From America, With Hate: Bond and the 'Black Shirley Temple'

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Almost four score and seven years ago, Philippa Schuyler was conceived under a cloud of romantic fancy and racist paranoia. Her mother was Josephine Cogdell Schuyler, a white artist from a wealthy background in Texas, who believed that the ‘white race’ was spiritually depleted and that her daughter and other racially mixed children were needed to save America’s soul (Talalay 1995: 36). Her father was George Schuyler, one of the most prominent African American journalists and authors of the early twentieth century, who thought that his daughter’s genius would confound Nazis in Europe as well as right-wing anthropologists in America invested in pseudo-scientific ideas about black intellectual inferiority (G. Schuyler 1935; Rogers 1942: 408). Yet many Americans did not share the hopes and dreams of the Schuylers’ and their friends in a New York avant-garde. During a time in which the Schuylers’ were unable to marry in Texas and many other states of the union, mainstream journalists expressed their shock and concern for a blue-blooded ‘blonde Texan’ who fell in love with a ‘coal black Negro’ (Talalay 1995: 208). They also filed the prodigious talents of Philippa Schuyler under newspaper reports about a ‘strange curiosity’ or a ‘Black Shirley Temple’ (Alsop 1934; Barnett 1934).

This paper follows Schuyler’s journey away from the ‘mulatto-minded milieu’ of her parents in New York – a journey in which she declared that ‘Americans display no culture ... I hate my country,’ and invented a new identity for herself as Felipa Monterro, a woman of Iberian origin who could serve as a Catholic writer or a ‘sexy novelist’ in southern Europe and southern Africa. It documents the cultural materials available for an ambitious, talented and lonely individual who sought success in a Cold War context by attacking blackness as an alien Other
(that was tied to Communism, anti-colonialism and Negritude) and defending the authority of strong white rule in multiracial environments (as a means to limit racial violence and economic underdevelopment). In doing so, it argues that Schuyler’s self-fashioning illustrates the shame associated with blackness in America, and a deep concern that her loved ones might reveal or expose aspects of her life as an African American child prodigy that she would prefer to remain hidden. It also contends that her adoption of a Felipa Monterro moniker reveals a feeling of shame linked to the exposure of a failed self before the ideal of racial equality (Ahmed 2004: 106, Gordon and Gordon 2009: 81). Such feelings of shame meant that Schuyler did not respond to the humiliation of black bodies in the 1950s and 60s by joining the chorus of voices proclaiming ‘Black is beautiful,’ or talking about the need for a pan-African movement that confronted colonization, slavery, lynching and segregation with a ‘force vitale’. In contrast, she distanced herself from these revolutionary movements by renouncing African American culture, recycling anti-African stereotypes and developing a new persona that was white, beige or colorless. Her story is a not only a tale of black and white; it is a special blend of irony, tragedy and farce.

**Personal identity confusion? Or national sickness?**

When she travelled around the world as a concert pianist, Schuyler (1950, 1954) described her father as a man of color from Madagascar with no ancestral links to Africa, and demanded the removal of her name from her father’s encyclopedia of ‘The Negro in America.’ When she pursued as a career as a writer in the 1960s, she continued to rail against the so-called ‘taint’ of blackness of blackness that haunted her life as a ‘Negro child prodigy’, and sought to
pass as Felipa Monterro, an Iberian writer and a femme fatale with little or no discernible ‘Negro ancestry’ (Schuyler 1963d). Reading such documents – and seeing the white paper pasted over George Schuyler’s (1954) depiction of his daughter’s career as a musician and writer in his unpublished manuscript of African American life – historians and biographers have tended to depict Schuyler as a ‘tragic mulatto’ trapped between black and white in America. Biographers have, for example, made vague allusions to the ‘Mixed Personality Disorder’ of ‘Harlem’s biracial prodigy’ (Talalay 1995: 294), and provided offhand remarks about the ‘national, racial, and personal identity confusions’ of someone who hated America and was unable to feel emotionally at home in any other nation (Ferguson 2005: 152). Such comments evoke the fears of assertively nationalistic commentators who talk about the rootlessness – rather than the racelessness – of African Americans who try to escape racial shame (Asante 2000; Perry 2011: 121). They turn Schuyler’s life into as a cautionary tale for African Americans who distance themselves from black cultures in the hopes of obtaining greater rewards, freedom or security, and have been challenged by scholars who claim Schuyler as a precursor of ‘that contemporary quest of individuals who resist the one-drop rule and navigate the uncharted waters of multiracial identity’ (Daniel 2001: 96).

Rather than dismiss Schuyler’s self-fashioning as the wishful fancy of ‘little yellow dream children’ (Washington 1987: 160), or develop a revisionist history that celebrates her struggle to resist a black identity, this paper provides the extra elaboration needed to understand her existential decisions in the context of the 1950s and 60s. I am interested in her attempts to unite with something or someone larger than herself in a Cold War context riddled with racism, sexism and homophobia; her self-conscious adoption of national stereotypes in the hopes of becoming a creative artist who would be popular with an European audiences; and the voracious
and wide-ranging reading that informed her contribution to perennial debates about art and commerce, truth and popularity, revolution and reaction.

**Looking for Felipa, Finding Fanon**

A French wartime hero, a Martiniquan exile and an Algerian freedom fighter, Frantz Fanon provides a telling counterpoint to the existential questions posed by Philippa Schuyler’s life in the 1950s and 60s. In work that combined poetry, psychiatry and political analysis, Fanon contended that shame should be applied to the monstrous racism of Europe and North America. In doing so, he did not just talk about the guilt of those who collaborated with the Nazis during World War II – he also resisted the ideology that encouraged Europeans to absolve the Nazism applied to African and Asian peoples in the name of civilization and empire. Such anti-colonial thinking does not seem to have permeated much of the research in contemporary psychology that has built on Helen Block-Lewis’s famous definition of shame and guilt (that shame is ‘directly about the self, which is the focus of evaluation’ while experience of guilt is ‘negatively evaluated in connection with something but is not itself the focus of experience’ (Block Lewis 1971: 30; Morrison 1989: iii; Scheff and Retzinger 1989; Tangney and Dearing 2002)). For many clinicians and researchers, shame is a dangerous, painful and ugly feeling that is ‘less rational’ than guilt – shame is equated to blood ties, honor killings and antiquated notions that threaten social bonds; guilt is privileged as modern, legalistic concept that secures social bonds and solidarity (Tangney 1995: 119; Tangney and Dearing 2002; Wheatley 2009: 168; Webber 2013). To go further, the focus on turning out healthy modern individuals means that social
psychologists can define pride as a reasonable emotion while considering shame to be an entirely unreasonable feeling (Scheff 1997: 222)).

In contrast to the rather functionalist tendencies of contemporary psychologists, postcolonial theorists have deployed the concept of shame in order to talk about bring a critical, ‘frog’s perspective’ to ‘bird’s eye’ celebrations of national and imperial pride. In *Postcolonial Melancholia*, a text inspired by Fanon and other thinkers who creatively adapt psychoanalysis in the service of social theory, Paul Gilroy (2005: 99) treats shame as a more productive emotion than guilt. As a result, his work provides a critical rejoinder to liberal and conservative writers who seek to portray Fanon as an anachronistic voice who threatens proud depictions of an imperial past. It also challenges members of the infotainment sector who try to leave their guilty, nostalgic and xenophobic dreams in private so that they can present themselves as honest, respectable and ‘universal’ figures in public, and prophets of a neoimperialist future who predict conflict and clashes between different civilizations emerging after the end of the Cold War (Gilroy 2005; 2007; 2011). Gilroy has invoked a living Fanon who asks brutally honest questions about the shameful histories that continue to influence social inequalities. He has challenged forms of corporate multiculturalism that celebrate ‘less menacing, celebrity half-castes’ in order to display their commitment to purportedly nonracial, multiracial or postracial forms of business (Gilroy 2005: 128). Last but not least, he has delivered a pointed critique of Samuel Huntington’s thesis about the clash of civilizations (in which Huntington proposes that clashes between ‘the West’ and Islam and China will proliferate after the Cold War and does not know whether to treat Africa as a separate civilization or one that can be subsumed within the West (Gilroy 2005: 22)).
Although Fanon is one of the few names from the decolonizing period of the 1950s and 60s whose work remains essential for scholars of Postcolonial Studies (Lazarus 2011: 161), many discussions of shame and pride in America have followed the lead of contemporary psychologists who marginalize the work of Fanon. Some have dismissed Fanon’s work as a ‘dung heap of Freudian analysis’ that fails to appreciate American exceptionalism (Wayde-Gayles 1996: 109). Others have followed Barack Obama (2006: xv, 100) and portrayed Fanon as an outdated remnant of sixties protest who is only of interest to contemporary radicals on the fringes of college towns. Even when they provide a corrective to studies of Southern honor that ignore the links between Southern pride, whiteness and the shaming of black bodies (Cohen, Vandello, Rantilla 1998), sweeping histories of honor and shame in the Western world can omit to mention Fanon’s (1967: 169-178) warnings about Western business and its taste for light-skinned, ‘half-breed girls’ and ‘cut-price boys’ who were racialized as black. For example, Leverenz’s (2012) broad study of race and shame in American history, which focuses on the links between pride in a ‘light skin color’ and the shaming of blackness, does not reflect the more nuanced discussions of colorism, caste and tokenism with which the ‘children of Fanon’ have addressed the diversity of blackness and endeavoured to shift the geography of Eurocentric reason. Aside from its Manichean reliance on a dark/light binary, Leverenz’s study draws on Huntington’s ‘Clash of Civilizations’ in order to suggest that Barack Obama and other prominent blacks are evidence of a shift in American pride – from pride in a ‘light skin color’ to a defence of ‘Anglo-European culture’ and ‘the West’ after the end of the Cold War (Leverenz 2012: 6-7). It does not note the work of Fanon and other radical egalitarians who waged war against antiblack racism and had little time for liberal celebrations of non-racialism that guiltily paraded the
incorporation of some (light-skinned) blacks into a privileged caste of American politics (McNeil 2009).

**The woman of color and the white man**

In the rush to insert Fanon and Schuyler into contemporary debates about African American culture, multiracial identity, postcolonial theory, geopolitics, etc., we should not forget their creative responses to the problems and personalities of the early twentieth century. The career of Anaïs Nin, a creative artist with French, Spanish and Cuban roots, offered Schuyler a particularly powerful model for her own transformation into Felipa Monterro and the themes of sexuality, freedom and marriage that were so important in her fiction. Aside from their dependence of racist clichés about the ‘natural rhythm’ and ‘wild dancing’ of blacks, Nin’s diaries and erotic fiction professed a belief that women needed to use their sexual capital (‘pleasure, music, self-forgetting’) to repay the wisdom of white, European men, like her psychologist, Dr Rank (Nin 1967: 6). In his social psychology, Rank believed that art fulfilled a role in the negotiation of birth trauma (the violent separation from the mother) and prompted the need to unite with something or someone larger than the self. He also claimed that men could negotiate birth trauma within the so-called ‘masculine ideology’ of art and myth, while women could achieve a complete reproduction of the primal situation with pregnancy and parturition. In Nin’s diaries (1966: 291), Rank tells his most famous American patient: ‘when the neurotic woman gets cured, she becomes woman [or a mother]. When the neurotic man gets cured, he becomes an artist.’ In his own, unfiltered work, he proffers the following maxims: ‘the woman’s strength lies in her sex, the man’s in his creative will’; ‘she needs the man as a rational guide
through this man-made world’; ‘whereas man develops his psychology to protect himself by control (will), woman takes on his psychology from an opposite motive, that is, to lose herself, to give herself to him’ (Rank 1958: 256-8, 265, 284).

Fanon only provided one throwaway comment about Otto Rank in his published work, in which he wryly wondered noted the nostalgia for the past that animated Rank and others who spent their lives plotting mythic and classical tales in terms of masculine ideologies and birth traumas. Fanon’s primary concern was the construction of a healthier future in which artists would not assume that the essence of blackness could be found in the drums and primitive dancing of the Congolese jungle. Typically striking pieces of Fanon’s writing include his wry critique of the tales of adventure and heroism that feature white males venturing into the heart of Africa; his condemnation of Mayotte Capécia’s *Je suis Martiniquaise* for its creation of an ‘educated mulatto’ protagonist who ‘asks nothing, demands nothing, except a bit of whiteness in her life’; and his support for women in Algeria who could dress up as Western women without the ‘sensation of playing a role she has read about ever so many times in novels, or seen in motion pictures’ (Fanon 1967: 162, 52–53 n12; Fanon 1965: 50).

While Fanon’s work called for heroic work and a utopian commitment to collective struggle against anti-black racism and colonialism, messianic tales of heroes who served imperial masters informed Schuyler’s art in the 1950s and 60s. An avid consumer of movies, Schuyler was particularly influenced by the success of *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), the David Lean epic that won the best picture and best director Oscars at the 35th Academy Awards and explored the double consciousness of an Englishman and an Arab; *The Leopard*, a novel about Don Fabrizio Corbera, Prince of Salina, and the changes in Sicilian life and society during the *Risorgimento*, which was posthumously published in 1958 and was adapted into a film that won the 1963 Palm
d’Or from the Cannes film festival; and the James Bond series of books and films, which were created by a white Englishman in the neocolonial settings of Jamaica and were turned into a lucrative film series featuring a Scotsman with a mid-Atlantic accent. Lawrence of Arabia, the Sicilian prince and Commander Bond all offered Schuyler (1964b) examples of powerful white men who went into unknown lands and achieved the kinds of respect and admiration she desired in Congo if she ‘had been a man.’ In other venues I have considered Schuyler’s relationship to *The Leopard* and *Lawrence of Arabia* (McNeil 2009; 2013). In this chapter I will primarily use Schuyler’s engagement with Bond to connect her ideas about black primitiveness to her hopes of becoming a femme fatale who would honor and obey powerful white men.

**The shame of blackness**

Ian Fleming’s stories about James Bond first appeared at a time of anxiety in British life as Winston Churchill, its eloquent and imperialist leader during World War Two, suffered a major stroke and various foreign policy crises, such as the calamity of Suez, displayed the continuing decline of British military and imperial power. The Bond series imagines a robust hero who can resuscitate British power with the help of the US and the English-speaking nations of the Commonwealth – a heroic representative of the special relationship or Anglosphere that was most famously expressed by Churchill in his ‘Sinews of Peace Address’ at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, on March 5th, 1946. Although Churchill spoke of an alliance between English-speaking nations, the ‘special relationship’ was often used a euphemism for white leadership or ‘white blood’ guiding non-whites into an appreciation for law and order, good governance and security in the 1950s and 60s. To give three prominent examples: Sir Hugh
Trevor-Roper (1963: 871), Regius Professor of History at Oxford University, asserted that African history was the study of ‘unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant parts of the globe’; Sir Christopher Masterman (1965), the first British Deputy Commissioner for South India, promoted the idea that blacks had ‘no culture, no architecture, no written language’ and were desperately in need of Aristotelian ‘natural rulers’; and Austin Ferraz (1966), editor of The Sunday Mail of Salisbury, thought it was obvious that ‘out of the 20 million negroes in the US almost none have achieved anything and those who are claimed to have done so – like Ralph Bunche and Thurgood Marshall – are whiter than they are black’.

Drawing on his experiences as a student in European universities, an intelligence officer in the British armed forces and journalist with Reuters, Fleming’s novels also conveyed a concern about the ability of Africans to govern themselves. To give three more examples: black Jamaicans are depicted as kind and lazy ‘with the virtues and vices of a child’ in Dr No; in Quantum of Solace, Bond describes black Nigerians having ‘simple, kindly natures’ and knowing nothing about birth control; in Live and Let Die the black genius who threatens Bond has a ‘healthy dose’ of European blood. With that said, the Bond books did not simply assume that all non-white individuals were childish or evil. Although they were informed by racist ideologies that allowed Bond to dispatch individuals deemed ugly, they also involved stories in which Bond was willing to work with non-white individuals who seemed beautiful or friendly to European men (Synott 1990). Bond would, for example, dispatch the ugly, villainous Le Chiffre (a ‘Portuguese with a dash of Chinaman’), but he would protect Solitaire and other individuals who populated the ‘gray area’ between black and white races and were deemed beautiful by European men.
Schuyler adapted the racism and beauty mystique of the Bond novels when she hoped to become a Catholic writer and an exotic femme fatale. She chose to pass as an Iberian woman because she considered Portugal to be ‘the world’s only major nation, having a large non-white populace, to accord half-castes absolute equality with whites’, and reminded the readers of *Jungle Saints* that leading figures in Portugal’s parliament were married to individuals who were Chinese (Schuyler 1963a: 166, 168). Yet while Schuyler praised Portuguese men in Angola who were willing to acknowledge their attraction to non-white women and grant the children of interracial relationships absolute equality with whites, she also expressed her belief that blacks were ‘simple children of nature’. Drawing on the pseudo-scientific racism of eugenicists who contrasted the forceful personalities of Mediterranean ‘races’ with the ‘sexually conservative’ Anglo-Saxons or Nordics (Freyre 1946), Schuyler (1960a) praised Portuguese conservatives who were free of that ‘strained attempt to prove one is a liberal [by asserting the equality of blacks], so often to be seen in Anglo-Saxon countries’. In addition, she anticipated the romantic racism of poets and politicians who claimed that ‘emotion is Negro as reason is Greek’ (Senghor 1962), condemned what she considered the ‘awful’ characters and ‘primitive savagery’ of ‘pure blacks’ (Schuyler 1964, 1965b, 1966), and produced missives in keeping with the far-right John Birch society. Despite dropping the racial preservation aspect of right-wing defenders of ‘white civilization’ – the Racial Preservation Society (1965) believed that ‘ethno masochism’ involved the ‘active promotion of miscegenation’ that destroyed white nations and empires – Schuyler retained their homophobic beliefs about ‘deviant’ homosexuality as well as Fleming’s attempts to disentangle the ‘hearty homosociality’ of the British empire from the supposed ‘perversity’ of homosexuality. She argued that ‘[f]airies, weaklings, opportunists, climbers, avaricious money-grabbers, socialists and Reds [that] lost the Congo for the West’ (Schuyler 1962b), and offered
the following reflections on her failure to find a real-life Commander Bond while staying near a
British military base:

In Nicosia, [I] went and sat in a bar. Seven Englishmen were seated at the bar stools. I sat next to them for
ONE HOUR and not one of them cast ONE GLANCE at me! God, the difference between Englishmen and
Italians!
No Italian would leave me unlooked-at for one hour!
I went to bed, woefully convinced of my decline and failure as a femme fatale.
At dawn, I was awakened by some wild whooping out in the corridor. One of the Englishmen, who had the
room on my left, was running around the hall, shouting in purest Anglo-Saxon, to the two Englishmen who
had the room on the right. The language (!**%**) he used, and their replies, made it quite clear they were,
all seven of them, homosexuals!
No wonder the British have lost their empire!
They were all RAF officers too (Schuyler 1960c).

**Sex – and not of the nicest kind**

Fleming created Commander Bond as he contemplated his upcoming marriage on a
neocolonial estate in Jamaica that overlooked a private beach. The antics of his hero – perhaps
the most famous bachelor in the West – allowed Fleming one way to extend his own
bachelorhood and appeal to different classes of readers concerned about Britain’s declining role
in the world. He wanted the Bond novels to appeal to an ‘A’ readership, but he was also aware
that the republication of his books for the mass paperback market, and their serialization in
newspapers like The Daily Express and magazines such as Playboy, would attract different types

Based in Katanga for a musical recital when the region sued for independence and
precipitated a civil war in Congo that led to the death of Patrice Lumumba, the country’s first
democratically elected leader, Schuyler was also enlisted by conservative newspapers who hoped
to provide their readers with Bondian tales of adventure, intrigue and sex. Her creation of a
Bondian hero for southern Africa in plays and novels such as Evil Eville, The Demons of the
Jungle and The White Leopard of Katanga provide a vivid portrait of an artist anxious about
marriage and her position in the wider world. In what she considered her best work, Schuyler
drew on her experiences in the Congo in the hopes of appealing to readers who were tired of
‘thought books’ without alienating readers who could appreciate the sophistication and the
background of her stories (Schuyler 1963e).

Schuyler initially assumed that she would need to translate Congolese cities for an
American audience used to Westerns and simplistic morality plays. Her early dramas were set in
Elizabethville (aka ‘Evil Eville’), a frontier town in Congo ‘much like the [American] Wild
West’ (Schuyler 1962c: ix), in which the retreat of white power in Africa is thought to be a result
of ‘the white man’s Christian principles, and accordance of excessive liberty to his women,’
which are interpreted as weakness by blacks ‘who only respect strength’ (Schuyler 1962a: i). In
one revealing exchange between the two leading characters, Jack, the rugged hero from a
working-class background in northern Europe, demonstrates his contempt for the sanctimonious
views of Suzanne, a white British journalist writing for a paper that only worshipped the trinity
of ‘Money, Sex and the People’.

Suzanne: You’re just like the Portuguese. You think sex is everything. You think because you sleep with
the black, you don’t have to do anything else for them …
Jack: I’m not a snob like you English. I don’t have sex and then pretend I didn’t
Suzanne: Sure, you’re proud of it. I’ll bet you’ve got mulatto bastards from here to Kolwezi.
Jack: Maybe I have!
Suzanne: I’ll bet you wouldn’t marry a black girl.
Jack: Maybe I will. I’ll marry Gigi …
Suzanne: She’s a prostitute. She does it for money … You’d marry a prostitute!
Jack: You are too. You prostitute your mind, she prostitutes her body …
Suzanne: How dare you insult me in this way? I’m an intellectual.
Jack: You write for that rag … and you prostitute your pen writing for it (Schuyler 1962c: 3-1-16).

Schuyler’s later novels set in Congo had similar verbal jousting between Suzanne and
Jack, but they also contained scenes in which Jack ordered Suzanne out of a car so that they
could have brutal sex like ‘animals’ and ‘primitive savages’ (Schuyler 1963b: 63).
He thrust into her brutally, with the same fierce pleasure with which he would kill an animal with a spear or knife. The sight of the blood that streamed down her legs inflamed him. He would have liked to drink it, to suck it from her. He was possessed by an insane pagan ardor. Even the black girls he had laid on this spot had not excited him to this sustained frenzy of sex. ... He hit her, with his hard, muscular right arm, to make her cry some more (Schuyler 1963b: 62).

To go further, Schuyler evoked novels in which Bond’s romantic conquests were said to enjoy his ‘sweet brutality’ and ‘semi-rape’ and claimed that Suzanne ‘rejoiced’ in such brutal lovemaking (Johnson 1958; Fleming 1962: 15). In portraying a female protagonist who enjoyed BDSM outside of marriage, Schuyler could join a community of female fans who read the Bond series in a potentially progressive manner as an alternative to mainstream novels and films in which an unmarried woman was considered a failure (Schuyler 1953; Bennett and Woolacott 1987; Halliwell 2007). Yet Schuyler could not entirely ignore the shaming practices of her male friends – from the sensitive British intellectual who was unwilling to carry contraceptives in his car so that he could have sex in public, to the married Dutchman who disapproved of her interest in sex outside of marriage (Talalay 1995: 156, 247–248; Schuyler 1960c, 1964b, 1965c) – and her novels end with Suzanne expressing shame and guilt about extra-marital sex, the possibility of an illegitimate baby, and her desire to carve out an independent existence as a creative artist. As much as Suzanne might dream of a life as ‘glorious and golden’ life as a female courtesan in Europe (evoking her namesake, Suzanne May, an infamous sex worker who travelled across the British Empire (Schuyler 1962c: 63)), she ends the book longing to marry Rik, a South African mercenary, who demands that she seeks happiness “by obedience, by lack of ambition, by abandoning one’s plans, by bowing to another’s will” – the will of “White Africa.” (Schuyler 1965a: 182, 194). As I discuss in the following section, such attempts to explore the limits of white female agency in an African context were also crucial to Schuyler’s demands for a
suitable husband and an ‘Aryan child’ – demands that reveal her failure to uphold the ideals of her parent’s ‘mulatto-minded’ milieu in New York in the 1930s.

**Why I don’t marry**

In 1950s, Schuyler sent letters home in which she discussed her reading of feminist texts from Simone de Beauvoir that refused to shame extra-marital sex or consider unmarried women to be failures. In 1958 Philippa Schuyler penned an article for *Ebony* in which she talked about her life as a twenty-something artist who travelled the world but was unable to find her ideal man. Tired of overbearing men who were unwilling to accept her constant travelling as a concert pianist and wanted to keep her in a box as a ‘slave’ (Schuyler 1958), Schuyler hoped to meet a man who would support her career. He would be,

> temperate, charming, intellectual, sweet, affectionate, humanitarian, well-read, never cruel or unjust, never shrewd or conniving, never dissipated or brutal, with high moral standards of honesty, purity and unselfishness, never gambling or improvident, not neurotically insecure or super-critical, but he must be kind and sincerely religious, always looking to God as the true guide and arbiter of human affairs … [I’d] like him to be a doctor, writer, poet, scientist, social worker, archaeologist or missionary, someone who brings good to society, not working merely for selfish gain for himself (Schuyler 1958).

Five years later, Schuyler wrote a letter to her mother in which she replaced her desire for a doctor and missionary (a la Albert Schweitzer) for a European aristocrat (à la Bond):

> What counts is not … whether all people are free and prosperous everywhere. What counts is whether I can be successful … what do I care whether women are nuclear physicists or ambassadors in a country. I’m an artist!

AND I LIKE MEN TO PAY FOR THINGS … I don’t WANT TO PAY FOR THINGS. (I can’t anyhow) …

> What I WANT is to spend my life in fine hotels, being courted by noblemen and the rich, being successful in my art, and having everything paid for by people other than myself (Schuyler 1963c).
Last but not least, Schuyler drew up a checklist for her prospective husband in her notebook in 1964:

I. He must be white
II. He must be European
III. He must be able to confer on me a nationality I like (Schuyler 1964a) …

Maurice Raymond, a ‘cosmopolitan’ man from France, fulfilled Schuyler’s romantic fantasy because she thought that he combined northern European ‘cultural superiority’ with the ‘vital force’ of ‘earthy’ southern European folks who were closer to Africa. Even when Schuyler worried about Raymond’s intellectual abilities because he came from a working-class background in Lyon, she found solace in his ‘Aryan looks’:

He is the most Aryan man I have ever known – his mother came from near the German border – so perhaps she had some German ancestry … Imagine – if we had a child it could be perfect – because it could have:
His green eyes
… His Aryan appearance
My talent
NO NEGRITUDE (1963d).

Just as Schuyler’s desire for the ‘Aryan man’ like Raymond suggests her failure to uphold the ‘mulatto-minded’ culture of her parents in 1930s New York, her refusal to marry or have a child with a ‘colored man or an African’ suggests her unwillingness to raise a child that might be classed as a ‘Negro child prodigy’ (Schuyler 1966). Following an affair with George Apedo-Amah – someone who upheld the honor of European culture as a member of the French delegation to the United Nations and the European Economic Community, but did not have a ‘light skin tone’ – Schuyler could only admit that she loved Apedo-Amah’s ‘personality’. She could not tolerate his ‘nationality’ (a euphemism for his ‘blackness’ (Schuyler 1965c)) and, after their relationship led to an unplanned pregnancy, Schuyler travelled around the world searching
for a doctor who would perform a late-term abortion. In a letter to her mother, Schuyler once again turned to a literary form of self-fashioning in order to explain her decision by evoking Nella Larsen’s *Quicksand*, one of the most famous novels of the Harlem Renaissance. In the words of Schuyler:

Why bring more Negroes into the world? They have their nice side but somehow Negritude just seems to go round and round in circles – and one can’t deny that it’s better for a child to start life in the white world. I wouldn’t even mind having an illegitimate child if I could be sure it would be good looking. All civilizations are brutal – but some are also artistic … I will not marry a colored man or an African … [I will marry] a white man of European stock, but not a resident European … [who has] a virile male force vitale (Schuyler 1966).

In the words of Helga Crane, the mixed-race protagonist of Nella Larsen’s 1928 novel, who finds herself to be always a little different and always a little dissatisfied on her travels around the USA and Denmark:

Why add more suffering to the world? Why add more unwanted, tortured Negroes to America? Why do Negroes have children? Surely it must be sinful. Think of the awfulness of being responsible for the giving of life to creatures doomed to endure such wounds to the flesh, such wounds to the spirit, as Negroes have to endure? (Larsen 1928: 103)

**Fanon again?**

I conclude by turning back to Fanon, but not only because his support for the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Congress of Negro Writers in Paris in 1956 and other attempts to oppose forms of Western colonialism and neocolonialism by increasing Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation, serves as an important counterpoint to Schuyler’s personal and professional support for the imperial goals of Europeans and Americans in southern Africa and southeast Asia in the 1950s and 60s. Aside from using Fanon’s work as a critical rejoinder to
Schuyler’s conception of individual success within a Eurocentric civilization during the Cold War, I draw on postcolonial critics who claim a living Fanon for our present conjuncture (Gilroy 2000: 78; Gilroy 2010: 155; Gibson 2011). In short, I use Fanon to challenge writers who excuse Schuyler’s racism as par for the course ‘for her time’ (as if an anti-racist groups can be erased from the 1950s and 60s), and note Fanon’s continuing relevance for writers who dream of radical change that goes well beyond the incorporation of some non-white individuals into powerful political positions and Eurocentric cultures in the overdeveloped Western world.

*Good Men Die*, an account of Schuyler’s time as a war correspondent in Vietnam was published posthumously after her death in a helicopter mission intended to help Catholic nuns evacuate a number of Vietnamese children from a combat zone. In the book Schuyler took aim at a specific form of American racism that ‘place[d] obstacles in place of a soldier marrying a Vietnamese girl’ (1967: 132), remained focused on what might happen to ‘strong and sensitive … half-castes … [who] when unattached to or unassimilated by [a Western] society … can become violently vocal leaders,’ and, once again, idealized the French.

> The French tackled this problem with Gallic rationality; they did not avoid it with a narrow refusal to tackle the facts. They granted French citizenship to a half-caste child whose French father admitted paternity, even if the man did not marry the girl. This is more just and certainly more humane. Why should a child’s life be ruined? Why should his only heritage be one of misery and shame? (Schuyler 1967: 196-7. Emphasis added)

Such investment in the honor of European culture and a ‘light skin tone’ is radically different to Fanon’s indictment of European colonialism and anti-black racism in *Wretched of the Earth* and *A Dying Colonialism*. On the one hand, Schuyler (1967: 196) longed to help the Vietnamese ‘bar-girls’ and the children of their relationships with American men by asserting the honor of a Western identity. On the other hand, Fanon (1967: 227) identified with the Indo-Chinese who
went into battle against European colonizers they blamed for the explosion in ‘cut-rate boys and women,’ and shamed the United States of America as a ‘monster, in which the taints, the sickness and the inhumanity of Europe had grown to appalling lengths (Fanon 1968:252).

Rather than repeat large amounts of biographical material that Fanon found suspect (he preferred histories that shook the people into developing a new social order to biographical reflections that only allowed authors to re-invent their past in, for example, the complicated matrix of colonial desire that influenced family romances (Read 1996, 162)), I have outlined two radically different responses to the ways in which European culture and light skin tone have been valorized as part of Western honor codes and the shaming of black cultures during the Cold War. For whereas Fanon reminds us that shame of a specific and limited sort can be used to motivate a pursuit of valuable ideals against American and European racism, Schuyler reminds us about the ways in which artists could try to escape the shame associated with blackness (and colonialism) by emphasizing their fidelity to Eurocentric cultures, white skin tones and Western honor.

In a post-Cold War period, James Bond continues to enjoy the company of beautiful non-white colleagues on our screens, and an American society incorporates more non-white figures into a privileged caste in order to add multicultural gloss to imperial projects. Critiques of such neoliberal and neocolonial projects call for nuanced historical accounts that are sensitive to continuity and change rather than sweeping statements about the end of history, or the end of racially based codes of honor and shame (Gilroy 200: 21, Gilroy 2010: 176). They encourage us to talk more, not less, about the similarities between our own codes of honor and shame and the existential choices made by Schuyler, Fanon during the Cold War. For while their reflections about race and culture speak to the anxieties and influences of their generation, they do not
always seem anachronistic in a post-Cold War context. Over forty-five years after her passing, the rugged individualism of Schuyler is not out of keeping with forms of neoliberalism and neocolonialism that ask individuals to get on their bikes and create new, entrepreneurial selves that can take on various racial and post-racial masks (Goldberg 2009). Over fifty years after his passing, Fanon’s work also seems contemporary for writers who wish shame the contradictions and confusions of neoliberal universalism and neocolonial governance. In our digital age the past is not dead. It is not even covered up with a white piece of paper.
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