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Translation of Persecution into Protest in the Life of Richard Wright's Bigger Thomas

The writer most frequently credited with making the Negro “visible” is Richard Wright. Echoing others Saunders Redding, a noted black author has stated “That there is... no Negro writer now at work, who has not felt the tremendous influence of Dick Wright.” Richard Wright is called the father of contemporary Black Writers because his best works present the stark reality of being black in Modern America. Best known as the author of Native Son (1940) and Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth (1945), Wright was one of the first American Writers of his generation to confront readers with the dehumanizing effects of racism. In his graphic accounts of victimized blacks, Wright reveals the physical and psychological torment produced by segregation and discrimination. His stories usually center on alienated, impoverished black men who have been denied personal freedom and identity. Although he is criticized for his preoccupation with violence and his ideological digressions, he remains a seminal figure in the twentieth century American letters and has influenced such prominent contemporary black authors as James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison. According to William Peden,

Wright's stories of helpless or long-suffering Blacks victimized by societal and individual White brutality mark the beginning
of a new era in Black fiction and even his least important pieces contain unforgettable scenes and characters that burn their way into the reader's consciousness.

Writing in a naturalistic straightforward prose style reminiscent of the works of such authors as Theodore Dreiser and John Dos Passos, Wright graphically depicts brutal confrontations between Southern whites and blacks. While some reviewers objected to Wright's, unsympathetic depiction of whites, many, praised his ability to capture fear, humiliation and anger experienced by blacks in the Jim Crow South. Edward Margolies remarked:

(these) are stories whose sweep and magnitude are suffused with their author's impassioned convictions about the dignity of man, and a profound pity for the degraded, the poor and oppressed who in the face of casual brutality, cling obstinately to their humanity (Margolies 73).

Surveying a collection of Wright's work it is seen that a man's past is never really dead. For Wright, the formative experiences were his mother's religious fanaticism (she was a Seventh-day Adventist), with its crippling repressions and proscriptions, and the virulent racism that confronted him at nearly every stage of his determined search for self-realization. Brutalized and misunderstood by both his family and his society, Wright developed personal characteristics that were reflected in most of his writing: rebelliousness, introversion, a quest for selfhood, a longing for stable and meaningful values, an appetite for violence. Freedom, an especially sacred word in the black vocabulary, meant more than just political liberty to Wright. The search for an authentic self-consumed the novelist from one end of his career to the other as he shed successive identities supplied by his religion-obsessed mother, by the southern bigots he fled, and by the northern communists he joined.

It is not difficult to find reasons for the fascination Wright's life and works continue to have for black writers. As Mr. Fabre (the co-editor) often indicates in his notes, Wright was a conscious artist, a writer who learned from his readings of other masters, who employed inventive literary techniques to dramatize his knowledge of black language and culture. The pattern of Wright's early life mirrored the mass migration of blacks from South to North, from rural areas to the cities, from communal folk life to urban alienation. Wright's later years reflect the intellectual Odyssey of black people in the second half of the 20th century. He examined the legacy of the African past; he documented the rise of the emerging nations and analyzed the political consequences of this redistribution of power for all oppressed people. Although Wright temporarily embraced various -isms - communism, Black Nationalism, existentialism - he regarded each system as valid only so long as it freed him to grapple on his own terms with the vast unclassifiable welter of experience. Always at the center of Wright's work is his insistence on the sanctity of the individual imagination, but this insistence is tempered by his vision of black people's collective destiny. In "Blue Print for Negro Writing" he has left us his example, his challenge:

The Negro writer ... has a serious responsibility. In order to do justice to his subject matter, in order to depict Negro life in all of its manifold and intricate relationships, a deep, informed and complex consciousness is necessary: a consciousness which draws for its strength upon the fluid lore of a great people, and molds this lore with the concepts that move and direct the forces of history today (p. 32).

Offering historical and sociological, as well as psychological insights into the American character, Wright examines the rebel, his behaviour and motivations, his background. Products of a lower-class black environment, Wright's rebels are well acquainted with hunger, disease and poverty. They learn quickly from frightened mothers and beaten fathers not to expect much from America. Their dreams of power are undercut by the reality of Jim Crow and more subtle discrimination. Ambition is discouraged; impotency reinforced. All entrances and exits are blocked. Trapped, Wright's blackman may choose to suffer his fate passively; he may reluctantly accept his status as a victim. But not for long.

Wright's rebels are lonely, alienated individuals who seek affirmation in action, passion, impulsiveness and often violence characterize many of Wright's protagonists. Most are non-reflective and unable to articulate their agony. Driven by explosive emotions,
American Studies in India

they seek escape in alcohol, sex and brutal encounters. Some leave the repressive South for the "promised land". Meaning is not found in the past, but in the present. The rebel's identity depends on action...

Wright's rebels feel most exhilarated, most alive when they have taken life. Wright's heroes gradually evolve into sullen rebels. Suffering is tolerated, not valued as morally uplifting.

Excellent propaganda is another name for protest literature. The protest novel is written by Black Writers blatantly and unflinchingly, condemns racism, severely rebuking its economic, sociological and logical effects on the lives of Black people. The psycho-history of the Black American novel directly parallels the history of the Black Americans the novels describe. From Harriet Wilson and William Wells Brown to Richard Wright and Toni Morrison, Black Writers to varying degrees and through diverse techniques have always predominantly concerned themselves with their relation to the dominant culture. For, the Black American novelist always protested. Because of the emotional and historical side effects of racism, the mere mention of "protest literature" or provocative subject matter that highlights the lives of Blacks solicit an entire chain of programmed responses that obscures the subtleties of technique and inhibits fresh, stimulating discourse on works by Black writers. Consequently, once an idea is accepted, it becomes paradigmatic as exemplified by the continued reprints of well known essays on any given writer, and in this instance Richard Wright is the best example.

Native Son is primarily an expression of personal outrage and frustration. Working within the framework of social protest, Wright deals with other more metaphysical issues which were later to become of even greater importance to him. In dramatizing each of his heroes, from Big Boy in Big Boy Leaves Home to Bigger Thomas in Native Son, Wright explored the motivating forces behind their actions. As their personal drama unfolded he developed such themes as the possibility of freedom, man's isolation and alienation, the inherent irrationality of modern American society, and the nature and form of personal rebellion within that society.

The Negro in America is confronted by two attitudes. He is treated either as an inferior and an outcast or as the member of an oppressed race who is therefore owed special consideration by "enlightened" Whites. These opposite attitudes are, in fact, the two sides of the same coin of race prejudice, since both deny to the man who happens to be colored his standing as a human being – to be accepted or rejected as such in his relations with other human beings. This is the real tragedy of the black man in America and this is the basic theme of Native Son by Richard Wright.

Native Son is as Edward Margolies in The Art of Richard Wright points out, as much a psychological novel with clear existential implications as it is sociological. Bigger Thomas is not only a Blackman struggling against an oppressive white society but also Wright's archetypal rebel, desperately seeking recognition and meaning within a world that has offered him none. Alienated from the mainstream of society and betrayed by his own environment, Bigger, like Wright's earlier heroes, searches for an effective means of vanquishing his personal sense of worthlessness. Ironically like the protagonists of Uncle Tom's Children, Bigger's revolt is simultaneously victorious and self-destructive.

The literature of revolt is born from the recognition on the part of many modern writers that meaning and purpose are not an integral part of the universe in which man finds himself. Native Son, written at a time when Wright was preoccupied with social issues, also represents an examination of the nature of personal rebellion, a theme which dominated much of the thinking of such modern European writers like Andre Matrux, Jean-Paul Sartre and especially Albert Camus.

Bigger Thomas confused and he alone can find no conventional way to bridge the gap between his aspiration and the reality of his condition. In "How Bigger was Born", Wright explained the need for rebellion: "In Native Son I tried to show that man, bereft of a culture and unanchored by property, can travel but one path if he reacts positively, but unhappily to the prizes and goals of civilization; and that path is emotionally blind rebellion."

Having been born on a plantation near Natchez, Mississippi in 1908, Wright remembers in the autobiographical Black Boy, that when he was a child, "Hunger had always been more or less at my elbow when I played, but now I began to wake up at night to find hunger standing at my bedside staring at me gauntly" (Black
Boy 14). Decades after slavery had officially ended, blacks continued to suffer from the deprivation associated with a race struggling to advance beyond the lowest socio-economic level that any group in America has ever experienced. As the son of a sharecropper one step removed from slavery, young Wright directly felt the pain.

Wright’s strongest fiction deals with the problems of lower class Southern and Northern Negroes. His works fit the patterns of socio-cultural American context. In Native Son, Richard Wright jolted the American literary scene with Bigger Thomas, a hapless, bitter, damned, ignorant, brutal, ghetto-condemned black Negro. He was a Negro that few white people ever believed they would meet face to face, and yet they faced him every day. He was real, Bigger’s world was a harsher and more brutalizing one. His every action is predicted by his obsessive fear of the white world. Afraid of “killing himself or someone else” (NS 9), he blots out his surroundings and seeks relief through drinking, fornicking, and brawling.

In the first part of the book, one gets a picture of a dark world encased by a living white wall to which the black inhabitants react according to their nature. Bigger’s mother and sister are humble; Bigger and his friends are resentful; all feel powerless and afraid of the white world, which exploits, condescends to, and in turn fears the race it has segregated. “Tense, afraid and restless” Wright explains, the Bigger Thomas of his novel is the “product of a dislocated society; he is a dispossessed and disinherit man; he is all of this, and he lives amid the greatest possible plenty on earth and he is looking and feeling for a way out” (New Essays on Native Son 4). As the novel opens, Bigger is seen as a man conditioned by hatred and a sense of racial exclusion. He is portrayed as a man in conflict, not only with the white society but also with his surroundings, his family, his peers and ultimately with himself. Bigger hated his family because they were suffering and he was powerless to help them.

He knew that the moment he allowed himself to feel to its fullness how they lived, the shame and misery of their lives, he would be swept out of himself with fear and despair. So he held toward them an attitude of iron reserve, he lived with them, but behind a wall, a curtain toward himself Bigger was even more exacting (NS 13–14).

Wright has forecast Bigger’s doom from the very start. Bigger knows deep in his heart that he is destined to bear endless days of dreary poverty, abject humiliation and tormenting frustration, for, this is what being a Negro means. “That’s when I feel like something awful’s going to happen to me . . .” Bigger paused, narrowed his eyes. “Naw; it ain’t something going to happen to me. It’s . . . It’s like I was going to do something I can’t help . . .” (NS 24). Bigger’s trouble with the law had begun at an early age. In the unfriendly description of a Mississippi newspaper editor, “Thomas comes of a poor darky family of a shiftless and immoral variety. He was raised here and is known to local residents as an irreformable sneak thief and liar” (NS 261). Bigger had been accused of stealing tires, and sent to a Southern reform school. He hadn’t really done anything wrong he claimed, he had been with some boys and the police had picked them up (NS 52).

He is twenty years old living in a one-room tenement apartment in Chicago’s Southside Black Belt, with his mother, his young sister Vera and a younger brother Buddy; they pay $8 rent a week; they are on relief. Bigger’s first job when he wakes in the morning is to kill a huge rat that has got into the room. His instant destruction of the rat is a characteristic act. Later in the pool room, he savagely attacks one of his gang as they plan a hold up. Fear of the consequences drives him into this assertive brutality. It makes him feel easier to hit something. His obscure fears are replaced for the moment by the exhilaration of mere physical power.

Ironically, Northern liberalism not Southern brutality, provokes black protest Native Son condemns the hypocritical Daltons, the wealthy slum Lords. It is later in the day that Bigger turns up for the job where the reliefs have sent him, as a chaufeur to the Daltons one of Chicago’s big executive types of the benevolent kind. This Mr. Dalton has given millions for social welfare, earmarked particularly for the Negro cause for the National Association for the Advancement of colored people, although most of it has dribbled into ping-pong tables in exemplary social clubs and the like. Bigger knows nothing about this, nor does he know
Translation of Persecution into Protest in the Life

When Bigger inadvertently murders Mary Dalton, he found he had killed her out of fear, out of his certain knowledge that he would be suspected (unjustly) of having raped the girl... and all the following actions are the result of that fear - he burns Mary Dalton's body in the furnace, he cuts off her head with a hatchet because he cannot force it in, he switches on the exhaust fan to clear the air of the basement of the smell of the burning flesh. As a Negro he will be the first suspect, but Jan, the communist boy friend he considers, is almost an equal object of mob hatred, he shifts the blame on to Jan by asserting that Jan also went home with Mary Dalton, he even plans to collect the kidnapping money on the pretense that Mary is still alive and finally he flees where the girl's bones are discovered.

The full meaning of his crime does not become clear to him until after the murder of Mary Dalton, but he had long had a foreboding of such violence, he "has murdered many times in his heart" (NS 90). Bigger fantasizes about destruction of dropping bombs on the white world and in one rare moment of insight even admits to the possibility of murder as an antidote to his extreme anguish and despair. Bigger's killing of Mary Dalton becomes the one meaningful act of life, giving him a new sense of freedom and identity and a capacity for action on a grand scale, up to this time Bigger has cowered in fear before the white world. Now as he plots his next move, the many options that are open give him a sense of power and possibility.

When Bigger is deliberating flight, the text reads that he had some money to make a run for it and he had his gun. His fingers trembled so that he had difficulty in unlocking the door; but they were not trembling out of fear. "It was a kind of eagerness he felt, a confidence, fullness, a freedom; his whole life was caught up in a supreme and meaningful act" (NS 13).

The supreme act is firstly the effect of the murder of Mary Dalton on Thomas. It includes his feelings of fullness and freedom and his transformation from a petty criminal into a person who has dared to commit the supreme act - supreme because he attacks the integrity of the symbolic system supporting the definition of what it means to be an American. Bigger thus sees his rebirth as a part of the act, "Like a man reborn, he wanted to rest and taste
each thing now to see how it went; like a man risen up well from a long illness, he felt deep and wayward whims" (NS 125). He has created a new life out of nothing, this new being, this supreme act of the being's constitution, is all his own: "He had murdered and created a new life for himself. It was something all his own, and it was the first time in his life he had anything that others could not take from him" (NS 119).

Bigger's crimes consist of self-realization, his acceptance of himself, and his acknowledgement of his fate. These are crimes because, according to the rules of his native land, Bigger is not supposed to define himself in and through an ultimate, singular, tragic act, he is not supposed to be an autonomous, self-legisitating radical but a symbol. Now the criminal fate is fulfilled and no one can say that his mother's prophecy was correct. "You'll regret how you living some day" she went on "If you don't stop running with that gang of yours and do right you'll end where you never thought you would be. You think I don't know what you boys are doing, but I do. And the gallows is at the end of the road you traveling, boy. Just remember that" (NS 98).

The Negro world in which Bigger played this rebellious role was a narrowly constricted one. Even within the ghetto, Negroes had few opportunities for legitimate money-making. In this jungle each individual took what he could for his own survival and gave others only grudgingly. Bigger and his girl friend Bessie needed and used each other. Bigger's need was elemental and, Bessie after a week of slaving in the kitchen of a white employer, wanted release. Meanwhile Bigger has revealed to Bessie that he is somehow implicated in Mary Dalton's disappearance – it is now the front page news and Bessie reluctantly agrees to help Bigger to extort the ransom money from the Daltons under the pretense that their daughter has been kidnapped. Bigger's plan falls through when the reporters discover Mary Dalton's charred bones in the furnace – and Bigger is forced to escape. He finds Bessie and together they conceal themselves in a flat of an unused, vacated tenement. Bigger realizes that Bessie at best is an unenthusiastic coconspirator and so he decides he must kill her or she will someday reveal his whereabouts to the police.

In the course of the man hunt, Bigger kills again this time deliberately, doing to death his Negro sweetheart Bessie, because he fears she knows too much about his crime. After one final embrace Bigger beats Bessie's brain out with a brick. When he is taken, the Communist rallies round to protect him from "race prejudice". In arguing for Bigger's life, Max, his lawyer explains that love was impossible for such a couple "Love grows from stable relationships, shared experience, loyalty, devotion, trust, neither Bigger nor Bessie had any of these" (NS 368).

The monstrousness of this second murder exhilarates Bigger all the more. He has freely exercised his will – something he had never been able to do before. Now he has the chance to "live out the consequences of his actions". Bigger for the first time was "living truly and deeply no matter what others might think" (NS 7). The murders give him a sense of creation. He feels that they have given a focus to the chaotic circumstances of his existence. His acceptance of the moral guilt makes Bigger feel free.

Bigger was shaken by terror, and he acted as men act, under the influence of terror – primitively, cruelly, violently. He killed. He was a rat against a wall. In killing, for the first time in his life, he became important; in crime he acquired his first sense of a kind of freedom. A mob howled for his blood; the atmosphere of the crowd in the court room taught Bigger that he was not alone; his death was to be used as a bloody symbol of fear to be waved before the eyes of the black world. Why did Bigger commit these murders? He himself fumbled for an answer: "For a little while I was free. I was doing something... I killed 'em because I was scared and mad. But I been scared and mad all my life and after I killed the first woman, I wasn't scared no more for a little while" then finally: "I didn't know I was really alive in this world until I felt things hard enough to kill for em..." (NS 328).

Native Son is a dramatization of the tortured search for values by which Bigger Thomas is to struggle, live and die at the moment he has learned to live. For Bigger Thomas externally, is the stereotyped monster of a lynching – inciting press. So far as the police record is concerned, he is the murderer of Mary Dalton, the daughter of his wealthy white "benefactor". He is a "brutish sex slayer". His Negro mistress is the victim of his "primitive blood lust". His trial for murder is the subject for horrified editorials in
the Jackson (Miss) Daily Star and gory news columns in the Chicago Tribune. This is any explosive material. And it does explode in the faces of the stereotype makers. The police record is here turned into its opposite, an indictment not of an individual but of a brutal and discriminatory order. Bigger Thomas is not a "sex-slayer" at all. He is a fear-ridden boy whose attitude of iron reserve is a wall between him and a world which will not allow him to live and grow. A deeper sense of hysteria has accompanied the blocking of his normal impulses. "Playing white" with his friends on a Chicago street corner is a grim substitute for living white, for living in a world, that is, where one may presumably be a aviator, or a President or a millionaire or whatever one wants to be. A victim of movie-inspired fantasies, he cannot find a possible order or meaning in his relations to other people. He does not know that his crushed existence is part of a much larger pattern which includes Negroes and whites.

Wright's black Christianity emphasizes humility, submission and other worldliness – all of which consign Negroes to living deaths. In Black Boy, Native Son and "The Man who lived underground", autocratic churches, self-serving preachers, and hysterical congregations – exude death and darkness. Protagonists like Bigger Thomas and Fred Daniels (in Eight Men) find little in religion to guide them and much to make them rebel. In Native Son Bigger becomes the target of (police) hoses and is overwhelmed by rushing streams of freezing water. Later in prison when he recalls the icy water, Biggers visited by the Reverend Hammond who preaches to him about Christ's mercy, and prays that the "Laud (will) was hit (sins) as white snow". The scene underscores the church's delusions and the inappropriateness of white Christianity's symbols and rituals for suffering Negroes.

After his capture Bigger realizes that he is as defenseless in the face of death as he had been in the face of life. The aftermath of Bigger's superhuman exertions is apathy; he spurns even religion because "He knows religion as something meant to lull his people into submission." Religion was to Bigger's mother what whiskey was to Bessie. The fugitive, lonely and afraid watches the singing, clapping men and women in a nearby Church. Bigger tells Max that his people went to Church all the time. He said he didn't like it, there was nothing in it. All they did was sing and shout and pray all the time and it didn't get them anything. It is the white folks who get everything. "Nobody but poor folks gets happy in the Church" (NS 329). Bigger cannot respect the submissive path of religion which his mother and Reverend Hammond urge him to follow. "For him there are no external evasions and as his anxiety and frustration mount Bigger begins to feel a sense of impending disaster" (NS 12 – 13). He must have an affirmative idea. And he discovers its spirit in the Labor Defense Lawyer Mr. Max and the young communist Jan Enlow.

Religion appears meaningful but also it is futile. Some new social system – not necessarily the Marxist – is implicitly his prescription. As is so often the case in real life, only the communists in this novel succeed in convincing Bigger that they sincerely believe and act on the principle of the brotherhood of man. Thomas deliberately rejected the advice of his mother's pastor, Reverend Hammond. The old Negro preacher warned that dragging communism into the case would simply stir up more hate. Bigger's only course was to put his trust in God. "There ain' but one way out, so'n' thas Jesus' way, the way of love 'n' forgiveness. Be like Jesus. Don't resist" (NS 269). When Bigger saw a flaming cross of Ku Klux Klan on top of building he felt the cross of Christ nestling against the skin of his chest, "like a knife pointed at his heart". He wanted to rip it off and it was an evil charm which will bring about his death. He gripped the cross and "threw it away cursing a curse that was almost a scream...I can die without a cross!" (NS 313).

Caught after a breath taking flight and chase over the rooftops of a block of Chicago tenements, Bigger is imprisoned and brought to trial. He is defended by Max, his labor lawyer, through whose compassionate eyes, very slowly, the larger implications of Bigger's monstrous deeds come to light. There is a long scene in the prison in which he tries to explain to Max why he did, what he did, always present whether Bigger and his pals mentioned it or not, was this cleavage between black and white..."If you were black they didn't even want you in the army, except to dig ditches" (NS 32).

Richard Wright's ambivalence towards Jews is developed most fully in Native Son. Bigger Thomas resents the Jews who own so many businesses in Chicago's Black Belt, but he values his Jewish
lawyer Max’s assistance. For the first time in his life he meets a white who seems concerned about him. Yet the relationship also unsettles Bigger who becomes vulnerable after he learns to trust Max. Helpless, he “felt that he was sitting and holding his life. . . . In his hands waiting for Max to tell him what to do with it and it made him hate himself . . . .” By breaking down Bigger’s defenses, his hatred of whites, by encouraging him to analyze racism, and to communicate his feelings, Max acquires tremendous power over his black client. Not only is he responsible for his defense but for his soul as well. One wrong glance or word can shatter Bigger’s confidence and faith. “I know I oughtn’t to think about it.” Bigger said, “but I can’t help it. . . . we black and they white. They got things and we ain’t. They do things and we can’t. It’s just like living in Jail. The rest of the time I feel like I’m on the outside of the world peeping in, through a knot hole in the fence” (NS 23). To Bigger all white folks were enemies. He felt them all the time “right down here in my stomach” (NS 24).

Bigger feels he would have been different “. . . May be I would’ve been all right if I could’ve done something I wanted to do. I wouldn’t be scared then. Or mad, may be. I wouldn’t be always hating folks and maybe I’d feel at home, sort of” (NS 329). Bigger Thomas lands in Chicago street corner watching aeroplanes flown by white men racing against the sun. When he sees the plane writing high up in the air, he says wistfully about the whites, “they get a chance to do everything.” And “I could fly a plane if I had a chance” says Bigger. “If you wasn’t black and if you had some money and if they’d let you go to that aviation school, you could fly a plane,” Gus said (NS 19–20).

There is an even more extraordinary scene in which Max traces before the court the jungle tangle of motives that have made Bigger the murderer he unquestionably is. Against the travesty which is the state’s case, the lawyer’s defense is an attempt to show how society made Bigger what he is. Through his tongue Native Son strikes with all its strength. It does not beg; it indicts. It hits even those like the Daltons who give millions to Negroes; for even they sanction discrimination. It bends no knees, it asks no pity; it seeks to scourge.

Beneath Bigger’s terrifying public personality lies a core of trembling flesh within which rots the seed of the man that might have been. Once in a quite wonderful scene, this comes to the surface – facing the chair and surprised out of himself by the lawyer’s plea for him, Bigger breaks through the great wall of his mute pain and reaches out to his defender in the most moving of human gestures. Wright considers Bigger typical of the vast Negro population. He puts into the lawyer’s mouth a solemn warning to the white society as to what it may expect if it continues to brutalize Negro youth in the manner in which Bigger has been brutalized. Like Mary Dalton’s boy friend Jan, Max resembles the sympathetic white man in the slave narratives who is somewhat removed from the system. While Jan remains within the type – and is therefore viewed as one dimensional as are most of the novel’s characters – Max’s status is more problematic. While he never gains the intimacy with Bigger he so desperately seeks, Max does nevertheless, more than any other, spark Bigger’s fleeting glimpse of the possibilities of life and human communion. Moreover as his court room speech implies, he sees, more than the rest, how America has made Bigger for more than Bigger has fashioned himself. Max’s use of language is what allows him to break out of the plantation role type. It contrasts not only with Bigger’s verbal deficiencies and with the corruption of language by the State’s attorney and the press, but also on a subtler scale with Mary Dalton and Jan’s insensitive verbal groping across the racial chasm. “Isn’t there a song like that a song, your people sing?” which only fills Bigger with a dumb, cold and inarticulate hate.

If Max speaks for Wright, he specifically does so in the court room episode where he is not only eloquent but forthright and compassionate. Max blunts the raw revolutionary fervor which Bigger generated and which makes the communists come to his aid. In doing so Max exchanges his credentials as a radical for a heroic posture which is very much in the American grain. Max soon takes on the features of a familiar turn-of-the-century type, the “white moral voice” Max is then a revolutionary manqué, a reformer possessing a grand but ineffectual idealism which leaves him horror – struck before the fact of Bigger’s pending execution.

The radicals, Mr. Max and Jan Erlone, are the only ones who make Bigger aware of his dignity as a human being. This does not
Bigger is free of fear of life and death. He has finally made peace with himself by realizing that his actions although self-destructive were the only possible responses to the series of injustices and irrationalities within his existence. As his execution nears, Bigger has no remorse, instead he is seen with a faint, wry bitter smile.

Bigger is tender and warm beneath his hard-boiled exterior. Everybody comments on the opening scene, where Bigger is mean and tough toward his sister Vera and his mother. This scene is balanced with the jail scene when his family comes to visit him. “How you 1 – 1 – like the sewing classes at the Y, Vera?” he asks his sister whom he had once scared to tears. And when he learns that she has had to leave the Y because she is now ashamed before the other girls, he realizes that his family is a part of him in spirit as well as in blood. Three times he tells his mother: “forget me, Ma”, though he knows, with a new and mature insight, that she will never forget him.

As a member of a race which has known something of oppression – Bigger’s lawyer, Max pleads extenuation for his client both on broad grounds of justice and on the ground that the white society drove Bigger to crime by repressing him. At the trial, his white-haired Jewish lawyer makes a final plea to the judge for mercy.

He was living, only as he knew how and as the society has forced him to live... The hate and fear which we have inspired in him, woven by our civilization into the very structure of his consciousness into his blood and bones, into the hourly functioning of his personality, have become the justification of his existence... Every thought he thinks is potential murder (NS 366 -377).

This long court room speech sums up the argument of the novel. It is strongest when Mr. Max is making a plea for American Negroes in general. “They are not simply twelve million people; in reality they constitute a separate nation, stunted, stripped and held captive within this nation? Many of them and many white people too – are full of “halked longing for some kind of fulfillment and exultation” and their existence is “what makes our future seem a looming image of violence” (NS 364).

Mr. Max’s talk of another civil war seems not so much a threat as an agonized warning. His speech does not convince the judge.
When his lawyer Max, asks Bigger if he ever thought he would face the electric chair, "Now I come to think of it" he answers "it seems like something like this just had to be". If Bigger had been given a life sentence he would have robbed of human courage and dignity. When Bigger meets his death not in despair but with a belief that he has at last been able to shape his own destiny - though through violence and killing - he symbolizes an authorial tenet that man's freedom is within his grasp here on earth, if he is willing to accept the responsibility and consequences for it. There is no hope for Bigger. With death but a few days away Bigger thinks out his life, a life which has not yet begun, which has not been permitted to begin, "I hurt folks' cause I felt I had to; that's all, they was crowding me too close; they wouldn't give me no room . . . I didn't know I was really alive in this world until I felt things hard enough to kill for 'em" (NS 388). That last sentence, quite terrible, is not an "excuse" for Bigger. But it is an indictment of a society, itself fearful, blind and grooping, which has not yet learned how not to produce Biggers, whether white or black. Max no sentimentalist, no Negrophile, sums it up in court when he says "He has murdered many times, but there are no corpses. This Negro boy's entire attitude toward life is a crime" (NS 366).

Here Mr. Wright does his best for Bigger and incidentally drives home the white man's immense responsibility. Bigger reacts to the crimes he has committed and its results because of his early conditioning. He feels himself pursued and acts as does a man "when he feels he must defend himself against or adapt himself to, the total natural world in which he lives". The author has put into the mouth of Bigger's lawyer Max the more formal arguments on behalf of the blacks who are stripped of opportunity and devoid of hope, asserting that the hate and fear that lead a lad like Bigger to commit crimes are "woven by our civilization into the very structure of his consciousness" (NS 367).

Although from the first page it is predicted that Bigger is the product of his environment, it is in the last third of the book, in the events that follow - his capture - the tried trial and his defense by Max, the radical attorney that Native Son graduates from one individual's pathology to the whole tragedy of the Negro Spirit in a white world. Richard Wright has his heart in his tale that is patent from the quotation from the Book of Job that he puts on the title page. "Even today is my complaint rebellious, my stroke is heavier than my groaning."

As Dorothy Canfield Fisher makes clear in her fine introduction, society holds out to him a picture of what the American citizen should be - independent, decent, and courageous — and then prevent him from doing anything toward the realization of these ideals. The result of this frustration is a neurosis. The result of Bigger's neurosis is, as so often happens, the horrible violence. Dimly Bigger feels all this, "He knew that the moment he allowed what his life meant to enter fully into his consciousness, he would either kill himself or somebody else" (NS 14). Richard Wright often goes deeper into layers of consciousness where only Dostoevsky and a few others have penetrated into the recess of "a human soul in hell because it is sick with a deadly spiritual sickness" Richard Wright, The Critical Reception Clifton Fadiman, New York, 16 (March 2, 1940, p. 52–53).

Dostoevsky's Crime and Punishment deals with the universally unchanging and unchangeable human instinct; Dreiser's American Tragedy is the representation of a social complex that has not disturbed greatly the conscience of our present generation. But Wright's Native Son is neither an experimental nor a philosophic novel. It is a penetrating, realistic, clinical examination of a new open wound, which is yet bleeding.

A comparison with Dreiser's An American Tragedy is proper, for the two books are hewn out of the same block and indeed tell almost the same story, with a half accidental murder as the central episode in both cases. Dreiser's book is greater, more monumental, more controlled, more knowledgeable, but Native Son is apt to have much the same effect on any reader who is not afraid to go through its dark and bloody pages. The startling difference in Mr. Wright's Native Son is that the injustice is a racial, not merely a social one. Mr. Wright's Bigger is far beyond and outside of helpful social agencies. He represents an "impasse" rather than a complex and his tragedy is to be born into a black and immutable minority race, literally in his own words, "whipped before you born". Mr. Wright allows Bigger a brief moment of illumination into his hopeless condition before he is finally whipped out of the world,
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what Wright has done with this sensational criminal story is extremely interesting. Dorothy Canfield Fisher who writes a preface for this book, explains Bigger partly in terms of neuroses and psychopathic upsets in animals that one might have read about in the research psychology journals. Bigger then in a sense is scarcely more perceptive than the rat he had killed at the beginning of the story. What Wright has done is to turn this dry phraseology into the luring language of today, into a person, not a personality adjustment, into a scene, a drama, a memorable experience.

Critics immediately hailed the novel as a penetrating indictment of racial persecution. Irving commented: "A blow at the white man, the novel forced him to recognize himself as an oppressor. A blow at the Blackman, the novel forced him to recognize the cost of his submission." Native Son became the first novel by a black American writer to achieve widespread critical and popular success.

Wright's novel is a commentary on the social status of black people in the United States. Wright's protagonist acts are determined, the logic goes, by the social position Bigger Thomas occupies as a black in a racist American Society. Native Son is an excruciating testimony to the consequences of segregation. As Ishmael Read puts it in a recent article, "Richard Wright knew what he was talking about. Not only had he been poor but as a youth worker he got to know many Biggers and on the basis of this experience, was able to draw a character so convincingly that Bigger has become an archetype for the inner cities' disaffected youth" (Read 169–170).

At once radical and too sweeping in its conclusions James Baldwin's exposition of the ideology of protest novel applies to Native Son to the extent that this novel is indeed a descendent of Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, which Baldwin takes to be the founding example of the protest genre. Native Son can indeed be seen as protest novel, but only if it is reduced to representing the racist ideology that its protagonist has internalized. That is, Native Son fits Baldwin's description of the protest novel if it is understood to be a story about Bigger Thomas, the every – Negro which precisely how the novel's Boris Max, Thomas's lawyer, and Jan Erlone the communist fiancé of the murdered Mary Dalton, see Thomas. In order to consent to such a reading, however, one has to overlook Wright's irony in having Max claim that there is something "bigger than Bigger" "well, this thing bigger than you Son. In a certain sense, every Negro in America's on trial out there today" (NS 426). The most frightening thing about Bigger Thomas was his complete divorce from the values of common humanity with nothing to live for Wright's black man is willing to die for freedom. Preferring to die "without shame" if he cannot live with pride. Native Son serves as Wright's warning to white America to recognize her invisible sons before they ruthlessly judge and condemn their country.

The psychology in Native Son how a black underprivileged male in white American society truly feels is Wright's major accomplishment in this book. Wright demonstrates the sexual dynamics of neurotic anger: the explosive expression of pent-up black rage that finds rampant articulation in a variety of ways, including murder, rape and other anti-social and deviant forms of behavior. The crimes are crimes of violence not of sexual passion. Such violence is the expression of his anger, deep, pent-up explosive rage. Since Native Son was published in 1940, it has disturbed the complacency of Americans, both blacks and whites. Bigger Thomas' raw rage cannot be ignored; the reader responds either negatively or positively to the novel. Wright kept the promise he had made when he discovered that "even banker's daughters could read and weep over and feel good about Uncle Tom's Children." He vowed his next book would be one that "no one would weep over". In fact, "it would be so hard and deep that they would have to face it without the consolation of tears". In this Wright succeeded.

Another notable achievement in Native Son is the effective plumbing of Wright's own psyche and unconscious to reveal exactly how the inarticulate and illiterate Bigger Thomas felt. In his creative writing process and effort, they are the same. Wright not only becomes deeply involved with Bigger as a character, he expresses his own subliminal desires and in the creative process of transforming reality into fiction he translates these desires into those of his character, Bigger Thomas.

An enormous imaginative structure of characters, events and narrative devices has been elaborated not merely to describe but
to express, in the full extent of that word, the emotional experience of Bigger Thomas. The question which remains is whether this structure has been adequate either to repair or to circumvent Bigger’s dissociated sensibility. There is a certain sense of failure implicit in any recourse to an expressionistic mode of writing, despair at one’s inability to make sense of experience that is fundamentally hostile to certain human needs or values. In Native Son, there seems to be recognition of that failure or inadequacy built into the very terms of the work itself. In the first two sections, Bigger’s persona expands to fill the world as he perceives it, and an extravagant sequence of characters, events, and commentaries provide him with images of his own experience. In the last section that sequence slows and eventually shuts itself off, leaving Bigger immobilized and forced or free — to contemplate those images. Such contemplation is, in Bigger’s terms, the function of the entire procedure. The original movement of expansion does not merely halt, however, but reverses itself out. Bigger’s active experience becomes increasingly restricted and the images of his past experience take up exclusive and fixed residence inside his consciousness. His last hope for contact with others is cut off as Max backs away in terror from Bigger’s dawning sense of “rightness”. Gone too is any hope of escaping execution. All that is left in Bigger is a solipsistic acceptance of his own feelings, now explanation or justification: “what I lacked for must’ve been good . . . I can say it now, ‘cause I’m going to die. I know what I’m saying real good and I know how it sounds. But I’m all right. I feel all right when I look at it that way . . .” (Wright 392). Not only does Bigger have “the last word” over Max, as Irving Howe has so often been quoted to say, but over the narrator as well, who drops away at last because Bigger “can say it now” and knows what he is saying “real good”. This final pathetic utterance, so triumphant in Bigger’s mind, isolates him forever and leaves him clinging with a kind of desperate joy to the fear and hate that have destroyed his life (pp. 74–75).

It is not difficult to find reasons for the fascination Mr. Wright’s life and work continue to have for black writers. As Mr. Fabre (the co-editor) often indicates in his notes, Mr. Wright was a conscious artist, a writer who learned from his reading of other masters who employed inventive techniques to dramatize his knowledge of black language and culture. The pattern of Mr. Wright’s early life mirrored the mass irrigation of Blacks from South to North from rural areas to the cities, from communal folk life to urban alienation. In Black Boy, Lawd Today and Native Son the promise and bitter disappointment of these historic movements are captured and Mr. Wright’s later years reflected the intellectual Odyssey of black people in the second half of the 20th century. He examined the legacy of the African past; he documented the rise of the emerging nations and analyzed the political consequences of this redistribution of power for all oppressed people. Although Mr. Wright temporarily embraced various isms — communism, Black Nationalism, existentialism — he regarded each system as valid only so long as it freed him to grapple on his own terms with the vast, unclassifiable welter of experience. Always at the center of Mr. Wright’s work is his insistence on the sanctity of the individual imagination, but this insistence is tempered by his vision of black people’s collective destiny: In “Blueprint for Negro Writing” he has left us his example, his challenge: “The Negro writer has a serious responsibility. In order to do justice to his subject matter, in order to depict Negro life in all of its manifold and intricate relationships a deep, informed, and complex consciousness is necessary; a consciousness which draws for its strength upon the fluid lore of a great people, and molds this lore with the concepts that more and direct the forces of history today” (p. 32).

Fabre’s comment about Wright that seems to have escaped the perception of many scholars is the fitting conclusion to this study: ...

we must not forget that Richard Wright was attempting more than entertainment or even political enlightenment. Uncertainly at times, but more often quite consciously, he was grappling with a definition of man. Although his solitary quest ended prematurely and did not allow him to find one, his achievement as a writer and a humanist makes him, in the Emersonian sense, a truly “representative man” of our time (Fabre 531).
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Edward Abbey's Desert Solitaire: A Polemic for Wilderness

- Dr. (Mrs) U. Sumathy

Once, when Edward Abbey was included in the list of nature writers along with Thoreau, Annie Dillard and Aldo Leopold, he had resisted it. "This is a title I have not earned, never wanted, do not enjoy", wrote Abbey in his preface to Desert Solitaire. But the fact is that Abbey is indeed a nature writer.

Nature writing is not just any writing that happens to mention the outdoors, the flora and the fauna. It is born out of love, respect and awe. It finds its subject during days of close observation of the natural world. It is the voice born out of a relationship with nature developed during those days. It is about the interconnections and interrelationships that form this world. And Abbey's Desert Solitaire is all this and more.

Desert Solitaire was born out of Abbey’s experiences as a park ranger in the Arches National Monument in south-east Utah. For three six-month periods he had inhabited 33,000 acres of slick rock wilderness thus accumulating four volumes of notes and sketches. "...most of the substance of this book is drawn, sometimes direct and unchanged, from the pages of the journals kept and filled through the undivided, seamless days of those marvelous summers" (Intro. x). Desert Solitaire is not only a celebration of the harsh beauty of the desert landscape but is also a powerful polemic for the preservation of wilderness.
Of course, this edited volume cannot come out without the timely contribution of articles from all contributors. In spite of their personal and professional commitments, they were able to meet the deadline. I thank them all wholeheartedly for sending me their papers on and in time.

My own colleagues are always supportive in my academic activities. I wish to record my gratitude to Dr Premalatha Rajan, Professor and Head, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Anna University, Chennai, and all my colleagues for their co-operation and encouragement.

The publisher, Sarup and Sons, New Delhi, deserves the final and the best of my thanks for readily agreeing to publish this festschrift befittingly.

S P Dhanavel

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In 1887 was published a book by Philip Alexander Bruce called *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman*. He pointed specifically to an alleged rise in sexual crimes by the blacks. It was said that the blacks were unnaturally attracted to the white women and this attraction led to a large number of rapes. Such acts (how far it was true is uncertain) were regarded by the whites as an attack on the integrity of their race. In 1900, a religious publishing house brought out a book titled *The Negro: A Beast* by Charles Caroll. This bizarre work pointed out that the African American was actually an ape and it was he who had originally tempted Eve. It says “the baleful fire of unchaste amour rages through the negroe’s blood, more fiercely than in the blood of any other people. Another person, George T Winston once wrote to a newspaper, “when a knock is heard at the door, the (Southern white) shudders with nameless horror. The black brute is lurking in the dark; a monstrous beast; crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demonic. A mad bull or tiger can scarcely be more brutal”. Thus another image of the black male as the rapist became popular. Invisible Man’s affair with Sybil is an example of this stereotype. Ellison pokes fun at the white society’s notion of the black as the sexual aggressor as it is Sybil who almost rapes the protagonist.

Thus Ralph Ellison presents almost all forms of the stereotypes of African Americans in *Invisible Man* and rejects them convincingly. What is required by the black is to wear a mask. Only those who understand this succeed. Bledsoe and Trueblood are examples of such blacks. But, Invisible Man breaks all shackles and moves towards realizing his own individual identity.

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of his times. In the case of Black American culture the principal shift was from a rural to an urban environment; similarly the patterns in the life of Richard Wright modulated from his Mississippi youth to his Parisian manhood. During the thirties and forties Richard Wright underwent a genuine broadening in social, intellectual, artistic, and economic spheres. The Communist Party offered intellectual as well as political camaraderie to the blacks. His early faith in communism was infused with the passion of wanting to improve the quality of people's lives and thinking. He joined the John Reed Club, a literary organ of the Communist Party. His affiliation with the party was short-lived and disturbing.

When African American fiction was as excluded from the canon of American Literature as were African American citizens from the right to vote in Mississippi, Wright's novels instruct and challenge beliefs about human conditions. They remain in dialogue with the past and present, responding to and transcending the situational imperatives of their times. Writing in defense of her own novel, *The Street* (1946), as a work involving social criticism, Ann Petry (1114-1119) argued that all great novels were a species of propaganda, reflecting the writer's awareness of the political, economic and social events of his or her time. Dickens, Tolstoy, Hemingway, Steinbeck, Dostoevsky, George Eliot, and Wright all projected such awareness in fiction.

Wright's best selling novel *Native Son* (1940) describes the poor urban black life during the Great Depression of the 1930s in Chicago, which was a site of extreme racial and political violence. Coupled with severe economic malaise as a result of the stock market crash of 1929, the world of Wright's protagonist, Bigger Thomas, was largely indicative of white America's racist and social Darwinist disregard for the black community. For many young urban Blacks in the northern ghettos of the 1920s, Bigger's rage was an understandable, if not identifiable, response to white racism and poverty.

The genesis of *Native Son* goes deeper, the book comes from a region where only truth will suffice, a realm where myths and stereotypes dissolve and genuine folk heritage shines forth. The plot of *Native Son* is brisk and has something of the momentum of a thriller. The opening section immerses the reader in Bigger Thomas's milieu in the poverty-stricken environment of Chicago's South side that produced him, and of which he is in certain respects, the perfect expression. Bigger is recommended as a chauffer by a relief organization to Mr. Dalton, a robber baron-turned liberal philanthropist. His daughter Mary is a fellow traveler in Chicago communist party circles, and the lover of a party organizer, Jan Erilone. Mary and Jan embrace Bigger with a solicitude that is at once condescending and oppressive. The novel satirizes their attitude effectively.

The killing of Mary itself is, on the face of it, an accident. Mary drinks herself into semi-consciousness during a date with Jan, on this Bigger's first night as the family chauffeur. On their return to the Dalton house Bigger faces a dilemma: how can he get Mary into her bedroom without waking Mr. & Mrs. Dalton who would then discover, that Mary has not been as she was supposed to be attending a lecture. He cannot simply leave her in the car, but neither can he wake the Daltons and reveal that he has ignored their instructions — even if he did so at Mary's insistence — to drive her to a lecture. So he hauls Mary upstairs on his own — a tantalizing, painful ordeal during which, Mary clumsily comes on to Bigger. As he attempts to tuck her into bed — whether or not he intends to respond to her drunken sexual advances is not clear — Mrs. Dalton appears in the doorway like an apparition. She is blind and cannot see Bigger, who in desperation covers Mary's face with a pillow to prevent her from answering her mother's call. For should he be found at Mary's bedside, no account he might give of how he got there
would prevent his being fired — and with good reason before he realizes it. Mary is dead from suffocation. Her mother approaching the bed, gets a whiff of whiskey and cigarette smoke, concludes that the girl is drunk, and leaves her to sleep it off. Bigger stuffs the body into the furnace — he has to sever the head in order to make it fit — and cooks up a scheme to mislead the police into believing that Mary had been kidnapped by local communists.

When a reporter, quite by chance, discovers fragments of bones in the ashes, Bigger flees, murders his black girl friend, Bessie Mears, out of fear, that she will betray him, and hides among the dilapidated buildings of the South side — the very buildings that absentee landlords like Mr. Dalton fail to develop so as artificially to inflate the rents they charge black tenants. Bigger is captured, charged with capital murder and rape — a crime he did not, in fact, commit, and tried. The Communist Party provides Bigger with an attorney, Boris Max, who in the course of a long argument before the jury, offers an analysis of American racism that he hopes will account for Bigger's actions in such a way as to mitigate his responsibility and thereby save him from execution. As his efforts fail, Bigger is convicted and sentenced to die.

In his account of the writing of the novel, "How Bigger was Born," Wright sets out a theory of authorship. He constructs a scene wherein the protagonist is essentially compelled to commit a crime; circumstance, not Bigger's own violation is the agent here. The act may be "motivated" by necessity. But it unfolds how Bigger himself comes to recognize his own "true" motivation, his own will: he did have murder in his heart. Bigger discovers himself in the killing. "What I killed for, I am," he says to his lawyer. In taking responsibility for the act — even to the point of acknowledging to his lawyer that he had been with Mary Dalton — he makes his existence meaningful; he creates himself in the act, for the first time, he realizes that he is himself and agent — "a person acting," not merely "a thing in motion" buffeted about by forces he cannot control. In short, Wright depicts in Native Son an act that is at once "accidental" and a "murder." And, indeed, this is Boris Max's argument in his plea on behalf of Bigger: the occurrence at the Dalton home that night did in fact somehow represent Bigger's character which had been hardened and tempered by oppression. And yet that occurrence was also predetermined and Bigger's role in it was cast long ago. Because the American culture is organized by assumptions of White Supremacy and because White Supremacy had for generations been so violent and brutal in its operations, the killing of Mary Dalton had about it an air of inevitability.

Irving Howe (1963:100-101) has presented a just assessment of Wright's achievement, "The day Native Son (1940) appeared, American culture has changed for ever. No matter how much qualifying the book might later need, it made impossible a repetition of the old lies. Native Son accomplished the task begun by the blacks' intelligentsia, including Paul Laurence Dunbar, Charles Chesnutt, James Weldon Johnson, and W.E.B. Du Bois, at the turn of the century. Here is what Wright thinks of black life in America:

Whenever I thought of the essential bleakness of black life in America, I knew the Negroses had never been allowed to catch the full spirit of Western Civilization, that they lived somehow in it but not of it. And when I brooded upon the cultural barrenness of black life. I wondered of clean, positive tenderness, love, honor, loyalty and the capacity to remember were native with man. I asked myself if these human qualities were not fostered, won, struggled and suffered for, presented in ritual form from one generation to another, (BB37).

As a chronicler of his time, Wright's parenthetical statements about "the strange absence of real kindness" and "the cultural barrenness of black life" merit the reader's attention.
From his killing of a rat in the first scene of the *Native Son* until his last bitter smile to his retreating lawyer, Bigger Thomas acts as the eternal man in revolt—a type of devil or bad man hero who attempts to subvert society to heed its dictates. The burning of Mary Dalton's body and the premeditated murder of Bessie Mears are clearly the acts of a strong Satanic figure determined, at whatever cost, to have his freedom. The moment he adopts a mask of innocence, subservience and stupidity to allay the suspicions of detective Britten and the newspaper reporters, Bigger plays the role of a trickster. Wright seems to have implicitly understood Bigger's frustration which is all along reflected in his inability or unwillingness to get used to racial and class oppression and the ways in which Bigger comes to resist White authority, combat racial terror and fight against the trauma of negation and submission.

Wright moved beyond silent suffering, far beyond inarticulateness; yet when he expressed the black suffering, it was in the tone and from the perspective of the inarticulate black folk of America. In *Native Son*, Bigger Thomas dreams of a strong black man who will emerge to unite the mass of the black people. The fulfillment of his dream, of course, is Bigger himself. His movement from bondage to freedom affirms the black survival values of timely trickery and militant resistance, and serves as a model hero—a strong man getting stronger. Wright's protagonists are always committed to life lived fully and wholly. There are always obstacles in their paths and they are often destroyed as a result of their commitment. Wright repeatedly declares that the blacks are affirmers; every imaginable pressure has been exerted against the principles of humanity vested in the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights more fully and effectively than any other group on the continent.

The racial climate in Wright's eyes, from a reading of *Native Son*, could only be that of the perspective expressed by a black American. Bigger Thomas's history is the history of every black American. It coincides precisely with the founding and evolution of the United States of America. Thus, *Native Son* irrefutably demonstrates that Richard Wright is one of its finest artists and sensitive chroniclers of black sensibility from a black for the whole world.

REFERENCES


