁸⁷

The efforts to put a "Multiracial" category on the 2000 census operated as a effective social movement, with scholars to help articulate its aims, use of news media and the internet for publicity, and previous civil rights movements as models. Additionally, those active in the movement recognized that the census is a race-making instrument, as well as a race-recording one; it reflects the racial makeup of the country, but also influences how Americans speak about race. Their hope was to transform the national discourse on race by amplifying the disruptive potential mixed race identity can have. However optimistic they were, though, this mindset sets up mixed race Americans as heroes for the rest of the nation, suggesting that their mere appearance can dissolve racial heirarchy. However, as opposed to Wendell Phillips's *United States of the United Races*, the legacy of Israel Zangwill's *Melting-Pot*, or *Time*'s *New Face of America*, the Multiracial Movement marked a point when mixed race people were visible creators of the discourse around them. Likewise, as opposed to the writings of antebellum

⁸⁶ Leslie Wolf Branscomb, "Defeat of Prop. 54 Is Called Win for Grass-Roots Politics," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, October 8 2003.

⁸⁷ Conservatives are generally ideological, but through their activities we can see utopias that they imagine. "The Chronicle Recommends; Prop 54, Racial Data: No," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 5 2003; "A Good Sign? Voters Wisely Reject Two Ballot Proposals," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, October 11 2003; "Reject Proposition 54 Ban on Race Data Would Make Us Blind," *Sacramento Bee*, September 29 2003; Branscomb, "Defeat of Prop. 54 Is Called Win for Grass-Roots Politics."

ethnologists, nineteenth century melodramatists, and twentieth century sociologists, the 1990s also witnessed the emergence of a body of scholarly work on racially mixed people by scholars who were racially mixed themselves and personally invested in the issue. The foremost of these, Maria P.P. Root and G. Reginald Daniel, were some of the most optimistic about the potentials of multiracial identity. Independent of the movement, others like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and David Hollinger voiced some of the same opinions. Other scholars like Naomi Zack, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and Paul Gilroy argued for the abolition of the idea of race altogether.

Along with their successes, the Multiracial Movement faced strong opposition, mainly from traditional, monoracial, civil rights organizations, an ironic development considering that they saw themselves as inheritors of that movement's mission. Leaders from the National Council of La Raza, the National Urban League, and the N.A.A.C.P. took the position that a Multiracial category would diminish civil rights enforcement for their constituencies. More central to this project, however, is how the Multiracial Movement furthered the idea that racially mixed people were a new phenomenon in the United States. While attractive in its triumphalism, this position requires a belief that new statistics replace old statistics, as well as a presentist notion of race and racial mixing.

Chapter 5: Praising Ambiguity, Preferring Certainty

INTRODUCTION

Census 2000 provided Americans with a detailed description of the nation's racial make-up. It indicated that 97.6% identified with one race, with 75.1% white, 12.3% black, .9% American Indian, 3.6% Asian, .1% Native Hawaiian, and 5.5% some other race. Hispanic or Latino, an ethnic designation, made up 12.5% of the population, with members across many of the traditional racial groups. Those who checked two or more races made up 2.4%, or 6.8 million, of the population. The data gave details about demographic matters most anyone would be curious about, providing a vocabulary on race, family life, and income for the public to use. For many, the data also settled questions about mixed race people, indicating just how many there were, where they were, and what racial combinations they comprised of. After the release of this information during the spring of 2001 the topic of multiple checking went dormant, indicating that Census 2000 was a gratifying exploration. If press coverage of an issue reflects America's preoccupation with it, one can say that Americans went from fascination with mixed race Americans to nonchalance once they had clear answers about them. While puzzling identities linger in some cases, within the current moment, it is more accurate to say that Americans like to praise racial ambiguity, but in reality they prefer certainty. The idea of mixed race people representing the United States as signs of

racial progress, inclusion, and the future of America—as gratifying as it is—work best when satisfying the need for quantifiable racial makeup.¹

This chapter explores several phenomena from the late 1990s and early 2000s that follow this pattern, beginning with Tiger Woods’s statements about his racial identity in 1997. Although he appears previously as a figure during the Multiracial Movement, he also fits in this examination of the tension between ambiguity and certainty. This chapter posits that Woods’s popularity comes from the fact that, while he presented unconventional answers to questions of race, he minimized the ambiguity of his racial makeup and then stopped talking about it, securing his popularity as a hero for a “color-blind America.” Second is an exploration of what one New York Times features called “Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous” to describe marketers’ use of mixed race models to sell products. At the same time many praise racial ambiguity as reflecting a diverse America they privilege certain kinds of racial mixing, progressing toward the quantification of the Asian-white mix as most attractive, appealing, and acceptable. The next section of this chapter covers the popularity of genomics tests that provide ethno-racial makeups for customers based on D.N.A. samples they provide. While these tests do present opportunities for antiracist interventions, they actually reinforce scientific notions of race, diversity, and mixing. These three cases exist in the milieu of mass media, expressing themes of novelty, heroization, utopia, technology, and physical appearance present throughout this whole project. This chapter puts them in conversation to warn against taking contemporary praise of racially mixed people at face value.

¹ "Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census,

TIGER WOODS: 100% UNAMBIGUOUS

When pro golfer Tiger Woods appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show* on April 24, 1997, to discuss winning the Masters Golf Tournament for the first time, the following exchange concerning his racial identity brought him even more attention than his record-breaking achievements at Augusta:

Oprah: Does it bother you to be called African-American?

Tiger Woods: It does. Growing up, I came up with this name: I'm a "Cablinasian," *Ca*, Caucasian; *bl*, Black; *in*, Indian; Asian. I'm just who I am, whoever you see in front of you.

He explained that he did not want to deny any part of his heritage, and when presented with forms asking to check a box for racial background, he could not settle for just one. "I checked off 'African American' and 'Asian.' Those are the two I was raised under, and the only two I know." This became the defining moment for Woods, giving a conclusive answer about his racial makeup, as well as a moniker for what to call it. However, some rejected Woods's self-naming, often emphasizing his black background above all others. The first of these was Fuzzy Zoeller, fellow pro golfer who, upon finishing thirty-fourth when Woods won the 1997 Masters nineteen under par, commented,

That little boy is driving well and he's putting well. He's doing everything it takes to win. So, you know what you guys do when he gets in here? You pat him on the back and say congratulations and enjoy it and tell him not to serve fried chicken next year. Got it?²

<http://factfinder.census.gov/home/en/datanotes/expplu.html>.

² CNN, "Golfer Says Comments About Woods 'Misconstrued'," Cable News Network, <http://www.cnn.com/US/9704/21/fuzzy/>.

Assuming Woods would conform to stereotypes of food popular with blacks when choosing the menu for next year's Masters dinner menu, Zoeller continued, "Or collard greens or whatever the hell they serve."³ The press was quick to censure the elder athlete, and K-Mart, his major sponsor, dismissed him. In the end, Woods accepted an apology from Zoeller, but the lesson was clear: even with his explicit statements about his racial identity, many considered Woods black, based on his physical appearance and the predominance of the "one-drop rule" in United States racial history.

The second voice to reject Woods's self-naming came from a bloc of African-Americans leaders *Ebony* magazine surveyed in July 1997. On one hand, Hugh B. Price, president of the National Urban League, credited Woods with not denying any part of his heritage, and Douglas Wilder preferred to be called "American" above any classification that confused skin color with background. The former governor of Virginia stated, "We shouldn't tell him how to classify himself. As long as he is forthright about who he is, and he has been forthright about it, then Black America should rejoice in his historic achievement."⁴ However, others like Kweisi Mfume, president and C.E.O. of the N.A.A.C.P., Jesse Jackson, and Sharon Robinson, daughter of baseball legend, Jackie Robinson, described race in America as either black or white and urged Woods to choose accordingly. As Leonard G. Dunston, President of the National Association of Black Social Workers, claims, "I respect his right to make his own personal choices, but it's very, very clear that in this country, race is a political category defined by those who are numerically in power. By definition, then, Tiger Woods is viewed as an African-

³ Ibid.

⁴ "Black America and Tiger's Dilemma," *Ebony*, July 1997.

American, whether he chooses to accept this or not.”⁵ Repeatedly, these figures urged Woods to adopt a more traditional way of identifying that emphasized his black heritage. A later statement by Colin Powell echoed the sentiment that one is black if they look black. Lisa Jones, daughter of Amiri Baraka, censured Woods for neglecting a variety of issues facing blacks, whether AIDS, the prison-industrial complex, or black-on-black violence. Woods claimed one kind of clear, racial identification, but this set of black voices wanted a different one.⁶

Woods has not appeared in *Ebony* since then, but *A. Magazine*, a similar monthly geared towards Asian Americans has written about him over a dozen times, often placing him in their annual “aList” of most noteworthy Asians in America or their late-1999 list of 100 Most Influential Asian Americans of the Decade. After Woods first described himself as Cablinasian, writers at *A. Magazine* asserted that they, and Asian Americans at large, wanted “a piece of him” too, and that his insistent recognition of his Asian ancestry “won him the hearts of Asian American sports fans.”⁷ On the other hand, in regards to Asian reception of Tiger Woods, a sketch on *The Chris Rock Show* featured the comedian’s survey of opinions on the golf star, including a group of Asian shop owners in Harlem who said they did not consider Woods as such. “Not even this much,” one said, pinching a speck between his fingers. Their answers suggested that they considered him the same as, say, James Brown. In Thailand, Woods’s fame overshadowed his mother’s non-elite status, his father’s participation in the U.S. military presence, and his

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Lisa Jones, "Are We Tiger Woods Yet? America Buys Social Change," *Village Voice*, July 22 1997; Gary Kamiya, "Cablinasian Like Me," Salon.

part-black ancestry, making him more acceptable than he would have been as a native *luk kreung* (half-child).⁸

Following the controversy of his first *Oprah* interview, Tiger Woods released a “Media Statement” to explain his racial heritage and provide “the final and only comment” he would make on the subject. It read:

My parents have taught me to always be proud of my ethnic background. Please rest assured that is, and always will be, the case—past, present, and future.

The media has portrayed me as African-American; sometimes, Asian. In fact, I am both. Yes, I am the product of two great cultures, one African-American and the other Asian. On my father’s side, I am African-American. On my mother’s side, I am Thai. Truthfully, I feel very fortunate, and EQUALLY PROUD, to be both African-American and Asian!

The critical and fundamental point is that ethnic background and/or composition should NOT make a difference. It does NOT make a difference to me. The bottom line is that I am an American... and proud of it! That is who I am and what I am. Now, with your cooperation, I hope I can just be a golfer and a human being.⁹

In no uncertain terms, Woods (and his handlers at I.M.G.) spelled out his sentiments about his mixed background. The statement succeeds in making no apology for past statements that seemed to privilege one heritage over another and dismisses any expectation that he make any more statements on his racial identity.¹⁰

⁷ Liliana Chen and Tomio Geron, "The 25 Most Influential Asian Americans," *A Magazine*, January 31 1997.

⁸ "The a List 1997," *A Magazine*, January 31 1998; "The A. 100: 100 Most Influential Asian Americans of the Decade," *A Magazine*, November 30 1999; Jennifer Abbassi and Chris Fan, "Alist 2001: Their Achievements Span Fields Ranging from Sports to Business to Entertainment to Activism.," *A Magazine*, January 31 2002; Corey Takahashi, "Checking Off the Future," *A Magazine*, March 31 1998; Jan R. Weisman, "The Tiger and His Stripes: Thai and American Reactions to Tiger Woods's (Multi-) "Racial Self", " in *The Sum of Our Parts: Mixed-Heritage Asian Americans*, ed. Teresa Williams-León and Cynthia L. Nakashima (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁹ Jay Nordlinger, "Tiger Time," *National Review*, April 20 2001.

¹⁰ These are some of the tactics towards resistance, revolution, and change that Maria P.P. Root suggests in her landmark “A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People.” Root, "A Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People."

Although his record of victories has fluctuated over the years, Woods has remained immensely popular. He is recognized worldwide, making headline news when arriving to play in international tournaments. His philanthropic ventures aim to aid disadvantaged children by giving them outlets to practice the sport of golf. Between his endorsements for American Express, Nike, and others, and his victories, Woods has topped *Forbes'* list of highest-paid athletes and top celebrities. However, he has abstained from making statements on race or racial minorities since this early instance, making him a poster boy for color-blind meritocracy as well as racial progress. In fact, many use his success in a predominantly white environment as a reason to abandon race as a way to understand inequality. Even with his success in introducing his own racial moniker and refusing to speak more on racial topics, Woods became "perhaps the busiest symbolic tool in the history of fictional or nonfictional mixed race characters."¹¹

However, Woods's popularity springs from a level more basic than his symbolic utility. It comes from his disclosure of his exact racial makeup. As Michael Omi and Howard Winant describe as the occurrence par excellence of racial formation as everyday experience:

One of the first things we notice about people when we meet them (along with their sex) is their race. We utilize race to provide clues about *who* a person is. This fact is made painfully obvious when we encounter someone whom we cannot conveniently racially categorize—someone who is, for example, racially

¹¹ "Forbes.Com: Forbes Celebrity 100 2004," Forbes, <http://www.forbes.com/celebrities2004/LIRWR6D.html?passListId=53&passYear=2004&passListType=Person&uniqueId=WR6D&datatype=Person>; "Forbes.Com: World's 50 Highest-Paid Athletes 2004," Forbes, <http://www.forbes.com/athletes2004/LIRWR6D.html?passListId=2&passYear=2004&passListType=Person&uniqueId=WR6D&datatype=Person>; Nakashima, "Servants of Culture: The Symbolic Role of Mixed-Race Asians in American Discourse," 42.

‘mixed’ or of an ethnic/racial group we are not familiar with. Such an encounter becomes a source of discomfort and momentarily a crisis of racial meaning.¹²

What Woods did for the public was minimize this crisis. The presence of his parents also helped with this, making it easy to see what produced him. In turn, the public knew how to process his mixed background, and found it easier to accept him. By giving an exact makeup (one-fourth Thai, one-fourth Chinese, one-fourth black, one-eighth white, and one-eighth American Indian), there was very little to puzzle over. From this point, wild popularity was easier to attain. Although short on ambiguity, Woods’s path resonates in the following examples where Americans praise ambiguity but need certainty.

MIXED RACE MODELS: WHO’S THE FAIREST OF THEM ALL?

Contemporaneous with Woods’s ascent, the use of racially ambiguous models in the media has continued from *Time Magazine*’s New Face of America to the present day. As Caroline Streeter suggests regarding mixed race females appearing as symbols racial harmony, “Yet when we look closely, it is clear that a deep ambivalence about miscegenation undergirds these images, whether they are designed to seduce the viewer with a mixed race woman’s sexual availability or to convince us that buying jeans somehow constitutes antiracist activity.”¹³ While Streeter poses power over women against desire for women, many would describe this ambivalence as a struggle between the acceptance of interracial relationships versus a wish to protect racial purity, or the acceptance of racially mixed people versus fear of white demographic diminution. It is also a conflict between fascination with ambiguity and the need for certainty. In this

¹² Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 59.

dynamic, racially ambiguous bodies serve as a riddle to solve, or an exercise of reverse engineering when the answer is present. Sometimes the cipher can remain, but most often discovering the makeup is the ends.

For decades, modeling and casting had been industries that reinforced white, normative standards of beauty. Reflecting on the industry through past decades, many admit that it was full of bigotry, best shown by the lack of black supermodels until the 1970s and later. Like many fields, casting likes to congratulate itself for integrating since then, but it is very clear that selling products is their ultimate concern, not social change in itself. Consideration of racial minorities in marketing strategies rose with the appreciation of them as consumers. Now is a time when there are many products and many kinds of people to sell them to, so it is apropos that a change has occurred in media representations of minorities. One *Newsweek* piece appearing after Tiger Woods's ascent covered how corporations began using ambiguous ethnicity to sell their wares. "Companies like Nike, Calvin Klein and Benetton are working ethnicity as an idiom of commerce; it adds value to a pair of sneakers or a cotton T shirt." Author John Leland continues, "At a time when young people are buying corporate conceptions of 'alternative,' ethnic ambiguity confers both individuality and a sense of shared values."¹⁴ The article claims that mixed celebrities are "altering the lines of racial phenotype," suggesting that they are challenging our conceptions of how various racial groups appear, but also taking away from a white norm. Through the words of a Calvin Klein

¹³ Streeter, "The Hazards of Visibility: 'Biracial' Women, Media Images, and Narratives of Identity," 316.

¹⁴ My own conversations with a marketing executive participating in 2004's American Studies Association conference corroborated notions I had about this trend. "Basically, people want to see a little bit of

spokesperson, Leland reveals that corporations are using mixed celebrities, the internet, and MTV to reach more and more young consumers. It ends by heroizing mixed race youth, much like how those in the Multiracial Movement had:

By asserting their multiracial identities, they can throw light on the nation's racial irrationality, even pressure it. But this alone does not ease it, any more than Tiger Woods is the happy ending to our unhappy racial saga. He is merely the next chapter, and they, along with him, 2 million strong, and counting. And all of them, incidentally, in need of a good, hip pair of athletic shoes.¹⁵

However facetious, the author points out that people who claim more than one race constitute a market to buy Nikes.

By 2001, it was clear that advertisers, marketers, and casting directors were demanding a "multiracial look," often in the same breath as reflections on the latest decennial Census data. Paula Sidlinger, a casting executive citing scores of requests for the mixed look, says that a mix of Asian facial features and kinky hair, for example, conjures up an immediate sense of both globalization and technology. "The blended look says 'we're all in this together' and that the 'world's getting smaller'."¹⁶ However, what

themselves in the images they see, even if it's just part of what they see, and this is what we give them." Conversation with Gia Madeiros, K.K. Branding, November 13, 2004.

¹⁵ Leland and Beals, "In Living Colors."

¹⁶ A current student who models and acts writes, "A lot of times I have been approached about mixed people by modeling clients. Basically since they are considered a bit more... 'versatile' as it seems, mostly because they cover more than one demographic, domestically and sometimes internationally. For example since China is a HUGE growing market a big trend for the last decade has been ABC's (American Born Chinese) and sometimes mixed people going back there and modeling and what not because they have the appeal of American and Western attitude, with the look of a mainlander. In the U.S. it's just something that is more like we have discussed sort of exotic--girls it seems more so than guys, though. Like this sounds odd, but it's basically the combination of Asian with white produces Asian fairness of skin, delicate facial features, straight flawless hair with the bodies of white girls, i.e., bigger busts, curves, etc. From what I have heard that's why it's kind of desired. As far as males go, it's just an interesting way to bridge the gap sometimes. So a lot of times you are kind of getting two birds with one stone with a mixed. You get white or black or what have you, plus Asian. Also, with the mixed race a lot of times they like mixed because the guys with Asian features are prettier, if you will—but with the height factor being increased with mixed race and more pronounced physical features of westerners not always found in Asian males." Email from Ted Sheu, November 24, 2007, Alison Stein Wellner, "Finding the Future Face of America," *Forecast*, February 2003.

these executives admit to is tapping into markets. As one director of multicultural insights and strategy has suggested, “Multiracial consumers are giving us a jump start on how America is going to look in the future,” reflecting a belief that “the multiracial market today provides the best glimpse at the future of the U.S. consumer marketplace.”¹⁷ The paradox is that those who chose two or more races on the 2000 census are the future for everyone. This is what those who assert that racially mixed people are proof of social change are implying. It is untenable to believe that the mere existence of 2.4% of all Americans proves that we’re all in this together or the world is getting smaller. In emphasizing mixed Americans under 18, these moviemakers, advertisers, and casting directors would have us believe that less than 1% (or 3 million) youth are the future.

In December 2003, the *New York Times* published an article by Ruth La Ferla, “Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous,” that profiles more executives who make the motivations behind the visibility of mixed race models explicit. *Teen People*’s managing editor, Amy Barnett, reflects on the use of racially mixed models in its pages: “We’re seeing more of a desire for the exotic, left-of-center beauty that transcends race or class. [It] represents the new reality of America, which includes considerable mixing. It is changing the face of American beauty.”¹⁸ Ron Berger, C.E.O. of Euro R.S.C.G. M.V.B.M.S. Partners in New York, states that they are seeking out these models to appeal to young consumers: “Today what’s ethnically neutral, diverse or ambiguous has tremendous appeal. Both in the mainstream and at the high end of the marketplace, what is perceived as good, desirable, successful is often a face whose heritage is hard to pin

¹⁷ Ibid; David Whelan, "Casting Tiger Woods; Multiracials Step into the Advertising Spotlight," *Forecast*, May 7 2001.

down.”¹⁹ Like many of its type, the article asserts that Beyoncé’s blonde hair, Jennifer López’s masquerade as an Asian princess in Louis Vuitton ads, and Christina Aguilera’s East Indian costumes on *Allure* magazine reflect “a current fascination with the racial hybrid,” that “Uniformity just isn’t appealing anymore.”²⁰

This opens up the question of what kind of ambiguity is most appealing. A trend in thought becoming more prevalent in recent years provides some answers to this. In 2003, an academic article from the University of Western Australia appeared that corroborated popular notions regarding mixed race beauty.²¹ Psychologists led by Gillian Rhodes ran experiments in Japan and Australia showing “that mixed race (Caucasian/Japanese) composites were significantly more attractive than own-race composites, particularly for the opposite sex for both Caucasian and Japanese participants.”²² In the first of three experiments, Caucasian participants rated own-race composites as more attractive than other-race composites, but only for male faces. Surpassing own-race composites were mixed race (Caucasian/Japanese) composites, especially those of the opposite sex. For the second experiment, participants living in

¹⁸ Ruth La Ferla, "Generation E.A.: Ethnically Ambiguous," *New York Times*, December 28 2003.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Beyond the United States are global markets where international consumers buy U.S. products and watch shows like *Sex in the City*. American producers are selling the idea of diverse America to Americans and the world as a whole. This often comes about through the use of a model with features evoking other places around the world, possessing what Peter Lichtenthal, Senior Vice President of Global Marketing at Estée Lauder calls “broad, universal appeal.” Bittar, "The New Face of Beauty."

²¹ Prior to this, *Time*, always concerned with pointing out the “new face,” published articles in the April 16 issue of its Asia edition, heralding half-Asian, half-European models as “the poster children for 21st-century globalization” and personifications of the melting pot in the United States. A shift had occurred since 1993’s New Face, making global perspectives more relevant—and marketable. The proliferation of internet access made these images and ideas easily available worldwide, as they are to this day, making what was news for Asia news for the United States as well. Hannah Beech, "Eurasian Invasion - Asia News - Time Asia Web Exclusive," Time, Inc., <http://www.time.com/time/asia/news/magazine/0,9754,106427,00.html>.

Australia and Japan selected the most attractive face from a spectrum of faces, with exaggerated Caucasian features at one end and exaggerated Japanese features at the other. Once again, a mixed race composite was the most attractive for both Caucasian and Japanese participants. In the last experiment, Caucasian participants rated individual Eurasian faces as significantly more attractive than either Caucasian or Asian faces. When Rhodes's team used composites rather than individual faces, they received similar results. The authors conclude that signs of mixing indicate signs of health, and that these are more attractive than similarity to one's own physical features.²³

This story first circulated in *Perception*, the British journal that published the findings, and then through British and Australian newspapers. In 2006, *Psychology Today* picked up the story, emphasizing the connection between signs of beauty and signs of health. Here, Randy Thornhill, an evolutionary psychologist at the University of New Mexico, explained how genetic diversity can decrease the chances of contracting disease. "If you hybridize two genetically diverse populations—another way of saying you cross races—then you create more genetic diversity in the offspring."²⁴ Even if we accept that there may be signs of health that cut across cultures, this thinking presents two confluences of correlation and causation: First, healthier people may be more attractive, but that doesn't mean attractive faces are healthier. Second, mixing may cause resistance to disease when talking about populations, but just because individuals are mixed doesn't mean they are healthier. These scientists' assertions evoke notions of hybrid vigor that

²² Gillian Rhodes, Lee, Kieran, "Attractiveness of Own-Race, Other-Race, and Mixed-Race Faces," *Perception* 34, no. 3 (2005).

²³ Color samples are at <http://www.perceptionweb.com/misc.cgi?id=p5191>. Ibid.

appear in Chapter 2, suggesting that we are helpless to resist half-white, half-Asian attractiveness.

Attention to this experiment makes it available far beyond its original sphere of publication, naturalizing notions of mixed race beauty.²⁵ Within the United States context, this can raise half-white, half-Asian beauty to a social and aesthetic pinnacle, mainly because of the acceptance of Asian-white intermarriage. In his *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, Andrew Hacker suggests that Asian Americans are able to successfully assimilate, entering into marriages with whites that produce a “new variant of white.”²⁶ Larry Hijime Shinagawa and Gin Yong Pang add to this, describing how high Asian American rates of intermarriage and the tendency for people to maximize their status opportunities lead to a pattern where Asian and white mixed race people seem to automatically assimilate into white society.²⁷ Other scholars have divined what this means politically for the United States, including Whitehead Senior Fellow at the New America Foundation, Michael Lind, and Harvard Law professor, Randall Kennedy. Lind predicts “a troubling new division, one between beige

²⁴ William Lee Adams, "Psychology Today: Mixed Race, Pretty Face?" Sussex Publishers, <http://www.psychologytoday.com/articles/pto-20051221-000001.htm>.

²⁵ Similarly, in 2001, *Time*, always concerned with pointing out the “new face,” published articles in the April 16 issue of its Asia edition, praising half-Asian, half-European models as “the poster children for 21st-century globalization” and personifications of the melting pot in the United States. A shift had occurred since 1993’s *New Face*, making global perspectives more relevant—and marketable. The proliferation of internet access made these images and ideas easily available worldwide, as they are to this day, making what was news for Asia news for the United States as well. Beech, "Eurasian Invasion - Asia News - Time Asia Web Exclusive."

²⁶ Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*, 10.

²⁷ Edward J. W. Park and John S. W. Park offer a good summary of these ideas and others regarding Asian American racial triangulation, as does Frank Wu, though for a more popular audience. Edward J.W. Park and John S.W. Park, "A New American Dilemma? Asian Americans and Latinos in Race Theorizing," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2 (1999); Larry Hijime Shinagawa and Gin Yong Pang, "Asian American Panethnicity and Intermarriage," *Amerasia Journal* 22, no. 2 (1996); Takahashi, "Checking Off

and black,”²⁸ entitled and insensitive to the continued marginalization of darker-complexion Americans. Kennedy posits a similar prediction, invoking Brazil’s supposed racial democracy as a precedent. He warns that Brazil’s myth of mobility for darker citizens “has undergirded a pigmentocracy that continues to privilege whiteness.”²⁹ Both scenarios hinge on the continued, exponential growth of racial mixing, but remain plausible in spirit.

Ironically, one of the most resonant, contemporary arenas for praising ambiguity but preferring certainty comes from a mixed race creator, namely Kip Fulbeck’s *The Hapa Project*, which utilizes a once-derogatory term meaning “half” in Native Hawaiian to describe a diverse group of mixed Asian Americans. In fact, the term *hapa* has become very popular among this group as a descriptor. Its usage by student organizations like Hapa Issues Forum, various mixed race discussion boards on Yahoo! Groups, and even a chain of sushi restaurants in Colorado often divorces it from issues of native Hawaiian sovereignty, blood quantum, or colonial appropriation.³⁰ Fulbeck, a visual artist and professor at University of California, Santa Barbara, has photographed over a thousand subjects from the shoulder blades up, without clothes, jewelry, or glasses. On each frame within the traveling exhibition, a color photo of each model appears with two answers to the question, “What are you?” beneath. The first is the

the Future.”; Frank H. Wu, *Yellow: Race in America Beyond Black and White* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2001).

²⁸ Lind, “The Beige and the Black.”

²⁹ Randall Kennedy, “Interracial Intimacy,” *Atlantic Monthly*, December 2002, 110.

³⁰ LeiLani Nishime, a fellow panelist at the 2006 American Studies Association national conferences, writes about these issues, as well as how Hawaii’s diverse society has become a “an idealized and even exoticized history of multiracial unity and acceptance” for mainland, mixed Asian Americans. LeiLani Nishime, “Hapas and Hawaii: Claiming Multiracial and (Trans)National Identities,” in *American Studies Association National Conference* (Oakland, CA: 2006).

subject's own answer, in his or her own handwriting, often revealing nuances of their own self-identity. The second, in lower-case lettering at bottom, lists the person's racial makeup. Altogether, the frames present an immensely diverse group of ages, professions, social stations, and outlooks that succeeds at showing the diversity of mixed race Asian Americans. The presence of each model's own writing makes each very personal, amplifying their humanity far more than anthropological photography the likes of Baldwin Spencer's ever did.³¹

There are two other notable aspects to The Hapa Project's layout. First is the identical pose that each appears in, naked and facing forward. The similarity to *Time's* forty-nine, computer-generated faces in "Rebirth of a Nation, Computer Style" is remarkable, especially in the cases where the subject is young. On one hand, the pose does accentuate a high degree of intimacy, but on another it makes the models available for the spectator to gaze upon, reducing them to their physical appearances, rather than, say, putting them in action with family members, acquaintances, or the world at large. The second notable aspect adds more to this reduction, and that is the racial makeup at bottom, in a typeset font disclosing facts about the subject that are often irrelevant to the autobiographic answer to the question, "What are you?" Fulbeck explains that he made this choice to "demystify the entire phenotype question by eliminating the mystery itself," and to "purposely celebrate the fact that we do love finding out what each other's heritage is."³² Here, as in other aspects of his work, he conveys a high degree of insight

³¹ Samples from the Hapa Project are available at <http://www.seaweedproductions.com/hapa/samples.aspx>. Kip Fulbeck, "Kip Fulbeck - the Hapa Project Samples," Seaweed Productions, <http://www.seaweedproductions.com/hapa/samples.aspx>.

³² Kip Fulbeck, *Part Asian, 100% Hapa* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006), 16.

into the relevant issues. However, while this does one thing for like-minded individuals, it does something else for many others. In his introduction to *Part Asian, 100% Hapa*, the project's accompanying book, Fulbeck levies praise for ambiguity, writing, "What's interesting is ambiguity. What's interesting is the haziness, the blurrings, the undefinables, the space and tension between people, the area between the margins that pushes us to stop, to question."³³ His praise of ambiguity is, in turn, a praise of the hapas he photographs, in opposition to the compartmentalized thinking of many Americans. However similar in language to those of media executives, these complements are for others like him, planting this work squarely in Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe's "Age of Celebration." Fulbeck is an insider praising other insiders with similar experiences. While the components of The Hapa Project may provide an affirmation for like-minded individuals, for the outside world they are likely to do something different, providing the racial makeup of racially mixed people and dissolving their ambiguity.³⁴

DNAPRINT: RACIAL MAKEUPS 'R' US

We are also in a moment where D.N.A. has become a sort of celebrity. It played a prominent role in the O.J. Simpson case, even if unreliable; it entered the public imagination again upon the announcement that Scottish scientists had cloned an adult sheep; and in early 2001 two teams announced that they had mapped and sequenced 90%

³³ Ibid., 13.

³⁴ The Hapa Project appeared as an exhibition at the Japanese American National Museum from June 8 through October 29, 2006. Here, the curators presented an interesting variation on Fulbeck's method, allowing patrons to contribute their own Polaroid photo and handwritten caption. The samples from this growing collection omit the racial makeups, but also show the subjects in their daily wear, resulting in a

of the 3 billion nucleotides in the human genome and identified all the genes present in it. A boon for biotechnology, the findings of both the international, publicly-funded and the private, corporate effort aimed to give a deeper understanding of predispositions to illness, the specific genes associated with diseases, and possible therapeutic procedures. Additionally, the completion of the Human Genome Project would offer greater understanding of humanity, cleaving once and for all the connection between science and a functional understanding of race. Upon the findings of the National Human Genome Research Institute, Francis Collins, director of the international effort, reiterated that the concept of race has no scientific basis. As he said in one interview,

We are 99.9 percent the same at the D.N.A. level. Regardless of what ethnic or racial group we self-identify with, that statement is true. That's because we are a young species. We are descended from a common ancestral pool about 100,000 years ago when we were all black Africans. Our differences that we place such intense focus on in terms of skin color or hair texture or facial features are a tiny fraction of the differences that exist. What we are learning is there is no scientific basis for drawing boundaries around particular ethnic groups and saying, "They're different."³⁵

Yet everyday talk about genes and race attribute much more to this .1 percent of D.N.A.. At the same time there is praise of ambiguity and abandonment of race, tests claim to determine clients' racial make-up with exact percentages, re-entrenching essentialist ideas about race.

The leader in this field, DNAPrint, began as an enterprise that would use D.N.A. to help doctors best prescribe medical treatments, such as chemotherapy, but then the company began to publicly sell its stock and patented two tests specifically for military

highly effective de-aestheticization. Discover Nikkei, "The Hapa Collection | Nikkei Album," Japanese American National Museum, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/nikkeialbum/node/86>.

³⁵ John Fauber, "Genetic Research Shows People Are Very Similar," *Journal Sentinel*, March 29 2001.

and law enforcement use in 2002. One promised to reveal the eye color of crime suspects solely on a D.N.A. sample, and the other, hair color. Even at this point, Tony Frudakis, the company's C.E.O., admitted that skin color would be much harder to determine, an admission that, while they could divine some signs of physical appearance from D.N.A., more complex markers of racial/ethnic identity are harder to ascertain.³⁶ After all, many factors beyond gene sequences determine one's skin color. In reality, while ancestry influences one's genes, our physical appearances may be totally different than what our genes indicate. Even though many contemporary geneticist attempt to disassociate the perceived differences between humans, much of the public considers genes to be the ingredients of differences they perceive. Many know that genes gather to make physical characteristics, and they also believe that groups that share these characteristics belong to the same races. With all the coverage of scientific advances, it is easy for people to believe that genes are what race is made of. But their understanding remains at a murky level, allowing genes to replace what "essence" did for eighteenth and nineteenth century thinkers on heredity, resulting in correlations that are direct, causal, and inevitable.

Genes do exist, even if most of us have not seen them, so they offer finite, quantifiable certainty about racial thinking, much like craniometry, Census data, and computer-generated beauties. With the variety of publicity on technology, regular people have access to a lot of complex scientific ideas. But even when the news media present both sides of an issue, they provide a superficial understanding of the technology, at best. Genes and D.N.A. have become these magical, little particles that regular people can

³⁶ "DNA Test Could Beat Suspects by a Hair," *Chemistry and Industry*, November 19 2001; Christopher Cole, "DNA Paints Portrait of Crime Suspects; Testing of Genetic Sample Can Determine Eye Color, Other

define as “the genetic blueprint of the human body” (as scientists on TV crime shows do weekly), but they only understand a little about them. As such, it is easy to ascribe older ideas about race, class, gender, and culture to them, and this is how they gain their figurative power.

Over the next two years, DNAPrint frequented the headlines, first by joining with Family Tree D.N.A., a Houston firm that would market its AncestryByDNA test to genealogy buffs, the core of its recreational genomics customer base. In June 2003, DNAPrint’s services helped police in Louisiana determine that a serial killer at large was actually a black man, rather than a white man, as they had believed from a psychological profile and witness accounts. The following March, they joined with the Moffitt Cancer Center to develop and implement new clinical tests for predicting patient response to cancer chemotherapies. In the spring of 2005 the company, along with Senecio Software, Inc., won a Small Business Initiative Research grant from the National Institutes of Health to create software systems that will expand DNAPrint’s accessibility to institutional, government, and academic markets and position it as the first name in commercial D.N.A. tests.³⁷

Many commercial genetic testing services use two methods well-known to population geneticists to match genetic material with geographic groups. The first traces markers on the Y-chromosome that pass down virtually unchanged from father to son, producing a means for geneticists to trace one patrilineal line of ancestry for generations.

Details, Firm Says," *Journal Sentinel*, July 14 2002.

³⁷ "Collaborations; Genomics Company Teams with Senecio Software to Win Nih-Sbir Grant," *Medical Devices & Surgical Technology Week*, March 6 2005; "Family Tree DNA to Market and Distribute Ancestrybydna," *Business Wire*, November 7 2002; "Moffitt Cancer Center Teams with Dnprint to Predict

By matching these markers with D.N.A. databases produced by the Human Genome Project, scientists can approximate what part of the world a male's chromosomes trace to. The second technique relies on mitochondrial D.N.A., which is outside of cell nuclei. Unlike Y-chromosomes, both men and women have mitochondrial D.N.A., but only women pass theirs down to their children. Using data from the human genome databases, geneticists can match an individual's mitochondrial D.N.A. markers with populations from around the world. DNAPrint's tests use a third method involving genetic markers known as Single Nucleotide Polymorphisms (SNP, or "Snips"), sites along D.N.A. strands where the types of molecules shift. Working with Dr. Mark Shriver, anthropological geneticist at Pennsylvania State University, the company uses D.N.A. databases to organize the data into five human population groups: Native American, East Asian, South Asian, European, and sub-Saharan African, putting humans into groups very similar to those of the antebellum polygenesists Chapter 1 introduces.³⁸

Lay people and scientists alike have voiced reservations about DNAPrint's tests. Black conservative, Shelby Steele, reminds us that, "The idea that there is a genetic component to race is very dangerous. It allows people to declare one group inferior and justify demeaning them."³⁹ David Altschuler, genomics pioneer at the Whitehead Institute, which participated in the Human Genome Project, warns, "We have to think about how (such information) can be used. It can be miscommunicated and

Patient Response to Chemotherapy," *Ascribe Higher Education News Service*, March 29 2004; "Nation in Brief," *Washington Post*, June 5 2003.

³⁸ Carl Elliott, "Adventures in the Gene Pool," *Wilson Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2003); Josephine Johnston, "Just Your Roots Are Showing," *Hastings Center Report*, November-December 2002; Nicholas Wade, "For Sale: A DNA Test to Measure Racial Mix," *New York Times*, October 1 2002.

³⁹ Victoria Griffith, "Wires Cross over Genes; as Information on Ethnic Groups Pours in, Victoria Griffith Looks at the Benefits and Dangers of Human Genome Research," *Financial Times*, November 2 2002.

misinterpreted.”⁴⁰ Population geneticists like Neil Risch agrees that D.N.A. patterns are important when studying the movement of large groups out of Africa 100,000 years ago, but that matters are more complex now, saying, “Location was the most important factor in determining genetic differences. But with so much global movement and mixing up these days, it’s less clear now.”⁴¹ As National Book Award finalist Steve Olson says, “By focusing on some genetic connections and not others, they reinforce the popular misconception that each of us is descended from a relatively small and distinct number of ancestors. They ignore the dense web of genetic and genealogical connections that bind all human beings into a single, interconnected species.”⁴² He explains how these tests can point out some ancestries but overlook many others. Because of the exponential number of ancestors any of us has, going back just a few generations will produce very common forbearers. Therefore, everyone of European ancestry today is descended from most of the people who lived in Europe across nationalities before 1400. While it is appealing to draw one line of inheritance connecting one to a particular person or place in the past, the truth is that any person has 1,024 direct ancestors from 10 generations, or approximately 200 years, ago. We each have so many direct ancestors, possibly from many geographic locations, that any one line is insignificant. AncestryByDNA can miss any one of these, even within the more recent generations.⁴³

For scientists, the most immediate concern is that the tests are inaccurate, relying on a small amount of data to determine genetic differences. They point out that the five

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Steve Olson, "We're All Related to Kevin Bacon," *Washington Post*, December 8 2002.

main geographic groups are arbitrary definitions. In fact, the number of groups (or genetic clusters) is something that programmers set when using Bayesian software to infer ancestry. The program then finds the probability of similarity to the clusters, or K , when using the popular, *structure*-brand software. There is no evidence that any particular number for K produces better results, but five and six have become the standards, reflecting the popular belief that the continents of the Earth are homes to biologically similar groups of people—much like the polygenesist ethnologists of the nineteenth century. Additionally, there is no stipulation that sub-Saharan Africans, Scandinavians, Han Chinese, and isolated, indigenous people from southern Mexico must be the centers of the clusters. However, AncestryByDNA uses markers that appear only in one continent as the anchors for each of the clusters, naturalizing the belief in pure races, which also spawn from the areas listed above.⁴⁴

There are other complications in measuring D.N.A. patterns, including gene flow, or the transfer of alleles from one population to another, often by migration. None of the specialized consumer genomics tests that report ancestry from a specific place or group of people take this into account. Oxford Ancestors' Tribes of Britain test looks for markers indicating Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, or Viking ancestry on a customer's Y-chromosomes. If one has any of these, the firm reports that they can be confident that

⁴³ Ibid; Wade, "For Sale: A DNA Test to Measure Racial Mix.," Richard Willing, "DNA Tests Offer Clues to Suspect's Race," *USA Today*, August 17 2005.

⁴⁴ Deborah A. Bolnick's contribution to the forthcoming collection, *Revisiting Race in a Genomic Age* has been instructive regarding the shortcomings of consumer genomics tests—as well as interpreting the sophisticated literature of genetic anthropology. Deborah A. Bolnick, "Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon," in *Revisiting Race in a Genomic Age, Forthcoming*, ed. Barbara Koenig and Sandra Soo-Jin Lee (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers UP, 2007); J.K. Pritchard and W. Wen, *Documentation for Structure Software* (Chicago, IL: Department of Human Genetics, University of Chicago, 2004); N.A. Rosenberg et al., "Genetic Structure of Human Populations," *Science*, no. 298 (2002).

their paternal ancestors were from one of these groups. However, this can only be useful for markers unique to each of these groups. Considering the gene flow within the North Atlantic region alone, there are very few markers that fit this requirement. What is more astounding is that none of these companies have access to D.N.A. from the past, so they are making their conclusions based on today's Irish, English, and Norwegians, as if no gene flow, mutation, or mixing has happened since the Norsemen first started sailing from their lands in the 7th century A.D.

Considering the popularity of such tests, geneticist David B. Goldstein cautions, "This test really jumps the gun in reifying groups that don't have scientific support." Warning that the test may have more harm than good, he adds, "People will need a high level of confidence in what geneticists tell them, so this kind of casual stuff is quite dangerous if it makes people skeptical of genetic information."⁴⁵ Goldstein echoes scientists from the middle decades of the twentieth century who focused on populations rather than racial groups, reflecting the natural sciences' turn from the racial thinking of eugenics. This transition towards population genetics de-emphasized small groups and favored migrations that took place long before any nations existed. Contemporary practitioners of this field point out that even within a homogeneous and unmixed group there can be as many SNP's as more mixed groups. The popularity of consumer genomics flies in the face of these shifts population genetics precipitated in the 1950s. The vague conception of race, geographic origin, and genetics is what most concerns the scientific community about DNAPrint's tests, as the continuum of ancestries and continuum of genetic variation hint at the same hierarchical, racial thinking of pre-war

period. Experts at leading universities find the company's claims methodologically questionable. Meanwhile, DNAPrint does not share the experiments that led to the development of their tests for peer review.⁴⁶

The disconnect between genes, ancestry, and physical appearance grows when we consider racially mixed people. With DNAPrint's test results, it is questionable whether there is a way to tell the difference between someone who has parents from different racial groups and someone who simply has racial mixture in their family history. Many people who look mixed are not, and many who are mixed may not look it. Or, depending on the observer, one can squarely look like something they are not. These complications become even more complex when we consider American racial groups who have a great deal of racial mixture in their histories. For example, the history of Latinos has made them a mixture of indigenous, European, African, and in some cases, Asian descent. But is Latino D.N.A. really just Indo-European D.N.A. plus Native American D.N.A., as DNAPrint's leading spokespeople are willing to propose to their law enforcement clients? The same is true of African Americans, 80 percent of whom have some racial mixing in their background. Likewise, people with Native American descent make up one of the largest groups that checked two or more races in the 2000 Census. In terms of genetic material, how does this kind of mixture differ from someone whose immediate

⁴⁵ Wade, "For Sale: A DNA Test to Measure Racial Mix."

⁴⁶ In Addition to Elazar Barkan's, Stephen Jay Gould's *Gould*, and Daniel J. Kevles's book-length works on the change in racial science two articles, one by Robert A. Nye and the other by William B. Provine, reflect on trends in race and science throughout the twentieth century. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States between the World Wars*; Dobzhansky, "Evolutionary and Population Genetics."; Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*; Griffith, "Wires Cross over Genes; as Information on Ethnic Groups Pours in, Victoria Griffith Looks at the Benefits and Dangers of Human Genome Research."; Johnston, "Just Your Roots Are Showing."; Montagu, *Statement*

family has members from any of these groups? With unreliable correlation between physical features and genes, how reliable can any test results be? Judging from census data on racial mixing alone, these are relevant questions for all of these racial groups, as well as others who checked two or more races.⁴⁷

All the while, Tony Frudakis says the tests “believe the myths on which racism is based” by proving that “in all of us, especially in the U.S., there is a continuum of ancestries.”⁴⁸ Mark Shriver adds, “By showing the continuum of genetic variation among people, our test dispels race as a scientific way of categorizing people.”⁴⁹ An April 2005, an article about Samuel M. Richards, a sociology professor who offers students this test to reveal how racially diverse they are, gives an example of how it can complicate students’ racial thinking. One student who found out she had more European D.N.A. than African D.N.A. wonders how much the country has progressed in regards to race, saying, “I think the test is really interesting; I had to know. But it makes me question, why are we doing this? Why do people, especially in this country, want to know? Why are we, as a people, so caught up in race?”⁵⁰ However, DNAPrint is ill-equipped to answer these questions. A visit to AncestryByDNA’s website leads to a statement acknowledging how hard it is to separate culture and biology from the concept of race “in

on Race; Nye, "The Rise and Fall of the Eugenics Empire: Recent Perspectives on the Impact of Biomedical Thought in Modern Society."; Provine, "Geneticists and the Biology of Race Crossing."

⁴⁷ "Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000."; Herskovits, *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing*; Marcos Mocine-McQueen, "D.N.A. Test Suggests Race of Woman's Killer in '97," *Denver Post*, January 21 2004; Cindy Rodriguez, "'Latino' DNA Finding Rooted in Imprecision," *Denver Post*, January 26 2004; Simons, "Getting D.N.A. To Bear Witness."; Nicholas Wade, "For Sale: A D.N.A. Test to Measure Racial Mix," *New York Times*, October 1 2002; Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States*.

⁴⁸ Simons, "Getting D.N.A. To Bear Witness."

⁴⁹ Wade, "For Sale: A D.N.A. Test to Measure Racial Mix."

general use.” In the Frequently Asked Questions section, the company takes a position antagonistic to the idea of race as a social construction: “Over the past few decades there has been a movement in several fields of science to oversimplify the issue declaring that race is “merely a social construct”. While, indeed this may often be true, depending on what aspect of variation between people one is considering, it is also true that there are biological differences between the populations of the world.”⁵¹ In so many words, they are against the major interventions of the past fifty-odd years. The statement cites skin color as a “clear example of biological difference.” This is ironic, given the fact that skin color is one of the hardest things to determine by genes alone, and the one area DNAPrint is having troubles developing a test to determine. The statement on race closes by attempting to divorce race from ancestry:

Race is a complex and multivariate construct that we tend to over simplify but in our analysis, we are measuring a person’s genetic ancestry and not their race. Your D.N.A. has no recorded history of your political, social, personal or religious beliefs. It is a simple four letter code that records all of the changes in the D.N.A. from one generation to the next. We report those changes, they are like finger prints and snow flakes, unique and wildly complex.⁵²

Just as it is the advertiser’s, marketer’s, and casting agent’s job to reach audiences rather than promote racial interaction, it is the consumer genomist’s job to sell D.N.A. tests, not explain the difference between race, culture, genotype and phenotype. They prefer to leave each to their own beliefs, regardless of their implications. Genes become the indivisible starting point for each person’s creation, coming together like water molecules in a snowflake, but irrelevant to a blizzard. In the end, the company’s claims to “believe the

⁵⁰ Emma Daly, "D.N.A. Tells Students They Aren't Who They Thought," *New York Times*, April 13 2005.

⁵¹ DNAPrint, "What Is Race?" <http://ancestrybydna.com/welcome/faq/#q1>.

⁵² Ibid.

myths on which racism is based” seem disingenuous. What they offer is certainty about race, even if they define it as ancestry. By confirming the perceived links between physical appearance, geography, and inheritance, they make ancestry very close to race.⁵³

For many, the tests give quantifiable answers from the natural sciences and mathematics, forsaking history, whether the discipline itself, or knowledge about the experiences of peoples. These positivist fields give authority to the results, rather than an understanding of migration, immigration, or intergroup relations in the United States, which can be far more ambiguous. A blue-eyed man in Appalachian Tennessee may never question how he ended up with D.N.A. that is “45 percent Northern European, 25 percent Middle Eastern, 25 percent Mediterranean (Greek/Turkish), and 5 percent South Asian.”⁵⁴ Even if the results are accurate, there is a history that D.N.A. tests neglect to answer. Customers may delve further, or they may be content to let DNAPrint’s count lie. It is also possible that people want concrete affirmation that they are “unique and wildly complex” via the fractions AncestryByDNA produces. With five major geographic groups there are countless combinations the test reports, especially since the proportions do not follow the binary standards (halves, quarters, eighths, etc.) one usually

⁵³ As Deborah A. Bolnick points out, even though there have been no official changes in the test another development is apparent on the AncestryByDNA website: The Frudakis family is changing! Between her two visits in March and November, 2003, and my own in February, 2007, Dr. Frudakis’s Indo-European ancestry has shifted from 85% to 93%, and the second child’s African ancestry has shifted from 9% to 2%. Living proof of the lure of whiteness. On the other hand, the first child has experienced a drop in Indo-European ancestry, from 80% to 47%; and Mrs. Frudakis (who is Latina) has gone through a rollercoaster of African ancestry, from 13% to 0%, and back to 22%. There goes the neighborhood! "A Case Study - Dr. Frudakis Family," DNAPrint, <http://www.ancestrybydna.com/welcome/productsandservices/ancestrybydna/casestudies/family.html>; Deborah A. Bolnick, "'Showing Who They Really Are': Commercial Ventures in Genetic Genealogy" (paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, November 22 2003).

⁵⁴ Brent Kennedy of Kingsport, Tennessee, received these results. Gregory M. Lamb, "Mixed Roots: Science Looks at Family Trees," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 28 2005.

uses when talking about their parentage. Perhaps users get some kind of satisfaction from results that show they are as unique as *Time's* New Face of America or more complex than Tiger Woods.

Many customers with a conception of their makeup meet with disillusionment when they get the results. Oprah Winfrey's initial foray into D.N.A. testing is an example of how letting go of preconceptions becomes a large part of the process. Before getting her results in June 2005, she claimed, "I went in search of my roots, and had my D.N.A. tested, and I am a Zulu."⁵⁵ The test actually showed that her D.N.A. was very similar to West Africans, like most African Americans. It is astonishing to hear Winfrey claim roots to an ethnic group in South Africa, a place remote from the Atlantic slave trade, regardless of how inspiring their resistance to colonization was. However, even if she feigned this ignorance for publicity's sake, her claims are similar to a number of others who have preconceptions about their backgrounds and then learn something contrary to those ideas.

In the end, Winfrey received a correction to this notion and much more in 2006, through the research that went into the making of *African American Lives*, a four-hour miniseries on PBS. Hosted by Henry Louis Gates, three of the four episodes follow eight prominent African Americans, including Winfrey, as they research their genealogy through conventional means like oral history and archival research. Many African Americans using these means encounter challenges that result from slavery. For example, sparse written records, illiteracy, and variance in African American naming can

⁵⁵ Steve Connor, "The Missing Link? Oprah Winfrey Says She Has Zulu Blood. She's Not Alone.," *The Independent*, June 29 2005.

lead one to dead ends. Likewise, family folklore can lead one down a false path. However, for these eight personalities, the final episode of *African American Lives* presents mitochondrial D.N.A. and Y-chromosome D.N.A. evidence to explore matrilineal and patrilineal inheritance. In some cases, the findings corroborated faint inklings, showing that Quincy Jones shared genetic commonalities with the Russian writer, Alexander Pushkin, whom he admired. In some, it contradicted family history and cultural affinities, revealing that Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot had no Native American heritage. Others, like Gates himself, received results in the form of genetic markers found in Africa, but also in other continents. It was apparent that he had both black and white parentage, but inconclusive where these ancestors came from. Winfrey, who had a famously difficult childhood, received the treat of learning the names of three of her ancestors, an emotional revelation. Through what Gates has called a “*Roots* for the twenty-first century,” the participants uncover more of their personal history than what they imagined, and when possible, they visited a location where historic, genetic, and anthropological findings indicated they hailed from.⁵⁶ Considering the high degree of erasure in African American history, this is an example of ethnoracial D.N.A. tests providing an enlightening intervention—along with a specific quantification of racial mixing.

⁵⁶ The participants consisted of: Dr. Ben Carson, Whoopi Goldberg, Bishop T.D. Jakes, Dr. Mae Jemison, Quincy Jones, Dr. Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot, Chris Tucker, and Oprah Winfrey. "African American Lives | Pbs," Educational Broadcasting Corporation, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/aalives/>; Neil Genzlinger, "On the Cover," *New York Times*, January 29 2006; Rodney Ho, "Black History Month: Television: 21st-Century 'Roots' Digs into Lives of People at the Top," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, February 1 2006; Graham Judd and Leslie D. Farrell, "African American Lives," (USA: Public Broadcasting Service, 2006); Alondra Nelson, "Beyond 'Roots'," *Boston Globe*, February 10 2009; Joanna Weiss, "Black History, through Family Trees," *Boston Globe*, February 1 2006.

While some have sought DNAPrint's services to learn more about their family histories, many others admit that they are seeking material gain. For example, one white father with white, adopted twins of "slightly tan-tinted skin" got results that said they were 9% Native American and 11% northern African. He plans to use this for obtaining college financial aid. The father says, "Naturally when you're applying to college you're looking at how your genetic status might help you... I have three kids going now, and you can bet that any advantage we can take we will."⁵⁷ This is a clear case where customers use the tests to gain access to resources, a sort of possessive investment in D.N.A.. In the case of those seeking material gains, they want the benefits without the experiences of oppression that the gains are supposed to remedy, or (in the case of African Americans suing Native American tribes) they want to make claims for reparations for a different account. As one woman who traced part of her ancestry back to a Scottish oil magnate (clumsily) says, "There's a kind of checkmateness to the D.N.A.." In other words, she wants to use the D.N.A. results to trump any claims that she does not deserve any of the industrialist's estate.⁵⁸

Overall, what the public wants from DNAPrint's tests is definite racial makeup, not ambiguity or the jettisoning of racial thinking. To date, there are a handful of

⁵⁷ Amy Harmon, "Seeking Ancestry, and Privilege, in DNA Ties Uncovered by Tests," *New York Times*, April 12 2006. The same article features a white college who checked "Asian" on college applications, even though the tests told her she had just 2% Asian D.N.A., a number well under the margin of error; African Americans suing for membership into the "Five Civilized Tribes (Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles and Cherokees), which had owned slaves, to gain health benefits or casino stakes, without knowing which tribe their Native American D.N.A. hails from; and a lifelong Christian who is suing the state of Israel for immigration rights because D.N.A. tests claim he has a genetic signature commonly found among Jews.

⁵⁸ Connor, "The Missing Link? Oprah Winfrey Says She Has Zulu Blood. She's Not Alone."; Harmon, "Seeking Ancestry, and Privilege, in DNA Ties Uncovered by Tests."; Lamb, "Mixed Roots: Science Looks at Family Trees."; Weiss, "Black History, through Family Trees."

companies that have joined DNAPrint in the field of consumer genomics, including D.N.A. Heritage and GeneTree. Whether to learn about family history, or to receive material gains, these are all cases where people are looking for exact answers. In this way, many find the companies' answers satisfactory. With the price of DNAPrint's AncestryByDNA going down from \$290 in 2001 to \$99 today, many more are sure to get what they need from the test in years to come.

CONCLUSION

Tiger Woods' statements on his racial identity, the proliferation of mixed race models, and the popularity of consumer D.N.A. tests are all cases that illustrate how Americans praise ambiguity. In each, themes of novelty, heroization, utopia, and technology reveal themselves. However, even stronger for many Americans in the contemporary moment is the need for certainty. Tiger Woods readily provided this for the public, making it possible for him to attain popularity greater than any other racially mixed figure. The media executives creating images of mixed people may not publish the ancestry of the models they employ, but they are surprisingly frank about profits, the ultimate, quantifiable goal of diversity they purvey. At the same time, a trend is appearing that places Asian and white, mixed bodies at the pinnacle of beauty, with scientific research to bolster the ascent. Considering the broader dynamics Asian-white intermarriage operates within, these unions create what one could call the "Supermodel Minority." Lastly, at the same time consumer D.N.A. tests can repair the erasure of family histories and broaden minds concerning race, the exact racial makeups they

provide do far more to naturalize eighteenth and nineteenth century notions of hybridity. If these tests grow in popularity, ultimately proving that everyone is mixed to a certain percent, they may trivialize many aspects of race as a lived experience. Altogether, this chapter casts a wary eye towards contemporary praise of racially mixed people, pointing out the resonance of past, positive statements in the moment we live in at this very moment.

Conclusion

Let us imagine a United States where AncestryByDNA has become compulsory, perhaps as a prerequisite to getting a birth certificate, marriage license, or tax return, the legacy of President Obama before leaving office in 2017. Let us imagine that results for the nation's three hundred million-plus showed that ninety percent had ancestry from different geographic loci around the world. Few African Americans and Latinos found this surprising. Many Native American tribes raised their blood quantum requirements to one quarter, making the deluge of new applicants for membership more manageable. Many non-Hispanic whites received a badge of exoticism when they learned they had "just a little sunburn without extra trouble and even through the winter; with some curl in the hair without the cost of a permanent wave; with, perhaps, a little more emotional warmth in their souls; and a little more religion, music, laughter, and carefreeness in their lives."¹ Many incorporated the revelation into their own ways of identifying, perhaps gaining an explanation of why they liked martial arts, rap music, or the sound of Arabic. Some ignored it. Some accepted that, biologically, there was very little difference between themselves and people they supposedly had nothing in common with. Many who had thought of themselves as monoracial needed guidance on how to balance the new facets of their identities. Those who considered themselves racially mixed before The Acts 17:26 Act started on-demand Holoprojections to guide the recently-acknowledged mixed people through this. Even those who had never imagined this kind

¹ In a footnote in *An American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal jests about Americans' sensitivity regarding racial mixing. Very few rival his wit in characterizing the common, fascination with mixed bodies.

of work made this career change. After all, it was getting so hard to accomplish anything else, with so many interruptions beginning like this: “You’re mixed. I mean, you were mixed. I mean, you have been mixed since before The Act. Can I ask you something...?” Many scholars of mixed race identity became billionaires. The ones with nice smiles, anyway.

Some stalwarts had heart attacks or nervous breakdowns upon receiving their test results. Among those invested in racial purity many came around, if nothing else, for the sake of having something to talk about with their friends. Some of them racially passed as mixed, claiming they had some small percentage of, say, Cherokee D.N.A., chuckling at jokes about those silly monoracials at dinner parties. Others protested the whole affair, complaining of an invasion of genetic privacy. They either moved to more homogeneous states, or attempted to form alliances with others like them, including immigrants from locales around the world. (Theirs was a lost cause. While the adults planned revenge in the kitchen, their children played show and tell in the bedroom.) Whenever their spokespeople appeared in public, listeners interrupted their pleas to strike down the compulsory D.N.A. tests to say, “But you look mixed.” Likewise, for as many blogs on the Holonet celebrating racial purity, there were others outing people as mixed, even if they denied it. “Let them go back to where they came from,” many would quip. Otherwise, the nation celebrated, “Everyone is mixed!” Ceremonies replaced streets with names of racial purists to names of those who had predicted the future, mixed America. A cross-town walk in Manhattan now takes you past Crevecouer Avenue, Smelting-Pot

Square, Zangwill Way, and Jean Toomer Park. Interstate 90 became Interstate of the United Races. *Time Magazine's* New Face of America replaced the fish on the back of people's cars. Ring tones, lapel pins, and flags announce, "I am the American, this new man!"

But in middle of the confirmation that *e pluribus* had produced *unum*, differences remained. Those who looked liked like The New Face before The Act were the ones who looked like her after. Otherwise, everyone had the same physical appearance, but with an understanding that they had mixed backgrounds. Naysayers latched onto this constant, asking what had changed, much like Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan did two generations after Zangwill's *Melting-Pot*. Cultural mixing did increase, as Americans purchased the food, music, and clothing to put them in touch with the ancestries they never knew of. But many resumed their habits once they realized they preferred what they were eating, listening to, and wearing before. Those still enthusiastic about America's new, widespread, mixed identity accused these people of reverting to the "old ways." Encounters between these two camps featured the former reminding the latter, "Never forget, you're mixed. No matter what, they can't take that away from you." Continuing the late twentieth century's trend of avoiding direct racial terminology, grievances along the lines of race became less valid. "After all, everyone was mixed, so there must be some other reason you're poor," the typical 65%-17%-10%-8% American often said. "Maybe the problem is you're not mixed enough." In response, these oppressed people would concede that they were mixed, but not like others. "We're mixed and we're black, and we want our money back!" they chanted, demanding reparations. But the wide increase in people who were part-black made reparations even

less realistic than was before The Act. Faced with the response, “So what? So am I,” collective nonprotest replaced this last call for racial redress.

Still, unrest increased, leading to a growth in racial purists, much like the 1915 rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. Militants based in Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire made strikes against notable, mixed race gurus. Southern California started to resemble Baghdad, with barbed wire, Black Hawk UH-60 helicopters, and explosions across the expressway. Examination of the purists’ motivations led to one culprit, race itself, and leading cabinet members concluded that what the purists were holding on to were the cultural practices of racial groups. The failure of the Compulsory Cosmopolitanism Bill, which stipulated that no more than five people of the same complexion could gather in public, made the administration realize that since they could not outlaw practices, we might as well do away with the root of the difference: racial identity. As Slavoj Zizek once wrote, “In our age of »post-politics,« when politics proper is progressively replaced by expert social administration, the only remaining legitimate source of conflicts are cultural (ethnic, religious) tensions.”² So, racial categorization became a federal offense. In 2030, the census questionnaire skipped the ethnicity and race questions altogether. Naomi Zack smiled down from heaven. Soon after, it became odious to racially identify in public. The W-word, the B-word, the A.I.-word, and the N.H.P.I.-word joined ranks with the N-word. By 2050, race passed away, not with a bang but a whimper, just as Stanley Crouch predicted.

² Slavoj Zizek, "The Clash of Civilizations at the End of History," Universal Studios, <http://www.childrenofmen.net/slavoj.html>.

As for me, I retired from the mixed race identity business, considering how dangerous the racial purists were making it. I'm working on building an interactive museum one can visit over the Holonet called the Experience Mixed Project. My long-lost cousin, Shawn Carter, has joined me in this venture.³ The animatronic Wendell Phillips droid is something else! Right now I'm on a family vacation to the moon, and one of my three grandchildren (Cindy Lou Hu Carter García, age six) has asked me how I made my first billion. I've begun telling her a story that starts like this: "Growing up in the 1970s, I learned very early that people found my racial makeup fascinating. 'What are you?' and 'Where are you from?' were the most common conversation starters I encountered from kindergarten on..."

In this story, which explores positive notions about racial mixing and racially mixed people in five moments of United States history, two dynamics appear. First is the antagonistic relationship between dominant and alternative discourse. In regard to racial mixing, the former has consistently been that it is "ideologically unacceptable." However, voices across time have defended an alternative position, that racial mixing is a boon to society. Second is a fluctuating line of inclusion in relation to the melting pot. This line changes depending on the historical moment, the locale, and the speaker, showing that the definition of interracial intimacy changes. This conclusion further explores these two frameworks, one that describes a longstanding relationship, and another that addresses shifting definitions.

³ The former rapper, Jay-Z. Turns out we have the same exact D.N.A. makeup—45%-35%-18%-2%!

This story also has five themes: novelty, heroization, utopia, physical appearance, and technology. Rather than reiterate the beliefs comprise each of these comprise (as the Introduction does above), I present seven most evocative expressions of mixed race optimism, with the hope that they will forefront continuities and ruptures more clearly. This will put the cases from the narrative in conversation with each other, revealing resonances between them.

Starting with Virginia's 1691 Act for Suppressing Outlying Slaves, laws have regulated interracial intimacy, in part to protect property, hoard Congressional representatives, and define categories of people. In turn theories of polygenism emerged to defend slavery and discourage interracial intimacy, but also to wish away the different offspring. In science, hybrid degeneracy was about the demise of the mulatto, but also the demise of society. As Freda Giles says of the literary counterpart, "[T]his child born of miscegenation has served as a readily identifiable symbol of racial conflict, alienation, and insurmountable struggle against an untenable position in American society."⁴ The prominent stereotypes of the mulatto persisted, well past the Civil War period, even when they took more complimentary casts, for example, the marginal man, who is "never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and never quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he seeks to

⁴ Freda Giles, "From Melodrama to the Movies: The Tragic Mulatto as a Type Character," in *American Mixed Race: The Culture of Microdiversity*, ed. Naomi Zack (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995).

find a place.”⁵ These racial projects are one level of means serving the ends of racial purity.

However, these are rationalizations a step beyond a more basic fear of one’s own extinction, whether one’s physical appearance or their cultural practices and beliefs. Werner Sollors describes the fantasy that defenders of racial purity maintain as “the eternal likeness of all after-generations to his or her own image.”⁶ And to create man in one’s own image is to create God (who creates man in His own image) in one’s own image, ipso facto. David Schneider has explored the dichotomies of man/nature, reason/desire, law/prurience that have come to govern American relationships. The discourse that labels interracial relationships as repugnant and racially mixed people as degenerate are defense mechanisms to discipline a common desire. Both dominant and subordinate groups participate in this. This is where Eduardo Bonilla-Silva’s racialized social system augments Michael Omi and Howard Winant’s racial formation model, emphasizing the fact that racism is “society-wide, organized, and institutional,” rather than the work of a powerful few. After all, those with little to gain from defending white supremacy have defended racial purity.⁷

At the same time, there have been voices that have advocated overcoming this fear of mixing, suggesting that it would benefit the nation as a whole. They maintain that interracial intimacy, interracial marriage, and racial mixing are means to achieve an

⁵ Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 6 (1928); Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States: Including a Study of the Role of Mixed-Blood Races Throughout the World*; ———, *Race Mixture: Studies in Inter-marriage and Miscegenation*; Stonequist, *The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict*.

⁶ Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*, 205.

improved America, racial equality, or new human types. Likewise, racially mixed people are a sign of these positive trends. Where many have established anti-intermarriage laws to protect racial purity, others have argued for the dismantling of these laws, beginning with Pennsylvania in 1780 and continuing to 1967's *Loving v. Virginia* decision. While eugenicists praised purity, a few others defended hybrid vigor in plants, animals, and humans. While a corpus of tragic mulatto literature victimizes mixed offspring, writers of an American ethnogenesis characterize America as intrinsically mixed. Those disavowing the dominant discourse have been fewer in number and subordinate to the predominant ideas above. Those voicing the minority opinion have worked independently of each other. But it is possible that earlier voices have influenced later ones. There appear to be gaps between them, but it also is possible that exploration would lead to more voices for this unconventional position. By presenting the cases in the context of their historical moments, this project has illustrated the interplay between dominant and alternative discourse during any period of history: Both coexist, with one being more prevalent, and the other seemingly negligible, sometimes in active conflict with the dominant. The alternative may connect to similar views, build on them, or appear out of nowhere. Sometimes they (appear to) gain acceptance over time, because of changes in society. This is how it appears that, since 1967, acceptance of racial mixing has risen, as have the number of interracial marriages and racially mixed people. While there is a plethora of popular culture that gives this impression, it is a mistake to believe so. Supreme Court decisions do not guarantee change, new and old

⁷ Bonilla-Silva's attention to ideology also eliminates the need for racial formation to operate on two levels, micro and macro. Bonilla-Silva, *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, 36; Omi and

demographics rarely line up accurately, and magazine covers do not reflect reality. With so much content available in so many media outlets, the increased visibility of mixed race people more often than not indicates that they are viable topics for media producers to present.

However, it is possible that some of the voices in this project have had an effected acceptance levels, even if they were in the minority at the time. Some, like Zangwill, have contributed by providing an effective symbol that Americans could grasp, even with their contradictions. Toomer's trope, "the stomach," remains unknown, but his writings show how some could think in a totally unconventional way during a time some consider more restrictive for racial thinking. The New Face emerged after decades of social change that made the ideal acceptable enough to appear on the cover of a major, national news magazine—even if the conservative anxieties remained. Some are more aware of multiple checking because of press around the Multiracial Movement. For as many who consider Tiger Woods black, there are many who accept him as Cablinasian, proving that self-naming is effective. Likewise, at the same time that consumer genomics tests re-inscribe race, they do lead students to ask, "Why are we doing this? Why do people, especially in this country, want to know? Why are we, as a people, so caught up in race?"⁸ In any case, it is more important to explore these cases within their historical moment, and glean what we can from the themes they express. In the end, praise of mixing has been as constant as disdain for it. Rather than thinking of it as a dependent

Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 56, 59.

⁸ Daly, "D.N.A. Tells Students They Aren't Who They Thought."

variable, changing with time or some other factor, it is an independent variable, perhaps always present, even if many instances of it remain uncovered.

One may wonder if these optimist voices arise from certain conditions. While the antebellum and Civil War years qualify as a period of heightened conflict, the early 1900s, 1920s, 1990s, or early 2000s were not periods of extraordinary repose. Each had its own controversies, military actions, and transitions that challenge divining a pattern between them. One may also wonder if there is a common characteristic that the speakers share. They include a Brahmin radical, a Jewish dramatist, a racially mixed novelist, an editorial department, activist parents, and marketing executives. Once again, they are disparate enough in race, class, gender, etc., to complicate any pattern. Likewise, they all had different motivations for voicing their opinions. If anything, the speakers had access to the means to publicize their beliefs, but even Jean Toomer complicates this, as his statements regarding the new, American race remained unexamined during the decades that scholarly interest in him was low. What complicates the search for patterns the most is that this is not an exclusive list. This project acknowledges that there have been others who held positive opinions of racial mixing.

However, the other framework focuses on what has changed, via a historically situated line of inclusion that demarcates first-class citizens and others. This line changes in time, reflecting the changing conceptions of race. Instances of mixing in Crevecoeur's *Letters* barely raise an eyebrow now. Some like Michael Lind say some forms of mixing are becoming more acceptable than others, for instance, Asian-white and Hispanic and non-Hispanic white. So, just as the definition of whiteness (or first-class citizenship) has changed, so has the definition of interracial intimacy, intermarriage, and mixed race

identity. Many credit racial mixing with being the measure of assimilation, but I avoid this because there are so many other variables to consider. Neither do I want to say it is the site of progress, because interracial marriage can be inequitable. Likewise, considering all the mixing that has led to exclusion, intermarriage and racial mixing do not necessarily take place along the line of inclusion like some kind of osmosis into the mainstream. What is important to this project is that certain vanguards have proposed casting the line of inclusion farther and farther from the status quo, regardless of society's acceptance of their positions. Consistent or ambivalent, popular or obscure, on the internet or in private journals, anxious or confident, greedy or altruistic, these speakers have suggested that Americans include a broader (more mixed) vision of America.

Optimist statements are most effective when they employ the themes central to this project: novelty, heroization, utopia, physical appearance, and technology. Following is a list of seven that best illustrate these. First is Wendell Phillips's presentation of the mixed girl at the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association meeting. While some abolitionists had used light-skinned children like her to decry the ills of slavery, Phillips used her as a symbol of hope, youth, and reconciliation. All of the themes except technology are relevant here. Second is David Quixano's prediction of "the fusion of all races, perhaps the coming superman." The metaphor of the melting pot primarily invoked the technology of smelting, but these two phrases also suggest a hero, physical appearances, and a utopian, mixed America. Jean Toomer's description of "a new race in America" featured a Nietzschean hero similar to Zangwill's, but was more explicit about the inclusion of racial minorities. Toomer's low emphasis on the future American's physical appearance amplifies how this transformation was spiritual as well

as physical, promising a different kind of redemption from the present racial divisions. As managing editor of *Time*'s special issue on immigration, James R. Gaines provided the revelation of the New Face's genealogy. As opposed to Toomer's Blue Man, the major characteristic of the cover star and the forty-nine computer-generated faces is their physical appearance—aesthetics in service of anesthetics for readers uncomfortable with the uncertain future immigration and mixing presented them. Still, all five major themes find expression in the New Face. Gary Smith's 1996 Sportsman of the Year feature for *Sports Illustrated* is the most succinct statement heroizing Tiger Woods, a real, live (young, athletic, and affable) person who could make Americans feel good about the past, the present, and the future. Woods became a versatile symbol that the Multiracial Movement, Arthur Schlesinger, and *Ebony* Magazine used as they wished. The technologies of the other cases involve metallurgy, statistics, Morph 2.0 software, etc., but with Woods, it was his own prowess. Those who spoke of the golfer without mentioning race often praised him for combining all the major skills one finds on the field, just like his body combined all the races in America. Lastly, a period with no shortage of visual representations, the contemporary moment presents a handful of statements praising the present moment as, to use Ruth La Ferla's term, Generation E.A. Besides the racially ambiguous models marketing executives present us, the embodiment of this group is one of the 2.8 million racially mixed youth born since the "biracial baby boom." As with Wendell Phillips's presentation of the redeemed girl in 1863, contemporary deployment of racially mixed youth brings together many of this project's themes.

Just as the list of cases in this project is far from comprehensive, the list above omits many that appear in the previous pages. These are simply some of the more evocative ones. For some, this is because they are the most visually concrete, putting the mixed race hero in motion. Though voiceless in the archives, Phillips's little girl was a concrete symbol of "a united race, to whom, in its virtue, belongs in the future a country."⁹ On the other hand, the New Face simply appears, but is significant in that mere appearance. Some of the cases describe a future with certain values and certain activities its citizens participate in. Phillips's broader statements on the republic and civil rights do this, adding depth to his June 5, 1863, demonstration. The articles in *Time*'s special issue put diverse Americans into motion—buying things, custom-designing wedding ceremonies, and practicing, as Richard Brookhiser describes, "high value on industry and success and a correspondingly low value on anything that was not useful."¹⁰ Lastly, other cases describe a process. Philip Gleason rightly praises the melting pot for this. Both Jean Toomer's "stomach" and his description of the new, American race deserve credit for this too. In a different way, the articles around The New Face deserve attention for how they portray the creation of racially mixed Americans as a technological tour de force. Overall, the five chapters above make sense of them within their historical contexts, but I collect them here to emphasize how they illustrate the themes of novelty, heroization, utopia, technology, and physical appearance across time.

⁹ "Speech of Wendell Phillips Delivered before the Sixteenth Ward Republican Association at the Cooper Institute, New York."

¹⁰ Brookhiser, "Three Cheers for the Wasps: When It Comes to Being American, They Wrote the Book."

By this point, Cindy Lou's eyes have glazed over, like she's counting down from a hundred, hoping I will have stopped by then. Born well after the majority of Americans came to think of themselves as mixed, she has no tolerance for the old ways. All she wanted to know was how I originally got rich, thus enabling her to vacation on the moon with her family. Then again, it seems that a lot of things make her look like she's reached zero. Not insolent like a teenager, just discontent. This ennui has grown on Americans' (mixed) faces since 2030. The "new man" had arrived. Even though there was nothing left to anticipate, everyone looked scared of what would happen next. Race had become obsolete, everyone was mixed—or actively denying it. There was no mixed race hero to wait for. She picks up her favorite toy, a pink Holoprojector, and rests it on her lap.

"Let's watch Cybro!"

"What's that?"

"Oh, don't you know, Grandpa? He was made in a lab. He's a bodybuilder with giant, iron legs, can see in the dark, and races cars. He fights Anarchy Necromongers, and protects kids from terrorists. Everyone loves him. He's the best!"

"Really, I've never heard of him."

"Well, you're old. That's why," she yawns. A green light on her little Holoprojector indicates that it is in dream programming mode, training her R.E.M. to the adventures of Cybro. If the mixed American hero did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him.

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