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When it is Troublesome to Do Right: A Narrative Analysis of the Continual Censorship and "Sivilizing" of Huckleberry Finn

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When it is Troublesome to Do Right: A Narrative Analysis of the Continual Censorship and "Sivilizing" of *Huckleberry Finn*

by

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ABSTRACT

When it is Troublesome to do Right: A Narrative Analysis of the Continual Censorship and "Sivilizing" of *Huckleberry Finn*

This qualitative dissertation is a part of a broader program of research that investigates intellectual freedom. The study focuses on developing understanding in three distinct, but related, research areas – the American historical and cultural narrative of race, the historical discourse of intellectual freedom, and the role *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* can play in adding to and perhaps changing these historic stories. By using historical narrative inquiry, data was examined from each story to find correlations among the discourses Where previous research centers on and develops the reasons why *Huck Finn* has been challenged, this research focuses on how the reasons for challenging the novel have changed over the last 131 years and provides a conduit for previously unheard voices as they add their stories to the established historical discourse on race and intellectual freedom. The theoretical framework of this research grew out of a study of Hannah Arendt's political philosophies surrounding storytelling and Jean Francois Lyotard's deconstruction of the need for a grand narrative to describe historical and cultural events. These two ideas combined with Critical Race Theory (CRT) become the framework to study the three stories being examined in this research. Examination of the collected data through historical time periods and then in relation to each story provided the findings. Two main themes run throughout the entire discourse of these three narratives: marginalization and exclusion.

Keywords: intellectual freedom, race, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, grand narrative, storytelling

This dissertation is dedicated to the person who believed in me, supported me, and loved me even when I sometimes didn't deserve it:
my husband and best friend
Jeff Branyon

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You will come to know that what appears today to be a sacrifice will prove instead to be the greatest investment that you will ever make.
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Chapter 1 Introduction: History of the Problem

This dissertation will deal with intellectual freedom and censorship and how these two concepts have influenced the narratives and discourses about race that have specifically been elucidated since 1885 with the publication of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Intellectual freedom places fundamental value on the autonomy of the individual to hold and express beliefs without fear of political or social punishment. Censorship, in this context concerning *Huck Finn* and racism, includes not only the editing and expurgating of parts of this published novel but also efforts to ban, prohibit, suppress, prosecute, remove, label, or restrict this novel and the effects these actions have had on the stories of racism in America. Opposition to these activities emanates from the belief that individual intellectual freedom is basic to the functioning and maintenance of democracy and therefore will be of benefit to the society as a whole (Jefferson, 1785). By denying citizens the opportunity to choose from all possible alternatives and viewpoints, censorship violates intellectual freedom.

The history of censorship has told an interdependent story of repression and persecution, coupled with a narration of tolerance and freedom. One of the first philosophers to express a rational defense of intellectual freedom was Socrates, who asserted the supremacy of his own thoughts and inquiry over the decision of the jury who declared he could be set free if he recanted his teachings. Socrates chose the cup of hemlock over repression of his freedom of inquiry. Another argument for freedom from censorship was that of John Milton in *Areopagitica* when he wrote in defense of the right of all individuals to choose for themselves the works they read and valued and not rely on a government censor to determine which books were acceptable for public consumption. He said:

> We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at the ethereall and fift(h) essence, the breath of reason itselfe, slaies an immortality rather than a life (par. 4).

John Locke's *Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689) argued that states should have no control over the religious beliefs and observances of men and that tolerance should be extended to nonconformists and pagans. This was a call for the total separation of the church and the state. He wrote that "The state the state must grant equal status and liberty to all religions within its domain, provided that they do not teach any doctrines dangerous to the state's welfare (which doctrines would then not be, properly speaking, religious), and those religions in turn must in no way concern themselves with political affairs." Much of American constitutional law relating to the freedoms of religion, press, speech, and assembly which are found in the Constitution's Bill of Rights, specifically Amendment One has been an outgrowth of Locke's theory. John Stuart Mill (1859) believed that every man is the best judge of his own actions and welfare and is competent to choose for himself what he will read or hear. In his essay *On Liberty* (1859) Mill expressed his conviction that "one cannot be a great thinker if he does recognize that as a thinker it is his first duty to follow his intellect to whatever conclusions it may lead. There is always hope when people are forced to listen to both sides. It is when they attend only one that errors harden into prejudices and truth itself ceases to have the effect of truth, by being exaggerated into falsehood" (Fitzsimmons, 1996, p. 2). At the end of the eighteenth century several

documents advanced the cause of freedom in all aspects of its meaning. These were the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789), and the Bill of Rights to the United States Constitution (1791).

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this research certain terms about intellectual freedom need to be defined. According to the American Library Association (ALA) (2016), "intellectual freedom is the right of every individual to both seek and receive information from all points of view without restriction. It provides for free access to all expressions of ideas through which any and all sides of a question, cause or movement may be explored." This important aspect of American freedom is found in the interpretations passed down by the Supreme Court of the United States. Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. (1989) stated in his opinion on *Texas v. Johnson* that "If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable." Intellectual freedom is often defended when an idea from a book, newspaper, speech or any other form of disseminating information is found to be offensive. These attempts to stop intellectual freedom are often seen as challenges, banning, and censorship. A challenge is defined as an attempt to remove or restrict materials, based upon the objections of a person or group. Challenges do not simply involve a person expressing a point of view; rather, they are an attempt to remove material from the curriculum or library, thereby restricting the access of others (ALA, 2016). Challenges often follow specific steps and can be stopped at any point along the continuum.

In 1986, in response to inquiries from librarians facing book or material challenges for the first time, the Intellectual Freedom Committee of ALA developed the following list of

definitions to clarify terminology associated with challenges:

- **Expression of Concern**. An inquiry that has judgmental overtones.
- **Oral Complaint**. An oral challenge to the presence and/or appropriateness of the material in question.
- **Written Complaint**. A formal, written complaint filed with the institution (library, school, etc.), challenging the presence and/or appropriateness of specific material.
- **Public Attack**. A publicly disseminated statement challenging the value of the material, presented to the media and/or others outside the institutional organization in order to gain public support for further action.
- **Censorship**. A change in the access status of material, based on the content of the work and made by a governing authority or its representatives. Such changes include exclusion, restriction, removal, or age/grade level changes. (ALA, 2016).

Book banning is a form of censorship which is the official prohibition or restriction of any type of expression (such as literature) believed to threaten the political, social, or moral order (ALA, 2016). Depending on how threatening a work of literature is seen to be, determines where on the continuum of censorship a book may fall. The continuum ranges from total removal from schools and libraries to removal from school curriculum but allowed to remain in the library to moving the offending literature to a different grade level and age level such as from elementary school to middle school to high school. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been a victim of these censorship fates.

Intellectual Freedom and the American Association of Libraries

The American Library Association (ALA) has fought censorship since the late 1800s.The Library Bill of Rights adopted by the ALA in 1948 stresses the need to resist "all abridgment of

the free access to ideas and full freedom of expression." The Bill has its basis in the first and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States. It takes an unequivocal stand on the freedom to read and it supports democracy in full measure in the principle, "There should be the fullest practicable provision of material presenting all points of view concerning the problems and issues of our times, international, national and local." Part of the responsibility of the Committee on Intellectual Freedom of the ALA is guarding, protecting, defending, and extending intellectual freedom. It performs a "backstopping" function for the Library Bill of Rights and stands firm on the ALA statement that "Censorship of books, urged or practiced by volunteer arbiters of morals or political opinion or by organizations that would establish a coercive concept of Americanism, must be challenged by libraries in maintenance of their responsibility to provide public enlightenment through the printed word." In 1953 the ALA endorsed a "Freedom to Read" statement against groups that seek to remove, censor, or label books. The statement expressed the ALA's responsibility for making "available the widest diversity of views and expressions, including those which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority." Concern was also voiced about the danger of suppressing ideas. The point was made that freedom had given the United States the elasticity to endure strain, but "Every silencing of heresy, every enforcement of an orthodoxy, diminishes the toughness and resilience of our society and leaves it less able to deal with stress." No society of free men can flourish which draws up lists of writers to whom it will not listen, whatever they may have to say. No group has the right to take the law into its own hands, and to impose its own concepts of politics or morality upon other members of a democratic society (Leverett, Evans, Pelton, & Loosie, 1998). The choice must be made on another basis. Is censorship desirable? That can only be determined

by various communities and societies, but the decision to restrict or constrain expression almost invariably causes intellectual and artistic stagnation, whatever good effect it may also have.

Perspective

President Eisenhower said in 1953: "As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so it is no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence. And any who act as if freedom's defenses are to be found in suppression and suspicion and fear confess a doctrine that is alien to America" (p. 456). Speaking for liberation and against repression, with specific application to books, President Whitney Griswold (1964) of Yale University said, "Books won't stay banned. They won't burn. Ideas won't go to jail. In the long run of history, the censor and the inquisitor have always lost. The only sure weapon against bad ideas is better ideas" (p. 24). In the late 1800s, the American Library Association began to formulate its position on intellectual freedom, challenging materials, free and open access, and censorship with attempts to create a unified voice but not a uniform definition. Instead, through its governing Council, and the Intellectual Freedom Committee, and the Office for Intellectual Freedom, ALA has promoted a variety of principles aimed at fostering a favorable climate for intellectual freedom and the right for each citizen to choose what he or she wants to read (Fitzsimmons, 1996). Censorship denies the opportunity to choose from all possible alternatives and thereby violates intellectual freedom; however, denying the opportunity of choice for fear it may be used unwisely destroys freedom itself. The ALA's seminal position opposing censorship emerged in the late 1930s when John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* became the target of censorship pressures around the United States because many people opposed the social views advanced by the author. The ALA's first response to the pressures against *Grapes of Wrath* was adoption in 1939 of the Library's Bill of Rights, the precursor of the present Library Bill of

Rights. It became the profession's basic policy statement on intellectual freedom. For intellectual freedom to flourish, opposition to censorship of materials is not enough. Access to materials, without prejudice, to every member of the community must also be assured. A year after adoption of the Library's Bill of Rights, the Association established the Intellectual Freedom Committee (IFC) "to recommend such steps as may be necessary to safeguard the rights of library users in accordance with the Bill of Rights and the Library's Bill of Rights as adopted by Council." Although the IFC's role has varied, its main function has been to recommend policies concerning intellectual freedom. The original Library's Bill of Rights focused on unbiased book selection, a balanced collection, and open meeting rooms. It did not mention censorship and removal of materials at the behest of groups or individuals. Over the years, though, the policy statement has been revised, amended, and interpreted, often in response to specific situations with general implications. The first was a 1944 amendment against banning materials believed to be factually correct. It was occasioned by attacks on *Under Cover*, an exposé of Nazi organizations in the United States, and *Strange Fruit*, a novel about interracial love. Opposition to censorship of non-print media was amended to the document in 1951 because of attacks on films alleged to promote communism. To combat suppression of communist materials or other allegedly "subversive" publications, the Association issued its Statement on Labeling (approved 1951; revised 1971) which explained that designating materials subversive is subtle censorship because it predisposes readers toward the materials. Responding to pressures against materials about civil rights activities, a 1967 amendment warned against excluding materials because of the social views of the authors. The present Library Bill of Rights, with its interpretive documents, recognizes that censorship of any materials, in any guise, eventually affects the library. Therefore, it provides principles for libraries to support, in the broadest sense, and to

oppose censorship and promote intellectual freedom. Referring directly to censorship practices, it states that no library materials should be excluded because of the race or nationality or the social, political, or religious views of the author, and that no library materials should be proscribed or removed because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval. If followed by librarians and governing bodies, the ALA's policy statements provide effective means to prevent library censorship. Ideally, application of these policies in materials selection, circulation practices, and complaint handling establishes the library as an indispensable information source for individuals exercising freedom of inquiry.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research grew out of a study of Hannah Arendt's political philosophies surrounding storytelling and Jean Francois Lyotard's deconstruction of the need for a grand narrative to describe historical and cultural events. These two ideas combined with Critical Race Theory (CRT) to become the framework to examine the basis for the three stories being examined in this study. Critical Race theory is an examination of society and culture looking for the intersection of race, the law, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Delgado and Stefancic (2013) further explain that Critical Race Theory traces racism in America through the nation's legacy of slavery, the Civil Rights Movement, and current events. Critical Race Theory developed into its current form during the 1970s when scholars such as Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado responded to the slow progress that was being made for Blacks toward equality after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). Delgado and Stefancic (2013) state that Critical Race Theory scholars such as Crenshaw, Matsuda, and Williams view racism as an ordinary or everyday part of American life seen in television, film, books, and the law. By demonstrating the ordinariness of

racism, they are attempting to confront these beliefs and practices and call attention to the systemic racism present in society.

As Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2013) explain in their introduction to *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*,

> Our social world, with its rules, practices, and assignments of prestige and power, is not fixed; rather, we construct with it words, stories and silence. But we need not acquiesce in arrangements that are unfair and one-sided. By writing and speaking against them, we may hope to contribute to a better, fairer world (p. 3).

CRT scholars look for authentic and tangible solutions through the intellectual work they perform by heightening awareness of and transforming the lens that we use to look at race, gender, culture, and power (Williams, 1998).

Using a CRT approach to examine the Grand narrative of race in America, the history of intellectual freedom and the challenges that have confronted the novel *Huck Finn* includes more than just looking at race, racism and racial characters in fictional works (Bell, 1995). By looking at literature, legal documents, film, television, drama, and other artistic works, evidence is presented of America's cultural values and beliefs which affect all members of a community regardless of racial identification (Williams, 1998). CRT scholars examine the historical documents that govern this nation (Declaration of Independence, Constitution, Bill of Rights, etc.) and explore how a piece of literature, art, or drama was developed through the cultural time period that produced them and the cultural time period in which they are being studied (Delgado, & Stefancic, 2012). Delgado & Stefancic (2013) continue to explain that CRT scholars examine both the origins or racism and the evidence of racism to demonstrate the pervasiveness of racism within American culture, law, and everyday life.

Some important terms concerning Critical Race theory need to be defined to facilitate a common vocabulary during this research study.

- **White Privilege:** Various social, political and economic advantages white individuals have based on being white such as access to power, social status, experience with prejudice, emotional opportunities, etc.; normalization of white individual's experiences while ignoring or marginalizing all other experiences (Lipsitz, 1998).
- **Institutionalized Racism:** Systemic way that a dominant society restricts access to opportunities such as housing, education, economic success, and power so such an extent that it is often invisible or early overlooked (Jones, 2002).
- **Social Construction:** Belief that race is a product of social thought and relations not a product of biology or genetics but a social invention (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

By combining Critical Race Theory with the storytelling framework of Hannah Arendt and the deconstruction of the Grand narrative, a critical framework for looking at the challenges brought against *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, the growing need to protect freedom of expression within America through the preservation of intellectual freedom, and the need to include marginalized voices in the grand narrative that tells the story of race in America emerges.

Hannah Arendt (1983) states that "Storytelling reveals meaning without committing the error of defining it" (p. 147). Storytelling enables us to look at an event that confounds us and then gives us a way to make sense of it. Racism is the confounding variable in this research study. Although the whole story surrounding the issue of racism is difficult if not impossible to understand, storytelling gives us a sense that at least we can make meaning that begins to have significance surrounding the issue. Mark Twain, in his novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* tells a story about Huck and Jim that has been interpreted in different ways throughout its

historical existence including a racist interpretation. This study explores the storytelling style of Hannah Arendt and the post-modernism philosophy of Jean Francois Lyotard as it is working in concert with Critical Race Theory.

Hannah Arendt views the storyteller as important to examining the historical context of a story. “In the words of Arendt, the storyteller makes the past available for the second time” (Oni, 2012). Yet the past that *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been making available since its publication continues to incite feelings of anger in some readers and listeners to such an extent they want to ban this novel. The novel invites the kind of situated critical thinking that is necessary when we are called upon, in Arendt’s words, “to think without banisters’” (Disch, 1993, p. 669). Objectivity is not the goal of narrative inquiry, but rather narrative inquiry focuses on telling a story that will engage the critical faculties of the reader and the listener and will allow each reader to construct his own interpretation of the story (Sandelweski, 1991). Hannah Arendt’s storytelling style uses “enlarged thought to make a bridge between storytelling and situated impartial critical understanding” (Disch, p. 682). The storytelling theory of Arendt “invites the reader to ‘go visiting,’ asking: ‘How would the world look to you if you saw it from this position?’” (Disch, p. 687).

The grand narratives of history are the stories of events or themes told from the perspective of the powerful and dominant social classes (Sheehan, 2012, February 20). This interpretation of events is accepted as the “right” interpretation and is advanced as the grand narrative or meta-narrative (Sheehan, 1998). Political theorist, Hannah Arendt argued that “storytelling transforms private meaning to public meaning” (Jackson, 2002, p. 36). As more people are invited to make their stories concerning race public, the more the grand narrative will be transformed. It will begin to include stories told by those previously unheard or silenced, not

just the dominant power class. These private stories will become public and from this new narrative, a new conversation can begin about the future of America and the stories we will tell about race.

Post-modernist thought brought about a renewed examination of the necessity of the grand narrative or meta-narrative through the writings of Jean-Francois Lyotard. A meta-narrative is a story told about a particular topic, theme, or historical era that is composed by those in power and is presented as if it is the true story. When an individual story seeks to be granted validity, it is only done so if it is able to fit into or support some part of the accepted meta-narrative also known as the grand narrative.

When we look at the grand narrative of race in America, we see the basic tenets that are presented as true in this story. A critical interpretation of the story is necessary for someone to actively engage with the story. Lyotard advances the idea that each of us must interpret this grand narrative within the context of time, place, and personal relations, and add our interpretations to the narrative to create a new story. This echoes Delgagdo's beliefs that CRT is a master narrative and each of us must interact with this narrative to make it individually understandable. Lyotard (1979), in his post-modern philosophy, is primarily concerned with the problems of justice that arise between competing interpretations of events. Should the whole story be presented with multiple perspectives or just the story told by the dominant social class who exercise the power of storytelling? Lyotard believed that there was no grand narrative that embodied the truth of life but rather each of us composed our own narrative that became part of the story that we lived through the morals of our lives. In postmodernism, neither science, religion, nor philosophy can offer an answer or solution to the societal problems inherent in the human condition and revealed in the history of man.

Since we are constantly revising our notions of what is truth, storytelling becomes a path we can take to individualize the meaning within a story and discover that the truth of a text is constantly under construction. The truth of a story is ambiguous and able to be negotiated between the storyteller (author) and the reader.

In *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979), Lyotard contends that blind faith placed in the singular explanations provided by the grand narratives of modern times has led to an intolerance of difference. This intolerance has led directly to the horrors of the 20th century (holocaust, atomic bomb, racial intolerance, ethnic cleansing, etc.) (Cuddon, 2013). Cuddon (2013) further explains that Lyotard argues for the acceptance of a multiplicity of theoretical viewpoints in order to appreciate the heterogeneity of human experience, and employ *petits récits*, "little narratives," to enable a better comprehension of specific contexts.

Lyotard (1979) explains how these grand narratives are untrustworthy because they have been created and reinforced by the existing power structure. Lyotard (1979) proposed that meta-narratives also known as grand narratives should give way to *petits récits*, or more modest and "localized" narratives, which can "throw off" the grand narrative by bringing into focus the different singular events occurring which focus on specific local contexts as well as on the diversity of human experience. They argue for the existence of a "multiplicity of theoretical standpoints" (Peters, 2001, p. 7) rather than for grand, all-encompassing theories.

From these smaller stories, Lyotard (1979) believes that one is able to create a narrative story that presents the possibility of different interpretative understandings of the bigger narrative. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain is one such little narrative that may lead to a different interpretation of race considering its themes. The interpretations that grow out of a reexamination of *Huck Finn* may create new conversations that will change the

narrative of race that has been told and place a new lens of the lessons, both good and bad that this novel can teach the reader. In *Figure 1*, the storytelling styles and influences of Hannah Arendt and Jean Francois Lyotard are brought into the outer frame of Critical Race Theory. The overlapping ideas of these two philosophers is obvious when seen in juxtaposition to each other and when framed by Critical Race Theory. Both philosophers and CRT have a distrust of the grand narrative told by those in power. Each believes in the power of the individual stories that come together to allow for all voices to be heard and all voices to contribute their own version of the story to the larger story. Sometimes this story may be ambiguous because it is influenced by the context of time, place, and personal relationships and encourages the historical vernacular of the time. This fits in well with the problem of the word "nigger" in the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Neither Arendt nor Lyotard would find that problematic since it is authentic to its time period. Critical Race Theory leads the conversation about that word "nigger" to revolve around the lasting legacy of slavery and all the inferiority and violence that word evokes. This would follow the storytelling tenets of Arendt who believed that by intellectually scrutinizing literature, the reader may interact with the story by redefining the dilemma that is presented using the word "nigger" in the story and finding a new solution to the problem of not only the word but the "peculiar institution" itself. The solution would reflect the diversity of human experiences with the word "nigger" and not just reflect the narrative told by the dominant power class. "Storytelling is a way of speaking and presenting life experiences. However, this way of presentation by oral means can initiate a critical appraisal of events and life experience. Indeed, this is what Arendt argues which corroborates with the postmodernism of Lyotard in the possibility of rethinking and experiencing the world based on the principles of diversity and plurality" (Oni, 2012, p. 10). By placing the frame of Critical Race Theory around the

storytelling theories and ideas of Arendt and Lyotard, parameters are put into place that set the inquiry into issues of social justice arising from multiple narratives. CRT transforms the lenses used to view *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and creates space for the construction of a new narrative.

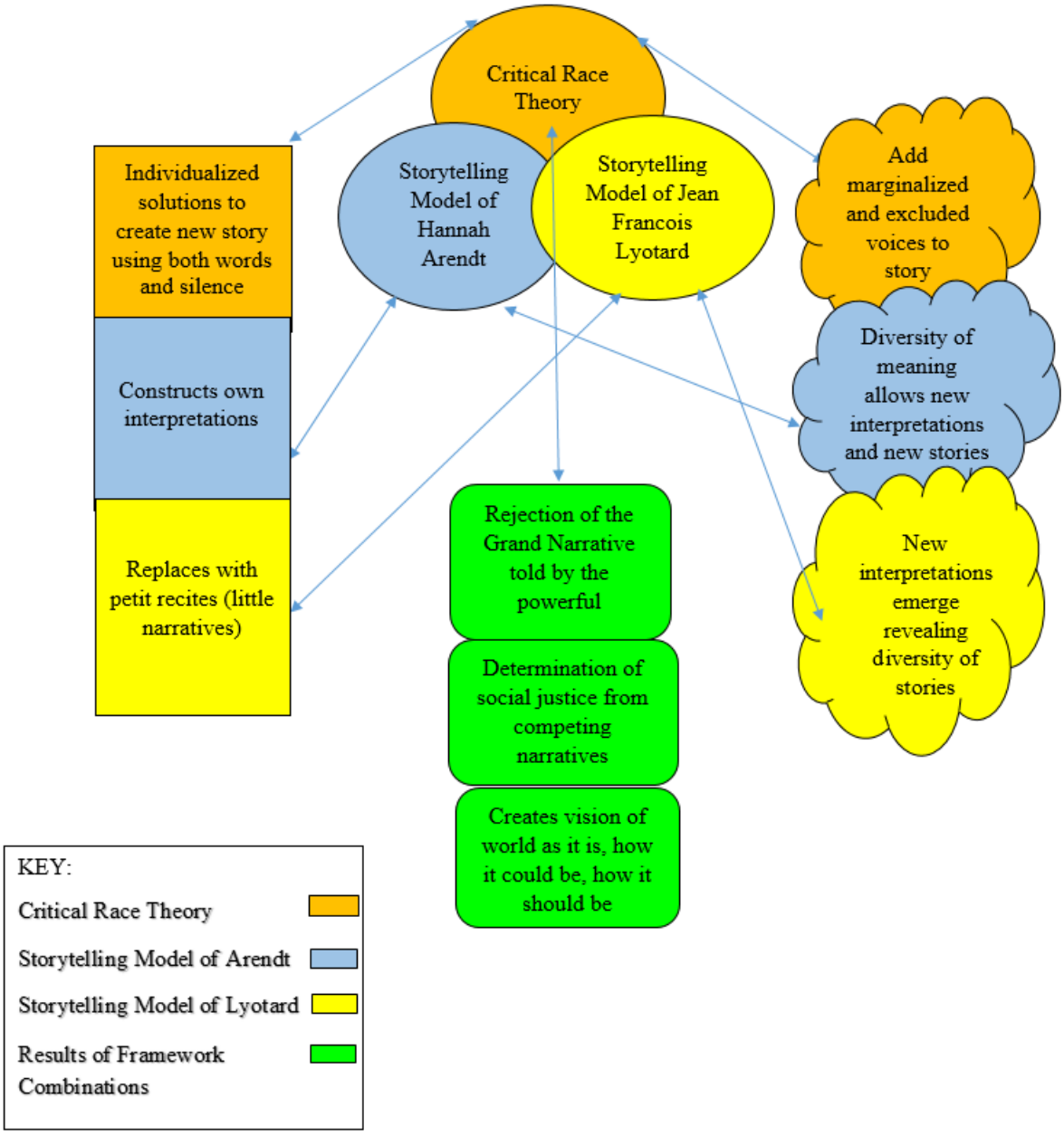

Figure 1. Critical Race Theory, The Storytelling Model of Hannah Arendt, and Francois Lyotard's Destruction of the Grand Narrative Connections

Research Foci

Stories allow us to safely deal with different people and different situations that exist in the real world around us. If we cannot face those differences and learn from them, we will not be prepared to face the problems and dilemmas we will face in life. The grand narrative Twain revealed in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* can also be found by reading history books which teach us about slavery, about the dehumanization of people, about religious hypocrisy, about the breakdown of families and the movements that fought to change these stories such as the Civil Rights Movement. These textbooks still tell the story as it has been written and approved by those in power. The new grand narrative must include the reality that the things said and done in the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* happened in America in the past. Even more uncomfortable is the realization that some of these same things are still happening in America today. By eliminating this novel, we eliminate a piece of history and a piece of the new narrative that can be formed by confronting the ugliness of racism and rewriting the story that is being told in schools today. This story must include all the diverse voices and combine them to begin a new story that provides us with the hope that a change in society is possible. This research will be limited to the historical context of the novel from 1884-2017. The research questions below grew out of that context.

1. How does studying the attempts to ban the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* offer a way to examine the American historical discourses on intellectual freedom and race?
2. How does the history of intellectual freedom force us to examine the American discourse of race and the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*?

Limitations

The limitations of this research are exemplified in the choice of only one novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* to be explored. Many books have been challenged throughout history, yet the choice to only study this one novel was deliberate. From its publication in 1885 to the challenges facing it today, *Huck Finn* has had to continuously overcome challenges. From accusations of instilling poor moral values, being trash, being poorly written, being blasphemous, being anti-American, to being anti-Southern, *Huck Finn* continues his journey toward intellectual freedom over 130 years after its initial publication. Each stop along the continuum of time has found Huck embroiled in a controversy that surrounds some aspect of this book. These stops along the journey can be used as teachable moments to talk about censorship, free expression, the first amendment, and the marketplace of ideas. Walters (2011) asserts that different perspectives or interpretations on a piece of literature can become opportunities to educate. Engaging students to think about the atrocities of the past with compassion and respect promotes a new look at an old book. When students and readers are allowed to make connections between a book written in 1885 and the vernacular language of that time with the KKK's reign of terror in the reconstructed South, with the unequal hand of justice toward racial minorities, and with the modern racial profiling and killings, they are able to see the damaging repercussions of hate. By allowing an understanding that the negativity of the word "nigger" comes from an outgrowth of the dehumanization of a people, users of this racial epithet are able to begin to think critically about their own experiences with this word and why this word evokes so much emotion. The realization that the word nigger, when used in the context of 1885 had a very different meaning from the word in context of today opens up a discussion about the power of language and the ever changing face of language. The history of the word "nigger" is often traced to the Latin

word "*niger*," meaning Black. It is probable that "nigger" is a phonetic spelling of the-White Southern mispronunciation of Negro. No matter what its origins, by the early 1800s, it was firmly established as a derogative name. In the 21st century, it remains a principal term of White racism, regardless of who is using it. "Over time, racial slurs have victimized all racial and ethnic groups; but no American group has endured as many racial nicknames as Blacks…Historically, nigger defined, limited, made fun of, and ridiculed all Blacks. It was a term of exclusion, a verbal reason for discrimination. Whether used as a noun, verb, or adjective, it strengthened the stereotype of the lazy, stupid, dirty, worthless nobodys" [sic] (Pilgrim and Middleton, 2013, par. 2-4). When we censor a literary work, in particular *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, we are attempting to gloss over the complexities of life during a horrific period in American history. Perhaps Toni Morrison best sums up the controversy surrounding this novel, "*Huckleberry Finn* is remarkable for its ability to transform its contradictions into fruitful complexities and to seem to be deliberately cooperating in the controversy it has excited" (Lindgren-Gibson & Howe, 2012). It is important to acknowledge this historical time for all that it was, the influences that it still exerts today, and all the pain that is inherent in that world. We should know about racism to ensure so we never forget its harms and so we can work to recognize its existence in ourselves and in our culture when we encounter it.

Why Choose *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*?

Mark Twain chose to tell a story called *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* that put on display both the human frailties and the strength of human conscience in a time when racism was being utilized through Jim Crow laws and lynchings. His story joins with the long line of stories that are a part of our human history. Humans have been telling stories for thousands of years, sharing them orally even before the invention of writing. Stories can be a way for humans to feel

that they have control over the world, to see patterns where there is chaos, meaning where there is randomness. Stories can also inform people's emotional lives. Storytelling, especially in novels, allows people to peek into someone's conscience to see how other people think. This can affirm personal beliefs and perceptions, but more often, it challenges them. Psychology researchers Dan Johnson, Brandie Huffman, and Danny Jasper (2014) recently published a study in *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* that found reading fiction significantly increased empathy towards others, especially people the readers initially perceived as "outsiders…foreigners, people of a different race, skin color, or religion"(p. 88).

Storytelling is the most effective, time-tested way to transmit meaning from one human being to another. It's been going on since the beginning of time when our first ancestors stood around the tribal fire. It's how civilizations pass on their wisdom to the next generation. It's how religions pass on the sacred teachings of their faith. And it's how parents, via the telling of fairy tales, transmit the values they want to impart to their children (Ditkoff, 2016). Storytelling establishes trust and connection between the speaker/writer and listener/reader. It increases receptivity, captures attention, engages emotions, and allows the listener/reader to participate, cognitively, in the narrative (Ditkoff, 2015). It communicates values, not just skills and builds community by helping people make sense of their world. Storytelling reframes frustration and suffering, changes behavior, and provides a dependable way for people to remember, retrieve, and retell a meaningful message (Anixter, 2016 January 12).

> Stories may not actually breathe, but they can animate…Stories animate human life; that is their work. Stories work with people, for people, and always stories work on people, affecting what people are able to see as real, as possible, and as worth doing or best avoided. What is it about

> stories—what are their particularities—that enables them to work as they to do? More than mere curiosity is at stake in this question, because human life depends on the stories we tell: the sense of self that those stories impart, the relationships constructed around shared stories, and the sense of purpose that stories both propose and foreclose (Frank, 2010, p. 3).

Stories and storytelling are an integral part of our society and our culture. Although the art of storytelling is quite ancient, nobody knows exactly when or where the first story was told. Since man had no written word then, the role of the storyteller became one of power and respect. Guber (2007) stated that:

> …the use of the story not only to delight but to instruct and lead has long been a part of human culture. We can trace it back thousands of years to the days of the shaman around the tribal fire. It was he who recorded the oral history of the tribe, encoding its beliefs, values, and rules in the tales of its great heroes, of its triumphs and tragedies. The life-or-death lessons necessary to perpetuate the community's survival were woven into those stories" (p. 55).

Passed down through the generations, stories reflect the wisdom and knowledge that bind us together through a common heritage and common beliefs. Storytelling connects us to all humanity. "In fact, it is believed by most historians and psychologists that storytelling is one of the many things that define and bind our humanity" (Storytelling, 2014). It is what links us to the past, provides definition for the present, and provides a glimpse into the future.

Shakespeare (2003) in *Hamlet* Act 3, Scene 2 states that as a society "we hold up a mirror" to show us our reflections, however hard it may be to look. This reflection helps us to see not only who we were, but also who we are now in our own time. Storytelling is how we make

meaning out of the chaos of human existence. It provides a shape, so that our own lives have a beginning, middle, and an end, and we can feel like we've meant something, and left our mark on the world. Storytelling is what makes us human (Gottschall, 2012).

In February of 2015 *Pitlane* magazine claimed that Mark Twain continues to be one of America's most memorable storytellers who captured the frontier American spirit and created characters such as Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. The article further stated that Twain also had the stage presence and the ability to immortalize storytelling and bring to life the American spirit. "I do not claim that I can tell a story as it ought to be told. I only claim to know how a story ought to be told, for I have been almost daily in the company of the most expert story-tellers for many years" (Twain, 1865, p. 70). According to Shelley Fisher Fishkin (1995), Mark Twain brought storytelling into 19th century America and gave us a novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* which has contributed to the communal knowledge pool that has been passed down from 1885 to today. Stories can be a way for humans to feel that they have control over the world, to see patterns where there is chaos, meaning where there is randomness. Stories can also inform people's emotional lives. Storytelling, especially in novels, allows people to peek into someone's conscience to see how other people think. This can affirm personal beliefs and perceptions, but more often, it challenges them. Psychology researchers Dan Johnson, Brandie Huffman, and Danny Jasper (2014) recently published a study in *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* that found reading fiction significantly increased empathy towards others, especially people the readers initially perceived as "outsiders…foreigners, people of a different race, skin color, or religion" (p. 88).

From the day it was published, *Huck Finn* was "born to trouble" (Kaplan, 1995). The Library of Congress created an exhibit, "Books that Shaped America," that explores books that

"have had a profound effect on American life" (Library of Congress, 2012). One of the most challenged books on that list is *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Although written as a product of the times in which it was documenting, namely slavery, the novel had a more important role to play in the grand narrative that was to become the way we talk about race in America. Like all the greatest stories ever told, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* functions as a reflection on the world we live in and of both the goodness and evil present in our world. Although Twain says that the book was meant merely to entertain, this book presents a world riddled with the evils of slavery, religious hypocrisy, and a misplaced sense of what is right but also contains a lesson about love, forgiveness, justice, and hope (Mintz, 2012). *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* also contains good people who do their best to change the evils in the world and replace them with freedom, friendship, and a new definition of what is right. The novel shows that this change may not come to the world all at once, but it can come to one impressionable boy who examines society and decides to do something radical (Levy, 2015). This comparison between what is and what should be, is a major theme of epic sagas from *Gilgamesh* (Davis, 2014) to *Beowulf* (Heaney, 2000) to *The Odyssey* (Homer, 1997). Through this theme, stories provide a reflection on the world and show what must be done to set things right. Okri in his book of essays *Birds of Heaven,* states that "The fact of storytelling hints at a fundamental human unease, hints at human imperfection. Where there is perfection there is no story to tell" (Richardson & Miles, 2003, p. 1). *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* demonstrates this unease in Huck as he struggles to understand what it means to be an ordinary human being who is trying to make a morally correct choice not because he is forced to by the societal conventions of his time, but because he chooses to make the right choice because of his conscience. This moral choice told through the artful storytelling of Mark Twain elevates Huck

to the status of extraordinary (Carter, 1985). This is the power of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as stated by Ernest Hemingway in 1935. "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*. It's the best book we've had. All American writing comes from that. There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since" (Ulin, 2014, November 20).

Problem

Huck Finn presents readers in the 21st century with a story that reveals the narrative of slavery as it was seen in 1885 and documents through its challenges the way the conversation about race in America has changed over the last 131 years. Written and challenged within one historical context for being the "veriest trash" (Concord Public Library, 1885), Twain's story has moved through time as Huck moved down the river meeting new challenges each time it has come within reaching distance of the current civilization present at that time.

> Censorship confirms the boundaries between an inclusive world that we learn to think of as a synonymous with truth and humanity, and an excluded world that we think of as false, minatory, and alien….But in enforcing "cleansing" operations that divide the world into Us and Them, censorship may blind us to the ways in which contrasted domains not only overlap, but are, paradoxically, as necessary as they are inimical to each other (Jackson, 2002, p. 25).

The purpose of this study is to look at the discourse on intellectual freedom and the grand narrative of race in America from 1885-2017 by using *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as a lens from which to view both the dominant narratives and the narratives that have previously been unheard. By looking at this grand narrative from 1885 into the 21st century, *Huck Finn* becomes a platform for the voices attempting to be heard.

From being classified in 1885 as a "bad boy book" (Concord Library) to being called racist by the National Association of Colored People (NAACP) in 1957 (Buder, 1957, September 12), to being removed from the shelves in Accomack County, VA, for racism in 2016 (Balingit, 2016, December 3), this novel has become a centerpiece for trouble since *Huck Finn* was born (Kaplan, 1995). The controversial narrative of race and the equally controversial discourse on intellectual freedom would be incomplete without looking at *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Through an examination of what makes a person uncomfortable in the telling of these three stories, the need exists to look beyond the stories and look instead at the interpretations of the stories from 1885-2017. A need exists to look beyond the interpretations of each story beginning in 1885. It is time to reexamine why the grand narrative of racism is still inflammatory, why intellectual freedom is still being debated, and why choosing to study *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is still considered newsworthy. The significance of this study lies in the study of the voices heard and unheard, free to speak and kept from speaking, and finally loud and overwhelming and silent and fearful. Through the variety of these voices, a new story may emerge, a new narrative may be written, a new discourse may begin on racism and its terrible past, its all-pervasive present, and its oppressive future.

Chapter Organization

In Chapter 2, a thorough examination of the literature surrounding the grand narrative of race, the discourse on intellectual freedom and the attempts to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* are explored. The political theories concerning the telling of historical and cultural events as explained by Hannah Arendt and the deconstruction of the necessity of a grand narrative as explained by Jean Francois Lyotard will be researched to show the connections and gaps still present in the narrative that surrounds the conversation occurring in the 21st century

about these stories and will provide a framework for the research. Chapter 3 will explore the methodology used to analyze the data collected about these three stories. Chapter 4 will tell the three stories explored through the research: *Huck Finn*, intellectual freedom, and racism in America. Chapter 5 will examine the findings gathered from the data that reveal the themes which emerged from each story. Chapter 6 will discuss the correlations and interdependencies of the three stories on each other for an understanding how they are connected. Chapter 7 will conclude with the implications of the findings and directions that future research may explore.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

Intellectual Freedom and Book Censorship in the United States

The concept of having a free marketplace of ideas, allowing ideas theories, propositions, and movements succeed or fail on their own merits, stems from writings such as John Milton's (2010) *Areopagitica* which imagined a contest of forces arguing for the freedom of the press. John Stuart Mill in his book *On Liberty* (2013) expanded on the notion, arguing that free expression was valuable on individual and social grounds because it served to develop and sustain the rational capacity of man and, in an instrumental sense, facilitated the search for truth. Left to their own rational devices, free individuals have the discerning capacity to sift through competing proposals in an open environment of deliberation and exchange, allowing truth, or the best possible results, to be realized in the end. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas (1952, December 3) states that "Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us." The influence of Milton and Mill is evident in Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.'s dissent in Abrams v. United States (1919), the case that formally established the marketplace of ideas as a legal concept. He stated that "When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test for truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market; and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out."

The Office for Intellectual Freedom was established by the American Library Association (ALA) December 1, 1967, with the mission to "implement ALA policies concerning the concept of intellectual freedom as embodied in The Library Bill of Rights (1939), the Association's basic policy on free access to libraries and library materials" (ALA, 2017, OIF). This office deals with

the struggles to eliminate the challenging and banning of books by promoting the freedom to choose what we read and how we express our opinions. The concept of intellectual freedom grants each of us unlimited access to ideas and books. Everyone should be given the right to freely choose to debate, discuss, and analyze a text regardless of its content. "Although some books include sexual, profane, and racist content, by censoring these books, we are not protecting children; rather we are leading them to believe that these are topics not worthy of discussion" (ALA, 2017, Banned Books).

> Literature is a wonderful and integral part of the human experience…The best books deal with complicated, important, and often times controversial topics… There is nothing more revealing than honest words in the pages of a great novel. With that revelation brought about through creative freedom, there comes a price. Certain groups and individuals view some works of literature as detrimental instead of a valuable addition to the world (Petite, 05 May 2016).

Although parents have the right to restrict what their children read, parents do not have the right to restrict all children from reading a particular text. General Colin Powell said in a speech to Harvard graduates that "Free speech is intended to protect the controversial and even outrageous word; and not just comforting platitudes too mundane to need protection" (Toner, 1994, May 15, par.3).

Book banning is not a new concept, as governments and educational institutions have been banning books in America since the 1600's (Foerstal, 2002). Books often utilized in school and included in both school and public libraries such as *The Great Gatsby, The Catcher in the Rye, To Kill a Mockingbird, Beloved, 1984, The Lord of the Flies, The Color Purple, The Grapes of Wrath,* and many others have been banned for various reasons. Banning books contradicts

First Amendment Rights, but it does not stop groups from trying to ban certain works, even in today's saturated entertainment and technological world (Petite, 2015).

John Gilmore (1993) in an interview with *Time* stated that censorship is flourishing in the information age. In theory, new technologies make it more difficult, and ultimately impossible, for governments to control the flow of information. Some have argued that the birth of the internet foreshadowed the death of censorship (Elmer-DeWitt, 1993). Yet this prediction has not come true. Parents at schools in Idaho and North Carolina currently want John Steinbeck's classic, *Of Mice and Men*, and Khaled Hosseini's modern triumph, *The Kite Runner*, banned from their respective high schools. *Of Mice and Men* is facing adversity due to coarse language and dark themes, while *The Kite Runner* is being accused of having too many adult themes and portraying women in a negative light (Schaub, 2015, May 5). In Accomack County, Virginia, parents want *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* removed from the shelves of their libraries because the books perpetuate stereotypical racism (Balingit, 2016, December 3). Although parents still challenge books for their inappropriate content, chances are these same children that parents want to protect are already learning about sex, drugs, racism, and pornography through their "permanently attached" electronic devices which offer few appropriate explanations and guidelines which can be received through a piece of literature assigned in a classroom (Petite, 2015). Children are already being exposed to exactly what parents are trying to keep away from them. According to an essay in the *Economist* (2014, October 11), the United States faces the significant challenge of restoring the traditions of free speech and access to the diversity of information available to its citizens. In today's technological world, free speech involves the use of the Internet to express the mass quantity of ideas available in the United States and across the globe. To many people, new information and

communication technologies are the link between the problems of yesterday and the possibilities of tomorrow (Magi, & Garner, 2015).

The 21st century is dealing not with censorship on the printed word, but censorship on information access through internet filters. Several notable cases have arisen surrounding this aspect of censorship. *The United States et al. v ALA et al.* (2003) tried to battle the Child Internet Protection Act (CIPA) that refused federal funding to any organization that did not install filters on their computers which blocked access to adults and children of materials deemed inappropriate. The ALA protested this ruling since they believed it to restrict free access to information needed by their patrons. The law was upheld and internet filters are used in schools, libraries and many other places where public internet is available (ALA, 2003).

Categories of censorship has not changed much in the 21st century. Homosexuality, graphic sexual content, and racism now top the list of reasons to ban (ALA, 2016). Yet vulgarity, inappropriate for age group, inappropriate language, and witchcraft also remain as significant as they have been before. Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has incited objections to its perceived immoral and sacrilegious content since its 1884 publication (Banned book week, 2017). One month after its publication, the Concord, MA library banned it because it was "rough, coarse and inelegant, dealing with a series of experiences not elevating the whole book" and "being more suited to the slums than to the intelligent, respectable people" (New York Herald, 1885, March 18). Other libraries followed suit. In the 1950s, the NAACP condemned the book as racist, and one parent even sued a school district in 1998 for making the book required reading (ALA, 2017). In the suit, *Monteiro v. Tempe Union High School District* (1998), the parent of a high school student accused the school district of exacerbating racial tensions at school with the book's racist overtones. The court refused to ban the book (*Monteiro*

v Tempe, 1998).

The grand narrative about race in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* confronts the storytelling genius of Mark Twain who uses irony to suggest that there is something wrong with interpreting a story by only looking at one aspect of the story. This is seen throughout *Huck Finn* as characters such as Pap, Mrs. Watson and the Widow Douglas denigrate graphically and cruelly the value of a black life as seen in the passages when the steam boat explodes and it is discovered that the only one hurt is "a nigger." Salwen (1992) states that

> Anyone who imagines that Mark Twain meant this [racism] literally is missing the point. Twain is using this casual dialogue ironically, as a way to underscore the chilling truth about the old South: it was a place where perfectly nice people didn't consider the death of a black person worth their notice –where a 'nigger' was, literarily, not a human being. But then what is this book about? It's about nothing less than freedom and the quest for freedom. It's about a slave who breaks the law and risks his life to win his freedom and be reunited with his family, and the white boy who becomes his friend and risks the fires of hell to help him escape (Is Huck Finn Racist?, Blog).

Much research has been done analyzing the character of Jim. Such critics as Lionel Trilling, Harold Bloom, William Dean Howell, and T. S. Eliot have stimulated others to see Jim as seer, priest, comrade, and more, and to discuss the many ways in which Jim did or did not influence Huck, his actions, and internal conflicts. (Apstein, 2006). Each of these critics recognized Jim "…as important to the novel because he is a Negro who is human, he is not a stereotype, he is not a minstrel black-face, but it is through him that the reader sees the helpless tragedy of life" (Gifford, 1977, p. 11). This tragedy continues to flourish in the narratives and

discourses created when an attempt to find meaning to the questions of race are explored. Some critics view Jim not as a stereotype but a noble character who attempts to find his place within a society that has marginalized and sub-humanized him (Gregory, 1998, June 13). “Today, when a tardily awakened national conscience has begun to regard race prejudice as the chief blemish on the face of American democracy, readers of *Huckleberry Finn* are struck more forcibly than those of a generation ago by the fact that its real hero is Nigger Jim” (Wecter, 1948, p. xxiii). But, it is not just the white critics who make the point that Jim is the moral center of the novel. Booker T. Washington (1910) noted that Twain “succeeded in making his readers feel a genuine respect for Jim and exhibited his sympathy and interest in the masses of the Negro people” (p. 829). Ralph Ellison is quoted in Blaine-Hudon’s (2006) *Encyclopedia of the Underground Railroad* that Twain gave Jim dignity and humanity. “Huckleberry Finn knew, as did Mark Twain that Jim was not only a slave but a human being [and] a symbol of humanity…and in freeing Jim, Huck makes a bid to free himself of the conventionalized evil taken as civilization by the town…--in other words, of the abomination of slavery itself” (p. 124).

The rewriting of *Huck Finn* by replacing the word “nigger” with the word “slave” allows teachers and school administrators to avoid conflict by not exposing students to a novel that contains a word that today stirs up so much emotion. By making this choice to expose students to an expurgated or edited edition, educators are not just challenging the validity of the original text but also challenging the tenets of intellectual freedom that advocates for free and open access to information. If a student chooses to read an expurgated version after being made aware that an original version exists that contains racial epithets, then the selection was voluntary not mandated. Kathleen Parker (2011, January 9), a columnist for *Washington Post* argues that taking words out of books not only hurts the stories they tell, but also the minds of those who are

attempting to engage and learn from these stories thus putting limitations on the access of original text to all:

> [T]hese writers selected each word painstakingly to create a world they envisioned necessary to their purpose. That the world has changed, and our language with it, is no argument for rewriting or reconstructing the creator's intent. To do so is both an assault on intellectual property that should be sacrosanct, and an insult of those whose minds we attempt to mold (Spicer, 2011).

When allowing for intellectual freedom when making a choice of novels to include in the curriculum, an educator must consider how the word nigger will be used in the classroom -- reading it aloud or as part of assigned silent reading – and how that will affect students. Some educators believe that the word should be said and discussed openly. Professor Maghan Keita (2000) says, "Within the framework of the text, if you don't understand how that word can be used, that it's satire [in the case of *Huck Finn*] -- if you don't teach that, you've missed a teaching moment. Our task is to prepare students to think so that when confronted with these words in a text they can see what the author's intent is. What is the meaning of it in *this* text?" (par. 11). Sanitizing *Huckleberry Finn* takes away from a central charge of education: To engage individuals in thinking about complex and debatable topics that matter in an authentic way in the real world. To deny students the opportunity to think critically and to engage in conversation that requires deep intellectual thought challenges their opportunity to decide for themselves how they will interact with and contribute to the American conversation about race and impinges on their intellectual freedom. The sanitizing of *Huck Finn* by removing racial epithets and racially offensive scenes limits students' opportunities to choose for themselves the many pieces of

literature that challenge their thinking about racism and limit their opportunities to participate in the conversation that can reshape the narrative of racism being told today.

Despite the novel's literary status, since the desegregation legislation was passed in the 1950s, Black Americans have raised objections to *Huckleberry Finn* and its effect on their children (Apstein, 2006: Chadwick-Joshua, 1998; Henry, 1992; Salwen, 1992; & Sang, 2010). Many educators, politicians, judges, and parents see these complaints as an issue of censorship and therefore feel the need to defend the novel as an issue of taking a stand for intellectual freedom because censorship undermines the creation of an informed citizenry able to make critical judgments between competing ideas. Ward (1990) states that "…considering the objections to *Huckleberry Finn* only in terms of intellectual freedom and censorship doesn't allow the novel to add its voice to the conversation on racism and allow us to think about the dynamics of race in literature courses and about the way literature depicts, interrogates, and affirms our national culture and history" (p. 87).

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn can be considered from many different perspectives. It can be seen and interpreted as a writing which is filled with local color about the Mississippi River and the areas around it. Arac (1992) views *Huckleberry Finn* as a "…novel is filled with the materials of local humor writing and it draws for its fundamental mode of presentation on the conventions of personal narrative" (p. 17). If we stop there, the novel may rise to the level of literary narrative. But when we link *Huckleberry Finn* to fundamental national historical experiences such as slavery, the narrative is no longer a personal literary narrative, but becomes an example of a national narrative.

It is important to recognize the power of language in this novel in particular the racial epithet, "nigger." Peaches Henry (1992), attempts to explain the "incapacity of the white

consciousness to comprehend the emotional power attached to the word "nigger" for each black person" (p. 29). She further goes on to describe the history and politics of the word as seen in *Huckleberry Finn*:

> To dismiss the word[1]s recurrence in the work as an accurate rendition of nineteenth-century American linguistic conventions denies what every black person knows: far more than a synonym for slave, "nigger" signifies a concept. It conjures centuries of specific black degradation and humiliation during which the family was disintegrated, education was denied, manhood was trapped within a forced perpetual puerilism, and womanhood was destroyed by concubinage..."nigger" denotes the black man as a commodity, as chattel... "Nigger" encapsulates the decades of oppression that followed emancipation. It means not only racist terror and lynch mobs but that victims deserve it (p. 30).

Intellectual Freedom and *Huck Finn*: What is Missing?

Walsh (2000) examines the study of *Huck Finn* as an American classic, by encouraging us to move beyond it being a book about traveling through the heartland of America or a book about maturity and freedom; and innocence and experience, he stresses that we also should look at the power that words still retain. Chadwick-Joshua (1998) explains that Twain never meant this novel to be painless. To have used a different word to describe Jim would not have erased the offensiveness of the "peculiar institution" of slavery from the novel or from the minds of both its white and black readers. "Without the memory of what a word once meant and what it can continue to mean, we as a society are doomed only to repeat earlier mistakes about ourselves, each other, and serious issues involving us all" (pp. 134-135). *Huck Finn* was (and probably will remain) "…a lesson in the use of language, of epithets, of slurs and how they can change (or not) over time. Freedom is America's abiding subject, as well as its deepest problem"

(Pinsker, 2007, P. 67). There is a gap between the promises made in many of our legal documents beginning with the Declaration of Independence to our less-than-perfect fulfillment of these promises to all citizens. What does *Huck Finn* have to add to the narrative currently being composed about race in the United States? How does intellectual freedom determine how *Huck Finn* will influence the narrative of race in America? These are the new narratives that need to be examined. These narratives need to include the voices of the previously unheard, the silenced, the mean and women who both lived and died to change the story of race in America.

The narrative being composed needs to be examined within the context of the political climate in which it is being spoken. Beginning in 1885, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has had something to say, a story to tell. We need to put aside the question if it was Huck's story or Twain's story and instead ask what this controversial novel is telling us about our national story. Even though many critics have different interpretations of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, What does it mean to call *Huckleberry Finn* a great book, and Twain a quintessential American voice? "Such praise means nothing if we can't feel it, if we can't get inside the language, the world view, if we can't experience it as living literature, something that transcends its time" (Ulin, 20, November 2014). This suggests another aspect of what makes *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* great. One of the miracles of the novel revolves around the fact that a white man, born and raised in slave territory, would come out so forcefully and subtly for the human rights of blacks (Salwen, 1992). This raises the novel beyond a mere recounting of a historical time period and elevates it to a book upon which hope could be placed and possibilities for a new American dream could begin. (Ulin, 20, November 2014) states "Here, we have the emergence of an American voice in all its idiomatic grace and power, the raw expression and the moral vision, brought together in the figure of this young boy." If this novel is banned, then the stories

of those who have been unheard or silenced cannot be expressed. The narrative of race in wrapped up in the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and this novel is wrapped up in the discourse on intellectual freedom. Each of these narratives tells a story on its own, but all three of these narratives tell an even more powerful story when examined together. The examination of these three stories by examining Critical Race Theory and the storytelling theories of Hannah Arendt and Jean Francois Lyotard's deconstruction of the larger narratives of life, brings this research to a conclusion that has been played out on not only the American stage but the world stage. This research study brings together the contrasts of black and white, love and hatred, freedom and slavery, violence and non-violence and brings us to the stories of the marginalization and exclusion of a group of people, a set of ideas, and a novel of controversy.

One of the great ironies of the challenging of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is the number of times it has been challenged and by whom it has been challenged. One of the greatest ways to keep people ignorant is to prevent them from reading. Denham (19, January 2011) explains that an illiterate, uneducated population is much more easily controlled. In the 19th century, slaves were banned from learning to read English, and anyone caught attempting to teach a slave how to read was prosecuted. After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery, so-called "literacy tests" were used in former slave states as a qualification to vote, which prevented newly-freed slaves — granted citizenship and voting rights by constitutional amendments — from exercising their rights. By keeping former slaves from being educated, the white and powerful populous of the time could maintain the status quo and blacks could be kept from reaching out to take those rights of citizenship that were guaranteed.

Books are certainly challenged for so-called "obscene" or "immoral" content, racism, anti-American, vulgar, and unsuitability for a particular age group. When first published in the

late 1800s, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* garnered criticism for its coarse language. In the 20th century and into the 21st, it is repeatedly challenged in large part to its extensive (and period-accurate) use of "nigger," which appears in the novel more than 200 times.

Although some critics see *Huck Finn* as a satire of Southern antebellum society, a great critique of the racism endemic after the war and one of the nation's most enduring comedies, others critics only see the racism inherent in the word "nigger" and demand that children be protected from the historical reality that this word conjures. (Mintz, 2009) "Twain uses the n-word to show the racist ideologies and beliefs of many Southerners, and criticizes the continued oppression of newly freed slaves. To remove the n-word from *Huck Finn* is to whitewash history, to sugarcoat a painful time in our nation's past" (Denham, 19, January 2011).

The United States of America has done great things and terrible things. Slavery and discrimination against African-Americans is one of the greatest blemishes on this country's record and one of its most regrettable acts (Denham, 2011, January 19). Yet to not allow each person to choose to read *Huck Finn* and begin a dialogue within the narrative of racism is to deny a person the right to participate in the freedom to believe as one chooses (Foner, 1958).

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn has the dubious honor of being a book that has been banned since the day it was published and continues to be banned today. Table 1 gives a brief history of the highlights of its journey through time and its encounters with censors who would remove him from the shelves of libraries and schools if not ban him from ever being read.

Table 1.

Huck Finn Banned: A History of its Censorship Challenges and Rebuttals

1884 - *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is published and withdrawn for obscene illustration

1885 – *Huck Finn* released and banned by The Concord Public Library because of Huck's bad example.

1885 - Louisa May Alcott, author of *Little Women* criticizes *Huck Finn*, “If Mr. Clemens cannot think of something better to tell our pure-minded lads and lasses he had best stop writing for them."

1891 - English writer Andrew Lang called *Huck Finn* "the great American novel."

1900 - Harvard called *Huck Finn* the “most admirable work of literary art as yet produced on this continent."

1902 - The Denver Public Library, Omaha Public Library and Brooklyn Public Library banned *Huckleberry Finn* because of Huck's inappropriate behavior

1905 - *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* were banned from libraries on a regular basis for their bad examples they set for young boys

1935 - Ernest Hemmingway said, “all modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*."

1930-1950 – Little criticism of Huck Finn

1955 - CBS produces a made for TV film adaptation of *Huck Finn*. The film doesn't even mention slavery. Jim is not black.

1957 - The NAACP calls *Huck Finn* racially offensive. The New York City Board of Education takes it off its approved novels list.

1976 - *Huck Finn* is removed from a required reading list in Illinois because of the "n" word.

1978 - The People's Republic of China lifts its ban on Mark Twain.

1982 - Mark Twain Intermediate School administrator calls *Huck Finn* the “most grotesque example of racism I’ve ever seen in my life"

1982 - Davenport, Iowa; Houston, Texas; and Bucks County, Pennsylvania; Waukegen, Illinois; Springfield, Illinois challenged Huck Finn in their school districts for racial insensitivity

1983 – State College PA: challenged for racial stereotyping

1988 – Caddo Parish, LA: challenged as part of the required curriculum

1992 – Mesa, AZ: challenged for racist characterization and derogatory epithets

1992 – Modesto, CA: challenged for inappropriate language and racial slurs

1995 – Kenosha, WI: NAACP requested book be dropped in high schools for racial slurs

1996 – Seattle, WA, Ridgewood, NJ: Challenged for being on the required reading lists of high schools

1997 – Eufaula, AL: challenged for racial animosity and stereotypes

1998 – Kansas City. KS: challenged for causing students embarrassment by the stereotypical characterization of blacks

1998 - Parents in Tempe, Arizona, sue the school district over *Huck Finn's* presence on a required reading list

1999- Enid, Oklahoma: tried to ban Huck Finn from schools and finally allowed it only if a Twain scholar trained teachers about how to teach it

2002- LaQuinta, CA: challenged about inclusion on high school reading lists

2011- Sanitized version of Huck Finn published by NewSouth (Removes n-word and 'injun")

2015 – Wynnewood School in PA: removes book from high school because racial slurs embarrass students

2016/2017 – Accomack County Schools in Virginia: Challenges to *The Adventures of Hucklebrry Finn* and *To Kill a Mockingbird*

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

The stories of our lives are constantly being formed and molded by external forces. As external forces interplay with our personal internal forces, interpretations of our stories take shape. As these interpretations occur, personal feelings such as "…hopes, desires, aesthetic reactions, and moral dispositions…" of each individual emerges through the stories we read and the stories we tell making them a part of the autobiography of who we were and who we are (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 380). Through the narrative of *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain is telling the story of America in a satirical form to show the prejudice inherent in the country after the Civil War (Foner, 1958). Through a compilation of all the article, newspaper, and stories read during research, a picture emerged about the varied experiences others have had with this novel and how they interpreted it within the context of their lives. By reading archival copies of letters shared in newspapers, by examining scholarly writings about the novel and the interpretations these scholars derived from the novel, by looking closely at the historical grand narrative which has been constructed about racism in the United States, complexity of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* began to emerge. Viewed first for its basic storyline, a child would most likely read Huck Finn simply as a great adventure story (Fishkin, 1995). As readers mature and once again confront *Huck Finn* again, the depth to this "bad boy novel" begins to emerge. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is not only Huck and Jim's actual detailed adventures in the novel, but also includes their adventures with religion, the pomposity of the Southern aristocrat, the romanticism of the "uncivilized" life, and the realism of the real world in comparison to the innocence of a childish world (Smith 1984). Difficult topics emerge and need to be discussed in order for the reader to begin to grapple with the underlying text (Krsiswirth, 2000). The narrative of *Huck Finn* is not just one story but the "…by-product of

competing voices…Their stories speak not just to the past; they are also directed toward the political context of the present in which they are told" (Whooley, 2006, pp. 299, 312). Yet like many teachers who love the novel for its humor, its storyline, and its moral lessons, one must be willing to have the difficult conversations about race and allow everyone to have a part in contributing to the narrative that would eventually be shaped by new insights. "Every time I taught the novel, Huck's raft got awfully crowded. We were all of us along for the ride, through thick and thin, for better or for worse. And somewhere along that mighty river, we each, like Huck, did a lot of growing up" (Harris, 2016, par.15). Carr (1986) states that we as individuals, groups, and nations "…are composing and constantly revising our autobiographies…" (p. 76) so the stories that are told are also predictors of the evolution of self and nation. Mark Twain, through the narration of *Huck Finn*, joined into the conversation about race in America by showing the intolerance present in society at the time it was written. Yet it also foretold of the conversations that were going to need to be told so that America could come to a moral decision to change the story of racism and begin a new story that included all voices (Smith, 1984). The preservation of this novel as a timeline to explicate the racial conversation that occurred in America from 1885 on should be reason enough to allow the reading of this novel for future readers. "Though the problems of racial perspective present in *Huckleberry Finn* may never be satisfactorily explained for censors or scholars, the consideration of them may have a practical, positive bearing on the manner in which America approaches race in the coming century" (Henry, 1992, p. 48).

This dissertation study is a part of a broader program of research that investigates intellectual freedom. The study focuses on developing understanding in three distinct, but related, research areas – The American historical and cultural narrative of race the historical

discourse of intellectual freedom, and the role *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* can play in adding to and perhaps changing these historic stories. Where previous research centers on and develops the reasons why *Huck Finn* has been challenged, my research focuses on how the reasons for challenging the novel have changed over the last 131 years and how this novel reflects the previously unheard voices as they begin to add their thoughts to the established historical discourse on race and intellectual freedom.

Research Questions

The research questions that guided this research study were:

1. How does studying the attempts to ban the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* offer a way to examine the American historical discourses on intellectual freedom and race?
2. How does the history of intellectual freedom force us to examine the American discourse of race and the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*?

Using narrative inquiry, my dissertation examines *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and demonstrates how this novel has contributed to or contradicted the historic grand narrative of race in America. By looking at this grand narrative from 1885 into the 21st century, Huck Finn becomes a platform for the voices attempting to be heard. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* reveals the moral struggles that Americans have undertaken, the uncertainties that have been struggled with, the dreams that have been foreseen, the realization of the blunders that have been made, and the endless quest for understanding the past of America and the role of its future, because of this story (Smith, 1984).

Our identities are shaped by past events and present circumstances. "Narrative research makes one resounding point: We don't just tell stories, stories tell us. They shape our thoughts

and memories, and even change how we live our lives. Storytelling isn't just how we construct our identities, stories *are* our identities" (Dingfelder, 2011, p. 43). Narrative Inquiry becomes then a way of thinking and inquiring into the experiences in life through "collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). Although narrative inquiry is thought of as a 20th century methodology, the telling of stories has been essential to human existence since the beginning of mankind.

> The narratives of the world are numberless…narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting…stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation…narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative…narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural; it is simply there, like life itself (Barthes & Duisit, 1975, p. 237).

Narrative Inquiry as Phenomenology.

Narrative inquiry is often grouped under phenomenology as a type of research. A phenomenological research study attempts to understand the perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular situation (Padilla-Díaz, 2015). "To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study" Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 375). Narrative inquiry emphasizes that knowledge is value-laden, and reality is based on multiple perspectives" (Riessman, 1993, p. 5). Knowledge then can become as individualized and different as the readers and listeners of a story are different. Heilbrun (1988) states that a person's life does not serve as a model for others to live by only stories can do that. "It is a hard thing to make up stories to live by. We can only retell and live by the stories we

have read or heard. Whatever their form or medium, these stories have formed us all; they are what we must use to make new fictions, new narratives" (p. 37).

One of the practices that distinguishes narrative inquiry from other qualitative research methods is the time frame during which the story occurred is often very different from the time frame in which the story is told or written and even more different from the time frame in which it continues to be read. Timothy Armstrong's (2012) seminal work *The Logic of Slavery* creates a collection of creative parallels, direct and indirect ways of identifying how slavery set the precedent for the history of black social exclusion in the modern world. Freeburg (2015) states that Armstrong uses the notion of debt and obligation to explain racist exclusions long after slavery ends in the United States. "Debt, in narrative form, means 'the denial of consideration' (Armstrong, 2012, p. 38). So central is the idea of debt as a denial of consideration of the Black man as anything other than inferior to the white man to the nineteenth-century imagination that even the American novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) has this idea as central to its characterization of Jim. "Twain's novel effaces the appearance of agency, enlightenment, and freedom for Jim even when he most valiantly champions it for Huck… and redemption and justice are deferred indefinitely for Jim" (Armstrong, 2012, p. 65). The grand narrative of race in America was and is constantly being revised by the place, time, and context in which it is studied (Smith, 1984) and equality and freedom for the Black man are being "deferred indefinitely." How this novel was interpreted in 1885 in the ante-bellum South is very different from how it is being interpreted in 2016 post Civil Rights era. As one reads the narrative of *Huck Finn* as told by Mark Twain, the realization develops that the story being told has taken on significance because of the time period in which it was told and because of the implications of national events that have occurred since the original telling of this narrative (Fishkin, 2007). Stories are

composed of what is “tellable” (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is a story that demonstrates how we as a nation talked about race in 1885 and why this conversation changed and why a new narrative is beginning to be told (Howe, 2016).

The Need for an Analytical Framework

Although most of us are adept at interpreting the stories we are told in our everyday lives, rigorous methods of analysis are important when we interpret stories for research. This requisite is rooted in the very nature of stories, first, because they frequently contain multiple meanings and, second, because storytellers rely on tacit assumptions shared with their listeners (Feldman, Skoldberg, Brown, & Horner, 2004). In addition, stories are often told in such a way that the listener gets the gist of the story, but when the oral communication is transcribed as written text, the reader has difficulty deciphering the meaning (Kintsch, 1979). Thus, stories are loaded with embedded, sometimes hidden information. Outside the moment of telling, it is necessary to find a more in-depth means of grasping the meaning. By revealing the process of interpretation, the researcher demonstrates to the reader his or her assumptions behind the generation of theory and thus allows the reader to assess the validity of the interpretation. With an interpretative study, describing the coding and analysis facilitates whether one rejects or accepts the findings as valid is essential. As Lofland and Lofland (1955) write, ‘‘Because of the open-ended and creative dimensions of the analytic process, a description of the concrete operations composing it does not entirely capture what goes on’’ (p. 181). In the spirit of making explicit the assumptions of the analysis and enabling other researchers to engage in similar analyses, precise details are used to explain the system of narrative analysis. Using narrative inquiry, this research study brings together and considers the unique characteristics of Critical Race Theory, the storytelling beliefs forwarded by the political thinker, Hannah Arendt, and Jean Francois Lyotard’s assertions

concerning the demise of meta-narratives and the rise of *petit recits* (small narratives). As a way of building an understanding of how stories produce and reflect cultural ideologies, tensions, and serve to silence marginalized voices, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was examined using Critical Race Theory that explains the social construction of racism in society, explains it is an everyday occurrence in society, and that white supremacy (overt, and latent) still exists as a part of the American social value system (Delgado & Stephancic, 2012). CRT framed how this novel contributed to and/or contradicted the historic grand narrative and also how it opened opportunities for small narratives that both produce and reflect ideas of race in America. In order to understand and utilize these small narratives, research on race, intellectual freedom, and the challenges to *Huck Finn* had to be conducted. The research was found in archives, peer-reviewed journals, on library shelves, on television, and on radio. The data included stories and editorials found in newspapers, the exposition and explication found in books, the analysis and synthesis of scholarly articles, and the personal and professional interpretations found in interviews that discussed the different receptions that *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* received during the last 131 years.

The phenomenon under investigation is the story of intellectual freedom in the United States from 1885-2017 and how the discourse on race has shaped the story of intellectual freedom which can be seen through the lens of the continual challenges made to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. In order to tell this story, a framework had to be found to guide the process. A part of this framework was found in Hannah Arendt's storytelling style. Critical thinking is necessary to look at this classic which is called "thinking without banisters" by Arendt (Disch, 1993, p. 669). Sandelowski (1991) further explains that objectivity is not the goal of narrative inquiry, but rather narrative inquiry focuses on telling a story that will engage the critical

faculties of the reader and the listener and will allow each reader to construct his own interpretation of the story or create an interpretation that does not set parameters that limit a story to one meaning only.

Moen (2006) states that narrative inquiry asks the reader to view an experience from a different perspective that may allow for different interpretations leaving not only one interpretation of an experience but plural interpretations. Arendt states that this type of analysis then leaves the experience open to ambiguity and opens up the interpretation of any experience to "…permanent contestation and multiple reinterpretation of meanings that make situation impartiality possible" (Disch, 1993, p. 688). With the possibility of multiple interpretations, it becomes important to look at a narrative as a discourse involving a grander conversation set in different contexts. Hannah Arendt's storytelling style uses "…enlarged thought to make a bridge between storytelling and experiential critical understanding" (Disch, 1993, p. 682). The storytelling style of Arendt "invites the reader to 'go visiting,' asking 'How the world would look to you if you saw it from this position?'" (Disch, 1993, p. 687). The reader then examines the narrative through many lenses and finally settles on the lens closest to his experiential interpretation.

Arendt's framework for a grand narrative involves an examination of the history of a phenomenon and how it has been filtered through the perceptions of those who have experienced the phenomenon. By looking at the feelings of anger and frustration that a study of *Huck Finn* has incited in its readers, the interpretations of race and intellectual freedom can be examined as an inter-connected whole. The grand narrative of racism which has guided the American conversation concerning blacks and whites in the history of America began long before America existed (Baldwin, 1998). It continues today in the racial unrest brought about through violence

as seen in the murders of Michael Brown and Eric Garner and the terminology coined to describe the black man as a criminal and predator (DuVernay, Averick, & Barish, 2016). DuVernay, et al. (2016) further states that it can be argued that public memory relies in a large part on this national grand narrative which excludes people of color as inheritors of the promises of freedom and justifies racism from the rightfully established community beginning with the Jim Crow laws after the Civil War up to the 21st century with the deconstruction of the black culture through narratives told by politicians. Kruger (2016), in an article exploring the idea of 21st century slavery presented in the documentary *13TH*, argues that "…a variety of measures—from Jim Crow laws to President Richard Nixon's "war on drugs" and President Bill Clinton's "three-strikes-you're-out" legislation—have served to send increasingly large numbers of black men to prison, and several legal scholars and activists interviewed on camera suggest a profit motive at work, as well as racism" (par. 7). Thus following the historical evolution of the grand narrative about racism according to Arendt's framework, this particular grand narrative has continued to evolve and present opportunities for new interpretations to be seen both through the eyes of a historical lens and a modern exegesis.

As the grand narrative evolved into the 20th century, post-modernist thought brought about a renewed examination of the necessity of having a grand narrative or meta-narrative as the only discourse about a national issue. Jean-François Lyotard (1979) states that

> a meta-narrative is an all-encompassing story on a particular topic, theme, or historical era that can explain the validity of all the stories told about this topic, theme, or era by placing it within the meta-narrative which is thought of as absolute truth. These meta-narratives—sometimes 'grand narratives'—are grand, large-scale theories

> and philosophies of the world, such as the progress of history, the knowability of everything by science (p. 18).

Denning (2007) states that an individual story is only granted validity if it is able to fit into or support some part of the meta-narrative that is accepted as the absolute truth. Yet each reader and listener must interpret the narrative of race within the context of time, place, and one's personal relations to this narrative. Lyotard (1979) in his post-modern philosophy is primarily concerned with the problems of justice that arise between competing interpretations of events. He also believed that there was no grand narrative that embodied the truth of life but rather each of us composed our own narrative that became part of the story that we lived through the morals of our lives. He even went further to explain how in postmodernism, neither science, religion, nor philosophy can offer an answer or solution to the societal problems inherent in the human condition and revealed in the history of man. Since people are constantly revising their notions of what is truth, storytelling becomes a path that can be taken to individualize the meaning within a story and discover that the truth of a text is constantly under construction. The truth of a story is ambiguous and able to be negotiated between the storyteller (author) and the reader (listener).

Therefore no one Grand Narrative can explain the depth and breadth of a cultural racist hegemony. The grand narrative, when viewed through Critical Race Theory, is composed of a story told by the dominant members of society as they attempt to impose their interpretation of the social and cultural influences that created their prominence and their control. Lyotard (1979) calls for an examination of what he calls little narratives, micro-narrative, or petits récits. From these smaller stories, he believes that one is able to create a larger narrative story that is consistent with the belief that these smaller stories allow for the possibility of different

interpretative understandings to the bigger narrative. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain is one such little narrative that may lead to a different interpretation of how a literary work can be talked about in one way during a particular context (1885) and then how its themes can be explored in a totally different context 50, 75, 100 or more years later.

Procedural Analysis

The first gathering of data came from reading books on the topic of censorship such as *Purity in print: Book censorship in America from the gilded age to the computer age* (2002), *Banned in the U. S. A.: A reference guide to book censorship in schools and public libraries* (2002), and *At the schoolhouse gate: Lessons in Intellectual freedom* (2002). Next came the search for articles specifically about *Huck Finn* and censorship. This literature research was conducted within the Old Dominion University library databases. All searches were limited to a subject (SU) and keyword search of all words and phrases listed. The articles were found by searching using the key words of "Censorship and Huck Finn," "Banning and Huck Finn," "Huck Finn and America," "education and Huck Finn," and "schools and Huck Finn." NewspaperArchive, a subscription service, provided me with newspapers from 1607-2017. I searched through these newspapers from all 50 states by using similar keywords and subject headings to the ones used to research the ODU library databases. An extra area of data collection was added for the 21st century and that was through the examination of social media through Twitter and Facebook specifically using the search terms of "intellectual freedom," "censorship," "*Huck Finn*." All these forms of data were examined and grouped by historical time period and theme until saturation was met. "Saturation is the point in data collection when no new or relevant information emerges" (Samure & Given, 2008). The decision to do research as the main method of collecting data was to ensure a thorough understanding of the research

topic by reading the seminal articles in this area, by becoming familiar with similar work done on this topic, by beginning to compare and contrast the previous research done, and by discovering knowledge gaps that needed further investigation. Over 300 books, almost 200 scholarly articles, and almost 200 newspaper articles, editorials, and letters were examined to determine the researched knowledge which was already available and the knowledge gaps that needed to be filled.

During the first stage (i.e., open coding) of data analysis, as newspapers, articles, books, and postings were read and data were collected, the data were chunked into small units and a descriptor, or code, was attached to each of the units. This process of open coding the data by thematic ideas within the context of the following time periods which emerged from the readings: 1884-1900, from publication of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to the end of the 19th century; 1901-1945, early 20th century to the end of WWII; 1946-1985, beginning of the Civil Rights Movement to *Huck Finn's* 100th birthday; 1986-1999, end of 20th century and beginnings of technology; and 2000-2017, 21st century and systemic racism. These established time periods were then scrutinized for commonalities that reflected categories or themes such as lynching, slavery, social mores, and emancipation. Once the data had been categorized, then they were examined for properties that characterized each category (Hewitt-Taylor, 2013). So basically, open coding is a process of reducing the data to a small set of themes that appear to describe the phenomenon that is under investigation which in this case is intellectual freedom and the American discourse on race as seen through the challenges to *Huck Finn*. These emerging codes were applied to the research data being collected and some of the data were eliminated because they either were not pertinent to this study or were a repetition of previous data. To ensure that coded documents remained valid as the coding structure emerged a process

of constant comparison was adopted (Jones, & Alony, 2011). This meant that previously coded documents were reexamined whenever a new theme emerged or the coding structure changed. Constant comparative analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was used to identify the themes that emerged from the articles, newspapers, and books. Initial codes were identified, categories were explored, and themes were developed (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Patton, 2002).

Once initial codes were identified (Saldana, 2009), focused codes were established in the second analysis of the articles. All material was read a minimum of two times and axial codes were developed surrounding the *concepts and categories* which were being revealed as the text was re-read. During the second stage (i.e., axial coding), the codes were grouped into categories and connections were made amongst the categories and the subcategories. Because some sentences from the collected data held multiple thoughts and some of the thoughts continued on for several sentences, the books, articles, and newspapers were coded using DeSantis and Housen's (2001) conception of a thought segment. Data analysis was conducted using a constant comparative approach (Charmaz, 2000). As each book or newspaper was read, notes were taken in the margins identifying main ideas. Themes began to develop from the data which were continually examined for comparisons and then refined until each category was coded and analyzed. Basically, this involves putting data together in new ways by making connections between the categories such as the context of the data, the conditions prevalent in the country that gave rise to the data, the strategies employed to interact with the data, and the final consequences of the aforementioned data (Fram, 2013).

In the third and final stage (i.e., selective coding), one or more themes were developed that expressed the content of each of the historical time periods examined for the discourse on race, for intellectual freedom, and the censorship of *Huck Finn* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This is

the process of selecting the core (or main) themes and then systematically relating these themes to each other. The final step involved ensuring that the themes represented the content of the body of research data and that thematic titles were descriptive and meaningful. The final themes were broken down into freedom/equality, slavery/inequality, and violence for the grand narrative of race; preservation of white power, oppression of minorities and legalized racism for intellectual freedom; and the challenging of dominant American values as the main theme for why *Huck Finn* continues to be called into question throughout the history of its existence. the At the same time, this step allows for the validation of these relationships, and then filling in any categories that perhaps require to be further refined and/or developed. This was done by examining the themes and determining their relevance to the research being conducted. During this process of selective coding, the categories and their interrelationships are combined to form a storyline that describes what happens in the phenomenon that is being studied (Hewitt-Taylor, 2001).

From the coding developed from researched data, a code book was established to help with continued axial coding during the research process and to ensure reliability and credibility when it came time to explain the process of analyzing the collected data. The data and the codebook were kept on a secure server. Three major stages characterized the method of constant comparison analysis. These three stages were used in order to add reliability to the findings. These stages also allowed examining the data by using the lens of a growing experiential knowledge coupled with historical research.

Analysis was limited to the collection of codes developed. Pattern identification was utilized to determine the relationships between the axial codes, looking for patterns among the

data collected to confirm that the concepts and categories (themes) accurately represent the data collected and not a presupposed (biased) agenda (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Through a systematic gathering and analysis of the data, different themes emerged to define the experiences found within the different historical time periods. This research does not simply report facts or "truths" about the American discourse on race, the story of intellectual freedom, and the challenges to *Huck Finn* but actively constructs interpretations of experiences with these stories and then questions how these stories have been interpreted throughout these historical time periods (Hertz, 1995).

The different time periods grew out of the data collected about the attempts to challenge *Huck Finn.* From 1885-1899, the first wave of controversy about the novel was expressed. From 1900-1945, the novel continued to be controversial but also achieved its status as a literary icon within the western canon of literature. Lauded by literary greats such as T. S. Eliot, Ralph Ellison, and Ernest Hemingway and extolled by literary critics such as Lionel Trilling and Harold Bloom, Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* grew to assume a prominent position in American literature. On an international level, it became "a fixture among the classics of world literature" (Kaplan, 1995, p. 359). It "is a staple from junior high . . . to graduate school" and "is second only to Shakespeare in the frequency with which it appears in the classroom . . . " (Carey-Webb, 1993, p. 22). Two world wars were fought during this time period and a depression was endured by the American people. Survival as a nation representing freedom and the march toward becoming a world power dominated this time period (White, 1999); therefore, worrying about what the general public was reading was not a high priority and *Huck Finn* was only infrequently challenged. With the return of the soldiers from WWII and the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, *Huck* moved back into the world of controversy. The next

time period was established to be from 1946 when the soldiers returned to 1985 when *The Adventures of Huck Finn* celebrated its 100th birthday. It was during this time period that the novel went from being a bad boy book to being called racist for the first time in 1957 by the NAACP. From 1986-1999, *Huck Finn* stayed on the list of most challenged books and began to create controversy and scholarship concerning its place in American literature and in the American classroom. The final historical time period has been labeled the 21st century and encompasses the time from 2000-2017 which includes the beginnings of censorship and controversy explored by social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and blogs.

Once the different historical time periods were established, data were placed in each time period based on its publication and reflection of the events occurring in that time period. Constant analysis of the data enabled the recognition of thematic patterns which were used to again compare data across all the different historical contexts. This process continued until a strong theoretical understanding of the stories told about racism, intellectual freedom and *Hick Finn* in each historical context had emerged. This understanding led to the formation of the theoretical framework developed from Hannah Arendt's storytelling beliefs and Jean François Lyotard's assertions concerning the demise of meta-narratives and the rise of petits récits (small narratives). Each historical period was examined through the lens of storytelling and the rise of small narratives to determine how each period added its own unique perspective on the grand narrative of race and the narrative of intellectual freedom can be seen through the lens of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Once these historical periods were examined again, the reasons for challenges to the novel were mapped and compared once again. Finally, based on the accumulated data, a story emerged to explain the role that Mark Twain, *Huck Finn*, and challenges to the novel have can be seen through the American discourses about intellectual

freedom and about race from 1885-2017. The resulting narrative was strengthened by the thematic analysis, especially through the utilization of rich detail or 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973).

After an in-depth search of newspapers, scholarly articles, books, blogs, and social media, data collection occurred and data analysis began using the framework of Critical Race Theory, Hannah Arendt's political theories of storytelling and Jean François Lyotard's deconstruction of the grand narrative as a structure/framework to view the data. The research findings that this chapter reports are based on an exploration of American history from 1885-2017 as related to white/black interactions as well as the history of the development of intellectual freedom in America and how this relates to the troubling challenges that have plagued *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* since its publication (birth). This research data was limited to the historical context from 1884-2017 and limited to the text of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with no deletions or expurgations. This chapter examines the coded data groupings which were used to comparatively analyze the data, and to reveal the findings which emerged from the data analysis. The codes below grew out of the research, the framework, and the analysis of data. In Table 2, the initial codes are presented to demonstrate how the data was grouped within the historical time periods. This breakdown facilitated the comparison of the data across the different time periods.

Table 2. *Initial Codes*

Historical Time Periods	Grand Narrative of Race	Highlights in Intellectual Freedom	Challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
1881-1900	• Emancipation • Segregation through Supreme Court Cases and laws; voting • Inequality of education • Violence; Lynching; Race Riots; KKK • White Supremacy; Preservation of White Status Quo • Unequal justice • Migration to North	• Comstock Law • Inappropriate language • anti-social behavior • erotica; • "genteel tradition;" • detachment from family values	• Promoted bad morals and coarse behavior • Challenged authority; family unit • Poked fun at religion • Led children astray • Obscene engraving • Estes and Lauriat Lawsuit • Concord Public Library Ban • "Trash of the veriest sort" • Immoral
1901-1945	• Second Enslavement of the Blacks • Violence; lynching; KKK • Continued segregation • Unequal justice • Inequality of education • White dominance • Tuskegee Institute; first Black bank; black ministers; black medal of honor winners • Continued migration of Blacks to North	• Comstock Law • Decency Societies • Too realistic; Vulgar; sexually explicit • Outside involvement • Fear of blacks; Harlem Renaissance • Expatriates • ALA Library Bill of Rights • Corruption of family • Hidden racism	• Irreverence • Inappropriateness for children • Questionable morality • Crude language • Nakedness • Using bad grammar • Too realistic • Librarians put book on restricted list • Irreverence of characters • Subversive book

1946-1985	• Civil rights Movement • Reemergence of KKK • Hate Crimes • Creation of NAACP • Desegregation (*Brown v. Board of Education*) • Massive Resistance • Legal and social Movement forward • White desire to maintain status quo; promote white supremacy • Unequal justice	• Growth of African-American Literature • *Tinker v. Des Moines; Island Trees School district v. Pico; Minarcini v. Strongsville* • Books banned: controversial; immoral, psychotic, anti-Christian, language, violence • Expurgated Versions • Homosexuality and perversion • Overt Racism	• Insensitive portrayal of Blacks • Negative depiction of Jim • Use of "nigger" • Insensitive to African American heritage • Racially offensive tone of novel • 1957-first complaint of racism in novel • Racially offensive • Racial slurs • Belittling racial designations • Embarrassing to Black students • Confined to elective courses and school library
1986-1999	• Systematic and institutionalized racism • Disproportionate number of Black men in prison • Felony disenfranchisement • Psychologically lynched • Too few Black role models • Functional illiteracy • Psychological lynching	• Racism • Homosexuality • offensive language • sexually explicit • unsuitable for age group • violence • drugs • Diverse books most challenged • ALA began to keep track of challenged books	• Continued to be banned for racism • Reached its 100th birthday • NAACP supports Huck Finn • Detractors included parents, critics, authors, religious fundamentalists; rightwing politicians, librarians • *Monterio v. Tempe Union High School District*
2000-2017	• Racism better publicized • Social Media reveals violence, poverty and hate crimes; enhances fear between the races • Police violence and brutality against Blacks • Felony disenfranchisement • Inequalities in education • New White Supremacy • Overt/covert	• First Amendment rights • Dark themes • coarse themes • sexually explicit • inappropriate content • Censorship of internet; *U.S. v. ALA* • Vulgarity • Homosexuality • Racism • Witchcraft	• Expurgated versions of novel • Unsuitable for children • Racial slurs • Disparaging of Black history and characters • Creates a racial hierarchy • Lightning rod for racism

Description of the Sample

A variety of sources were used to collect data. The sources are iterated in Table 3.

Table 3. Description of Sample

DATA TYPES	NUMBER READ	NUMBER USED	COPYRIGHTS
Newspaper Articles and Editorials	179	29	1885-2017
Pamphlets	11	1	1995
Books	179	148	1911-2016
Scholarly Articles from Journals	198	86	1929-2016
Radio Programs (Transcriptions) NPR, BBC, ARW	7	5	2009-2010
Television Programs (Transcriptions)	4	4	2002-2016
Documentaries (Transcriptions)	1	1	2016
Letters	17	1	1905
Plaques	1	1	n.d
Museum Exhibits	2	2	2010-2012
Web-Based Information (Timelines, Statistics, Gov't. Reports)	58	34	1983-2017
Organizational Web Sites (ALA, Library of Congress, Gilder Lehrman Institute, NAACP, National Coalition Against Censorship, Project 2019, Southern Poverty Law Center, Arts and Entertainment Network	32	32	2009-2017
Blogs	71	6	1999-2016
Court Cases	29	13	1898-2003
Government Documents (Laws, Dec. of Ind., Constitution, Amendments)	10	8	1776-2017
Lectures (Transcripts)	9	5	1979-2016
Magazines (*The Atlantic, Times, Newsweek, National Geographic, Fortune, New Republic, U. s. News and World Report*)	11	11	1993-2016
Published Interview (Transcript)	8	1	2011

The newspaper articles viewed ranged from 1885-2017 with specific use of *The Critic: A Literary Weekly* of arts and literature published from 1881-1906, and the *New York Herald* that specifically published the Concord Library ban on *Huck Finn* March 18, 1885, to the *Eastern*

Shore Post, in Accomack, VA which is where the latest challenge to *Huck Finn* is being played out in 2017. The newspaper articles ranged from letters to the editor to Op Ed pieces to human interest stories. The books containing information about censorship and intellectual freedom ranged from pamphlet length to over 400 pages on the history of censorship and intellectual freedom and several copies of histories from around the United States to observe the telling of history in each area of the country. I also used books on Mark Twain, the Harlem Renaissance, Lynching, Social Darwinism, and humor. The copyrights ranged from 1958-2015 with one exception which was the first edition copy of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from 1885 to which I was not able to gain access. The scholarly articles ranged from literary journals to management journals, to historical journals, to psychology journals, to sociology journals, to methodology journals. The copyright dates of the articles ranged from 1935-2016. One timeline was used to trace the history of African-Americans from 1885-2000. Two pamphlets (1928, 2016) were read for the study but the information contained in the pamphlets was also documented and used in scholarly articles and books that were already being used. Multiple Websites were consulted that ranged from 1983-2017 and two museum exhibits (2010-2012) were viewed online and all descriptions utilized in the exhibit were read. Four TV documentaries were watched and the transcripts to accompany the broadcasts were read and analyzed. The film documentary *13TH* (2016) was viewed and the transcript was read to maintain the integrity of only using sources that had a printed copy so that validity and accuracy could be maintained. Three radio broadcasts by National Public Radio (NPR) and American Radio Works were used and the transcripts analyzed. Obama's closing speech to the United Nations was listened to and read by transcript and one letter to the author specifically written in 1905 was used as data. The social media pages of the American Library Association (ALA), located in Chicago, IL, and The

Freedom to Read Foundation and the Office of Intellectual Freedom both located in Washington, D. C. were examined for the section on 21st century intellectual freedom and for challenges to *Huck Finn*. I also followed these organizations' tweets, blogs, and Facebook pages. The final sources of data used were Supreme Court cases, legal cases, and laws passed that dealt with racism, segregation, integration, intellectual freedom and the challenging of *Huck Finn*. Specifically these cases and laws included the 13th amendment (1865); the 14th amendment (1868); Comstock Law (1873); *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896); Executive Order 9981 (1948); *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954, 1955); Civil Rights Act (1964); Voting Rights Act (1965); *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969); *Minarcini V. Strongsville City School District (1976); Island Trees School District v. Pico* (1982); *Bethel School district V. Fraser* (1986); *Hazelwood School District v, Kuhlmeier* (1988); *Monteiro v. The Tempe Union High School District* (1998); and *U. S. et al. v. ALA et al.* (2003). Although many scholarly articles and newspapers were read, this study pared them down to take the representative articles of the time period that expressed the recurring themes in all the articles. No single article or book addressed all the themes and research questions in this study but each source added to the preponderance of data collected. From this evidential data, all materials were read until saturation was reached and coding and analysis began.

Research Methods and Data

Upon completion of the research, the articles and data were analyzed for syntax, keywords, and phrases that were common amongst the informational data gathered and then were given suitable category labels. (Saldana, 2009, p. 4). Throughout each Coding Method, commonalities developed. I recorded within my Code Book memos of patterns and themes occurring in the data for later reference (See Table 4).

Table 4. Focused Codes

Historical Time Periods	Grand Narrative of Race	Highlights in Intellectual Freedom	Challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
1881-1900	• Forms of Freedom/ Forms of Slavery • Segregation and White Supremacy • Violence • Unequal Justice • Poor Education	• Government Mandates • Maintenance of Status Quo (Blacks oppressed) • Promote dominant group's American values (White as powerful) • Watch Groups	• Challenged dominant American values • Poorly written • Banned before circulated
1901-1945	• Segregation/Integration • Violence • Unequal Justice • White Supremacy • Forms of Freedom/ Forms of Slavery • Poor Education	• Government Mandates • Watch Groups • Challenges to choice of American values (White as powerful) • Disruption of Status Quo (Blacks oppressed)	• Challenged dominant American values • Poorly written • Restricted in libraries
1946-1985	• Forms of Freedom/ Forms of Slavery • Segregation/Integration • Unequal justice • White Supremacy • Violence • Poor Education	• Government Mandates • Watch Groups • American Values challenged (White as powerful) • Disruption of Status Quo (Blacks oppressed)	• Racist • Challenged dominant American values • Poorly written • Restricted usage in schools
1986-1999	• Forms of Freedom/ Forms of Slavery • Segregation/Integration • Unequal Justice • Poor Education • Violence • White Supremacy	• Government Mandates • Watch Groups • Disruption of Status Quo (Blacks oppressed) • Challenges to choice of American values	• Challenged dominant American values • Racist • Poorly written • Still restricted and challenged in schools (after 100 years)

		(White as powerful)	
2000-2017	• Forms of Freedom/ Forms of Slavery • Unequal Justice • Poor Education • Violence/White Supremacy • Segregation/Integration • Integration	• Laws • Watch Groups • Disruption of Status Quo (Blacks oppressed) • Challenges to choice of American values (White as powerful)	• Challenged dominant American values • Racist • Expurgated and edited • Poorly written

Initial coding went through several cycles based on the preponderance of data (Saldana, 2009). Once codes were categorized, they were compared to one another. Focused coding (Saldana, 2009, p. 48) was used next to recognize similarly coded data and further summarize it into sub-categories or consolidate it under one category (See Table 4). Then, I applied a Third level of Coding, the Axial Coding Method (Saldana, 2009, p. 151) to further analyze results from the first two stages to discover how the categories from each time period related to each other and then how the categories related across the three themes. The research findings and journaled memos of understandings were again reviewed, then triangulated. Finally, new emergences, findings, and memo references were narrated as they relate to the implications of the study (See Table 5).

Table 5: Axial Codes.

Historical Time Periods	**Grand Narrative of Race**	**Highlights in Intellectual Freedom**	**Challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn***
1881-1900	• Freedom/Equality • Slavery/Inequality • Violence/Non-Violence	• Preservation of White Power • Oppression of Minorities • Legalized Racism	• Challenged dominant American values of time period
1901-1945	• Freedom/Equality • Slavery/Inequality • Violence/Non-Violence	• Preservation of White Power • Oppression of Minorities	• Challenged dominant American values of time period

		• Legalized Racism	
1946-1985	• Freedom/Equality • Slavery/Inequality • Violence/Non-Violence	• Preservation of White Power • Oppression of Minorities • Legalized Racism	• Challenged dominant American values of time period
1986-1999	• Freedom/Equality • Slavery/Inequality • Violence/Non-Violence	• Preservation of White Power • Oppression of Minorities • Legalized Racism	• Challenged dominant American values of time period
2000-2017	• Freedom/Equality • Slavery/Inequality • Violence/Non-Violence	• Preservation of White Power • Oppression of Minorities • Legalized Racism	• Challenged dominant American values of time period

Presentation of Data and Results

The initial coding phase was completed through the process of Structural coding, in which the initial raw data (taken through notes collected by the researcher during the research process) were labeled. The process of Structural coding is "—designed to start organizing data around specific research questions" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 51). As seen in *Table 3*, the column labeled the Grand Narrative of Race demonstrates the beginnings of the American discourse of race during the 131 years of *Huck Finn's* existence. As I moved through the different time periods, the historical ideas of racial discourse were revealed. By examining the Column labeled Highlights in Intellectual Freedom, the major ideas of intellectual freedom from each time period were established here. Finally, the column titled Challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* brings to the forefront the ideas that grew from the challenges made to this novel during its existence from pre-publication to now. The initial or structural coding indicates a specific story being told about the correlation among the freedom or slavery of minorities in the grand narrative of race, the preservation of white power and oppression of minorities in intellectual

freedom, and the reason that *Huck Finn* has been challenged for 131 years lies in its own challenge to the dominant American values of the different time periods.

During the focused coding process, Pattern coding, I recoded the data from the initial (structured) coding by grouping the ideas into categories. Table 4 lists the categories derived in the second-level coding. Once again, a story begins to emerge that shows the historical discourse of race, directed and influenced the laws being made to maintain white supremacy and oppress minority groups within the United States. Although the 13th amendment (1866) did away with slavery in the United States, it was only the beginning of systemic and institutionalized slavery. The new slavery was seen in Jim Crow Laws, in attempts to ban books that equalized the races and spoke for justice in American society for all humans, and in the violent oppression and destruction of a race deemed inferior to the dominant race in power, the White man.

The final coding process, Axial coding (see Table 5) brings the three stories together and shows that the denial of freedom to minorities (preservation of white power), the continued and sanctioned slavery of minorities (preservation of white power) and the censorship of *The Adventures of* The *Huckleberry Finn* for challenging dominant American values of the time period come together to form the backbone of the story of racism in America and becomes the lens through which the story can be told. This triangulation of the themes demonstrated the relevance of the data and themes developed.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn as it relates to the narratives of intellectual freedom and racism becomes the basis upon which the inquiry begins and the questions emerge as Arendt proposes in her storytelling methodology. The discrimination that continues to be the African American experience has been brought forth by Toni Morrison one of the most significant voices of her race and age (Lazenblatt, 2000). Morrison contends that the American history of slavery

had been consciously “disremembered” (Peterson, 1997) so that it is conveniently shrouded by a comfortable state of national amnesia. David Marriot (2007) puts it another way, observing that the United States has failed to mourn slavery, and thus slavery maintains a haunting presence of being “nowhere but nevertheless everywhere” (xxi). This is consistent with the view that African American scholarly achievement and artistic ability are available in the writings of Toni Morrison (Nobel Prize Winner), Alice Walker, Ralph Ellison, Kwame Alexander (Newberry Award Winner), but seldom anthologized in the literary canon of American literature. As a consequence, African Americans have been a part of American life, participating in, and contributing to, American culture, but, through oppressive circumstances, as silent witnesses, this evidenced by her observation, “we were seldom invited to participate in the discourse, even when we were its topic” (Peterson, 1997, p. 209). As a vehicle to address “the necessity of historical memory, the desire to forget the terrors of slavery and the impossibility of forgetting,” Morrison uses her voice through her novels to show, also, that “there is a necessity for remembering the horror…in a manner in which…the memory is not destructive” (Peterson, 1997, p. 189-190). Peterson further states that Morrison gives her characters the power of story to who reveal the hidden degradation and humiliation they suffered, by telling what they want to tell, of their own volition, and at a time they are ready to tell it. The stories they tell document horrible truths which have been kept out of the public domain for many years by policies and laws that have become a part of systemic and institutionalized racism (Lazenblatt, 2000). By allowing her characters to come to terms with their past by telling their stories, Morrison leads the way to showing her community how to exorcise the ghosts of slavery that still haunt many of her race. She has given them reasons to be proud (Carey-Webb, 1993). These storytellers have been waiting a long time to add their stories to the grand narrative that has been told of race in

America. These stories find themselves a place in a new type of reality, a reality that is different for each person because the reality grows out of perception and then is retained through the distortion of memory (Rosen, 1996). “The reality of these events does not consist in the fact that they occurred but that…they were remembered” (White, 1980, p. 19). The analysis of data in narrative inquiry grows out of experiences one wants to explain. Narrative inquiry, by its nature of telling stories, is subjective and personally meaningful. Scott (1991) states that “Experience is, in this narrative approach, not the origin of our explanation, but that which we want to explain” (p. 797). Storytelling situates experiences so that listeners or readers approach them from a thought perspective looking for answers and explanations for their own experiences. This is congruent with Lyotard’s belief that each narrative has multiple interpretations and each are valid to the person telling the story. A story can represent an experience so convincingly that its audience finds itself trying to think through the experience and how it relates to them personally or what they could have done differently to change the story rather than merely accept the story’s narrative about the experience.

The problem this research study examines begins with the story of freedom in America, intellectual and racial and situates itself with in the historical time periods of 1885-2017. To give a more focused examination of these two stories and the interrelationships that have been revealed among them, the continued challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* becomes the lens.

Conclusion

Chapter 3 has explained the methodology of historical narrative inquiry into the grand narrative of race and the discourse on intellectual freedom as told through the phenomenon of studying the attempts to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* By doing an in-depth research

study on written texts and then coding the data that evolved from this study, the research design was placed within the combined framework of Hannah Arendt's political theories, Jean Francois Lyotard's deconstruction of the grand narrative, and Critical Race Theory of Richard Delgado and Jean Stephancic that believes that racism is a social construct in society, that racism is an ordinary everyday part of life in American; that racism is seen when white values and social mores are valued over those of people of color.

The collection of data is intended to be intentionally rigorous in order to illuminate the threads that created each of the stories being examined. The data collected ranged from 1885-2017 and were found in books, newspaper articles, journals, transcripts, and interviews. The time periods were determined by historical events and help create a platform from which the reader can follow the data being examined and analyzed. The choices that were made in the selection of the research focus and methodology resulted in necessary restrictions. This qualitative study provided rich data regarding intellectual freedom, the history of race in America and the attempts to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and how the development of these stories from 1885-2017 correlate with each other. The collection of the data was done horizontally by historical time periods. These data were coded within the context of each individual story and within each time frame until saturation of the story within a time period was reached. Chapter 4 will examine the three stories being explored in this dissertation and why they were the three stories chosen to be explored by looking at the narratives each tells. The coding and findings will be discussed in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, the analysis of the data pertaining to each of the three stories will be done vertically to reveal the correlations and interdependencies of the stories on each other in each historical period and finally the interdependence of the stories

on each other thematically. Limitations and implications for future research will also be discussed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 4: Presentation of Data

Stories of *Huckleberry Finn* and Intellectual Freedom and the Grand Narrative of Race

The story of *Huckleberry Finn* is not a story that can be read without an awareness of the social and historical context in which it was written. Its arduous journey through American literary history delineates the changes seen in the story of intellectual freedom and the story told about racism. All three stories are better understood when looked at together through the lens of emancipation and slavery, violence and non-violence, and the attempts to make a people, unpopular ideas, and a novel insignificant and peripheral to American culture.

The Grand Narrative of Race from 1885-1899: Published in 1885, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* came into a world that was still recovering from a civil war and black/white tensions. The 19th century was just another epoch that promoted false emancipation, American nationalism, and military imperialism—all of which contributed to the growth and intensification of racism (Fredrickson, 2003). Although the emancipation of Blacks from slavery received most of its support from religious and secular believers in an essential human equality, the consequences of these reforms was to intensify rather than diminish racism (Luker, 1991). Yolanda Moses (2016), an anthropologist working on racism in America states that "Race is so deeply embedded in our lives it appears to be the natural order of things. We must challenge that notions with all the power of our science and our society" (American Anthropology Association). Rogers & Bowman (2003) state that "Race is a political construction created by people for a political purpose and the concept of race in America was created as a classification of human beings with the purpose of giving power to white people and to legitimize the dominance of white people over non-white people" (pp. 2-3). The beginnings of industrialism and the Darwinian emphasis on "the survival of the fittest" was conducive to the development of a new and more credible scientific racism in an era that increasingly viewed race relations as an

arena for conflict (Fredrickson, 2003). In America, the passage of racial segregation laws and restrictions on black voting rights reduced African Americans to a lower caste system (Rogers & Bowman, 2003).

Clay Routledge's research (23, July, 2014) suggests that people who support racism or maintaining the status quo are the dominant culture, may want to promote their own self-esteem, maintain structure in their lives by preventing change, and keep the group to which they belong strong and influential. The dominant culture in a society is the group whose members are in the majority or who wield more power than other groups. In the United States, the dominant culture is that of white, middle-class, Protestant people of northern European descent (Domhoff, 2012). The established language, religion, values, rituals and social customs are established by the dominant culture and become the norms for society. The dominant culture achieves its dominance by controlling social institutions such as communication, education, art, law, politics, and business. Although America has been referred to as a "melting pot" (deToqueville, 2003), a more accurate historical metaphor would be a "cookie cutter" with a white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, male mold or shape. Therefore, no matter how hard they try, nonwhite immigrants and citizens who are identifiably different and are easily excluded from the dominant culture (Weaver, 1997).

Luker (1991) states that this systemic racism that has grown out of the dominant culture's desire to maintain their supremacy inevitably causes disunity and strife within a country in a tug-of-war struggle to preserve one's rights and power. For the targeted group of racism—for example, the African-Americans in the United States—they experience fewer opportunities for growth and are faced with a social stigma of incapability and inferiority. Some examples of racism in the late nineteenth century support Luker's research that racism appeals as a way for

the powerful to keep the “others” from gaining any substantial power. According to the American Anthropological Association (2016), in 1881, beginning in the state of Tennessee, railroad cars were segregated and the domino effect of segregation in public transportation continued from 1881-1900 when all Southern states had segregated railroads and later extended it to busses. In 1890, The Mississippi Plan mandated literacy tests to disenfranchise Black voters. Later a poll tax was added to this plan to add further hardship on Black voters by charging a fee to vote. In 1896, *Plessy v Fergusson* was passed saying that it satisfied the parameters of the 14th amendment by legalizing separate but equal facilities. The grand narrative of race in America was continuing to be developed by the powerful white ruling class (Levy, 2015). Yet at the same time, African Americans were making inroads into American education, religion, and economics. According to Fredrickson (2003), in 1881, the Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington and a place of education for blacks was established in the South. In 1885, a black episcopal bishop was ordained, and in 1895, The Baptist Convention combined to create the National Baptist Convention of the U. S. A. which is the largest Black religious denomination in the United States. In 1888, the first African American banks were opened in Richmond, VA, and Washington, D. C. In 1898, five African Americans were awarded to Congressional Medal of Honor. Levy (2015) attempts to place the publication of *Huck Finn* into this time in America that is best described as ambivalent. As competition between whites and Blacks for jobs, land, and political power intensified during the Reconstruction, whites' racism against Blacks intensified. Hundreds of Jim Crow laws were passed to maintain the rigid separation between the races (Helg, 2000). Although small steps toward equality were being taken, inequality still remained within the separate but equal parameters of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court Decision (Davis, 1991). Perhaps one of the most obvious examples of

racism during this time was the practice of lynching. Pfeifer (2004) states that lynching was an act of terrorism whose perpetrators were never held accountable and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination. Lynching profoundly impacted race relations in this country and shaped the geographic, political, social, and economic conditions of African Americans in ways that are still evident today (Graff, 2016). Between the years of 1881 and 1899, 1645 African Americans were lynched in the United States (African American Perspectives 1881-1900).

The Grand Narrative of Race from 1900-1945. With the dawn of the twentieth century, the story of racism continued with the eruption of more riots. In 1907, soldiers who had fought in the Spanish American war rioted against segregation in the military. The Library Congress documents on the Timeline of African American History that three companies of black soldiers were dishonoabaly discharged by Theodore Roosevelt for this disruption. In 1917, one of the bloodiest race riots in American history erupted in East St. Louis, Illiniois. Approximately 200 were killed and over 6000 driven from their homes by the violence. Later in the month of July the NAACP organized a protest in Manhatten to protest lynchings, race, riots, and the denial of equal rights. In August of 1917, a race riot occurred in Houston that resulted in two black deaths and 18 lynchings of black soldiers involved in the riot. In 1919, the "Red Summer" ocurred with 26 race riots between the months of April and October (LOC, 2006). Since the passage of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), segregation in public places especially in schools was being established. In 1910, Baltimore approved the first ordinance to legalize segregated housing. In 1913, the Wilson administration began a government wide segregation of work places, rest rooms and lunch rooms (LOC, 2006). Yet most disturbing of all was the continued use of lynchings to subdue the Black man and keep him in his place (Pfeifer, 2004). During the

years of the twenties and thirties in America, lynchings continued as well as the meteoric rise of membership in the KKK prompting this period to often be referred to as the second enslavement of the blacks (Foner, 1988). This enslavement was often enforced through lynchings. During this time period 2640 lynchings occurred (Equal Jusstice Initiative, 2015). Terror lynchings fueled the mass migration of millions of black people from the South into urban ghettos in the North and West throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015). Lynching created a fearful environment where racial subordination and segregation was maintained with limited resistance for decades. Lynching reinforced a legacy of racial inequality that has never been adequately addressed in America (Graff, 2011). The administration of criminal justice in particular is tangled with the history of lynching in profound and important ways that continue to contaminate the integrity and fairness of the justice system (Eggerton, 2014). The history of terror lynching complicates contemporary issues of race, punishment, crime, and justice. Mass incarceration, excessive penal punishment, disproportionate sentencing of racial minorities, and police abuse of people of color reveal problems in American society that were framed in the terror era of lynching (Eggerton, 2014). The narrative of racial difference that lynching dramatized continues to haunt us today and continues to shape the grand narrative of race in America (Wormser, 2002).

The Grand Narrative of Race from 1946-1985. When blacks returned to America after WWII, whites were prepared to "put them back in their place" (Wormser, 2002). The Ku Klux Klan became reenergized by the returning black veterans, who wore their uniforms and seemed to know no fear, and thought they could assert their equality. The response of the KKK was a renewal of violence. As Fred Jerome summarizes, "In the first fifteen months after Hitler's defeat, a wave of anti-black terror, mostly but not only in the southern states, killed fifty-six

African Americans, with returning veterans the most frequent victims” (Jerome, 2004, pp. 628-629.) "Soldiers were fighting the world's worst racist, Adolph Hitler, in the world's most segregated army. The irony did not go unnoticed" (Krause, 2001). In an exhibit staged by the Library of Congress from 2014-2016 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the history of racial inequality was explored during different eras in American history that led to this landmark legislation. The fight against fascism and Nazism during WWII brought to the forefront the contradictions between America’s ideals of democracy and quality and its treatment of racial minorities. A. Philip Randolph worked during and after the war in conjunction with the NAACP and other civil rights organizations to end discrimination and segregation in the armed services and in civilian life (A. Philip Randolph, 2009). After WWII, Black soldiers returned with a desire to end racial inequality and destroy the Jim Crow laws that perpetuated inequality. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an interracial organization, was founded to bring about change through non-violence. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized non-violent challenges to Jim Crow laws after the end of WWII in hopes of improving the equality that Blacks had been promised in amendments 13, 14, and 15 (Foner, 1991). In 1948 President Truman signed Executive Order 9981, which desegregated the army and the civilian government. "With the stroke of a pen, Truman struck a major blow to segregation in the United States" (Krause, 2001). Truman's actions did not end segregation, however. Schools, public transportation, restaurants, and drinking fountains continued to be marked "colored" or "white." Not only had the war opened a new window of opportunity for blacks, a number of the civil rights leaders of the 1950s and '60s, including

Medger Evers, had been trained in the Army, where they acquired leadership and organizational experience. World War II really gave the Civil Rights movement its spark" (Krause, 2001).

During the 1950s-1980s the black communities united to begin political, social, and economic organizations that would represent their interests in American politics. In 1954, *Brown v. Board of Education* ended segregation in schools and in 1955, *Brown II* stated that this integration needed to be done "with all due haste" (*Brown v. Board of Education II*, 1965). The court was swayed in part by a black psychologist Kenneth Clark's research. Clark (1950) had conducted numerous experiments with black and white pupils in southern classrooms, assessing their responses. He concluded that children as young as three years old were already aware that to be black meant to be viewed as inferior. On the basis of his research, the court said that separation of black children in segregated schools 'may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely t'ver to be undone' (Kirk, 2009). Gaining this breakthrough in the courts was one thing. Implementing the decision was another. The Brown case raised a storm of 'massive resistance' from Southern whites, especially focusing on NAACP members for retribution. These two laws did not hasten the dismantling of the almost 250 years of bigotry and hatred. After the passage, hate crimes were on the rise again as seen in the death of Emmitt Till (1955), the violent protests in Little Rock, Arkansas (1957), the bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Atlanta killing 4 young girls, the assassinations of Medger Evers, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., violent disruptions of Freedom riders journey, sit-ins turned violent at Woolworths, and the beating and killing of many blacks who dared to register to vote (Taylor, 2008).

This time period was also a time of changes for African Americans. In 1952, for the first time in the 71 years since the Tuskegee Institute had been keeping records, no lynchings were reported. The last reported lynching was in 1968 and while the violence did not end that year,

those who used lynching as a sport and public spectacle were finally being sought out and punished in some areas of the country (Ginzburg, 1998). According to the *Time line of African American History* (n.d.), during the years between 1945 and 1985, the 1964 Civil Rights Act ended racial segregation in public facilities, accommodations, and employment, finally upholding the 14th Amendment. The same year Congress ratified the 24th Amendment, which outlawed payment of a poll tax as a voting requirement. The 1965 Voting Rights Act outlawed literacy tests and provided federal monitoring of the polls in some states, finally upholding the 15th Amendment. *Loving v Virginia* (1967) struck down laws in 16 states that forbade intermarriage between blacks and whites. The man who epitomized the racial landscape in the 1960s was Martin Luther King, Jr. who became its spokesman and leader for non-violent methods to gain equality until his assassination in 1968 (Kirk, 2009). *Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) ushered in a new chapter in school desegregation by upholding the use of city-wide bussing of black and white students into schools to achieve integration. *University of California v. Bakke* (1978) upheld affirmative action as a legal strategy for addressing past discrimination. Alex Haley writes *Roots* (1976) and it became one of the most watched TV mini-series in television history (LOC, 2012). In addition, countless blacks were added to local and state legislatures, and nationally to Congress. Thurgood Marshall takes his seat as the first black appointed to the United States Supreme Court and Shirley Chisholm becomes the first African American elected to the United States Congress. Nobel prizes were given to Arthur Lewis (1979) in Economics and Ralph Bunch (1950) and Martin Luther King, Jr. (1964) for Peace. These three men were the first Blacks to win Nobel Prizes from America. In sports, Jackie Robinson (baseball), Jack Johnson (boxing), Wilma Rudolph (track and field),

Althea Gibson (tennis) broke through the racial barrier in their respective sports and Hank Aaron hit 715 homerooms to break the previous record of Babe Ruth.

Although much progress was made during the time period of the mid-twentieth century, the sixties and seventies were also a time period that revealed many past injustices and laid bare the intolerances that had led to these injustices. The Equal Justice Initiative (2014) states that during these two turbulent decades the Tuskegee Airman's syphilis tests and the sterilization of blacks and other "undesirables" was revealed. Outrage and anger surfaced in Black communities and young men and women vowed to bring about change by any means possible (Kirk, 2009). This decision led to an upsurge in violence on both sides that spilled over into the 1980s and culminated in the beatings, arrests, and deaths of many blacks (Equal Justice Initiative, 2015). In the arena of education, Kirk (2009) states that many black parents adamantly opposed busing their children to predominately white schools during this time of racial unrest and subjecting their children to the anger and violence of whites. Yet the desire to have their children receive equal opportunities led parents to send them to white schools. At the core of these decisions was the desire by blacks to correct the endemic and systemic outcome of Jim Crow education and employment patterns and the wrongs that had been done to them in the name of white supremacy (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997). The greatest resistance to equal rights for all Americans but especially for black Americans, came from white Americans who saw the advancement of African Americans as robbing them of their entitlement to middle-class privileges (Taylor, 2008). Although African American voices were growing stronger in literature, art, politics, and social mores, many whites still wished to silence the voices that were revealing the hidden injustices so that the status quo could be maintained (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997). This desire to maintain the status quo would manifest itself in police actions and reactions to blacks and in the

sentencing and incarceration rates of blacks in future decades of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Steiker & Steiker, 2011).

The Grand Narrative of Race from 1986-1999. By the late twentieth century violence against blacks had taken a less overt path, it was now more systemic and institutionalized (Feagin, 2006). Feagan (2001) defines systemic racism in the introduction to his book:

> Systemic racism includes the complex array of anti-black practices, the unjustly gained political-economic power of whites, the continuing economic and other resource inequalities along racial lines, and the white racist ideologies and attitudes created to maintain and rationalize white privilege and power. Systemic here means that the core racist realities are manifested in each of society's major parts[…] each major part of U. S. society—the economy, politics, education, religion, the family—reflects the fundamental reality of systemic racism (p. 6).

During the last part of the 20th century, a disproportionate number of Black men are in the American Prison system (Coates, 2015). Marc Mauer (2006) states that "One in three black men between the ages of 20 and 29 was either in jail or prison, or on parole or probation in 1995. One in ten black men in their twenties and early thirties is in prison or jail. Thirteen percent of the black adult male population has lost the right to vote because of felony disenfranchisement laws" (p. 102). While they are no longer physically lynched, they are psychologically lynched and robbed of their manhood (Yeakey & Bennett, 1990). Cooly (2004) stated that by 1985, 44% of black men would be functional illiterates and within major cities in the U. S., the high school dropout rate would be well over 50%. The legacy of lynching has continued to shape the quest for self- esteem and self-identity. bell hooks (2004) believes that the black man can save himself from this legacy of "thug culture" through self-exploration and education; but, too many black

men remain unaware of their options because there are few vocal role models. According to Ava Duvernay (2016), director of the documentary *13TH*, the way we use the criminal justice system in this country, particularly the way we use incarceration, is really an extension of slavery, that it's a form of racialized control proving that society continues to be racially biased and black contnue to be subjugated in White America as seen in incarceration rates (Brown, 1999). The story of race in America continues to be told as a series of steps forward and then too many steps backward (Obama, 2016, September 20). The cultural and psychic scars have left a hole in the souls of Black folk as WEB Dubois claimed in 1903 and it is still not healed today (Cooley, 2004).

Grand narrative of race in 21st century. "In the U. S. white racial identity has been constructed in ways designed to systematically disadvantage blacks…We are 'heirs of oppression.' This is our undeniable moral history and it generates our moral challenge (Corlett, 2010, pp. 26-27). The Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. once stated that Sunday at 11:00 AM is the most segregated hour in U. S. culture. It still is (Barndt, 2011). *The Huffington Post* reflects that

> Black Urban neighborhoods governed by primarily White law enforcement such as in Ferguson, Milwaukee, Chicago, Baltimore, and scores of other U. S. cities are still deeply divided and the interactions often erupt in violence. Schools serving mainly Black students are still grievously under-funded; mortgage lending practices are still discriminatory; arrest and incarceration rates are dramatically skewed; racist employment practices persist; and millions of primarily White voters support politicians focused on protecting "us from "them" (DiAngelo, 30, June 2015).

"There is no more fundamental issue in America than race" (Boyle, 2004, p. 262). Sean Hargadon, in an interview with Kevin Boyle (2015), stated "Racial inequality is an American tradition. There are still two Americas: one for brown people and one for whites, and both are heavily segregated. Racism in the 21st century is not different it is just better publicized. Sean Hargadon revealed that he believes social media has made white Americans more aware of the violence, poverty, and hate crimes that have been occurring in African American neighborhoods especially ones of low socio-economic status. Although this exposure brings about a growing awareness of this violence resulting from the inequalities still persistent in American culture, it also brings about a concurrent fear between the races which sparks more violence too often in the form of police brutality. Amadou Diallo. Manuel Loggins Jr. Ronald Madison. Kendra James. Sean Bell. Eric Garner. Michael Brown. Alton Sterling. Each was a black man or woman who died at the hands of police (Funke & Susman, 12, July 2016). The segregation of neighborhoods and the systemic power structure of racism are fundamental ingredients in the tragedy that occurred on the streets of the United States all too often. (Funke & Susman, 12 July 2016).

Although Martin Luther King struggled to change people's hearts in the 1950s and 60s and help to create a new narrative that included the voices and experiences of all Americans, it is all too obvious that racism is never far from the surface in American life (Higginbotham, 2015). The time has come in the 21st century to not only include voices in the narrative but also begin to change people's actions (Milojevic, Luke, Luke, Mills, & Land, 2002). The great challenge in the United States concerning racism in the 21st century is that we need to transform the institutional structures, the forces that create and sustain inequality (Milojevic, et. al, 2002). Destroy the structures that sustain racial inequality in the United States. Enforce laws that are on the books that prohibit discrimination in the housing market, encourage integration of

neighborhoods, reform a justice system that unfairly falls overwhelmingly on African Americans and catastrophically on African American young men and create an educational system that doesn't define your opportunities simply by your ZIP code (Higginbotham, 2015). And then you have to actually act on those things.

America's most debilitating problem is the lack of education and knowledge Project 2019). Based on percentages of population, white Americans earn twice as many college degrees as black Americans. 83% of white Americans graduate from high school versus only 74% of black Americans. Black Americans are last (behind whites, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics) in reading proficiency, math proficiency, and science proficiency (African American Population Report, 2016). Boyle states in his interview with Hargadon (2015), "In the technologically based global economy of the 21st century there is no need to discriminate against black Americans based on the color of our skin. 'De facto educational discrimination' will work just as well - and it is legal." Project 2019 states that Black America will never attain socioeconomic equality with white America until black Americans reach educational equivalency with white Americans.

> Black Americans must be made to understand that knowledge is power.
> Black Americans must also understand that as long as our legacy of being
> the least educated and least knowledgeable people in America continues,
> black Americans will continue to be the people with the least amount of power
> and, therefore, the least amount of success in America (Project 2019).

The influence of Milton and Mill is evident in Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.'s dissent in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), the case that formally established the marketplace of ideas as a legal concept. He stated that "When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths,

they may come to believe even more than they believe the very foundations of their own conduct that the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test for truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market; and that truth is the only ground upon which their wishes safely can be carried out."

The Office for Intellectual Freedom was established by the American Library Association (ALA) December 1, 1967, with the mission to "implement ALA policies concerning the concept of intellectual freedom as embodied in The Library Bill of Rights (1939), the Association's basic policy on free access to libraries and library materials" (ALA, 2017, OIF). This office deals with the struggles to eliminate the challenging and banning of books by promoting the freedom to choose what we read and how we express our opinions. The concept of intellectual freedom grants each of us unlimited access to ideas and books. Everyone should be given the right to freely choose to debate, discuss, and analyze a text regardless of its content. "Although some books include sexual, profane, and racist content, by censoring these books, we are not protecting children; rather we are leading them to believe that these are topics not worthy of discussion" (ALA, 2017, Banned Books).

> Literature is a wonderful and integral part of the human experience…The best books deal with complicated, important, and often times controversial topics… There is nothing more revealing than honest words in the pages of a great novel. With that revelation brought about through creative freedom, there comes a price. Certain groups and individuals view some works of literature as detrimental instead of a valuable addition to the world (Petite, 05 May 2016).

Although parents have the right to restrict what their children read, parents do not have the right to restrict all children from reading a particular text. General Colin Powell said in a

speech to Harvard graduates that "Free speech is intended to protect the controversial and even outrageous word; and not just comforting platitudes too mundane to need protection" (Toner, 1994, May 15, par.3). Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in a speech to the Author's Guild in 1951 stated that

> We know that the safety of our civilization lies in making freedom of thought and freedom of speech vital, vivid features of our life. Our proudest boast has been a system that makes belief in the unorthodox a permissible way of life. It is not because we want to destroy existing institutions, nor to undermine an orthodox faith that we make room for revolutionary ideas. Ideas, like the people who have them, need expression. The market place tests them—accepting a few, rejecting many. It is the interchange of ideas, the challenge to prejudices that give any people the resiliency to meet changing conditions. It is our attitude toward free thought and free expression that will determine our fate. There must be no limit on the range of temperate discussion, no limits on thought. No subject must be taboo. The people need leadership that makes a virtue of courage, of conviction and freedom of expression. Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us" (pars. 5-11).

Since its publication in 1885, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been considered controversial and continues to be considered be challenged by the many attempts to silence the stories and ideas brought forth in this novel.

Education after the Civil War remained a system of racial inequality. The wealthier white areas had more funding and better schools while the poorer areas, predominately black, had fewer funds and fewer resources (Walker, 1996). Despite the passage of *Plessy v. Ferguson*

(1896), schools were not separate but equal. In addition to the separation of the races in post-Civil War America, books were being scrutinized for their content and their influence (Levy, 2015). Although the books being challenged and banned in the late 19th century were being done so for their inappropriate language, glorification of anti-social behavior, and erotic episodes (Boyer, 2002), "bad boy books" were feared for the disruption of the white status quo (Noble, 1990) and its lack of compliance with the "genteel tradition" of literature.

Intellectual Freedom and *Huck Finn* 1885-1899. The "genteel tradition" of literature, which was being determined by the rich and those who supported the Comstock Law, promoted social cohesion and upper-class respectability (Levy, 2015). The term "genteel tradition" refers to a group of well-bred, educated, and decorous New England intellectuals who asserted their cultural authority soon after the Civil War, claiming that they were the only ones capable of defining and maintaining American high culture (Boyle, 2002). These New England intellectuals criticized popular culture and censored what they considered "bad" literature, particularly literary realism. As noted by John Tomsich in *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age* (1971), prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, most Americans admired the genteel elite and aspired to join their ranks.

> However, the pretentious proponents of the genteel tradition soon lost their influence because they were out of touch with American democratic individualism and cultural diversity. They were idealists and elitists who refused to adapt to a changing society or address the realities of America's industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and democratic frontier spirit. "Genteel" became a derogatory word, used to criticize the smug elite's Old-World social hierarchies and intellectually stale literature. An increased awareness of the nobility of the

> individual and the inherent instability of the modern world resulted in a new, anti-genteel era of innovative and realistic fiction (p. 52).

The rise of new forms of popular literature which emphasized action and fantasy, and sometimes detachment of the characters from the family unit, precipitated a struggle for supremacy in fiction of the late 19th century with such novels and authors as William Taylor Adams (writing as "Oliver Optic") with his series of books for boys such as *The Blue and Gray,* William M. Thayer with his series of books about the lives of early Americans such as Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln, and finally Samuel Clemens (writing as Mark Twain) and his novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Paul, 2014). The perception of the diminution of the family as a cohesive and stable unit is derived from the many plot lines that employed orphans and abandoned children and directly challenged the "genteel tradition" of life.

Critics of the "genteel tradition" challenged *Huck Finn's* sale and inclusion on library shelves because the book promoted bad morals and coarse behavior for young people. Twain, as Santayana (1911) indicated, wrote about and for the masses, challenging genteel social and literary values directly. Twain published *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and it became a huge success with the masses of the American reading public. He wanted to follow up with a sequel, but it took him over eight years to find the voice of Huck and Jim and put those voices into action focusing on the institution of slavery and hypocrisy, both social and religious, in the antebellum South through the novel of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Fishkin, 1993). He spoke out against the mores of his time by comparing idealism and respectability to individualism, practical competence, and common sense in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. "In this novel, Huck challenges society's norms and adopts a personal sense of morality and manners. Huck's individualism and frontier spirit show that America need not define itself or its

tastes by the standards of the educated, refined elite of New England. (Fishkin, 1993, p. 8). "From the moment is was published in 1885, Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* caused controversy. It challenged authority, poked fun at religion, and was accused of leading children astray" (Bradley, 12, June 2011). The three challenges that received the most publicity for *Huck Finn* in its earliest days, both pre-release and early release, were an obscene engraving, an unfortunate lawsuit, and the Concord Public Library ban (Bates, 23 November 2010).

Obscene engraving. One of the 174 woodcuts that had been originally used to illustrate the text of *Huck Finn* was found to be altered by adding a penis (See *Figure 2*). Discovered by the *New York World* (1884), the altered woodcut was embarrassingly published and stated, "A mere stroke of the awl would suffice to give the cut an indecent character never intended by the author or engraver . . . a characteristic which would be repudiated not only by the author, but by all respectable people of the country into whose hands this volume should fall." Fearful that the novel would be considered too risqué for its intended audience of young boys, the book was taken from circulation and reprinted to be distributed in 1885.

IMAGE CREDIT: UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Figure 2. Obscene engraving.

The Estes and Lauriat Lawsuit. Even before the book was distributed to book agents, the Boston bookseller, Estes and Lauriat, published a catalog that listed the book's price below that of the subscription rate that Twain's publisher would ask hoping to gain more orders for their lower price than the other bookstores would gather at the higher pre-arranged price. Twain sued Estes and Lauriat, and the publishing company was widely quoted as saying that Mark Twain was trying to raise his price from the original set price. Although the story that was circulated about his greediness was not true, the damage was done and many people refused to buy *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from such an unscrupulous man or his greedy publisher. This characterization of Mark Twain became the impetus for later charges of racism and has hampered scholarly efforts to portray Twain as a multi-faceted man who worked hard to overcome this demeaning portrayal as greedy, inhumane, and racist (Bates, 2010, November 23).

The Concord Public Library Ban. In March of 1885, the Concord Public Library Committee decided unanimously to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* According to the *New York Herald* (1885, March 17) one of the Library Committee, while not prepared to hazard the opinion that the book is "absolutely immoral in its tone," does not hesitate to declare that to him "it seems to contain but very little humor." Another member of the committee perused the volume with great care and discovered that it was "couched in the language of a rough, ignorant dialect" and that "all through its pages there is a systematic use of bad grammar and an employment of inelegant expressions." A third member voted the book "flippant" and "trash of the veriest sort." They all united in the verdict that "it deals with a series of experiences that are certainly not elevating," and voted that it could not be tolerated in the public library. Although Twain was not upset at first by the challenges to his novel, eventually he became concerned with the charges of immorality that were continually leveled at his book. In a lecture tour which he

undertook from 1885-1886, Twain defended the novel's central moral conflict by saying "in a crucial moral emergency a sound heart is a safer guide than an ill-trained conscience" (Bates, 2010, November 23).

Intellectual Freedom and *Huck Finn* 1900-1945. As the twentieth century began, censorship flourished. It was a time of censorship, a time when Anthony Comstock, America's premier censor, continued to wreak havoc in the lives and books through his fight to save purity and decency, defined as he alone could recognize it (Boyer, 2002). It was a time when the editor of the *Journal of Education* could praise students at Oakland High School for refusing to read an unexpurgated edition of *Hamlet* (Noble, 1990). It was a time when a few proper Bostonians made it their crusade to make sure the eyes of their fellow citizens would never see morally questionable material (Rojas, Shah, & Faber, 1996). Their preferred vehicle? The New England Watch and Ward Society in Boston which united with booksellers and librarians to keep America safe (Banned, Burned, Seized, and Censored, 6 Sept. 2011-22 Jan. 2012). "Banned in Boston" became a national catch phrase symbolizing narrowness and intolerance (Noble, 1990). By 1929, Boston had become notorious for its rejection of books that circulated freely in the rest of the country. At least 65 authors and their literary works had been suppressed including works by Sherwood Anderson, William Faulkner, John Dos Passos, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, Ernest Hemingway, and John Steinbeck. Books such as *The Red Badge of Courage* by Stephen Crane and *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck were censored for not being true enough in the case of Crane and too realistic in the case of Steinbeck (Boyer, 2002). All of the above authors were considered too vulgar for inclusion in a public library collection (Noble, 1990). Four Nobel Prize winning authors were censored during this time for their too realistic and too vulgar look at life. Continuing to rank among the books chosen to be censored

by all concerned was Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Schlesinger, 1984). When *Scribner's Magazine* serialized Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* in the summer of 1929, the Boston police superintendent under the direction of the Watch and Ward Society banned it along with a Boston production of several O'Neill plays (Rojas, et. al., 1996).

It was during this time that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which had remained aloof from the fight over book censorship chose to take a role in the fight for intellectual freedom for American citizens. In 1928, the ACLU fought for Mary Ware Dennet's pamphlet, *The Sex Side of Life: An Explanation for Young People* which was widely regrded as the best available tract on the subject (Weinrib, 2012). At the time, however, the organization's leadership was unconcerned with Dennett's broader goals. The ACLU was founded, according to early organizational documents, to assist in the "struggle of labor" by facilitating orderly progress toward revolutionary social change (ACLU, 1928). Weinrib (2012) states that the ACLU had moved by the late 1920s

> ...beyond its initial commitment to the "right of agitation," which had encompassed workers' rights to organize collectively. For strategic and ideological reasons, the organization increasingly had emphasized less controversial values, such as religious and academic freedom. In the realm of sexual morality, however, most members of the ACLU were untroubled by state regulation, and few were eager to challenge obscenity laws. ACLU board members agreed to sponsor Dennett's case because, in their view, *The Sex Side of Life* was not obscene. On the contrary, it instructed the youth on an issue of social importance (pp. 326-327).

Censoring the pamphlet interfered with established progressive projects such as the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the promotion of happy, stable marriages. At the same

time, it curtailed parents' authority to educate their children in accordance with their own values (Minow, 1968). Minow further states that the litigation unleashed a far more sweeping anticensorship initiative. The ACLU attorneys recognized that the debate concerning censorship was entering a new phase where civil liberties mattered and writers, publishers, and reformers would all need attorneys to speak for them at the "intersection of literature and obscenity" (Banned, Burned, Seized, and Censored, 6 Sept. 2011-22 Jan. 2012). In November of 1935, the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice performed their annual burning of obscene literature. Over $150,000 worth of magazines, books, pamphlets, and postcards confiscated from publishers and booksellers went into the fire in an effort to rid the country of offensive literature and book burning was just one of the many multi-faceted ways this was accomplished (Banned, Burned, Seized, and Censored, 6 Sept. 2011-22 Jan. 2012). During this time period of intense censorship, many American authors chose to leave the country and become expatriates in France, Spain, and other European nations who were more lax in their consideration of literature of the time. A generation of writers from Hemingway to Fitzgerald, to Stein, to Dos Passos took their talent to Europe and did not return until it was no longer safe to remain in Europe with WWII looming on the horizon (McAlmon and Boyle, 1968). Despite the expatriation of American writers, T. S. Eliot, Harold Bloom, and Lionel Trilling used this time period to being forth their critical reception of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* which states "All modern American literature comes from one book by Mark Twain called *Huckleberry Finn*. American writing comes from that. There was nothing before. There has been nothing as good since" (Schlensky, 2008, p. 13).

While the white authors were away in Europe, the black authors were migrating to Harlem and creating their own communities to support the literary, musical, and artistic talents of

African Americans who had sent people to fight in for democracy in WWI and now wanted an equal voice to express their talents. The Harlem Renaissance included writers such as Langston Hughes, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, Jean Toomer, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Arne Bontemps. Wintz (2000) states in his social and literary analysis of the Harlem Renaissance that writers from the Harlem Renaissance were unable to be published by predominately white publishing houses so therefore censored from mainstream American readers, this movement is unusual among literary and artistic movements for its close relationship to civil rights and reform organizations. Crucial to the movement were magazines such as *The Crisis*, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); *Opportunity*, published by the National Urban League; and *The Messenger*, a socialist journal eventually connected with black labor unions. “The Literature of the period is a glorious response to the racial tensions underpinning Harlem during the 1920s and a fight through art for free expression for an oppressed race” (Wintz, 2000, p. 267).

Despite its critical recognition, *Huck Finn* was still challenged and banned locally by library boards and religious organizations because of its irreverence, its inappropriateness for children, and its questionable morality. This appeared to be the reason that, in 1902, the Denver Public Library excluded the book from its approved list of books for boys. This book in its early publication had been classified as a "Boy Book" of nineteenth-century American literature, that extolled American boyhood (Gribben, 1988, p. 15). Almost simultaneously, the Omaha Public Library, in the same month, hushed Huck—again, while the stated reason was its pernicious influence on young people. Originally, genteel whites were offended by the "crude" but authentic language in the book, but even more by the friendship between the irreverent Huck and Jim, the fugitive slave whose flight Huck aids because he knows that making a slave of him or any

human being is wrong. The book's early critics denounced it for talking of "nakedness, using bad grammar and resorting to a realism that offends those who think only a scrubbed version of society can uplift the spirit of children" (Hechinger, 4 June 1985). Mark Twain joked about the value of being "banned in Boston." "That will sell 25,000 copies for sure," he said, and Huckleberry Finn did indeed become a worldwide best seller (Hechinger, 1985, June 4).

The condemnation of *Huck Finn* was not only from the community, but many times it was the librarians themselves banning the book. This was the case in 1905 when the head librarian of the Brooklyn Public Libraries put not only *Huck Finn* but also *Tom Sawyer* on the restricted list. The librarian claimed that "Huck was a deceitful boy" (Dickinson, 1905). By 1907, when E. L. Pearson of the Library of the Military Information Division in Washington, D.C., wrote an article in defense of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, children's librarians throughout the country were keeping the book off the shelves because they considered the dirtiness, ungrammatical English, vulgarity, mischievousness, and irreverence of Twain's characters to be a terrible influence on little boys. In fact, Pearson claimed that colleges and library schools taught prospective elementary teachers and librarians to get the novel off their shelves (Johnson, 1907).

Twain undoubtedly knew the trouble his book would see. On the concluding page, Huck says: "There ain't nothing more to write about, and I am rotten glad of it, because if I'd a knowed what trouble it was to make a book I wouldn't a tackled it" (p. 263). Of course, Mark Twain "knowed" full well what trouble it was and would be to write what Lionel Trilling later praised as "a subversive book." The name "Twain" became synonymous with American humor in Clemens' lifetime and still is (Morris, 2007). Twain's conception of humor reached far beyond his original goal of "exciting the laughter of God's creatures" to recognize humor as "the only thing, the

saving thing," and that "against the assault of laughter nothing can stand." By "nothing," he meant all matter of prejudice and human folly. (Emerson, 1999). Twain chose to use a satirical, humorous style to poke fun at America after the Civil War and reveal through *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* its human hypocrisies and cruelties (Morris, 2007). And so, while Huck had his share of troubles during its pre-publication period and then with its contemporary reception, he was given a bit of a reprieve from 1910 (when his creator died) to 1957 (the early stages of the Civil Rights Movement). During that time, it was still banned, but not with the same fervor as when first published mostly because of America's preoccupation with a Great Depression and two World Wars. Although unofficial efforts to discourage children from reading *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* seemed to have continued covertly over the years, in many public schools the novel slowly and quietly became part of the standard curriculum.

Intellectual Freedom and *Huck Finn* 1946-1985. As difficult as the time period was politically, it was a time of social and artistic awareness and growth in the African American community particularly in the beginnings of the Black Arts Movement whose goal was to establish "a voice distinct from, and sometimes at odds with, the prevailing white literary establishment" (Salaam, 1995). The growth of national literary magazines aided in the dissemination of printed manifestos, societal critiques, as well as giving an opportunity to be heard to a growing number of Black writers.

> I think what Black Arts did was inspire a whole lot of Black people to write. Moreover, there would be no multiculturalism movement without Black Arts. Latinos, Asian Americans, and others all say they began writing as a result of the example of the 1960s. Blacks gave the example that you don't have to assimilate. You could do your

> own thing, get into your own background, your own history, your own tradition and your own culture. I think the challenge is for cultural sovereignty and Black Arts struck a blow for that (Salaam, 1995).

In addition to the Black Arts movement and the proliferation of new Black voices, Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Prize (1950) for her poetry, Motown Records was established by Berry Gordy, Jr. (1959), Lorraine Hansberry's play, *A Raisin in the Sun* opened on Broadway and won the Drama Critics award (1959), Gwendolyn Brooks is appointed as America's poet-laureate (1968) and Ella Fitzgerald and William "Count" Basie become the first African American performers to win Grammy awards (1959) (Taylor, 2008). *Tinker V. Des Moines* (1969) is made into law and freedom of speech and the right to read any book of one's choice does not have to be surrendered at "the schoolhouse gate" (*Tinker v. Des Moines*, 1969). *Island Trees School District Board of Education v. Pico* (1982) was also fought and won during this time period. Nine books were removed from the library in Island Trees School District by the local school board for being "anti-American, anti-Christian, anti-Sem[i]tic, and just plain filthy" (Pico, 1982). Stephen Pico argued that the Board wanted to remove the books because they "offended their social, political, and moral tastes, and not because the books, taken as a whole were lacking in educational value" (Pico, 1982). Justice Brennan noted in the case of *Tinker v. Des Moines School District* (1969) that the Court had previously held that students do not "shed their Constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate." After this statement was made by Justice Brennan, the Supreme Court held that the "First Amendment limits the power of local school boards to remove library books from junior and senior high schools without due process" (Pico, 1982).

To accompany these opportunities to speak freely and to participate equally was the opportunity for books to be challenged for new reasons such as racism and continue to be challenged for the same reasons of vulgarity, explicit sexual content, and offensive language. In an exhibit created by the Library of Congress called *Books that Shaped America,* the following books were included that were banned for the listed reasons. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* by Dee Brown was banned by a school district in Wisconsin in 1974 because the book might attack American policies toward Native Americans and the district wanted to avoid controversy at all costs. "If there's a possibility that something might be controversial, then why not eliminate it," an official stated (LOC, 2012). A school district in Missouri voted 4-0 in favor of banning Slaughterhouse Five and only one of the board members had read the book. The banning of this book was taken to court and in 1972, a circuit judge in Missouri ruled the novel to be "depraved, immoral, psychotic, vulgar, and anti-Christian" (*Minarcini v. Strongsville,* 1976). The issue eventually led to a District Court ruling that upheld the school board's right to reject the books as part of the curriculum, but found the removal of the books from the library to be unconstitutional, referring to the library as "a storehouse of knowledge" (*Minarcini v. Strongsville,* 1976). *The Catcher in the Rye* by J.D. Salinger is frequently removed from classrooms and school libraries because it is "unacceptable," "obscene," "blasphemous," "negative," "foul," "filthy," and "undermines morality" (LOC, 2012). *Fahrenheit 451* by Ray Bradbury endured an interesting form of banning. Rather than ban the book about book-banning outright, an expurgated version of the text, in which all the "hells" and "damns" were blacked out, was used instead. The book contained, according to its detractors, vulgar language, anti-Christian sentiments, and violence (LOC, 2012). *In Cold Blood* by Truman Capote is often banned for sex, violence and profanity. *Our Bodies, Ourselves* compiled by the Boston

Women's Health Book Collective about the female anatomy and sexuality created challenges from the book's publication into the mid-1980s stating that it "promotes homosexuality and perversion" (LOC, 2012).

Yet it was also during this time period in the midst of black soldiers returning from War, the Civil Rights movement, the dismantling of Jim Crow laws and Black Codes that the charge of racism entered the reasons for challenging a book in schools. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Malcolm X and Alex Haley has been called a "how-to-manual" for crime and decried because of "anti-white statements" present in the book (LOC, 2012). *Gone With the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell, a Pulitzer-prize winning novel critically praised for its thought-provoking and realistic depiction of ante- and postbellum life in the South, has also been banned for its realism. Its realistic portrayal – though at times perhaps tending toward optimistic -- of slavery and use of the words "nigger" and "darkies" has evoked challenges of racism toward this work (LOC, 2012). *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison won the 1953 National Book Award for Fiction because it expertly dealt with issues of Black Nationalism and black identity in the twentieth century and was banned for portraying African Americans as equals to white Americans (LOC, 2012). *Native Son* by Richard Wright has been challenged or removed in at least eight different states because of objections to "violent and sexually graphic" content that portrays a black man as unable to control his passions and desires toward white women therefore helping to perpetuate the stereotype of the violent black male (LOC, 2012). *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee stands as proof positive that the censorious impulse is alive and well in our country, even today. It has been called a degrading, profane and racist work that "promotes white supremacy" (LOC, 2012). Finally, it was in 1957 that the controversy surrounding *Huck Finn* was first centered on racism and was reignited as this novel turned 100 in 1985.

By the mid-twentieth century *Huck Finn* had become a literary classic that was loved by critics and the reading public alike. On an international level, it is "a fixture among the classics of world literature" (Kaplan, 1995, p. 352). It "is a staple from junior high…to graduate school" and "is second only to Shakespeare in the frequency with which it appears in the classroom . . . " (Carey-Webb, 1993, p. 22). During the push for school desegregation in the 1950s, however, serious objections to the teaching of Huck Finn were voiced (Henry, 1992). The presence of black students in the classrooms of white America brought about by the Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. The Board of Education in Topeka, Kansas* (1954), coupled with the attendant tensions of a country attempting to come to terms with its racial tragedies, and the new empowerment of blacks through the growing Civil Rights movements led to *Huck Finn's* greatest struggle with censorship and banning. The effort to banish *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from required classroom reading lists came publicly to the forefront again, now chiefly on the grounds that its depiction of black characters especially his negative depiction of Jim and Twain's extensive use of the word "nigger," one of the most powerful racial epithets in the English language, (Gregory, 1998) were insensitive to African American heritage and personally offensive in racially mixed classrooms. Though blacks may have previously complained about the racially offensive tone of the novel, it was not until September *1957* that the *New York Times* reported the first case that brought about official reaction and obtained public attention for the conflict. The New York City Board of Education removed *Huck Finn* from the approved textbook lists of elementary and junior high schools. While the book was no longer available for classroom use at the elementary and junior high school levels, it could still be taught in high school and purchased for school libraries. Though the Board of Education acknowledged no outside pressure to ban the use of *Huck Finn*, a representative of one publisher said that school

officials had cited some passages derogatory to Negroes as the reason for its contract not being renewed. The NAACP, denying that it had placed any organized pressure on the board to remove *Huck Finn,* nonetheless expressed displeasure that the book was "racially offensive…" and contained "racial slurs…and belittling racial designations…" (Henry, 1992, p. 22). Disapproval of *Huck Finn's* racial implications had been expressed publicly.

In *1963* the Philadelphia Board of Education, after removing *Huck Finn,* replaced it with an adapted version which "tone[d] down the violence, simplify[d] the Southern dialect, and delete[d] all derogatory references to Negroes." (NY Times, 13 April, 1963). A civil rights leader in Pasco, Washington, attacked Twain's use of "nigger" in 1967 (*New York Times,* 22 March 1967) and, two years later Miami Dade Junior College (Miami, Florida) removed the text from its required reading list after Negro students complained that it "embarrassed them." Central to the concerns about the novel outside of the racist language was the portrayal of Jim as a caricature of an African-American (Chadwick-Joshua, 1998). Around 1976, striking a bargain with parents of black students who demanded the removal of *Huck Finn* from the curriculum, the administration of New Trier High School in Winnetka, Illinois, agreed to withdraw the novel from required courses and confined *Huck Finn* to elective courses and the school library (Henry, 1992).

Intellectual Freedom and *Huck Finn* 1986-1999. Intellectual freedom continued to thrive during the late twentieth century. Racism as a reason to challenge a book was added in the mid-twentieth century and homosexual content was added as a reason for banning a book in the late twentieth century (ALA, 2017). Although neither category was new in banning books, until the mid-twentieth century, racism and homosexuality were categorized under containing offensive language, being sexually explicit, and being unsuited for age group (Knox, 2016

September 28). Analysis of the most banned/challenged books in the U.S. shows that diverse books are disproportionately targeted for book challenges and censorship. Knox continues to explain that:

> Diverse books, by definition, center on the experiences of people who are not dominant in society, and it is not surprising that these stories will often include experiences that may make the reader uncomfortable in some way. It makes sense that a coming-of-age novel that centers on a teenager in America in the late 20th or early 21st century might include racism, offensive language, and sex. These books speak to the human condition [Blog].

Lo (2014, September 18) further explains

> …that books that fall outside the white, straight, abled mainstream are challenged more often than books that do not destabilize the status quo. The message this sends is loud and clear: diversity is actually under attack. Minority perspectives are being silenced every year. Recent academic studies (Scientific American Journal) have shown that reading fiction leads to increased empathy, which suggests…that it's more important than ever to make sure books with diverse perspectives are widely available, not censored.

Heather Has Two Mommies by Leslea Newman and *Daddy's Roommate* by Michael Wilhoite, *Annie on My Mind* by Nancy Garden, *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* by Stephen Chbosky and *The Drowning of Stephan Jones* by Bette Green join the list of challenged books for homosexuality along with John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* (ALA, 2017). Other books that were challenged during this time period for language and content not suitable for age-level (drugs, sexual content, violence) were the *Harry Potter* (series) by J. K. Rowlings, *Go Ask Alice*

by Anonymous, *Where's Waldo* by Martin Hanford (naked breast in a beach scene), *The Chocolate War* and *We All Fall Down* by Robert Cormier, anything by Stephen King and anything by Judy Blume as well as our old favorite *The Catcher in the Rye* by J. D. Salinger (ALA, 2017). Yet it was also during this time period that the ALA began to keep track of the books being challenged and the authors began to speak out in defense of their work. In the category of challenges for racism, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* by Maya Angelou, *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker (also included for homosexuality), *Beloved* by Toni Morrison (also included graphic sexual content), and the ever-present, *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee and continuing to appear since 1884, The *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by Mark Twain (ALA, 2017).

As *Huckleberry Finn* moved towards its 100th birthday, the novel is still as troublesome as it has been since its publication. Banned in Davenport, Iowa; Houston, Texas; and Bucks County, Pennsylvania, *Huck Finn* was also challenged by parents in Waukegen and Springfield, Illinois (Leonard, Tenney, & Davis, 1999). But the case to censor Huck that received the greatest national attention occurred in Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1982. The principal at the Mark Twain Intermediate School, removed the book from the required reading list on the advice of its Human Rights Committee. An administrative aide for the school, John H. Wallace, told the *Washington Post* that "the book is poison. It is an Anti-American; it works against the melting pot theory of our country, it works against the idea that all men are created equal; it works against the 14th amendment to the Constitution and against the preamble that guarantees all men life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (Bates, 2010). Three years later in 1985, Wallace told Ted Koppel on *Nightline* that the novel "is the most grotesque example of racist trash ever written" (Bates, 2010) and in essence should be dropped from school reading

lists. NAACP Education Director responded to Wallace's charge: "You don't ban Mark Twain—you explain Mark Twain" (Cole, 1982, p. 33). Quite a different response from the NAACP of 25 years before that helped hush Huck in the NY Public Schools.

This period of censorship in the 1980s can be seen in other ways also. In 1982, the publisher of an edition of Twain's works thought it necessary to add the following note to the beginning of the book:

> *A note to the reader: There are racial references and language in this story that may be offensive to the modern reader. He should be aware, however, that these do not reflect the attitude of the publisher of this edition. Moreover, Mark Twain's original intention was one of irony, where the insults applied to Jim, the runaway slave, were meant to emphasize Jim's nobility and integrity, in contrast to those who cast the slurs. It is in this light that the story should be read* (Bates, 2010).

The controversy continued to grow and change concerning the offensiveness of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* though the late twentieth century. "*Huck Finn's* detractors encompassed parents, critics, authors, religious fundamentalists, rightwing politicians, and even librarians" (Henry, 1992, p. 25). These detractors became so active and continue to be so today that the Center for the Book at the Library of Congress published in 1992 a 23-page booklet, *Born to Trouble: One Hundred Years of Huckleberry Finn* by Justin Kaplan, a Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer of Twain.

As the end of the twentieth century was approaching, Kathy Monteiro on behalf of her African-American daughter brought *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to trial in *Monteiro v. Tempe Union High School District* (1997). Parent asked school to remove *Huck Finn* from curriculum because the "n" word harmed her daughter. Court cited *Board of Education v. Pico*

(1982), saying that there is a well-established rule that the right to receive information is an inherent corollary of the rights of free speech and press, and that the students have rights to receive a broad range of information so that they can freely form their own thoughts: Court wrote: “Bad ideas should be countered with good ones, not banned by the courts. One of the roles of teachers is to guide students through the difficult process of becoming educated, to help them learn how to discriminate between good concepts and bad, to benefit from the errors society has made in the past, to improve their minds and characters.” *Huck Finn* was not removed from curriculum. Yet the story does not stop there. The judges dismissed “with considerable skepticism” the idea that “reading books causes evil conduct” (*Monteiro v Tempe*, 1999). Once a school district has determined if a book has educational value and therefore can be included on a required reading list, it is the school’s responsibility to respond to any racially hostile environments in its schools and can be held responsible under *Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, which prohibits racial discrimination in programs receiving federal funding. Therefore books may be read that contain racial epithets but school must protect students from placement into a hostile environment while reading these books.

Intellectual freedom and *Huck Finn* in the 21st century. Book banning is not a new concept, as governments and educational institutions have been banning books in America since the 1600’s (Foerstal, 2002). Books often utilized in school and included in both school and public libraries such as *The Great Gatsby, The Catcher in the Rye, To Kill a Mockingbird, Beloved, 1984, The Lord of the Flies, The Color Purple, The Grapes of Wrath*, and many others have been banned for various reasons. Banning books contradicts First Amendment Rights, but it does not stop groups from trying to ban certain works, even in today’s saturated entertainment and technological world (Petite, 2015).

John Gilmore (1993) in an interview with *Time* stated that censorship is flourishing in the information age. In theory, new technologies make it more difficult, and ultimately impossible, for governments to control the flow of information. Some have argued that the birth of the internet foreshadowed the death of censorship (Elmer-DeWitt, 1993). Yet this prediction has not come true. Parents at schools in Idaho and North Carolina currently want John Steinbeck's classic, *Of Mice and Men*, and Khaled Hosseini's modern triumph, *The Kite Runner*, banned from their respective high schools. *Of Mice and Men* is facing adversity due to coarse language and dark themes. While *The Kite Runner* is being accused of having too many adult themes and portraying women in a negative light (Schaub, 2015, May 5). In Accomack County, Virginia, parents want *To Kill a Mockingbird* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* removed from the shelves of their libraries because the books perpetuate stereotypical racism (Balingit, 2016, December 3). Although parents still challenge books for their inappropriate content, chances are children are already learning about sex, drugs, racism, and pornography through their "permanently attached" electronic devices which offer few appropriate explanations and guidelines which they can receive through a piece of literature assigned in a classroom (Petite, 2015). Children are already being exposed to exactly what parents are trying to keep away from them. According to an essay in the *Economist* (2014 October 11), the United States faces the significant challenge of restoring the traditions of free speech and access to the diversity of information available to its citizens. In today's technological world, free speech involves the use of the Internet to express the mass quantities of ideas available in the United States and across the globe. To many people, new information and communications technologies are the link between the problems of yesterday and the possibilities of tomorrow (Magi, & Garner, 2015).

The 21st century is dealing not with censorship on the printed word, but censorship on information access through internet filters. Several notable cases have arisen surrounding this aspect of censorship. *The United States et al. v ALA et al* (2003) tried to battle the Child Internet Protection Act (CIPA) that refused federal funding to any organization that did not install filters on their computers that blocked access to adults and children of materials deemed inappropriate. The ALA protested this ruling since they believed it to restrict free access to information needed by their patrons. The law was upheld and internet filters are used in schools, libraries and many other places where public internet is available (ALA, 2003).

Categories of censorship has not changed much in the 21st century. Homosexuality, graphic sexual content, and racism still top the list of reasons to ban (ALA, 2016). Yet vulgarity, inappropriate for age group, inappropriate language, and witchcraft also remain as significant as they have been before. Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has incited objections to its perceived immoral and sacrilegious content since its 1884 publication (Banned book week, 2017). One month after its publication, the Concord, MA library banned it, and other libraries followed suit. In the 1950s, the NAACP condemned the book as racist, and one parent even sued a school district in 1998 for making the book required reading (ALA, 2017). In the suit, *Monteiro v. Tempe Union High School District* (1998), the parent of a high school student accused the school district of exacerbating racial tensions at school with the book's racist overtones. The court refused to ban the book (*Monteiro v Tempe*, 1998).

According to Messent (2007), a literary scholar focusing on Twain's works, the word "nigger" is used 219 times in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and has led to considerable controversy since the 1950s. By the 21st century, a new challenge has been made to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by rewriting the novel and presenting a sanitized version that

could be safely taught in schools. In January of 2011, NewSouth published a new version of Huck Finn that replaced the word "nigger" with "slave" and the word "injun" with "Indian." Yet the publication of this "sanitized version" has only stirred up more controversy surrounding the novel and has provided new avenues for controversy. Many scholars say that sanitizing the novel limits the critical discussions that surround the reading of the original text. Without the dialectical language, many claim that we are ignoring our past which was filled with racism and hatred. To shed light on this ignorance curtails the discussion of the book in an educational setting. In her January 9, 2011, *Washington Post* article titled "Leave Twain Alone," Kathleen Parker argues that taking words out of books not only hurts the stories they tell, but also the minds of those who attempting to engage and learn from these stories:

> [T]hese writers selected each word painstakingly to create a world they envisioned necessary to their purpose. That the world has changed, and our language with it, is no argument for rewriting or reconstructing the creator's intent. To do so is both an assault on intellectual property that should be sacrosanct, and an insult of those whose minds we attempt to mold.

Spicer (1987) maintains that when dealing with children, certain topics and words have to be used carefully in order to allow students to absorb their true meaning or value. Michiko Kakutani (2011) affirms this point in her January 9th *New York Times* article, "Light out Huck, They Still Want to Sivilize You": "To censor or redact books on school reading lists is a form of denial: shutting the door on harsh historical realities. Educating students with novels like *Huckleberry Finn* should be looked at in a positive light. If we can't talk about complex topics with students in grade school, how can they be prepared to enter higher education where deep and diversified thinking is expected?" Ruta (2013) asserts that to deny our children an opportunity to discuss the

moral issues present in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is insulting to their intelligence and a lost opportunity to instill in students the critical thinking skills that will be necessary to navigate the larger world we live in today. Ruta (2013) further goes on to say, "I hope books like *Huck Finn* will always be challenged. It shows that our culture is still engaging in meaningful debate, and that the next generation will continue to question the beliefs they've inherited. If there's anyone in American lit tough enough to handle the melee, it's Huck" (par. 10).

Racial identity has been a defining feature of the historical construction of the British American colonies and later the United States. Since 1619, racial identity has been part of the story told about the colonization of the new world. Alberti (1995) states that

> This emphasis on racial identity since the beginning of colonization of the new world is one of the strongest pieces of evidence that race is indeed a social construct, subject to historic variations and thus always inherently unstable. It is crucial to understand and take into account the material basis of both the initial construction of the racial ideology of the U.S. and its historical development and transformation, not only for interpreting Huckleberry Finn in the narrow sense but also for examining how various readers, both professional and amateur, have found and find them- selves implicated in the novel's concern with racial identity. Most crucially, we need to look at how the construction of race theory and the development of racism in the West was linked to efforts to justify slavery (p. 925).

Thus, from the beginning, the construction of *Huckleberry Finn* acts much like a history textbook: removing the n-word is like removing a part of history. Middleton and Pilgrim (2013) discovered through research that the n-word "…was firmly established as a derogative name by the early 1800s. In the 21st century, it remains a principal term of white racism, regardless of

who is using it. Social scientists agree that the word "nigger" is found in disparaging nicknames, explicit group devaluations, and irrelevant ethnic names used as a mild disparagement" (par. 3). Over time, racial slurs have been used to victimize racial and ethnic groups; "but no American group has endured as many racial nicknames as Blacks" (par. 4). The word, "nigger," still carries with it much of the hatred and contempt felt toward African Americans. "Historically, "nigger" defined, limited, made fun of, and ridiculed all Blacks. It was a term of exclusion, a verbal reason for discrimination. Whether used as a noun, verb, or adjective, it strengthened the stereotype of the lazy, stupid, dirty, worthless nobody and carried with it purposeful cruelty" (par. 5). "Nigger," like the false impressions it incorporates and means, puts down Blacks, and rationalizes their abuse and creates a racial hierarchy that is four centuries old that promotes racist motives, values, and behavior (Middleton & Pilgrm, 2013). Fishkin states that "*Huck Finn* requires teachers and students to engage in this bizarre and shameful history" (New York Daily News, January 5, 2011). Toni Morrison (1996) goes on to state that "the cyclical attempts of each generation to remove the novel from classrooms extend Jim's captivity on into each generation of readers. At its heart, *Huck Finn* exposes the inhumanity of slavery through the power of literature" (p. 7). Huck Finn reports the grand narrative of race from the late 19th century, is challenged for racism in the 20th and 21st centuries and finally questions the very concept of intellectual freedom as an American idea when this novel continues to be edited, expurgated, challenged, censored, and banned.

CHAPTER 5: Findings

The purpose of this study is to tell the story of intellectual freedom through *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and how racism has affected its acceptance from 1885-2017. The following research questions informed this study: a) How does studying the attempts to ban the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* offer a way to examine the American historical discourses on

intellectual freedom and race? And; b) How does the history of intellectual freedom force us to examine the American discourse of race and the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*?

- Chapter 5 reviews and analyzes the findings from this study.
- Chapter 6 discusses the implications of the analysis of the findings.
- Chapter 7 explores the impact of this study on understanding the American discourse on race and intellectual freedom, and concludes with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 6 will discuss the impact of this study on understanding the American discourse on race and intellectual freedom and will conclude with suggestions for further research. Having discussed the research from the perspective of how each of the three stories are told within each of the designated time periods (vertically), Chapter 7 will view the three stories horizontally looking for how these stories are interrelated and what makes them interrelated. The narrative of race, intellectual freedom, and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* are interwoven because each follows a history of marginalization and exclusion. If one refers back to the initial codes (Table 2), the focused codes (Table 4), and the axial codes (Table 5), the final codes that emerge to define the three stories are Marginalization and Exclusion (Table 6). This table shows the amalgamation of the stories of race, intellectual freedom, and Huck Finn into two major codes or themes that are reflected in each of the stories being told.

Table 6. *Synthesis of the Three Stories*

Historical Time Periods	**Grand Narrative of Race**	**Highlights in Intellectual Freedom**	**Challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn***
1881-2017	• Marginalization • Exclusion	• Marginalization • Exclusion	• Marginalization • Exclusion

The rest of this chapter will explain the specific ways that the grand narrative of race first excluded and then marginalized the African Americans living in the United States. It will also give specific examples of how the discourse on intellectual freedom has marginalized certain

authors and certain works of literature to the point of attempting to exclude them from both school and public libraries. Finally, the attempts to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* will demonstrate that from the day it was published, someone has been trying to exclude this novel from being read or at least to marginalize the reading of the novel to only a few because it is racist and demeaning. Although each story has different examples each story reveals the same themes of marginalization and exclusion.

This research study was designed to explore the American Library Association's (ALA) core value of Intellectual freedom in the context of the American discourse on race as revealed in Critical Race Theory (CRT) as seen through the lens of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. The stories of race and intellectual freedom were viewed through the framework of Hannah Arendt's political philosophy concerning narrative interpretation and Jean Francois Lyotard's analysis of the deconstruction of a grand narrative discourse and the rebuilding of a new discourse using all voices to broaden the understanding of all of the components of a historical event not just the one "accepted" (grand) narrative discourse.

In its "Core Values of Librarianship," the ALA states that "we uphold the principles of intellectual freedom and resist all efforts to censor library resources" (Code of Ethics, Article 11, 2016). To stress the importance of Intellectual Freedom within the field of librarianship, the ALA established the Intellectual Freedom committee in 1940, the ALA Office in Washington D. C. in 1945 to act as a lobbying force to promote and build coalitions and partnerships with Washington-based representatives of other groups with interests similar to the library community, and the Office of Intellectual Freedom in Chicago in 1967 as an "administrative arm of the Intellectual Freedom Committee to conduct and coordinate intellectual freedom activities to carry out the policies formulated by the Committee" (Magi & Garner, 2015, p. xix). The

Association defines Intellectual Freedom as "the right of every individual to both seek and receive information from all points of view without restriction. It provides for free access to all expressions of ideas through which any and all sides of a question, cause or movement may be explored" (ALA's Intellectual Freedom and Censorship, 2016, par. 1). Intellectual Freedom is not only a core value to ALA, it is also an integral part of the Association's mission; indeed, five out of six articles of the *Library Bill of Rights* refers to intellectual freedom and its opposition to censorship (Knox, 2014). Knox (2014 further states that, "The principle upholding intellectual freedom and opposing censorship is codified within the profession" (p. 9). It is reflected in such in documents such as the seven tenets of the "Freedom to Read" statement adopted in 1953. This statement not only supports individuals' right to intellectual freedom and freedom of expression through the written and spoken word, it also affirms that the ALA is committed to:

> …stake out a lofty claim for the value of the written word…we believe that it is possessed of enormous variety and usefulness, worthy of cherishing and keeping free. We realize that the application of these propositions may mean the dissemination of ideas and manners of expression that are repugnant to many persons. We do not state these propositions in the comfortable belief that what people read is unimportant. We believe rather that what people read is deeply important; that ideas can be dangerous; but that the suppression of ideas is fatal to a democratic society (ALA Freedom to Read, 2016, par. 23).

This value is so essential to the profession of librarians that it is a part of the education of every librarian who attends an ALA accredited library program. Knox writes that "the indoctrination of support for intellectual freedom is a major part of library school education throughout the United States" (p. 9). This research study frames the ALA Core Value of Intellectual Freedom as a

means to understand the American grand discourse on race and how the novel Huck Finn can be used as a lens to view this discourse, begin to understand the history behind this discourse, raise awareness of the racism inherent in this discourse and then look at the ways this discourse can be changed by adding other voices than the traditional voice of power (white) when interpreting this discourse. By using data collected through examination of scholarly articles, newspapers, and books, this research study traces and analyzes the historical development of the story told by white Americans' relationships with African Americans from 1885-2017. By placing Intellectual freedom at the center of this study, the story of race is revealed in the stories of hidden and unpunished violence, repression and denial of rights, the challenges and censorship of literary works particularly the history of challenges as revealed in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

Research Question 1. How does studying the attempts to ban the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* offer a way to examine the American historical discourses on intellectual freedom and race?

David Smith (1984) explains in his essay, "Huck, Jim, and American Racial Discourse" that "race is a strategy for relegating a segment of the population to a permanent inferior status" (par. 3). This inferior status of minorities and of different ideas is reflected in the three stories being told of race, intellectual freedom, and the attempts to change *Huck Finn.* The major themes of these three stories reflect the particularly American concept of self-definition—where you can decide how to take control of yourself, how to interpret language, and how to shape your own destiny. The ideas expressed in the grand narrative of race: Freedom/Equality, Slavery/Inequality, and Violence/Non-Violence; in the highlights of intellectual freedom: preservation of white power, oppression of minorities, and legalizing racism; and the attempts to

ban *Huck Finn* for challenging dominant American values of each time period since its publication become the foundation for answering Research Question One.

For hundreds of years, people of African descent, either slaves or free men were oppressed and exploited purely on the basis of the color of their skin. Bigelow (1995) states that the era of freedom that began in the mid-1780s in post-Revolutionary America excluded blacks entirely; black Americans were considered less than human beings and faced discrimination in every aspect of their lives. Many historians argue that slavery's legacy of social inequality has persisted in American society—even over 150 years after the post-Civil War passage of the 13th Amendment freeing all slaves in the United States. The United States has continued to find ways to marginalize and exclude the African American from the white world. Table 7 shows the different ways that the narrative of race has marginalized and excluded the African American from full participation in his citizenship in the United States.

Table 7. Marginalization and Exclusion in the Narrative of Race

1881-2017	Examples
Jim Crow Laws	Literacy tests; poll tax; ; lynching; Separate but equal; segregation
"Scientific Proof" of Inferiority	*Dred Scott V. Sanford;* not truly human; inferior; Social Darwinism; "survival of the fittest"
Violence and Retaliation	Little Rock Nine; Murder of Emmett Till; Freedom Riders; Bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church; Murder of Civil Rights Workers in Mississippi; March to Selma
Systematic and Institutionalized Racism	Poverty; Racial Suspicion; Education; Criminal Justice System
When will Huck and Jim be free?	

Marginalization and Exclusion in the Narrative of Race (Jim Crow Laws). Although freedom and equality had been legalized by the passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution, the freed Blacks and formerly enslaved Blacks still suffered from a new kind of

slavery and inequality imposed by Jim Crow Laws (Black codes) created by white citizens who feared a loss of power if they could not keep the "nigger" in his place. American racism drew a sharp boundary meant to exclude and marginalize black citizens. When these boundaries have threatened to collapse or change to be more inclusive, whites have responded with near hysteria and with violence (McKoy, 2001). A seldom discussed topic in the stories told about race in America is the "brutal history of domestic violence—a violence committed against Negro citizens in America by white people" (Gibson, 1979, par. 1). Terror and violence were used to sustain the Jim Crow system which reduced Blacks to second-class citizenship. These Black Codes created intense racial hatred which had been brought on by ignorance and fear about loss of power. This fear led to murder and lynching which became an institutionalized method used by whites to terrorize and exclude Blacks and maintain white supremacy. Cutler (1905) of Yale University wrote the first scholarly investigation concerning lynching stating that "lynching is a criminal practice which is peculiar to the United States" (p. 1). Lynching was not just hanging but often included "shootings…burning at the stake, maiming, dismemberment, castration and other brutal methods of physical torture…utilized primarily to sustain the caste system in the South" (Gibson, 1979, par. 5). The causes assigned by whites in justification or explanation of lynching Black people include everything from major crimes to minor offenses but were bounded by racial prejudice. However, the fundamental cause of lynching was fear of the Negro—the basis of racism and discrimination (Myrdal, 1995). Many whites, after Reconstruction and during the first four decades of the twentieth century, feared that the Negro was becoming assimilated into mainstream American citizenship; therefore, the white man's social status was threatened and was in need of protection. Lynching was seen as the method to defend white domination and keep the Negroes from becoming "uppity" (White, 2002, p. 227).

Lynching was more an expression of white American fear of Black social and economic advancement than of Negro crime. W. E. B. DuBois was correct when he stated: "...what the white South feared more than Negro dishonesty, ignorance and incompetency was Negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency" (Kurlansky, 2013, p. 67). If society recognized these qualities within the Black populace, then the policies created to exclude Black citizens from becoming part of the grand narrative of America would become unnecessary. It was easier to place the story of the Black man as a footnote to American social, political and economic history than to allow these marginalized and excluded citizens to have a part of the narrative voice.

Marginalization and Exclusion in the Narrative of Race (Scientific Inferiority). By the late 19th century, exclusion and marginalization through Jim Crow laws were effectively relegating the new Black citizens back to being "niggers, second class citizens. The term "nigger" to mean a Black person was universally recognized as an insulting, demeaning word. According to Stuart Berg Flexner (1983), the *Random House Dictionary* of the English Language referred to the historical date of 1825 as the date when "nigger" which had been the accepted form of pronunciation for "negro" in the American South changed when Abolitionists objected to that term and began using "colored person" or "person of color" (p. 1465). W. E. B. DuBois (1903) by 1830 Abolitionists began referring to slaves as "as men…not as slaves; as 'people of color,' not as 'Negroes'" (p. 245). Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1869) stated in his work *Army Life in a Black Regiment* that the term "nigger" when used by freedmen was "evidence of their lack of self-esteem" (p. 28) and only used when these former slaves still viewed themselves as property rather than as freed men.

This concept of being viewed as property is clearly seen in the American laws making the property rights of the owners of slaves more important than the human rights of the slaves.

Justice B. Taney in the *Dred Scott Case of 1857* stated, "Negroes were seen only as property; they were never thought of or spoken of except as property…thus were not intended by the framers of the Constitution to be accorded citizenship rights" (*Dred Scott v. Sandford*). In order to transform a human being into property, the white slave owners had to minimize the qualities that made the slaves human. The very appearance of the color and features of slaves enabled a person to see they were fundamentally different from and inferior to Americans with European backgrounds (i.e. white) (Smedley, 1999). During a speech in the Senate to decide what to do with the slaves if they were to be made free, James Henry Hammond (1858) stated that "Somebody has to be the mudsills of society, to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life" (par. 12). Negroes were chosen to be the mudsills by a society whose cultural values made it impossible to assimilate them. In the many decades since the Civil War, white society has continued to "keep the negro in his place" (par. 11-12).

Even "science" was being interpreted to include justifications for exclusion and denigration of Black citizens. By the late 19th century, Herbert Spencer coined the term "survival of the fittest" to rename the process of natural selection explained in the writings of Charles Darwin. Spencer then took the theory of natural selection and applied it to members of human society. Paul (1988) explores the reasoning behind Spencer's application of Darwin's theories to humanity. Spencer argued that the darker skinned races were inferior races because the wealthy white race of Americans were economically, socially, and politically the most successful in the advancement of civilization. Black Americans who were mostly poor and uneducated in the late 19th century having just gained freedom, were seen as a "degenerate race" whose alleged "immorality" was a racial trait (Hofstader, 1941). This exclusionary philosophy continued well into the 20th century and was used to justify everything from eugenics, to

sterilizations, to experimentations on black citizens without their knowledge or consent (Byrd, & Clayton, 2000).

Marginalization and Exclusion in the Narrative of Race (Violence and Retaliation)

Finally, in the Civil Rights years of 1954-1968, new narratives joined the white approved narrative of race in America. Legal voices were contributing to the story of race emerging during this time period and the exclusionary laws and policies from the previous century were being challenged. The desegregation of schools was established in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and *Brown V. Board of Education II* (1955). The Supreme Court overturned the 1896 policy of separate but equal which had been established in the Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Fergusson.* From desegregation of schools, to desegregation of public transportation, to desegregation of voting rights, from overt racism to covert racism, from the 1950s to the 21st century, the story of racism continues to give graphic and indisputable evidence of a continuing racial divide in America. Described below are some of the historical illustrations of that racial divide.

Little Rock Nine. The first testing of the law came in 1957 with the attempted integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, on September 4, 1957, by a group of nine Black students who became known as the Little Rock Nine. The pictures of the violence and anger directed at these children while they stood alone and afraid were printed and broadcast widely, bringing the Little Rock controversy to national and international attention. These policies of exclusion and marginalization were coming out of the shadows of American life and into the magazine, newspapers and televisions around the world. Sometimes for excluded voices to be heard, a picture must be shown of the silencing of these voices by injustice (Freeman, 2000). Finally on September 25, 1957, escorted by 1,200 members of the U. S. Army's 101st

Airborne Division from Fort Campbell called out by President Eisenhower, in conjunction with the Arkansas National Guard, the Little Rock Nine attended their first full day of classes. The voices of these nine students and the stories about their experiences attending an all-white school surrounded by federal troops once again added to the racial discourse that was being changed and shaped daily to include other perspectives and other events than just the events chosen by the powerful white elite. Voices that had been previously silent were being allowed to speak and add their words to the narrative of race as it was changing.

Murder of Emmett Till. In 1955, Emmett Till, a 14-year-old African American boy traveled from his home in Chicago to visit family in Mississippi. Accused of making improper advances to a white woman, Emmett Till was beaten and killed by a group of white men in retaliation for his offense. When his corpse was recovered from the Tallahatchie River, it was so disfigured that Emmett could only be identified by an initialed ring he had been wearing, a gift from his father. Although authorities in Mississippi wanted to bury Till's body quickly, his mother, Mamie Bradley, requested her son be returned to Chicago. Mamie had been ordered not to have an open casket funeral but after viewing Emmett's mutilated remains for herself, she stood firm to have an open-casket funeral for all the world to see what the racist white murderers had one to her son. "They had to see what I had seen. The whole nation had to bear witness to this" (Till-Mobley, & Benson, 2003, p.285). *Jet,* an African American weekly magazine published a picture of Emmett's corpse on September 15, 1955, and this picture became the lasting image that helped to galvanize the Civil rights movement and bring new voices (small narratives) to the movement. Without the pictures, the broadcasts, and the reports of the injustices done to exclude the blacks from participation as citizens in American society, the voices of this marginalized group of people may never have been told.

Freedom Riders. Trillion (2011, July, 25) explores another set of voices that added to the narrative of race: the CORE volunteers who in 1961 took rides on public buses to help with the desegregation of public transportation. The Freedom Riders as they were called risked their lives, endured savage beatings and imprisonment for simply traveling together on buses and trains through the Deep South of Alabama and Mississippi testing their strength of commitment in their belief in non-violent activism. The publicity generated by the Freedom Riders inspired more volunteers to take up the challenge to ride the busses and by the end of the summer the protest had spread to rail stations and airports. In November, the Interstate Commerce Commission issued documents supporting the desegregation of all public transportation. This story added another voice (small narrative) that was changing the narrative of race. Unfortunately, the addition of these voices (stories) also brought back memories of the violence and repression after the Civil War when violence erupted and Black Codes were established to limit the freedom of the African American (Gilder Lehrman Institute, 2015).

Bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Anderson (2008) explores one of the most egregious crimes that took place during the civil Rights Era. Although violence was erupting all over the South, some of the most publicized violence occurred in Alabama and Mississippi. Many of the civil rights protest marches that took place in Birmingham, Alabama, during the 1960s began at the steps of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, which had long been a significant religious center for the city's black population and a routine meeting place for civil rights organizers like King. KKK members had routinely called in bomb threats intended to disrupt civil rights meetings as well as services at the church. On September 15, 1963, at the church, a bomb exploded at 10:22 a.m. during Sunday school classes killing four young African American girls. On Monday September 16, 1953, Charles Morgan Jr., a white man, stood up at a

lunch meeting of the Birmingham Young Men's Business Club, at the heart of the city's white Establishment, and delivered a speech about race and prejudice that bent the arc of the moral universe just a little bit more toward justice (Cohen, 2013, September 13).

> Four little girls were killed in Birmingham yesterday. A mad, remorseful worried community asks, "Who did it? Who threw that bomb? Was it a Negro or a white?" The answer should be, "We all did it." Every last one of us is condemned for that crime and the bombing before it and a decade ago. We all did it (par. 4).

Charles Morgan Jr. addressed the violence and exclusion of the act by including all people as being responsible for the deaths of those four girls and in a larger sense for all the deaths caused by hatred, injustice, violence, and exclusion.

Murder of Civil Rights Workers in Mississippi. The next story added to the American story of racism, exclusion and injustice occurred in 1964 when the remains of three civil rights workers whose disappearance on June 21st focused national attention on Mississippi. After their bodies were found buried in an earthen dam, the murder of these three young men led to a massive FBI investigation called MIBURN (Mississippi Burning) which once again focused both national and international attention on the story of violence and inequity occurring in the United States. In a series of articles dating from 1998-2005, Jerry Mitchell explores the killings of the three civil rights workers, the investigation into their murders, and the trials of the KKK members who killed them. His stories unfold a pattern of white hatred, white fear, and white violence all used to intimidate, exclude, and eliminate anyone helping a Black man gain inclusion into a historically white dominated society (Mitchell, 2007).

John Lewis (2016) stated that “The story [of racism] is an American story. It tells of our history, our struggle, through segregation, racial discrimination, but much earlier the whole

system of slavery…The denial of basic constitutional rights, the right to vote, the right to get an education. The people suffered, they struggled. People were beaten, arrested and jailed. People died. They never gave up. They never gave in" (Schulthesis, 2016, September 18). From this struggle came the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which eliminated various devices, such as literacy tests, that had traditionally been used to restrict voting by black people. These laws brought previously silenced voices to the story of race both politically and economically.

March to Selma, Alabama. The violence continued when a march from Selma to Montgomery was scheduled for March 7, 1965, to protest the continued violence and inequity perpetrated against the Black men and women of the South. Six hundred marchers assembled in Selma on Sunday, March 7th and attempted to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge where they found their way blocked by Alabama State troopers and local police. When the protesters refused to turn around, the officers shot teargas and waded into the crowd, beating the nonviolent protesters with billy clubs, shooting off fire hoses and turning loose the police dogs with the command to attack ultimately hospitalizing over fifty people including future Congressman John Lewis (Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 2014).

"Bloody Sunday," as it came to be known, was televised around the world. Martin Luther King called for civil rights supporters to come to Selma for a second march which occurred on March 9th but was turned around at the same bridge. The march was finally successful on March 21st when the protestors crossed the bridge and made it to Montgomery escorted by federal troops (Carson, Garrow, Gill, Harding, & Hines, 1991). The violent events televised on "Bloody Sunday" continued the policy used by the Civil Rights protestors to use of

media to publicize the oppression and violence in juxtaposition to the non-violence of the protestors. Television magazines, and newspapers brought the stories of violence out of the shadows and put them on display for all the world to see and judge (Granade & Granade, 1993). As Charles Morgan had stated in his speech after the Sixteenth Street Church bombing, all of us were to blame for the exclusionary practices that had marginalized a people to the extent that violence became a viable option.

Marginalization and Exclusion in the Narrative of Race (Systemic and Institutionalized)

Once the violence was off the front pages and the violence of the Vietnam War was coming into every living room at night, the story of racism in America shifted again. This time the story became one of oppression through lack of opportunities. That has become the foundation for the systemic and institutionalized racism of the 21st century which grew out of the dismantling of legal segregation in the 1950s and 1960s and new opportunities given to Blacks that disrupted the historically white economic, political, and cultural domination. The most influential discussion of the erosion of the structures of racial domination since the 1960s is William Julius Wilson (2011) considers the change in the representations of Blacks in movies and television shows where instead of being the stereotypical Black, they have become traditionally middle class. In the afterword to his completed work, he reminds his readers that although roles and portrayals are changing, racial discrimination is still visible and active in the United States today through systemic and institutionalized exclusions and marginalization.

Poverty. Although Wilson's arguments constitute a profound erosion of racial domination and oppression, they do not signal the elimination of racism. Wilson (1978) argues that the lives of disadvantaged African Americans are increasingly shaped by the brutal class realities of their lives rooted in urban economic structures and dysfunctional labor markets rather than directly in

forms of segregation and domination. Poverty rates among blacks remain much higher than among whites. While the economic condition of Blacks relative to whites have shown some improvement, it is important to realize that the current patterns of inequality still exist in the 21st century. Discussions need to occur with an understanding that these patterns which have historically marginalized minority groups in America must be changed legally as well as socially for inequities to finally be recognized and confronted (Harris, 2010).

Racial suspicion. According to Glaser (2014) racial discrimination remains a daily and pervasive fact of life in the United States today. It occurs in a wide variety of institutional contexts and takes many forms. They include the monitoring of black customers with suspicion by store employees concerned about shoplifting; having people cross to the other side of the street when a black man is following them or to avoid passing a Black man; less preferential treatment at restaurants; and being treated with suspicion by police for any number of reasons. While any given incident may seem petty, cumulatively, these kinds of interactions constitute a stream of lived experiences that communicate denigration and a lack of social respect (Pager, & Shepherd, 2008). Psychological research shows that these kinds of experiences can have a significant impact on morale and self-esteem. Another form of racial discrimination is racial profiling or sometimes called DWB: “Driving while black.” This kind of racial profiling causes many innocent people to be subjected to the humiliating experience of being hassled by the police for no good reason. It also contributes to the disproportionate arrest of young black men for nonviolent drug crimes that otherwise would not have occurred, since these racially-motivated traffic stops are frequently accompanied by searches (Harris, 1999). The average Black worker is hired less frequently and promoted less frequently than the average white worker. This need not be because they believe in the inherent intellectual inferiority of blacks. It

can be because they believe the quality of schooling of the average black workers is inferior to that of the average white worker. The important thing is that the employer has a belief that the average member of one racial category is a less desirable employee than the average member of another category. Since it is difficult and costly to get accurate information about the actual reliability and competence of any given individual, employers rely on these perceived group differences to make individual hiring decisions. This is perfectly rational and economically efficient even if it is morally unjustified and harmful. The result is discrimination (Pager, 2007).

Education. Education has always been at the heart of conflicts over race. The key civil rights decision by the Supreme Court in the 1950s was over racial segregation in schools (Van Delinder, 2004). More than half a century after the end of legal segregation, schools in many American cities remain sharply segregated, largely as a by-product of residential segregation. Vaidyanathan (2016, January 8) stated in an article for BBC News that

> Legal segregation in the US may have ended more than 50 years ago. But in many parts of the country, Americans of different races aren't neighbours [sic]– they don't go to the same schools, they don't shop at the same stores, and they don't always have access to the same services (par. 1).

This is particularly an issue in large American cities where the confluence of race and poverty means that inner city schools typically have very high concentrations of poor minority students compared to suburban schools (Pager, & Shepherd, 2008). What is equally troubling, however, is not simply the racial concentration of schools, but the differences in funding for the schools of many poor black children compared to white children that are the result of this spatial segregation. This large funding gap is partially the result of lower property values and thus less tax resources as these intersect patterns of housing segregation and discrimination (Slade, 2014,

July 24). School funding, however, is never such a simple matter; it also depends upon the balance of political forces over how schools should be funded. Semuels (2016, August 25) explores in her article "Good School, Rich School; Bad School Poor School" the idea that as long as schools are financed substantially by local property taxes wealthy communities will have better funded schools than poor communities. "In every state…inequity between wealthier and poorer districts continues to exist. The federal government chips in about 8 to 9 percent of school budgets… States and local governments fund the rest" (pars. 5, 6, 7). During *All Things Considered*, a show on NPR, Cory Turner (2016, April 25) discussed the unwillingness of state legislatures to fundamentally rethink the way schools are funded and create a uniform structure of funding rather than continue commitment to local funding. These funding policies are inherently unfair, exclusory and are shaped by racial and class implications of where people live and their tax base. However, even if the underlying motives of politicians and voters are not themselves shaped by racial considerations, the effect is serious discrimination in the opportunities for good quality education of black children.

Criminal Justice System. Of all the domains in which we have discussed the persistence of discrimination, perhaps the most difficult to nail down is the criminal justice system. The problem is that while it is easy enough to demonstrate that African-Americans are arrested for criminal activity, convicted and sent to prison at much higher rates than whites, it is more difficult to demonstrate that racial discrimination inside of the criminal justice system is directly implicated in each of these disparities (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Statistics from the NAACP (2017) show that African-American men have nearly six times the rate of imprisonment as white men. Rosich (2007) explores in a series of articles for the *American Sociological Review* the role that racial discrimination of various forms plays in generating these disparities at every step of

the criminal justice process by creating a domino effect: “racial biases and racial profiling by police could lead to disproportionate surveillance and arrests of blacks; racial biases within the processing of arrests could lead to more prosecutions of blacks; racial biases within court proceedings could lead to more convictions; and racial biases in sentencing could lead to more incarceration. In the documentary *13TH* (DuVernay, 2016), the role that politics played in the war on drugs being targeted on minority communities. Having arrest and prison rather than treatment and revitalization of urban neighborhoods at the center of the policy reflected a political strategy, not simply a natural response to a pressing social problem. The politics of fear undermines political efforts at social and economic justice. The result becomes a set of highly repressive policies that significantly contributed to the increasing disproportion of backs in American prisons; therefore, effectively excluding them from voting, excluding them from treatment, and excluding them from the opportunities that might result in urban revitalization.

The racial discourse that began in the late 19th century with violence, oppression, and inequality, hidden behind a story that stressed that “all men are created equal” (The Declaration of Independence, 1776) but must be kept “separate” (*Plessy v. Fergusson* 1896) and “liberty and justice for all” (Pledge of Allegiance, 1892) is only true for white citizens because in the 21st century felony disenfranchisement has become the new way to take away the power and citizenship of Black citizens in the United States.

Marginalization and Exclusion in the Attempts to ban *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

In July of 1876, exactly one century after the ratification of the American Declaration of Independence, Mark Twain began writing *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, a novel about a young boy (Huck) and his Black, slave friend (Jim) who was searching for freedom in the North by escaping on a raft down the Mississippi River. Jim did not expect to have anyone along for

the journey, nor did he realize the impact his character would have on Huck Finn who was searching for freedom from a "sivilized" world. Much like Jim was searching for his individual freedom and influencing the morality of a young white boy on the way, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been searching for its intellectual freedom and influencing discussions about racism in one way or another since its inception in 1885. Table 8 shows the different ways that the narrative of the attempts to marginalized and excluded *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from being read in both public and school libraries and school classrooms.

Table 8. Marginalization and Exclusion in the Attempts to Ban and/or Study *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

1881-2017	Examples
Racism	Epithets ("nigger"); stereotypes (immoral, lazy, hypersexualized, superstitious); demeaning portrayals of Black characters (minstrel tradition; less than human)
Support from Black Literary Critics and Scholars/Authors	Booker T. Washington; Langston Hughes; Ralph Ellison; LeRoi Jones; Toni Morrison; Richard Wright
Support from White Literary Critics and Scholars/Authors	Ernest Hemingway; T. S. Eliot; Lionel Trilling; Shelley Fischer Fishkin; Alan Carey-Webb; Jocelyn Chadwick-Joshua
When will Huck and Jim be free to be read in schools and public libraries?	When the story of equality is the grand narrative

Excluding the novel for epithets and stereotypes. *Huckleberry Finn* has a history of challenges that began before the novel was even formally released for sale.

> In the long controversy that has been *Huckleberry Finn's* history, the novel has been criticized, censored, and banned for an array of perceived failings, including obscenity, atheism, bad grammar, coarse manners, low moral tone, and anti-southernism. Every bit as diverse as the reasons for attacking the novel, *Huck Finn's* detractors encompass parents, critics, authors, religious fundamentalists, rightwing politicians, and even librarians (Henry, 1992, p. 25).

It was not until 1957 that the NAACP challenged the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* for racism because the novel contained the racial epithet "nigger" and derogatory and stereotypical depictions of African-American characters. Before this time, the novel had been Previous to 1957, some of the persons challenging the novel may have felt the books was racist, it is not until 1957 that the book is openly challenged for this offense. Smith (1984) argues that contrary to that challenge of 1957, "…*Huckleberry Finn* is without peers among major Euro-American novels for its explicitly anti-racist stance… *Huckleberry Finn* offers much more than the typical liberal defenses of 'human dignity' and protests against cruelty…it is more fundamentally a critique of those socially constituted fictions…which serve to justify and to disguise selfish, cruel, and exploitative behavior" (p. 104). Twain systematically attacks the stereotypes that the racial discourse of this time period perpetuate by showing that these stereotypes are inadequate for describing the totality of those Americans known in 1885 as "niggers." Twain's strategy with racial stereotypes is to elaborate on them in order to undermine them. By presenting a series of glimpses into the character of Jim, a Black man, Twain moves against the standard racial discourse of his time that stated all Blacks are inferior to whites, by allowing the voice and humanity of "Nigger Jim" reveal the man inside the character.

> "establish[ing] a context against which Jim's specific virtues may emerge as explicit refutations of racist presuppositions…To be sure, those critics are correct who have argued that Twain uses this narrative to reveal Jim's humanity. Jim, however, is just one individual. Much more importantly, Twain uses the narrative to expose the cruelty and hollowness of that racial discourse which exists only to obscure the humanity of all Afro-American people (Smith, 1984, pars. 13 &15).

Although the NAACP was the first to challenge *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* as a racist novel because of the use of the racial epithet “nigger,” that word has had a long history of being considered offensive to Blacks. Twain was well aware of the offensiveness of the term when he used it.

> It is the ultimate insult-a word that has tormented generations of African Americans…as early as the 17th century, “negro” evolved to “nigger” as intentionally derogatory… The word is inextricably linked with violence and brutality on black psyches and derogatory aspersions cast on black bodies. [Nothing] can rid it of that blood-soaked history (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2011, par. 1-4).

If one of the purposes of writing this novel was to create a work that was anti-racist, it is difficult to imagine undertaking this task without using the term of the time period, “nigger,” within the discourse of race. David Smith (1992) asserts that “if we attend closely to Twain's use of the word, we may find in it not just a trigger to outrage, but more importantly, a means of understanding the precise nature of American racism and Mark Twain's attack on it” (p. 105). For each use of the word “nigger,” Twain demonstrates the marginalization enforced and believed by whites which that word promotes associating it with the issue of slavery and the inherent inferiority of blacks.

> Twain uses the term "nigger," and shows Jim engaging in superstitious behavior. Yet he portrays Jim as a compassionate, shrewd, thoughtful, self-sacrificing and even wise man. Jim is cautious, he gives excellent advice, he suffers persistent anguish over separation from his wife and child, and he even sacrifices his own sleep in order that Huck may rest. Jim, in short, exhibits all qualities that ‘the Negro’ supposedly lacks…(Smith, 1984, p. 105).

Thus *Huck Finn* grew out of the story of race that was told during the late 19th century which included "culturally sanctioned beliefs which…defend the advantages whites have become of the subordinated positions of racial minorities" (Wellman, 1992, p. 42).

Excluding the novel for different and offensive interpretations. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* serves as an almost perfect model for understanding the complexities of racism by providing a frame showing how overt racism (slavery) has marginalized and excluded Jim just because he is Black.

The key to appreciating Huck Finn is knowing that Twain is exposing the obvious forms of racism and unmasking the institutionalized forms emerging during the period in which he is writing. The rights afforded to blacks by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments have been negated by various loopholes that Southern states have exploited to ensure second-class citizenship for former slaves….*Huck Finn* charts the emergence of entrenched racist doctrine as experienced by African Americans (Wilson, 2005, p. xv).

An example of portraying Blacks lacking humanity is seen in an exchange that occurs between Huck and Aunt Sally in Chapter 32 of the novel concerning the explosion of a river boat and the causalities that occurred.

"Good Gracious! Anyone hurt?" asks Aunt Sally.

" No'm. Killed a nigger."

" Well it's lucky; because sometimes people do get hurt" (p. 232).

This exchange between Huck and Aunt Sally reveals a great deal about racial discourse in the late 19th century and the idea that a "nigger was subhuman and expendable" (Smith, 1999, p. 106). This view of Blacks by whites justified to a predominantly white society the abuse and exploitation of Afro-American people by substituting the accepted racial discourse about all

Blacks as “niggers” who are feeble-minded, immoral, lazy, and superstitious (p. 107). This alleviated the need to look at the human character of each individual Afro-American. The inclusion in *Huck Finn* of the voice and humanity of a Black man revealed Twain’s stance on the cultural belief that Whites and Blacks would never be equal. But Twain was passionate about racial equality, feeling that the only right and moral choice for America was to allow African-Americans the same freedoms as whites (Fishkin, 2010; Chadwick-Joshua, 1998).

Black support for Huckleberry Finn. It is the term “nigger” that has created such controversy concerning the novel *Huckleberry Finn* and has provoked attacks on the novel and Twain himself as being racist. Support for this novel has come from noted Black authors such as Booker T. Washington, Langston Hughes, Ralph Ellison, LeRoi Jones, and Toni Morrison. Richard Wright wrote in an unpublished manuscript in 1935 that Twain recognized the brutalities of slavery imposed on the Black man by the unrelenting need for white supremacy and believed that his writings needed to be taught to show the “brutalities and the injustices of his [Twain] civilization” (Fishkin, 1993, p. 140). Perhaps the novel should no longer be seen as an anathema in modern times but rather as a lens through which the concept of racism and the discourse that has ensued from this concept can be studied.

Research Question 2. How does the history of intellectual freedom force us to examine the American discourse of race and the attempts to ban the novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*?

Marginalization and Exclusion in Narrative of Intellectual Freedom.

The story of racism and the story of the attempts to ban *Huck Finn* bring us back to the story of intellectual freedom and the role it plays in both of these stories. All three stories have as their major connecting theme, the themes of marginalization and exclusion. Although each story

has different examples to illustrate those themes, those ideas tie the three stories together by demonstrating the power and lasting legacy that marginalizing a group of people, a set of ideas, and even a single novel have on the psychological story of a nation and the story that is told about that nation. Table 9 shows the different ways that the narrative of intellectual freedom reflects and illustrates some of the reasons why ideas, people and books are marginalized and excluded.

Table 9. Marginalization and Exclusion in Narrative of Intellectual Freedom.

Intellectual Freedom & Governmentally Mandated Censorship	Comstock Laws, Watch Societies, CIPA, Internet Filtering
Intellectual Freedom After WWI: Voluntary Exclusion of Authors in 1920s & 1930S	Expatriates; looking for connection to world rather than isolationism; exposure to new ideas, new governmental systems; new economic systems
Intellectual Freedom on Homefront after WWI	Harlem Renaissance; The Great Migration
Intellectual Freedom in the age of Fascism & Nazism & aftermath of WWII	Book Burnings; Revealed contradictions in fighting for freedom and lack of freedom for minorities in USA
Intellectual Freedom & the fight for Civil Rights and Equality	*Tinker v. Des Moines; Island of Trees v. Pico;* 13th, 14th, 15th Amendments; Civil Rights Act of 1964; Civil Rights Act of 1965
Intellectual Freedom & Social Justice	Jim Crow Laws; Unequal Economic Choices (Poverty); Unequal Educational Choices; lynching (Physical and psychological); mass incarcerations
When will Huck and Jim be truly free?	*Monterio v. Tempe Union High School District;* Accomack County, Virginia; When a new story is told that includes the equitable inclusion of all voices

Comstock Laws and governmentally mandated censorship. In the late 19th century, Anthony Comstock proposed and supported a bill which became known as the Comstock Law (1873) or the Act for the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use. This law stated that no erotica, sex toys, and information concerning contraceptives or abortions, and any personal letters that mentioned erotica or abortions could

not be sent using the U. S. Postal system. Therefore, no books containing these topics could be sent to the United States from other countries. This included such literary works as Fielding's *Tom Jones,* Boccaccio's *Arabian Nights* and *Decameron,* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales.* It also included the shipment of books within the United States. This ban included such notable writers as John Steinbeck, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, and Eugene O'Neill. In effect, the U. S. government became the censors. At the height of his campaign, Comstock bragged that he had confiscated 194,000 obscene pictures and photographs, 134,000 pounds of books, 14,200 Stereo plates, 60,300 rubber article (likely contraceptives, 5,500 sets of playing cards and 31,150 boxes of pills (likely aphrodisiacs) (Ernst, & Schwartz, 1964, pp. 32-33). Comstock also fought to ban access to these writers and their literary works in order to maintain the "genteel tradition" of behavior in America. This genteel behavior was based on the behavior of the elite and wealthy members of Boston society who had determined what was proper and moral. This law led to the establishment of decency societies such as the New England Watch and Ward Society (later the Boston Watch and Ward Society) and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice begun by Anthony Comstock himself (Weeks, 1930). It was into this gentility established by white upper-class society that *Huckleberry Finn* was published in 1885. Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has been at the center of one of the most notorious and enduring censorship debates (Riggs, 2012).

> In 1885, The book was banned from libraries in Concord, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Brooklyn, New York, due to its coarse vernacular language—for example, using the word "sweat" rather than "perspiration." In recent decades, however, opposition to the novel has centered on Twain's frequent use of the word "nigger." Although scholars generally maintain that Twain's masterpiece is actually a

> satirical critique of racial prejudice in the antebellum South, parents in school districts around the country have pressed to have the book removed from libraries and reading lists on grounds that it is offensive and degrading to African Americans (par. 7).

Literary themes that were considered acceptable in America in the late 19th and early 20th century according to "comstockery" censored books written by such vulgar authors as Hemingway and Fitzgerald, by homosexual authors such as Gertrude Stein and Walt Whitman and anti-American and anti-religious authors such as Mark Twain. At some point in time during the "reign of Comstock" each of these authors had a book declared subversive to American morals (Brady, 2016, September 22).

Intellectual Freedom found abroad after WWI: Voluntary exclusion of authors to Europe (1920s & 1930s). With the end of WWI and America's retreat back into isolationism as stated in the Monroe Doctrine, American authors who had come of age (20s and 30s) during the war became disillusioned with life in post-war America and became expatriates in Paris. This generation of young people felt alienated from a United States which to them seemed provincial, materialistic and emotionally barren (O'Connor, 2017). These young writers known as "the lost generation" became some of America's best known writers of the twentieth century. The expatriates included T. S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Sherwood Anderson, John Steinbeck, John Dos Passos, and Gertrude Stein O'Connor (2017) characterizes these writers as critical of the American foreign policy of isolationism and critical of the shallow decadent lives the wealthy (elite) lived with no awareness of the reality of those less fortunate around them. Consequently, the works of these writers present an idealized view of the past having no foundation in reality. The characters they created were shallow and superficial with an underdeveloped sense of morality and a desire to retreat from anything that upset their view of

life as it should be in America. Ernest Hemingway said he had to escape a hometown of “broad lawns and narrow minds” (Shryer, 1989, September 24). Each of the writers who have come to be known as the “lost generation” were searching for a venue that offered them the artistic and intellectual freedom they were unable to find in the materialistic and commercialized America after WWI. But by the 1930s, Hitler was on the rise and the reign of terror by the Nazis was gaining a foothold in Europe. Once again, the twin specters of imperialism and nationalism were coming together and war was being feared around the world. Paris no longer was the safe haven where these writers could experiment with their art and find accepting audiences to read their “modernistic” works. Consequently, the expatriates returned to America and the relative safety of “their broad lawns and narrow minds” and repressive attitudes toward intellectual freedom.

Intellectual freedom after WWI on the home front. Although white America was one of the few places that had a time of prosperity during the 1920s, Black America had not fared as well. As black soldiers returned from Europe after World War One, and southern blacks migrated to northern cities by the thousands; as black writers and artists in Harlem spawned the New Negro movement, and black political spokesmen commanded national attention, "race" announced itself as a rapidly changing factor in postwar America (National Humanities Center, 2012). This was the time of the Harlem Renaissance when Black writers began their own publishing houses and allowed their voices, which had once been excluded to be added to the literary works of post-war America. The Harlem Renaissance was primarily a literary movement, but it also touched all of the African American creative arts. The contributors to this movement were determined to truthfully represent the African American experience, celebrate their racial pride and work tireless for racial equality. The Harlem Renaissance was a movement of individuals who shared no common political philosophy, social belief, artistic style, or

aesthetic principle (Wintz, 2015). Yet the Harlem Renaissance challenged the accepted discourse on race by putting the talents and achievements of African Americans in a position to attract significant attention from the nation at large (Wintz, 2015). The Harlem Renaissance was the first time that a considerable number of mainstream publishers and critics took African American literature seriously. African American voices were given a platform and America discovered they had something to say and no one was going to stop them even if they had to finance the publication of their voices themselves.

Intellectual freedom in the age of Fascism and Nazism and the aftermath. The fight against fascism during World War II brought to the forefront the contradictions between America's ideals of democracy and equality and its treatment of racial minorities. Throughout the war, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations worked to end discrimination in the armed forces. During this time African Americans became more assertive in their demands for equality in civilian life as well. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an interracial organization founded to seek change through nonviolent means, conducted the first sit-ins to challenge the South's Jim Crow laws (Library of Congress, 2014).

Although we had just fought a war to bring freedom and equality to the world—America was still unable to work out its own domestic issues concerning justice for the Negro. W. E. B. Dubois does insist on justice for the Negro in his book *Darkwater* (1999) stating that the time has come for America to give to the Blacks the same freedoms we fought to ensure in Europe. Robert Benchley (2010) wrote in his collection of essays that DuBois saw his race of people, the Negro, being "crowded into an ignominious spiritual serfdom equally as bad as the physical serfdom from which they were so recently freed" (p. 209). Benchley continues to draw ironic analogies about America's treatment of the Negro and the reverence Americans held for equality

and freedom. Although America had just fought a war to defeat tyranny, oppression and genocide in Europe, no one could be allowed to upset the white American way of life. Yet every day, according to DuBois, white Americans "Violate every principle of law and order and mock American institutions for the sake of teaching a 'nigger' his place" (p. 209). DuBois pleads with white America to change its story, to begin to make changes, to open up its narrative and include the many voices of Black and minority America. Intellectual freedom was still being denied to African Americans and the time was quickly approaching to bring a change to that policy. If white Americans did not want to give African Americans an equal place in American intellectual thought then African Americans would step out of the margins of American society and fight to be included.

Intellectual freedom and the fight for civil rights and equality. In 1954, segregation in public schools became illegal and the Civil Rights Movement was gaining momentum. Politicians, legal experts, librarians, teachers, school boards and eventually even the Supreme Court began to look at developing an understanding of intellectual freedom that was guaranteed by the First Amendment. The First Amendment states

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances (U. S. Constitution).

Two such cases during the 20th century were *Tinker v. Des Moines* (1969) which states that students do not "shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate," and *Island Trees School District v. Pico* (1982) which states that the First Amendment limits the power of school officials and school boards to remove books from school

libraries because of their content (ALA, Notable 1st Amendment Cases, 2017). Legal safeguards have been put into place through the First Amendment to protect the intellectual freedom of Americans, yet censors who believe in the righteousness of their complaints still challenge the literature that is being read in schools and placed in libraries (Peltz, 2005). Legal safeguards have been put into place to guarantee the African American freedom and equality in the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments and still defenders of the 19th century racial discourse try to enslave Blacks through felony disenfranchisement, reduced economic opportunities, racial profiling, and inequalities in the educational systems. The books often looked on with the most suspicion and then most challenged are written by minority authors (ALA, 2015). This fear of confronting anything that will upset the status quo (for whites) has brought about a fear of anything different from our own accepted viewpoints. This fear according to Jenn Jackson (2014, August 10), co-founder and co-editor of the blog WaterCoolerConvos, is causing us to fear each other. "It is segregating neighborhoods. It is closing public schools…It is limiting potential…it is increasing violence" (par. 10). Since the white man was the power-broker in America for so long and retained his power through intimidation and stories that marginalized blacks, the need to develop stories and myths that revealed the brutal nature of Blacks particularly their men, such as D. W. Griffith's (1915) *Birth of a Nation* which has as one of its major themes the portrayal of black men as predators who are hypersexualized and intent on threatening the virtue of white women (Lumenik, 2015, February 7). This myth of the Black man as a predator continues into the 21st century and partially explains the fear that prompted the violence of the Civil Rights movement such as the KKK, the race riots, the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr., Medger Evers, Malcolm X, and the deaths of the young black men Michael Brown, Eric Garner, and Trayvon Martin (to name a few) shot by policemen in the 21st century which has become the new form of

lynching (Hill, 2016). The violence of and the fear that Blacks are waiting to rise up and take their revenge against the generations of oppression is too often the lens that is used when viewing the discourse of race and its painful changes in the history of America.

> Since the days of slavery, the propagation of the myth of the predatory Black man has been used to instill fear in whites and to justify their brutality and violence against Black individuals and communities. The narrative has been passed down from one generation to the next and is still used to underwrite injustice against Black people. Because of this history, whites have developed a pathological fear that oppressed Blacks will one day rise up and inflict vengeance upon their oppressors (Moore, 2014, September 24).

Intellectual freedom and social justice. Educating the American population regarding the existence of social inequality and racism still is existence today is one way to begin to eradicate the violence that is the foundation of the story of racism. Oppression combined with chronic poverty, a sense of powerlessness, and unequal education adds to the sense of frustration that is part of the culture of Black people in America. Even if they are not directly in contact with poverty and go to a nice school, the sense of systemic and institutional poverty still affects the lives of these marginalized citizens.

> The cycle of black poverty is driven by under-resourced schools and mass incarceration. These underpin a vicious cycle, including high rates of violent felonies, resulting in yet more poverty. The way out is through better schools and an end to mass incarceration. Neither is sufficient in itself (Straus, 2013, May 31, par. 4).

The story has to be changed and all voices need to participate in the retelling of the narrative. Brian Stevens reported in an interview with the *Huffington Post* explaining the inequities in the

lives of African Americans that "There is a narrative that explains how we got here" (2016, August 5). He believes that the inequities stem from policy decisions resulting from a history of racial inequality that was created to marginalize and exclude Blacks for mainstream society long after the time of slavery.

> I don't think the great evil of American slavery was involuntary servitude and forced labor. I think the great evil of American slavery was the narrative of racial difference that we created to legitimate [sic] it. The great evil of American slavery was the ideology of White supremacy that we made up to legitimate [sic] the way we treated people of color, and we didn't deal with that . . . And because of that, I don't think slavery ended in 1865. I think it just evolved. It turned into decades of terrorism and violence. And we've got to deal with what it's turned into (par. 4).

The terrorism and violence of the 19th century was lynching, beatings, and mental intimidations which were codified in the Jim Crow laws. The 20th century saw the great migration to the North from the terrorism of the South. Most of the people who migrated did not leave the South for better economic opportunities but came as refugees fleeing a violent homeland (Bryant, 1999). During the Civil Rights Movement, Black citizens protested being told they couldn't vote because they were black and their children couldn't get an equal education because they were black. Once the Civil Rights movement was over, America had an opportunity to dedicate itself to a new story that focused on inclusion of the Blacks into full citizenship (voting rights), into integrated public facilities, and into equal educational opportunities. This did not happen. Instead a new exclusionary story was told. Only it wasn't a new story. Thus, white supremacy has proven itself capable of…repackaging itself as "color-blind," nonracial, and meritocratic. Paradoxically, in this reformed version racial inequality can thrive, still battening on stereotypes

and fears; still resorting to exclusionism and scapegoating when politically necessary; still invoking the supposed superiority of so-called mainstream (i.e., white) values, and still cheerfully maintaining that equality has been largely achieved (Winant, 2008, par. 5). Yet it has not been achieved just retold in a new way. This new story presumes all Black men are dangerous and violent is an old story resurrected. In the 21st century, the newspapers and television point to the growing number of Black incarcerated youth, and the old fear resurfaces on the white side and anger at a system meant to exclude them is released from the African American side. This is not a story of social justice. This is not a story of equality. This is not the story that needs to be told about racism in America. The Americans racial discourse must be changed to include all the voices, all the witnesses, all the persons involved in order to change the social problem called racism in America. Bryan Stephenson, founder and Executive Director of the Equal Justice Initiative, explained his vision of a new America very similar to the one Dr. Martin Luther King mapped out in 1963 at the Lincoln Memorial.

> To do justice, you've got to get past fear, past anger, and believe things you have not seen. Those of us who have spent our entire lives fighting for freedom and justice understand. As a nation we are desperately overdue for truth *and* reconciliation. We need both to allow us to move past fear and anger and toward a country we have not yet seen but we must never stop believing in and building — an America finally ready to "do justice" for everyone (Edelman, 2016, August 5, par. 9).

When will Huck and Jim truly be free? It is understandable then that Black children and their parents feel the need to rise up to protest the teaching of a novel that contains racial epithets that bring back the memories of slavery and once again marginalizes them. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* is one such novel that has been challenged for racism due to racial epithets and

racial stereotyping. The detractors of this novel have included parents, critics, authors, religious leaders, fundamentalists, rightwing politicians, and even teachers and librarians. Attempts have been made by Alan Gribben and NewSouth books to sanitize *Huck Finn* by removing the word "nigger" and replacing it with slave. Barbara Jones of the ALA's Office for Intellectual Freedom states that "what Gribben has done is an act of censorship, which the ALA opposes" (Norris, 2016, August 5, par. 16). *Huck Finn* was even taken to court by a parent in Arizona in *Monterio v. Tempe Union High School District* (1998). After all arguments were heard, the court stated that Huck Finn would remain in the curriculum of the high school because "Permitting lawsuits against school districts on the basis of the content of literary works ... could have a significant chilling effect on a school district's willingness to assign books with themes, characters, snippets of dialogue, or words that might offend the sensibilities of any number of persons or groups" (Walsh, 1998, October 28, par. 4). Yet in 2016, despite the court ruling concerning the use of books with controversial language and themes, Accomack County in Virginia once again challenged *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* for its racism. If citizens of American still want to challenge and censor *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* 131 years after its publication, perhaps it is because we are fearful that we are more deeply committed to the racial discourse of the late 19th century than we are intent on creating a new racial discourse for the 21st century. When a new narrative of race that tells the story of racial equality in America, then we will see that Huck and Jim are finally free.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The narrative of race, the narrative of intellectual freedom and the challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* are interwoven to create a look at how intellectual freedom has been influenced by racism and how the novel *Huck Finn* can be a lens through which we can critically examine race by reexamining the story being told in these three narratives.

Because the convergence of the three major plot lines of this story in narrative inquiry occurs from the beginning in 1885 to its end in 2017, the written stories, and the books and scholarly articles in which they have appeared, may be constructed and reconstructed in different ways depending on the framework or lens with which you examine the data. The data collective for this study is illustrative. There are file cabinets full of notebooks which are full of articles, notes, code books, newspaper clippings and articles. Whole bookshelves have been dedicated to holding the texts used to research the grand narrative of race, intellectual freedom and the censorship of Huck Finn. It is impossible to summarize the qualitative data in a way the data tables condense qualitative results. Because we know that a sense of the entire inquiry is useful context for readers, a descriptive overview is required. A "narrative sketch," or coding system became the way that the data was organized and the framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT) influenced how the political theories of Hannah Arendt and the grand narrative storytelling philosophies of Jean Francois Lyotard were used. The original purpose defined in the research questions was to better understand the ways that the discourse of racism has influenced intellectual freedom, specifically in the novel *Huck Finn*. Thus, data is collected, read, and analyzed much like one pulls forth stories from interviews to determine which data will be most significant to this purpose always keeping in mind the reach questions that brought about the study and the framework that guides the analysis of data. Another influence on the selection of

data used in the final story is the form of the narrative. By using an inductive mode of narrative as explained by Eisner (2017), data more clearly tell their own story. The story is not my story but the story of intellectual freedom as it has navigated the historical time periods since 1885 and how the grand narrative of race has affected this story and how *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* reveals the effects of racism on intellectual freedom.

Highlights of Each Narrative

As each story (narrative) took shape through the research and its analysis, it became evident that although each story had specific themes that were relevant to a particular story. The stories also had themes that were interwoven and intertwined to establish the correlation among the stories and tie them together as a story mutually reliant on the other stories for a full understanding of its existence and its meaning. In Chapter 4, the findings specific to each story will be examined and analyzed. In Chapter 5, the stories are enmeshed with each other demonstrating the correlation and interdependences each story has on the other for its narrative account.

Highlights in the Grand Narrative of Race

Freedom/Equality: Fredrickson (2003) in his PBS interview stated that the 19th century promoted false emancipation for African-Americans that contributed to a type of second slavery for the freed slaves under the passage of Black Codes (Jim Crow laws). Although many causes can be pointed at as in why the United States fought a civil war, divisions over slavery and the concurrent economic and social problems that arose from “the peculiar institution” can be seen at the top of any list. Once the Civil War was over, Reconstruction of the South (Confederacy) began. Reconstruction refers to the period during which the nation’s laws and Constitution were rewritten to guarantee the basic rights of the former slaves (Foner, 2015, March 28). The time

period from 1865-1900 included three constitutional amendments and two Civil Rights Acts. The story of the journey to freedom and equality for the slaves in America has a long history. This research picks the story up in 1862 when slavery was abolished in Washington D. C. and continued to 1863 when the Emancipation Proclamation was passed that freed slaves in any area of the country that was in revolt against the United States government. Although this did not guarantee universal freedom for all slaves, it laid the foundation for the 13th Amendment which was passed in 1865 which abolished slavery in the United States and in any place subject to its jurisdiction, and gave Congress the power to enforce it. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 granted citizenship and civil rights to all male persons in the United States "without distinction of race and color" (U. S. House of Representatives, 2017). In 1868 the 14th amendment was passed that stated all persons born or naturalized in the United States are both national and state citizens. Most importantly, it prohibited states from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without legal due process or from denying them "equal protection of the laws" (Library of Congress, 2017). In 1870, the 15th Amendment was passed which granted all male citizens, regardless of "race, color or previous condition of servitude," (15th Amendment, 2009) the right to vote. Finally, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 protected the rights of all Americans, regardless of race, to use public facilities including restaurants, theaters, and trains. Its great failure was that it failed to provide equal access to education. The act was not enforced and major portions of it were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1883. W. E. B. DuBois (1935) stated that Reconstruction was an experiment in democracy. During that period, the United States had democracy for all men without race being a barrier. Eric Foner (1988) states that unfortunately, by the late 19th century, the will in the North to enforce these new laws and amendments was fading and that in the end Reconstruction left the former slaves with "nothing but freedom" but that

freedom was written into the Constitution and was never completely compromised or abolished. Yet no other Civil Rights Acts would be put into effect until the 1950s, a long time to wait for a freedom that had been guaranteed to them in the constitution.

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, the Tuskegee Institute was begun by Booker T. Washington, and five black men were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. The Harlem Renaissance gave an artistic voice to the narration of race with the writings of Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Jean Toomer, and Arne Bontemps. This flowering of culture in New York as well as the continued violence in the South, unsatisfactory economic opportunities, and harsh segregationist laws caused a migration to the North known as the Great Migration.

> As Chicago, New York and other cities saw their black populations expand exponentially, migrants were forced to deal with poor working conditions and competition for living space, as well as widespread racism and prejudice. During the Great Migration, African Americans began to build a new place for themselves in public life, actively confronting economic, political and social challenges and creating a new black urban culture that would exert enormous influence in the decades to come (Great Migration, 2010)

The time period from 1900-1945 once again offered the promise of freedom and equality. Established in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) began a crusade against lynching and a nationwide protest of D. W. Griffith's silent film *Birth of a Nation* (1915) which glorified white supremacy and the Ku Klux Klan. These efforts played a crucial role in drastically reducing the number of people lynched in the United States. The *Crisis*, the NAACP's early publication (1910-1934), published much of the leading African American

literature and political thinking which helped spread the Harlem Renaissance beyond the confines of Harlem and New York.

With the end of WWII, a wave of Black soldiers who had fought for freedom returned and took up the fight to guarantee themselves the full benefits of citizenship in the United States. The new "freedom fighters" such as Medger Evers, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X had been trained as leaders in the war and they now returned from the war ready to become leaders in the struggle for freedom and equality. Executive Order 9981 signed by President Truman desegregated the army and civilian government. "With the stroke of a pen, Truman struck a major blow to segregation in the United States" (Krause, 1991). Yet segregation still existed. *Brown V. Board of Education* (1954) and *Brown v. Board of Education II* (1955) theoretically ended the policy of separate but here equal in schools but the reality of integrated schools was still decades away. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 ended segregation in public facilities, accommodations, and employment putting a federal law under the enforcement of the 14th Amendment. The 24th amendment did away with the poll tax as a voting requirement and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawed literacy tests and provided federal monitoring at polling stations finally enforcing the 15th Amendment. These federal actions came approximately 100 years after the Constitution was revised to give these rights of citizenship to Blacks. Freedom and equal citizenship rights were given after the Civil War here, but enforcement of the right to practice that citizenship didn't come until a century later. *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) made interracial marriage legal and Alex Haley's *Roots* became the most-watched television mini-series in television history (LOC, 2012). Thurgood Marshall became the first Black to sit on the Supreme Court and Shirley Chisholm became the first African American to be elected to the United States Congress. Ralph Bunch, Arthur Lewis, and Martin Luther King, Jr were awarded

Nobel Prizes while Jackie Robinson, Wilma Rudolph, and Althea Gibson broke the color barrier in their respective sports. In the later part of the 20th century Oprah Winfrey created her one-woman empire including acting, film, television production and the promotion of Black female writers such as Alice Walker and Toni Morrison. The 20th century ended with a Million Man March to Washington D. C. to bring about a renewed awareness of the situation of African Americans in America that still existed.

> The stated purposed was to bring about a spiritual renewal among black men, and to instill them with a sense of solidarity and of personal responsibility to improve their own conditions. It was also hoped that this march would disprove some of the stereotypical negative images of black men that existed in American society (Black History Milestones, 2009)

Moving into the 21st century, many racial barriers still needed to be overcome. Politically, in 2001, Colin Powell became the first African American to serve as America's top diplomat, Secretary of State. He was succeeded in 2004 by Condoleeza Rice, who became the first African–American woman to serve as Secretary of State. In Hollywood, the year 2002 signaled a new era for Black actors.

> Denzel Washington (*Training Day*) and Halle Berry (*Monster's Ball*) memorably shattered the Oscars' racial ceiling in 2002, the first time blacks won both lead-acting prizes. In 2005, Jamie Foxx (*Ray*) and Morgan Freeman (*Million Dollar Baby*) won Academy Awards, prompting Freeman to say: 'It means that Hollywood is continuing to make history. We're evolving with the rest of the world' (Coyle, 2007, February 26).

In 2009, Barak Obama was inaugurated as the 44th president of the United States being the first African American to hold that office. As Americans move forward in the 21st century, the

narrative of race seems to be changing for the better. Yet racism is not gone in America. But what is the impact of racism today, and what can we do about that?

Slavery/Inequality. Although laws were being passed to ensure freedom and equality for blacks, Jim Crow laws were also being passed to put a whole new racial system into place in the defeated South. This new racial system of Black Codes was put into place by upper-class Southern planters and merchants attempting to restore white control over Southern political and economic life and it included laws of segregation towards Blacks, disenfranchisement of Black voters, the dismantling of education for Blacks in the South and strict limitations on economic opportunities for Blacks. But although the South created and passed the Jim Crow laws, the North acquiesced in this. By the late nineteenth century more and more Northerners and Republicans who had put Reconstruction in place to begin with, began saying giving blacks equal right and a voice in the government was a mistake. Social Darwinism was gaining prominence and "survival of the fittest" meant survival of the white man (Peet, 1985). Eric Foner (1988) explains that Reconstruction was failing in its goal to bring about freedom and equality for black citizens by the end of the 19th century. More and more corruption was being exposed in reconstruction governments and giving the right to vote to Blacks was determined by whites to be the reason for this corruption. No one took time to take a close look at the all-white Tweed Ring in New York City which perpetrated more corruption on New York City alone than all the Reconstruction governments in the South combined (Tammany Hall, 2009). A racist image of the freed slaves and other Black citizens was growing in the North and separation of the races became the new slavery after the Civil War (Smith, 1982).

Foner, (1988) explains in his study on Black Reconstruction that after the laws and amendments were passed, Blacks still needed services such as schools to help them meet their needs

to read, write and raise themselves out of poverty. Recently freed Blacks had few resources such as land to sell to get money. Consequently, when blacks called for expanded services such as schools to meet their needs, they were actually calling for additional taxes to be imposed in order to fund these services. In the nineteenth century, tangible property, specifically land, was the principal taxed property. Taxes on the land of both rich and poor whites, then, helped to underwrite new schools in the Reconstruction South. These taxes, in the end, drove a wedge between whites and African Americans and ensured that Black southerners would not have the support of white southerners who objected to paying taxes on their land to fund new schools for Blacks (Brundage, 2010). Eventually this anger over using their money to pay for black schools, led to the establishment of separate schools for blacks that they had to fund from their meager earnings (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2004). These schools were legitimized in 1896 when the Supreme Court upheld the principle of "separate but equal' in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Institutionalized racism allowed Blacks to become the pawns in a process of contestation, negotiation, and compromise once again devaluing the humanity of black citizens and stripping these same citizens of their equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution (Brundage, 2010). Rogers & Bowman (2003) support the belief justified in the late 19th century that "Race is a political construction created by people for a political purpose and the concept of race in America was created as a classification of human beings with the purpose of giving power to white people and to legitimize the dominance of white people over non-white people" (pp. 2-3). Yet this freedom threatened White Privilege and this disruption of the status quo spurred a violent reaction—terrorism. The U. S. had its home-grown terrorism, the Ku Klux Klan and groups similar to them, which sprang up to try to restore white supremacy in the South (Ku Klux Klan, 2009).

This philosophy of the inferiority of blacks to whites was given legitimacy in the early 20th century by the W. A. Dunning and his followers at Columbia University. According to Eric Foner (1998a) the Dunning school "offered scholarly legitimacy to the disenfranchisement of southern blacks and the Jim Crow system…helping to freeze the mind of the white South in bitter opposition to any change in the region's racial system. The fundamental flaw in the Dunning School was the author's deep racism that shaped not only their interpretations of history but their research methods and use of historical evidence" (p. xi). Dunning wrote that Blacks were not "on the same social, moral, and intellectual plane with the Whites" (Dunning, 1907, p. 26) In *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), Du Bois characterized Dunning's *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* as a "standard, anti-Negro text" (p. 179).

The Modern period of civil rights reform can be seen as a time when blacks endeavored to ensure legal protection for the rights they had been assured of in the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. The Civil Rights Movement website (2009) sponsored by the A & E Network through its programming of History.com states that the *Brown* decision demonstrated that the litigation strategy of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) could undermine the legal foundations of southern segregationist practices, but the strategy worked only when blacks, acting individually or in small groups, assumed the risks associated with crossing racial barriers such as Rosa Parks, James Meredith, the Little Rock Nine, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Congress or Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Thus, even after the Supreme Court declared that public school segregation was unconstitutional, black activism was necessary to compel the federal government to implement the decision and extend its principles to all areas of public life rather than simply in schools (Garraty & Foner, 1991).

As the 20th century drew to a close, racism became systemic in every part of society. Feagin (2001) defines systemic racism to include the complex array of anti-black practices, the unjustly gained political-economic power of whites, the continuing economic and other resource inequalities along racial lines, and the white racist ideologies and attitudes created to maintain and rationalize white privilege and power. Systemic here means that the core racist realities are manifested in each of society's major parts…each major part of U. S. society—the economy, politics, education, religion, the family—reflects the fundamental reality of systemic racism (Feagan, 2001, p. 6).

By the 21st century, systemic racism was so entrenched that Sean Hargadon in an interview in 2015 stated that "Racial inequality is an American tradition. There are still two Americas: one for brown people and one for whites, and both are heavily segregated." Project 2019, a study on the problems of racism in America, states that America's most debilitating problem is the lack of education and opportunities for blacks in society. Haradon (2015) corroborates the finding of Project 2019 when he states "In the technologically based global economy on the 21st century there is no need to discriminate against black Americans based on the color of their skin. De facto educational discrimination will work just as well-and it is legal."

Violence/Non-Violence. W. E. B. DuBois saw Reconstruction as the great democratic experiment whose purpose was to bring about the equality of black-American citizens, yet the use of violence destroyed that dream. Violence was used in the antebellum period to enforce slave labor and to define racial differences. In the post-emancipation period it was used to stifle black advancement and return to the old order. Plantation life in the ante-bellum south rested upon an enslaved laboring class (Abernathy, Bauer, Caires, Crabtree, Hayadisha-Knight, Kinslow, Mays, McCall, Poe, Proctor, Teitelman, Turner, & Verboon, 2016). A notion of white

supremacy and black inferiority undergirded it all: whites were understood as fit for freedom and citizenship; blacks for slave labor (Racial Inequality in Reconstruction, 2016). The Confederate surrender at Appomattox Court House and the subsequent adoption by the U.S. Congress of the Thirteenth Amendment destroyed the institution of American slavery and destroyed the foundation of Southern society. Southern legislators tried to use black codes (Jim Crow Laws) to restore the old order of white supremacy, and many white citizens turned to terrorism to try to control the former slaves (American Civil Rights Union, 2014). In the years after the Civil War, violence towards former slaves increased. Beatings and murders were committed by organized groups like the Ku Klux Klan, out-of-control mobs, and individual white Southern men. Immediately following the Civil War, the cities, plantations, and farms were ruined; they were impoverished and often hungry; there was an occupation army in their midst; and Reconstruction governments threatened to usurp the traditional white ruling authority. The former ruling class felt powerless, so they turned to rage and violence against African Americans in order to restore their rightful and honorable place in society as the ruling authority (Bullard, 1997). The time for the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) to begin a new reign of terror and lynching began. Dray (2002) explained that violence against blacks sometimes involved murder, specifically lynching, but sometimes violence involved being whipped in order to remind freedman of their former status as slaves. From the late 19th through the early 20th centuries African Americans in the South were the primary victims of lynching. The murders reflected the tensions of labor and social changes, as the whites imposed black codes (Jim Crow laws) which were legalized forms of segregation enacted and enforced to reinstate white supremacy (Appiah & Gates, 1999). The increasing violence carried out in lynching correlated to increasing economic stress in the South due to falling cotton prices through much of the 19th century, as well as a financial depression in

the 1890s. “From September through December, the cotton was picked, debts were revealed, and profits (or losses) realized... Whether concluding old contracts or discussing new arrangements, [landlords and tenants] frequently came into conflict in these months and sometimes fell to blows and lynching" (Willis, 2000, p. 154). Other factors also affected the number of lynchings in the South: "Lynchings were more numerous where the African American population was relatively large, the agricultural economy was based predominantly on cotton, the white population was economically stressed, the Democratic Party was stronger, and multiple religious organizations competed for congregants” (Tolnay, 2012, p. 92). Terror and lynching were believed to be used to enforce the Black Codes (Jim Crow Laws) and a variety of unwritten rules of conduct meant to assert white domination. Herbert wrote in an article for the *New York Times* in 2008 that Benjamin Tillman, who served as governor and U.S. senator in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, bragged that he and his followers had disenfranchised “as many as we could,” and he publicly defended the murder of blacks in order to deny them social and political equality and to abolish their animalistic lust against white women. Tillman, while speaking on the floor of the United States Senate in 1900 stated the reasons to justify lynching that grew out of a denial of social and political equity and the sexual fears of white men:

> We of the South have never recognized the right of the Negro to govern white men, and we never will. We have never believed him to be the equal of the white man, and we will not submit to his gratifying his lust on our wives and daughters without lynching him (Herbert, 2008, January 22).

Thousands of African-Americans were murdered and thousands more were raped, whipped, and wounded during the violence of Reconstruction. The political and social consequences of the violence were as lasting as the physical and mental trauma suffered by victims and witnesses.

Terrorism worked to end the freedom Reconstruction had promised and helped to usher in a new era of racial repression (Racial violence in Reconstruction, 2016).

With the return of the soldiers from WWII, the racial tensions were heightened as Whites were ready to put Blacks in their place and Blacks were determined to gain the same citizenship rights that whites possessed. The Civil Rights movement was launched in these turbulent times of unrest and change after the war and was fought on hundreds of different battlefields throughout the United States. "Not only had the war opened a new window of opportunity for blacks, a number of the civil rights leaders for the 1950s and 1960s, including Edger Evers, had been trained in the Army, where they acquired leadership and organizational experience. World War II really gave the Civil Rights movement its spark" (Krause, 2001). Yet this spark not only ignited Blacks to civil disobedience, it also ignited a new outbreak of violence in white society known as "massive resistance" Massive resistance was a strategy utilized by U. S. Senator Harry Floyd Byrd, Sr. and his brother-in-law as the leader in the Virginia General Assembly, James M. Thompson of Alexandria. The intention of massive resistance was to unite white politicians and leaders in Virginia to enact new state laws and policies to prevent public school desegregation, particularly after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) Supreme Court decision (Lechner, 1998). This outbreak of violence was seen in the deaths of Emmett Till in 1955 for whistling at a white woman, Revered George Lee and Lamar Smith in 1955 for urging Blacks to vote, of Herbert Lee in 1961 for participation in the voter registration campaign, of Medger Evers, NAACP State Director in 1963, and of Civil Rights activists James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in 1964 who were found buried in an earthen dam to name only a few. In contrast, the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement chose the tactic of non-violence to dismantle institutionalized racial segregation, discrimination, and inequality (Austin, 2016). By

using the new medium of television to publicize the violence of whites toward blacks and to witness the lack of violence being exhibited by the blacks perhaps the power and control of the whites could be broken. Eventually national exposure brought about substantive change and progress in the Civil Rights Movement became a reality (Austin, 2016). These names from the 1950s and 1960s remind us of the price that was paid to bring about the laws enacted during the Civil Rights Movement such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Yet these names also remind us that we still have the names today of those who have died because of racism, intolerance, and prejudice. Dontre Hamilton, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Freddy Gray, Trayvon Martin, Tony Robinson, and Walter Scott lead the list of young black men killed by violence from police shootings. Again the people march and again non-violence is called for but the story of racism in America needs to be heard and needs to be addressed because violence is already occurring. No longer do we ask ourselves if racism is part of our national discourse, but rather what impact does racism have on our national discourse (Center for Racial Justice Innovation, 2014). In the 21st century, intellectualized racism is having a new renaissance. Hemmer (2017, April 22) states that intellectualized racism is finding a new and fertile ground to grown in again. "Intellectualized racism cuts against the common assumption that racism is rooted in ignorance and provincialism…racism in about power, not ignorance….It comes in fitted suits as well as flowing sheets…just because more people are now paying attention to the extent of its influence and the perniciousness of its power doesn't mean that intellectual racism is something new" (par. 13). It is just finding new proponents such as Richard Spencer, Richard Herrnstein, and Charles Murray, to justify "pseudo-scientifically" why whites are superior. "Racial myths are stubbornly persistent. The search for scientific support for

racist ideologies is no less so" (Southern Poverty Law Center, personal correspondence, 2017, April 22).

Highlights in the Grand Narrative of Intellectual Freedom

Intellectual freedom has a history. Because its advocates generally see it as one of the best ideas in human history, there is a natural temptation to enlarge the historical narrative, to suppose that its roots are as broad and deep as the Western philosophical tradition itself is (Alphino, 2010). "Intellectual freedom must exist in a dynamic relationship with other political and social forces within which it developed. When librarians, lawyers, academics, and others advocate the rights and liberties associated with intellectual freedom in particular controversies – a contested book, a cancelled speech, an unjust dismissal, they need to know to what ideas their advocacy commits them" (Swan, 1994, p. 281). Martorella (2006) has argued "—the right to open inquiry, free from examination by others, is crucial to intellectual freedom" (p. 110). Therefore, Martorella (2006) states that

> …libraries are a symbol of a free, democratic society. Open access to information and patron privacy allow intellectual inquiry, participation in a democratic society, and the creation of new knowledge for the advancement of society….People [of all ages] must have the ability to freely express [and embrace] opinions without fear of intimidation, reprisal, or punishment. It is only when that freedom exists– that they can examine, explore, conduct research, draw conclusions and make judgments–that new knowledge is created" (p. 109-110).

Preservation of White Power. The late 19th century saw the emergence of the Comstock Law which was a federal law passed by Congress to suppress the circulation of obscenity of any kind through the mail. It became the most notorious censorship law in American history (Noble,

1990). Books in the late 19th century were banned for bad language, glorification of bad behavior, disruption of the status quo (white supremacy), and challenging the "genteel tradition" of American life that advocated traditional old world (European) values and promoted upper class superiority.

At the beginning of the 20th century, intellectual societies (New York Watch and Ward Society, Society for the Suppression of Vice, etc.) were instituted to maintain a close watch over American values and to keep the citizens of America, especially the children safe from harmful (different) ideas. The rise of Social Darwinism took hold of the intellectuals in the late 1800s and spread to the general population in the early 1900s. It was taken as a scientific truth, never mind that it was a theory about civilization adapted from a theory about natural selection. "Survival of the fittest" could be used as an explanation for a great number of things. In its social form Darwinism explained that the better nation would survive life's difficulties and naturally triumph over the inferior nations (Leonard, 2009). The fact that white colonial America had dominated black slaves and nearly exterminated red Indians was thus explained as a natural and even progressive feature. This was held not simply as an opinion by many people at the time, but as a scientific truth (Mercer, 2011). Mercer (2011) went on to explain that people were welcome in America, as long as they looked like Americans and behaved like Americans and accepted mainstream American values that promoted all things white. Those who stood out because of their color were considered inferior whatever they might do. This attitude reinforced the idea of white superiority that was a dominant American value in 20th century America. Published in 1920, Lothrop Stoddards' *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* is still oddly engrossing. Its tone is scholarly and gentlemanly, its hatred rationalized and, "scientific" (Hsu, 2009). And the book was hardly a fringe phenomenon. It was published by Scribner, and

Stoddard, who received a doctorate in history from Harvard, was a member of many professional academic associations. Stoddard's argument focused on conclusions he believed "modern science" (Social Darwinism, eugenics, and psychological testing) had led him. "To-day, as never before, we possess a clear appreciation of racial realities.... We know that our America is a White America.... And the overwhelming weight of both historical and scientific evidence shows that only so long as the American people remain white will its institutions, ideals and culture continue to fit the temperament of its inhabitants-and hence continue to endure" (Taylor, 1981, p. 449). It was precisely the kind of book that a 1920s white man would discuss as about the many attacks being made on the "monolithic identity of whiteness that sewed together the fortunes of the fair-skinned" (Hsu, 2009). This book by Stoddard was causally mentioned by Fitzgerald in *The Great Gatsby* as a book that Tom Buchannan, a wealthy white man, had read. Of course, Buchannan had the wrong author and the wrong name but the right idea about the themes of white supremacy in the book.

In the early 1920s, after WWI, a "backlash of bigotry, ignorance, and intolerance that stuck out in all directions" (Tebbel, 1978, p. 383) occurred. Butler (2009) states that during the 1920s The *Book of Knowledge* was burned in Kansas because it mentioned evolution and the *World Book* was banned in Arkansas for the same reason. It was during this time period that the words *censorship* and *withdrawn from circulation* began to appear in the literature (Baker, 1929). Before 1930, the terms *intellectual freedom* and *censorship* were seldom seen in the library literature and the development of the concept had to be inferred through examination of individual and government actions. Butler (2009) goes on to state:

> In the 1930s, book selection policies continued in the forefront of intellectual freedom issues. Widespread outcry over censorship of a single book, Steinbeck's

> *The Grapes of Wrath,* was partially responsible for the approval, in 1939, of the ALA Library Bill of Rights…this manifesto came to represent…the right to freedom of access and material provision…making the ALA Bill of Rights a major development in terms of intellectual freedom" (p. 38).

Books began to be censored because they were too realistic as in the case of *Grapes of Wrath* and *A Farewell to Arms* (both written by Nobel Prize winners), while books such as *A Red Badge of Courage* was criticized for not being realistic enough. For the first time since its inception, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) became an advocate for intellectual freedom while defending a pamphlet called *The Sex Side of Life: An Explanation for Young People* (Weinrib, 2012).Books were challenged and books were burned and books were censored as people tenaciously hung on to their justifications of protecting the children, challenging books for being anti-American and anti-religious while promoting white supremacy and the status quo (Feldman, 2015). It was during this time period of the 1920s and the early 1930s before the rise of Hitler in Europe that American writers left the United States to pursue intellectual freedom in Europe where experimentation and tolerance for the new were much more accepted.

The rise of Communism, the McCarthy era, the Civil Rights movement, and the anti-Vietnam war movement influenced intellectual freedom from 1940s-1970s in America. Intellectual freedom proponents had to deal with the issues of loyalty oaths, of propaganda including materials of the Communist Party, and the John Birch Society being readily available libraries, and deciding on a course of action to answer specific attacks on particular books and curricular materials. The policies and decisions on intellectual freedom made during the 1940s grew out of the 1939 Library Bill of Rights. Robbins (1996) identifies the key role played by Leon Carnovsky as chair of the Intellectual Freedom Committee (IFC) in 1943-45 and the

pivotal role played by David Berninghausen, who chaired the committee in 1948-51. Carnovsky held the view that the ALA Intellectual Freedom Committee was an important aspect of developing a policy on intellectual freedom. Berninghausen provided the definition of intellectual freedom in librarianship: "for all users of libraries, free access to expression of all points of view, on all controversial issues" (Robbins, 1996, p. 3). This brought about controversial discussions about censorship and self-selection. Robbins (1996) discovered that "Nearly one-fifth of current librarians habitually avoid buying any material which is known to be controversial or which they believe might become controversial" (p. 96). The last issue that Robbins (1996) tackles in her book is the struggle for free access to libraries for African-Americans. The "Statement on Individual Membership, Chapter Status, and Institutional Membership," adopted finally in 1962, was the first instance of the ALA seeking to enforce the Library Bill of Rights among its members. Section 5 in the Library Bill of Rights states, "A person's right to use a library should not be denied or abridged because of origin, age, background, or views" (pp. 107-21)

The 1970s-1990s were times when the courts were asked to help make decisions governing intellectual freedom. The cases usually revolved around challenges made to books without due process or books that were challenged because of obscenity, child pornography, racism, and explicit sexual content. The challenging of technology found its way into intellectual freedom in the 21st century beginning with the Child Internet Protection Act (CIPA) of 2000 which placed filters on computers in libraries and was and upheld by the Supreme Court in a challenge in 2003 from the American Library Association.

"Intellectual Freedom, in order to remain a vibrant and central aspect of practice in American libraries… keeping one eye on useful creative technological solutions while focusing

the other on upholding intellectual freedom" (Griffey, Houghton-Jan, Neiburger, & Office for Intellectual Freedom. (2010, October 28).

Legalized racism. After the political unrest of WWII, social and artistic awareness began to grow in America again. African American writers were being published in record numbers because they were no longer being censored by white publishing houses but had established publishing houses of their own. *Tinker V. Des Moines* (1969) guaranteed freedom of speech and the right to read any book of one's own choosing. *Island Trees School District Board of Education v. Pico* (1982) established that books could not be removed from a school library without due process. Yet it was also during this post-war period that books were first challenged overtly for racism and homosexuality. Once again the story surrounding intellectual freedom begins with the principle that each individual has the right to decide what is right to read or what is not right to read. Yet the entrenched values generated by the powerful class in society (the white class), determine the books that should and should not be made available to everyone to read (Kendall, 2002). Advocates for censorship often target materials that discuss sexuality, religion, race and ethnicity–whether directly or indirectly. Until the 1950s, books were challenged for sexual explicitness, inappropriate for the age group and anti-American. With the Civil Rights movement, books began to be labeled as racist and other books were quickly labeled as having homosexual themes. These were not new reasons for censorship, just now these reasons were openly expressed. Some people objected to the teaching of *To Kill a Mockingbird* because it is considered racist. Others think schools are wrong to discuss sexual orientation in sex education, family life classes, or in possessing copies of *Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Daddy's Roommate*, while and others would eliminate *Slaughterhouse Five* for violence. Most challenges to intellectual freedom come from parents who disapprove of language or ideas that

differ from or affront their personal views and values, but demands can emerge from anywhere across the religious, ideological, and political spectrum (National Coalition Against Censorship, 2017). The range of "controversial" topics appears to be limitless: religion, science, history, contemporary and classical literature, art, gender, sexuality, multiculturalism, and on and on. Many demands appear motivated by anxiety about changing social conditions and traditions. Feminism, removal of prayer from schools, the emergence of the gay rights movement, and other trends with implications for family structure and personal values, have all generated calls for censorship (Socio-Ed, 2016).

The National Coalition Against Censorship (2017) states that constantly having to answer to challenges and censorship demands require educators to balance First Amendment obligations and principles against other concerns – such as maintaining the integrity of the educational program, meeting state education requirements, respecting the judgments of professional staff, and addressing deeply held beliefs in students and members of the community. Challenging as these circumstances may be, educators are on the strongest ground if they are mindful of two fundamental principles derived from the Supreme Court's First Amendment decisions:

- Educators enjoy wide latitude in exercising their professional judgment and fulfilling their educational mission if their decisions are based on sound educational and pedagogical principles and serve to enhance the ability of students to learn.
- The decisions that are most vulnerable to legal challenge are those that are motivated by hostility to an unpopular, controversial, or disfavored idea, or by the desire to conform to a particular ideological, political or religious viewpoint National Coalition against Censorship, 2017).

Librarians advocate the right to read as part of a commitment to intellectual freedom. Norma Fox Mazur added:

> …where once I went to my writing without a backward glance, now I sometimes have to consciously clear my mind of those shadowy censorious presences. That's bad for me as a writer, bad for you as a reader. Censorship is crippling, negating, stifling…It should be unthinkable in a country like ours. Readers deserve to pick their own books. Writers need the freedom of their minds. That's all we writers have, anyway: our minds and imaginations. To allow the censors even the tiniest space in there with us can only lead to dullness, imitation, and mediocrity (Blume, 1999, p. 33).

Oppression of Minorities. Until the time of the Harlem Renaissance, most published books in America were written by white men and a few white women. Even during the Harlem Renaissance, black authors were first published in black literary journals such as *The Crisis.* Still today studies show that diverse books are disproportionately challenged (Cooperative Children's Book Center, 2017). Knox (2016, September 28) explains that

> Diverse books by definition, center on the experiences of people who are not dominant in society and it is not surprising that these stories will often include experiences that make the reader uncomfortable in some way. It makes sense that a coming-of age-novel that centers on a teenager in America in the late 20th or early 21st century might include racism, offensive language, and sex. These books speak to the human condition [Blog].

The Office of Intellectual Freedom (OIF) states that it is important for a society to consider a look at the books we challenge so that we can understand who we are and where we are going. As one looks at the most frequently challenged books, the reflection is that diversity prompts

challenges. While "diversity" is seldom given as a reason for a challenge, it may in fact be an underlying and unspoken factor: the work is about people and issues others would prefer not to consider. Often, content addresses concerns of groups who have suffered historic and ongoing discrimination. Malinda Lo (2014, September 14) explains

> …that books that fall outside the white, straight, abled mainstream are challenged more often that books that do not destabilize the status quo. The message this sends is loud and clear: diversity is under attack. Minority perspectives are being silenced every year. Recent academic studies (Scientific American Journal) have shown that reading fiction leads to increased empathy which suggests…that it's more important than ever to make sure books with diverse perspectives are widely accessible, not censored.

Yet not every challenge is reported and not every book that is removed is given due process. The Office of Intellectual Freedom states that "where challenges are most successful in removing or restricting access to ideas, no one talks about it at all. Censorship thrives in silence; silence is its aim. (2015). Looking at the books that are being challenged helps us as a society to discern a future for intellectual freedom in light of a rapidly changing information environment.

Highlights in the Challenges to *Huck Finn*

From the pre-publication scandal (1884) of an added penis to a picto-graph to being banned on the day it was published to challenging the "genteel tradition" of literature in the early 20th century to being called racist in 1957 to reaching its 100th birthday both edited and expurgated to being challenged in 2017 for racial epithets and embarrassing African American students, *Huck Finn* was born into trouble.

Challenged dominant American values of time period. Bradley (2011, June 12) states that "From the moment it was published in 1885, Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* caused controversy. It challenged authority, poked fun at religion, and was accused of leading children astray." Huck challenged the societal mores of the time both social and religious focusing on slavery and hypocrisy. In 1885, the morals of society were being established by the "genteel tradition" which was comprised on the powerful ruling class of white Americans. **"**In the novel [*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*], Huck challenges society's genteel norms and adopts a personal sense of morality and manners. Huck's individualism and frontier spirit show that America need not define itself or its tastes by the standards of the educated, refined elite of New England" (Fishkin, 1993, p. 8). Although the Concord Public Library challenged the inclusion of *Huckleberry Finn* on its shelves for coarse language, experiences that were not elevating to children, and trashy, the book's most often challenge came from its challenge to the values of the time that blacks and whites could be equal friends. In a book published during Reconstruction and the adoption of Black Codes, this was seen as an attack against the dominant American values of the time period. Mark Twain defended his book by saying "In a critical moral emergency, a sound heart is a safer guide than ill-trained conscience" (Bates, 2010, November 23).

By the early 20th century, *Huck* continued to be challenged for its "pernicious influence on young people" (Bates, 2010, November 23). Between the years of 1910, after Twain died to 1957 when the Civil Rights Movement labeled *Huck Finn* as racist, the novel had a respite from constant badgering because of the Great Depression and two World Wars. Librarians and school teachers covertly tried to discourage children from reading *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. But slowly the novel became part of the standard curriculum. This was due in part to Lionel

Trilling's quotation stating that Hemingway thought it was the beginning of modern American literature and the uncompromising look at American values as they were exhibited in his time. Twain knew Blacks from his childhood when they were slaves to his adulthood when he contributed to the college expenses of two black students. One who went to Yale [Warner T. McGuinn] went on to become a mentor to Thurgood Marshall. Twain continues to be challenged today for his views on Blacks which he expressed in the dialectal vernacular of his time period. Today the term "nigger" is a racial epithet. Yet what should be more inflammatory than the epithet today should be that we are still dealing with racism in America and it is systemic and institutionalized.

The detractors of *Huck Finn* became so vitriolic by the end of the 20th century that in 1992 the Center for the Book at the Library of Congress published a booklet *Born to Trouble: One Hundred Years of Huckleberry Finn* to defend the book and explain its place in American literature. *Huck Finn* had one more challenge to go before the century changed in the court case of *Monteiro v. Tempe Union High School District* (1997). Huck Finn was being charged with racism for its use of the word "nigger" and the court case was asking that the book be removed from the curriculum. Yet the courts decided not to remove the book. Rather the responsibility has been placed on the school to protect students from placement into a hostile environment while reading a book.

The 21st century saw a whole new attack on *Huckleberry Finn*: the sanitizing of the novel through changing the word "nigger" to slave. These expurgated and edited versions of the novel have only stirred up more controversy. Many scholars believe that changing the novel limits the critical discussions that result from the original text and the language present there. Ruta (2013) states that denying students an opportunity to read Huck Finn is insulting to their intelligence and

a lost opportunity to instill in students the critical thinking skills that will be necessary to navigate the larger world we live in today. Other scholars state that we are ignoring the historical realities of slavery which are a part of the past. Kakutani (2011, January 9) affirms this belief when she states "To censor or redact books on school reading lists is a form of denial: shutting the door on harsh historical realities." Racial identity has been a part of the history of America and engaging with the novel of Huck Finn requires students to engage in this bizarre and shameful history (Fishkin, 2011, January 5). Ruta (2013) ends her explanation of why Huck Finn should be taught with the following statements.

> I hope books like *Huck Finn* will always be challenged. Its shows our culture is still engaged in meaningful debate, and that the next generation will continue to question the beliefs they've inherited. If there's anyone in American literature tough enough to handle the melee, it's Huck (par. 10).

When will Huck and Jim be free from racism? When teachers, parents, students, school boards and scholars view *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, one question usually surfaces: Is the novel racist? The answer has been a resounding yes and no. If only the answer were this simple. Yes, it is racist because it confronts the issue of racism and perhaps perpetuates the legacy of racism. No, it is not racist because it allows students to confront the meaning and consequences of racism in a controlled environment such as the classroom. "The vexed aptness of *Huck Finn* is that it makes the problem immediate, personal, and emotionally compelling. At its worst it insinuates the legacy of racism. At its best though it convinces us—the way novels convince through our feelings—how much we stand to gain by trying to solve the problem" (Railton, 1987, par. 1). Yet are Huck and Jim free even on the raft? Huck heroically decides to not turn Jim in as a runaway slave. Yet the values of the South are still pulling on Huck. Huck's

moral decision to help Jim cannot be confused with freedom, since he remains convinced that slavery is right and he is wrong. "This great scene is as much a defeat as a victory…Huck does not resolve to 'free' him, but to 'steal' him" (Railton, 1987, par. 6). In that one word, "steal," we have to recognize the pervasive hold of racism in the South. Huck still sees Jim as a slave although as a friend. He is unable to break away totally from the mores of the community. Perhaps at the end of the novel, Huck is able to do that because he wants to run away from "sivilization" and finally be free. "Freedom depends on truth, and truth depends on breaking the chains that bind our vision to the community's prejudices, on seeing what is really there" (Railton, 1987, par. 9).

Twain uses *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* to critique the claims of freedom and equality promised in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which had been long denied to Blacks in America. Twain's statement that "Lincoln's Proclamation … not only set the black slaves free, but set the white man free also" (Foner, 1958, p.200) is illustrated in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* when Huck reaches his moral decision to not turn Jim in as a run-away. Not only does Jim have a chance to achieve physical freedom, Huck, too, has a chance to achieve freedom from an oppressive "sivilization." This new, moral story explored in *Huck Finn* is a precursor to Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream Speech* on August 28, 1963, where he states, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character" (p. 34). By 1963, King himself has added his voice along with all the others that day on the steps at the Lincoln Memorial to offer a harsh indictment of the American racial discourse but to also hold out the hope that his children and all children will see the day when the story changes to include Blacks not as inferior because of their color but rather equal because of their citizenship in

America. Yet even if blacks are judged by their characters as individuals rather than taken as a stereotypical group, there is no escape from the cruelties of this "civilization." King realized that until the racial discourse included all the voices that had been silenced and excluded there would be no freedom for minorities in America. Huck realized that the society in which he lived that justified the slavery for no reason other than the color of one's skin was not a society where he wanted to live. Instead he chose to light out for the territories rather than become "sivilized." Huck's answer was to walk away from the Southern society as it is and make his journey to a place where freedom and equality are more than just words. Smith (1992) quickly asserts that Huck may not have found freedom in the territories. "There is no promised land, where one may enjoy absolute personal freedom. An individual's freedom is always constrained by one's social relations and societal standing with other people. Too often there is little correlation between the treatment one deserves and the treatment one receives" (p. 116). *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* contradicts the racial discourse of the late 19th century by presenting a story that explores the friendship between a white boy and a Black man and the moral decision that results from recognizing the inherent humanity in both of them despite the societal mores.

Discussion of Findings

Racial marginalization and exclusion today are no mere remnants of the past. They reflect ongoing methods of racial classification. Old-fashioned racism, rooted in overt discrimination and images of innate inferiority, has been supplanted by more subtle processes of racial implication, cultural contrast, and social stigma (Mendelberg 2001; Loury 2002). Intellectual freedom has also grown to encompass more than questions about the grammar, the dialectical use of language, and the absence of "genteel behavior" approved by the elite. Now intellectual freedom encompasses open access to literature, ideas, art, and meeting spaces despite origin, age,

or background (ALA, Library Bill of Rights, 2017). Intellectual freedom has also grown to encompass the internet. The issue of Internet access in libraries is a controversial issue - especially as it relates to children. In 2000, Congress passed the Children's Internet Protection Act (CIPA), requiring public libraries to install filters on computers in order to block web sites that contain offensive materials. This requirement is a condition for receiving federal funds. The law was challenged in the courts, and on June 23, 2003, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the government (*United States v. American Library Association*). While the intent of the law is to protect children from pornography, most librarians view the law as a violation of the First Amendment. They contend that, by censoring information, the law violates the principle of equal access for all. By violating the belief in equal access for all, information is being excluded from some patrons of the library and by deciding which sites will be available for access is practicing marginalization. The stories of race and intellectual freedom are interwoven by the practice of exclusion and if not exclusion then marginalization by a campaign of fear and protection of the children. Finally, the story of Mark Twain's most challenged novel *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has often been restricted, removed, and reviled by readers who read the novel through the lens of the historic narrative of race in America rather than choosing to look at the novel as an opportunity to begin a conversation that might add their voices to the re-formation of a new story about race that grew out of a new interpretation of the novel. Rather than looking at the novel as one of exclusion and marginalization, look at the novel as an opportunity to begin a discussion about racism. The effects of racism are as individual as the interpretations of the novel can be—innumerable.

Each of the three stories, race, intellectual freedom, and challenges to *Huck Finn* combine to reveal a story of unequal and unshared white power that has grown out of prejudice, fear, and

a history of oppression. Perhaps studying the three ideas presented in this research study and seeing the correlations that emerge may encourage tolerance and the willingness to coexist. Peaches Henry (1992), writer of the criticism "The Struggle for Tolerance: Race and Censorship in *Huckleberry Finn*," acknowledges the risks that may occur if insensitive educators use Twain's work as "a tool of oppression" (p. 40) to denigrate black students. However, with the right approach, the book incites a valuable discussion about race, which allows readers to express themselves and grow. By giving people access to such a powerful condemnation of racism, perhaps we can finally take a step toward healing the ruptured race relations that haunt the United States and tell a story of reconciliation and peace.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions, Implications and Future Directions

This analysis has focused on seeing the correlations between the historical stories (narratives) that have been told about race, intellectual freedom, and the challenges to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* This novel is only one novel in the cadre of books that have been challenged in the history of America. It is difficult to draw conclusions about challenged and banned books and make a generality from my findings to the larger library of books so labeled. Yet, I believe that the story of race and intellectual freedom would be relevant to any story on the banned list of books. Any book challenged for racism, I believe is analogous to the conclusions drawn about *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, race, and intellectual freedom.

I consciously chose to only use print sources for this research study in order to limit the extraneous variables that would be introduced into the analysis by using film, television, or radio broadcasts such as tone of voice and body language. Although some information did come from these visual sources, it was obtained through a reading of the transcripts of the programs so that only written works would be analyzed.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study suggests that the stories of race, intellectual freedom, and the challenges to *Huckleberry Finn* show a correlation between history, literature, and social mores. Although race is the historical story (narrative) chosen for this particular study, other historical stories (narratives) could be chosen such as nationalism, or women's rights, or sexual mores to examine the influences that history can have on literature. This study could bring new interpretations to the historical analysis of why certain actions were taken in history and how those actions

influence the writers of the times. Were the writers prophets of the times to come, chroniclers of the times in which they lived, or interpreters of the times that had passed?

A different literary work could have been chosen to examine in conjunction with the narrative of racism such as Harper Lee's (1960) *To Kill a Mockingbird*. Other novels could be chosen to examine the different historical narratives that may be examined. Explicit sexual content is often another reason why books are banned. Perhaps by looking at *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* by Stephen Chosbky (1999) or *Speak* by Laurie Halse Anderson (1999) or *As I Lay Dying* by William Faulkner (1930) or *The Awakening* by Kate Chopin (1899), a different lens can be used to examine the stories told in these novels in comparison with the historical grand narrative that has been told about sexuality in America.

The stories of history and literature are interwoven so that they may reveal what has been prevalent in the past, illuminate what is occurring the present, and point the way to what might be possible in the future if we can understand the narrative from its creation and add new voices to demystify the possibilities the story might have for future generations of readers.

Conclusion

Like racism, I believe that censorship grows out of fear. Like racism, censorship grows out of the need to feel in control, to have the power to make important choices for the lives of others. Often the reasons for racism and the fear it engenders and the reasons for the fear that causes a need to censor literature contain a misguided moral outrage that they can somehow protect their children from the different, the other, the marginalized. Intellectual freedom is learned by example. So is racism. The importance of intellectual freedom is that it "promotes an understanding of the value of information…which includes diverse viewpoints and relevance the today's world…unbiased by personal, political, social, or religious views" (ALA, Code of

Ethics, 2016). Understanding the narrative of intellectual freedom and narrative of racism requires that all who are responsible for education work together to assure that First Amendment rights and intellectual freedom and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendment rights and equality are a reality for everyone in the United States, not just those in power at the time.

Obtaining information about racism, intellectual freedom and *Huck Finn* is valuable in understanding and changing the story that has always been told. Instead of focusing on the presence of the word "nigger," we must engage with the tensions that exist from that word. America needs to encounter the atrocities that existed in the antebellum South to have a real understanding of the horror. Bigotry and intolerance in any form should not be a footnote but a plot line in the stories being told. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* acknowledges the crippling hatred that existed in the South and does something incredible: It shows two people ignoring convention and acting morally. This novel shows that legality and morality are two separate things. This novel demonstrates that mankind can act both with tremendous humanity and inhumanity, but humanity can prevail. (Woody, 2011, January 25, pars. 17-18).

Ignoring the historical story of racism, the historical story of intellectual freedom, and the historical challenges to Huck Finn will not make the realities of these stories go away. Perhaps by enlightening others by telling these stories, we can find a new way to approach our fear of being different and create a new story where black and white can coexist because they take time to listen the stories of each race and find the similarities rather than the differences.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn is an attempt by the author to tell a story about what he saw in his society. Through the telling of stories, different times are recalled, the fragility of human life is considered, the mistakes made are reviewed, and the inescapability of death is contemplated (Gottschall, 2013). Storytellers take the reader and listener deep into the narrative

and meaning is found that validates (or creates) truth (Guber, 2007). Tim O'Brien (1990) wrote in *The Things They Carried*:

> Stories are for joining the past to the future. Stories are for those late hours in the night when you can't remember how you got from where you were to where you are. Stories are for eternity, when memory is erased, when there is nothing to remember except the story (p. 34).

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn reveals the moral struggles that Americans have undertaken, the uncertainties that have been struggled with, the dreams that have been foreseen, the realization of the blunders that have been made, the contradictions found in individuals and the nation, and the endless quest for understanding of our identity, because of the story told in this novel and revealed in the countless interpretations of that novel. The final story of the discourse of intellectual freedom and racism as seen through the lens of *Huck Finn* evolves from the experiences of research and the memories of all those who have added their voices to an interpretation of intellectual freedom and racism. This interpretive story will not resolve any of the mysteries of life as one knows them; but, perhaps these stories that reveal the many interpretations available and the examination of the chosen themes and ideas placed within a specific historical time period, will give a glimpse into the human spirit that will enable us to expand our relationships with each other, with ourselves, and with the story.

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Richmond, VA 23235
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EDUCATION

PhD, Teaching and Learning /Curriculum and Instruction
Old Dominion University, August 2017
Qualitative Studies Certificate

MA, English/English Education
Virginia Commonwealth University, December 1982

BA, History and English, minor in Education
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, June 1975

EXPERIENCE:

2016-2017	**Graduate Research Assistant,** NxtWave Program, Department of Teaching and Learning, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA.
2014-2016	**Graduate Teaching Assistant,** Secondary Education Program, Department of Teaching and Learning, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA.
2013-2014	**University Supervisor,** Department of Education, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, VA.
2006-2013	**Librarian,** Hungary Creek Middle School, Elko Middle School, & Glen Allen High School, Henrico, VA
1975-2006	**Teacher,** Manchester High School & Monacan High School, Chesterfield, VA; Douglas S. Freeman High School & Hermitage High School, Henrico, VA

DISSERTATION:

Title: *When It is Troublesome to do right: The Continuous Censorship and "Sivilizin' of Huck Finn and its Place in the Discourse about Race in America*

Chair: Gail Dickinson
Committee Members: Kavonia Hinton; Kristine Sunday; Karen Gavigan

Abstract:

The purpose of this study is to look at *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and demonstrate how this novel has contributed to or contradicted the grand narrative of race in America. By looking at this grand narrative from 1885 into the 21st century, Huck Finn becomes a platform for the voices attempting to be heard. From being classified in 1885 to being a "bad boy book" (Concord Library) to being called racist by the New York City Board of Education in 1957 (Buder, 1957, September 12), to being removed from the shelves in Accomack County, VA, for racism in 2016 (Balingit, 2016, December 3), this book has become a centerpiece for trouble since Huck Finn was born (Kaplan, 1995). *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* cannot be dismissed without examining what makes a person uncomfortable in the telling of this story. We need to look beyond the interpretations of 1885, 1957, and even 2016 and reexamine this novel to determine why after 131 years, Huck is still making the news.

TEACHING:

Old Dominion University (2014-2016)

TLED 451/551	Developing Instructional Strategies for Teaching in the Middle/High School: English Fall 2016 (N=19)
TLED 668	Internship/Students Teaching Seminar: Practicum/Internship Fall 2016 (N=3)
TLED 360	Classroom Management and Discipline Fall 2014 (N=22), Spring 2015 (N=18), Summer 2015 (N=10), Fall 2015 (N=17), Spring 2016 (N=14), Summer 2016 (N=12),

RESEARCH:
ARTICLES

Suh, Y., Doughtery, B., & Branyon, A. P. (2017). *Mirrors and windows: Teacher education for teachers of color.* (in progress).

Hinton, K. & Branyon, A. P. (2017). My hair ain't naughty. *The Lion and the Hornbook*

Branyon, A. P., Gregory, K., Diacopoulos, M., & Butler, B. (2017). The power of autobiography: Unpacking the past, understanding the present, and impacting the future while establishing a community of practice. *Studying Teacher Education*.

Branyon, A. P. (2017). A home when I am so far from home: Public libraries and Immigrants. *Public Library Quarterly*.

Gregory, K., Diacopoulos, M., Branyon, A. P., & Butler, B. (2016). From skepticism to scholarship: Learning and living self-study research in a doctoral seminar. *Journal of Teacher Education*

Hinton, K. & Branyon, A. P. (2016). Love is true-blue: Grandmothering in Rita Williams-Garcia's *One Crazy Summer* and *P.S. Be Eleven. Middle School Journal*

Martin, A., Westmoreland, D., & Branyon, A. P. New design considerations that Transform the library into an indispensable learning environment. *Teacher Librarian, 38*(5), 15-20.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

Branyon, A. P., Ford, D., & Baker, P. (2015). *I never learned this in school: The efficacy of TeachLivE in classroom management.*

Branyon, A. P. & Roji-John, R., & Eckhoff, A. (2015). L*anguage acquisition among immigrant children: A case study.*

PRESENTATIONS

INTERNATIONAL

Branyon, A. P., Gregory, K., Diacopoulos, M., & Butler, B. (2016, August). *The power of autobiography: Unpacking the past, understanding the present, and impacting the future while establishing a community of practice.* Presentation at the Castle Conference, East Sussex, England.

NATIONAL

Branyon, A. P. (2017, April). Continuing the journey. Presentation at the annual meeting Of the American Education and Research Association. San Antonio, TX.

Branyon, A.P. (2017, February). *Libraries: The Gateway to America*. Poster session at The Project Welcome Summit, Chicago, IL.

Branyon, A. P. (2017, January). *"When it is Troublesome to do right:" The continual Censorship and "sivilizin' of Huck Finn.* Poster Session at the annual meeting of Association of Library Information and Science Educators, Atlanta, GA.

Gregory, K., Diacopoulos, M., Branyon, A. P., & Butler, B. (2016, April). *From skepticism to scholarship: Learning and living self-study research in a doctoral seminar.* Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Education and Research Association. Washington, DC.

Branyon, A. P. & Dawkins, A. (2015, November). *Unsuitable for any age: Censorship in School Libraries.* Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Association of School Librarians. Columbus, OH.

Hinton, K. & Branyon, A. P. (2015, June). *Love is true-blue: Grandmothering in Rita Williams-Garica's One Crazy Summer and P.S. Be Eleven.* Presentation at the annual meeting of the Children's Literature Association, Richmond, VA.

STATE

Branyon, A. P., Henry, S., Mabe, M., & Szasz, S. (2016, October). *From cradle to grave Intellectual freedom.* Presentation at the annual meeting of the Virginia Library Association, Hot Springs, VA.

Balsley, H., Branyon, A. P., Carnesi, S., Cummings, A., Howe, S., Isaac, R., Kier, K., Lambusta, P., Rakes, J. & Sears, M. J. (2015, November). *The state of intellectual freedom in Virginia*. Facilitated presentation at the annual meeting of the Virginia Association of School Librarians, Williamsburg, VA.

Branyon, A. P. (2015, April). *Intellectual Freedom for early childhood teachers.* Presentation at Old Dominion Early Childhood Symposium. Norfolk, VA.

LOCAL

Branyon, A. P. (2017, February). *Training for STEM Day.* In-service presentation for Student volunteers going into Norfolk Public Schools, Norfolk, VA.

Baker, P., Branyon, A. P., & Diacopoulos. (2017, January). Classroom Management Boot Camp. Presentation for Hampton Roads first-year Teachers, Norfolk, VA

Branyon, A. P., & Diacopoulos. (2016, May). *Help! How do I adopt formative assessment practices to enhance student learning?* Professional Development for Tidewater Community College in Hampton Roads.

Branyon, A. P. (2014, October). *Collaboration with teacher/librarians.* In-service presentation for secondary English teachers in Henrico County, VA.

HONORS/AWARDS

2016-Present	**University Scholar,** NxtWave efficacy study
2014-2017	**NxtWave Scholar**, Initial Cohort
1998	**REB Award for Teacher Excellence,** $15,000 to study education in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia
1996	**Sallie Mae Mentor Teaching Award**, chosen by *Time* Magazine for commitment to first year teachers

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2017	**Conference Reviewer** American Educational Research Association
2016-Present	**Distinguished Service Award Committee** American Association of School Librarians (AASL)
2016	**Conference Reviewer** Castle Conference on Self-Study
2015-2017	**Chair of Intellectual Freedom Committee** Virginia Association of School Librarians (VAASL)

2015-2016	**Accreditation Committee** Department of Teaching and Learning Old Dominion University
2015-2016	**Middle/Secondary Education Search Committee,** Department of Teaching and Learning Old Dominion University
2014-Present	**Roald Dahl Social Justice Award Committee** American Association of School Librarians (AASL)
2014-Present	**Interviews for Admission into the Teacher Education Preparation Program** Old Dominion University
2010-Present	**Educational Consultant,** Oasis of Hope School Salinas Grandes, Nicaragua

COMMUNITY SERVICE

2015-Present	**Chairman: Tidewater Community Academy Foundation**
2015-Present	**Volunteer,** Tidewater Community Academy

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

American Association of School Librarians (2008-present)

American Library Association (2008-present)

Virginia Association of School Librarians (2008-present)

Association for Library and Information Science Education (2014-present)

Children's Literature Association (2014-present)

American Educational Research Association (2014-present)
- Teaching and Teacher Education Division
- Action Research Special Interest Group
- Classroom Management Special Interest Group
- Literature Special Interest Group
- Narrative Research Special Interest Group
- Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices Special Interest Group
- Teacher as Researcher Special Interest Group