3-24-2018

Good Catholic, Bad Catholic: Emil Antonucci, Vito Acconci, and the Incarnational Conscious

Ciaran Freeman
Santa Clara University, cfreeman@scu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/lib_ugrad_research

Part of the History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/lib_ugrad_research/1

This Research Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Library Undergraduate Research Award by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact rscroggin@scu.edu.
What does the intersection of tradition and innovation look like? The redefinition of what can be considered religious art in a contemporary society is at the forefront of conversation in the art world. This debate captures the attention of those influencing the discourse of art and art history. In just a few short weeks Amal Clooney, Rihanna, and Donatella Versace will host art and fashion’s most extravagant annual event: the Met Gala. The fundraising event for the Anna Wintour Costume Center accompanies the blockbuster exhibition “Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination.” Papal couture will be shown alongside fashion from the 20th century next to work from the Met’s permanent collection of Byzantine and Medieval art.\(^1\) The Vatican is currently working with the Andy Warhol Museum to exhibit the artist’s work in 2019.\(^2\) Art historians have similarly re-contextualized the work of Josef Albers considering him a ‘sacred modernist.’\(^3\) Although current, this conversation is not new. Like all art, religious art has always been and always will be in a state of constant evolution.

Yet, we wonder, how has the Catholic imagination made itself manifest in visual art? In “Postmodern Heretics” art historian Eleanor Heartney argues that the Catholic Imagination is uniquely informed by what she calls an incarnational conscious—a consciousness deeply rooted in Catholic theology, dogma, and culture.\(^4\) Not exclusive to secular art, this consciousness can be recognized in the ornamental illustrations of contemporaneous mid-century Catholic periodicals.

Comparing graphic design by Emil Antonucci for Jubilee and Commonweal, to the body art of

---


Vito Acconci\(^5\) I will explore the synergy between secular and religious artwork rooted in an incarnational conscious.

However, before focusing on Antonucci’s illustrations, I will briefly examine the concept of an incarnational conscious. Incarnational consciousness comes out of the central tenants of the Catholic faith. Like most religions, Catholicism lives within a constant state of paradox—many of it’s mysteries exist beyond the scope of the human imagination. The Trinity forms the primary mystery of the faith: a single deity made up of three parts. The Church understands Jesus Christ as both fully man and fully divine. His corporeal reality informs the emphasis on carnality in the Catholic imagination. At the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, the central ritual of the faith, Catholics consume what they believe to be the flesh and blood of their savior. Through the process of Transubstantiation the bread and wine become divine species. Borrowing from the work of Catholic sociologists and theologians, Heartney cites an analogical as opposed to dialectical imagination as a distinguishing factor separating the Catholic and Protestant worldviews, “analogically thinking Catholics assume a God who is present in the world, and thus tend to view the world and human society, as inherently good and Godlike.”\(^6\) If there is a deity present in the world, than Catholics experience God through their physical bodies. For example, Bernini’s “Ecstasy of St. Teresa” visually depicts the Catholic saint, mystic, and sixteenth century Carmelite nun’s experience of God through the bodily function of an orgasm (see figure 1). The manifestation of God’s love as experienced through the body exists at the core of the Catholic imagination. It forms the incarnational conscious.

---

\(^5\) Vito Acconci, b. New York, 1940, serves as an interesting case study for this paper due to his relative ethnic, generational, and geographic proximity to Antonucci. He also has an extensive background in Catholic education graduating from Regis High School in New York City as well as the College of the Holy Cross in Worchester, Massachusetts.

\(^6\) Heartney, *Postmodern Heretics*.
We can look at the history of this consciousness to better understand it. Eric D. Perl’s essay “…That Man Might Become God,” examines theological issues present in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods. In order to understand their art, we must first understand the world views of those who made, funded, and appreciated it. Analyzing the theories of Saint Maximos Confessor (ca. 580-662), Pearl writes:

By becoming man, God makes man God, and thus enables man, and in man all creation, to achieve the end for which he is made, which is nothing less than to become God: to be, by the gift of God, all that God is in himself. As Saint Athanasios (ca. 295-373) said, following a still earlier tradition, “He became man in order that we might become God.” This “becoming God” is what the Byzantines refer to as theosis, or deification. Because this total union with God is the content of Tradition, it is the touchstone for all theology… All theology is aimed at preserving the possibility of man’s becoming God through God’s becoming man.\(^7\)

The Christological question of Christ’s humanity and divinity created a primary concern of the early Church. It was the principle theological question for much of Church history. This theological question roots itself deeply within the Catholic worldview through the notion of an incarnational conscious.

Fast forward centuries and what does this mean for Catholics in the modern world? In 1942, publishing lecture notes under the pseudonym of Didymus in Commonweal Magazine, W. H. Auden outlined his vision for Christian artists. In a recent Lenten reflection, Griffin Oleynick unpacks this vision:

Auden suggests a new task for Christian art… he argues that poetry and painting must instead hold a mirror up to our fragile selves and show us who we really are. Art thus becomes not a series of grand public gestures but rather a slow interior journey, a “process of discovery” by which we may gradually come to discard our tightly held illusions about ourselves and the world. Only then are we able to

---

embrace the moral freedom that each of is given freely by God. It is a quieter, humbler understanding of the role of art and the artist in society.\(^8\)

The Christian artist from the modern perspective must be interior. They connect themselves, their humanity, to the world around them. With the influence of the incarnational conscious it makes sense that art influenced by the Catholic imagination would use the body as a vessel to communicate ideas about what it means to be human. Heartney does a tremendous job arguing the role of the incarnational conscious in postmodern American art looking at the works of those at the center of the cultures wars of the late 20\(^{th}\) century. She examines the work of “postmodern heretics,” that is, artists influenced by the Catholic imagination whose work pushes the boundaries of what can be considered religious art—artists like Andy Warhol, Vito Acconci, Robert Mapplethorpe, David Wojnarowicz, Andres Serrano, Ana Mendieta, Janine Antoni, and others. In America, the Catholic intellectual tradition is well recorded through print journalism. Is it possible to find synergy between the art that ornaments these pages and these postmodern heretics?

Emil Antonucci was a 20\(^{th}\) Century graphic designer based out of New York City most famous for the Four Seasons logo which he designed in 1959. (see figure 2) He ran in progressive Catholic circles, working closely with the poet Robert Lax. Lax studied with Thomas Merton and Edward Rice at Columbia in New York City.\(^9\) They would later go on to create Jubilee Magazine “a Catholic magazine with a pictorial format and a commitment to the Church’s social teachings”\(^10\) with Rice at the helm. As an editor at \textit{Jubilee}, Lax recruited Antonucci to create visuals for the increasingly image-focused publication. In addition to


\(^9\) Merton’s account of his transition from reckless youth at Columbia to Trappist monk and Christian mystic, can be found in his memoir \textit{The Seven Story Mountain}.

working together at Jubilee, Antonucci created illustrations for Lax’s poetry at The Hand Press and then later at Journeyman Press. Antonucci’s work thrived within the context of the Church, “Catholicism appealed to Antonucci for how it connected the physical and spiritual worlds, but also framed the purpose of his art and design… ‘I see the way art works as an analog of God’s presence in the world.’” Clearly, Antonucci subscribes to an analogical imagination. He assumes a God who is present in the world.

The question of what modern religious art could or should look like was deeply rooted in the ethos of Jubilee. As a pictorial magazine the editors took imagery and art seriously. They had a responsibility to connect the Church and the contemporary world through art in print. Their audience met this effort to establish contemporary religious art in their pages with both support and hesitation. Throughout its history the editors published letters from readers about the art in the magazine under headlines such as “the Art Controversy,” “Art…,” and “Art Critic’s Dept.” In these letters Jubilee’s audience voiced their opinions about the magazine’s art. In one memorable letter from June, 1955 a F. X. Reilly from Chicago, IL writes “I want to add my voice to those who have protested against Jubilee’s art work. It looks like an eight year old child done it…” Ed Rice published his response immediately beneath this letter, “See pages 22-33 for more Jubilee art work, it was done by an eight year old child. —Ed.” In that issue Jubilee published an illustration done by a child, (see Figure 3) pushing the debate of what could be considered art forward, in what can only be considered a playful Duchamp-ian fashion.

The editors of Jubilee had a vested interest in pushing both art and religion forward. How did Antonucci use the newfound freedom of a modern religious art tradition in combination with

---

an incarnational conscious? For “The Church: One of a Series” (see Figure 4) Antonucci designed a full page spread to accompany a quotation by Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, a seventeenth century French Bishop, writer and orator. In this spread he depicts the Church in accordance with the Catholic intellectual tradition that Bossuet articulates. Five simple block prints of a human contour with arms outstretched fill the pages to their bleeds. The blue, black, and brown, figures mirror the traditional image of Christ on the Cross. Antonucci presents the Church visually in union with Christ’s body. We are the Church, we are Christ’s body—the Church is Jesus Christ spread and communicated. This understanding as expressed through the body is incarnational conscious made manifest. In another full page spread for Jubilee, Antonucci again taps into the incarnational conscious depicting Pentecost, (see Figure 5) when after the resurrection the Holy Spirit enters the apostles and empowers them to go forth and share the gospel. In that moment they create the Church. The homily by Saint John Chrysostom, an early Church father, published in Jubilee states that “this day earth has become heaven for us… by the Apostles ascending to heaven through the grace of the Holy Spirit which has poured abundantly and has transformed the whole world into heaven.” The theological debates from Byzantium, outlined by Pearl earlier in this essay, continue to inform the Catholic imagination well into the 20th Century. The figures in the Pentecost illustration are geometric, high contrast, and abstracted—reminiscent of Matisse’s cutouts. They mirror the de-classicizing trend that can be found in waves throughout the canon of Christian art.

Antonucci uses his analogical imagination formed by an incarnational conscious when his work is explicitly religious, but what about with secular topics? His work often extended beyond just religious material ornamenting the opinions published in Commonweal Magazine, on a number of topics. To understand his contributions we must first take a moment to understand
the unique publication in which they are found. In 1963 the editors provided an answer to the often asked question “what is Commonweal?”

As a lay edited magazine Commonweal has no “official” status within the Church. It cannot speak for the Church nor can it pretend to claim that its editorial views represent even an unofficial consensus. It is a ‘Catholic publication’ only in the sense that its editors are Catholic lay men whose judgments are informed by their dedication to their religious convictions… it [Commonweal] does not represent the Catholic position, but only a Catholic position.  

This response would become a back-of-the-magazine advertisement urging readers to subscribe. As a journal of opinion, Commonweal publishes writings from a Catholic position for, as their name suggests, the general good. Commonweal Catholics, as they are affectionately known, are a certain breed of well educated religious men and women with interests in art, literature, theater, politics, and policy making. Skimming through the archives you will find work published by Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, Daniel Berrigan, Reinhold Niebuhr, Eugene McCarthy, Howard Zinn, Walker Percy, Eldridge Cleaver and more. With the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960, Catholics (predominately ethnic whites) had finally reached a place of comfortable mainstream assimilation in the United States. Pope John XXIII, reigning 1958-1963, encouraged the laity to look at the Church and the world critically, essentially affirming the work Commonweal had been doing since its inception in 1924. In 1965, Martin Luther King Jr. marched in Selma, Johnson escalated the war in Vietnam, and Pope Paul VI closed the Second Vatican Council. These pivotal events dominated the pages of Commonweal.

---

With Antonucci’s 1965 redesign of the magazine, illustrations began ornamenting the ideas put forth in print. The clear link between his graphics and major topics covered by the magazine in this period offers a framework to understand ornament and the Catholic imagination.

Each pivotal moment from the tumultuous 1960s creates a case study from which we can understand incarnational conscious and ornament in the Catholic imagination.

The late nineteen sixties would see the Vietnam war come to define two presidencies and an entire generation of baby boomers. *Commonweal* initially supported US involvement in Vietnam before staunchly opposing it beginning in 1965. In his history of the magazine Roger Van Allen writes,

> The same kind of shift in editorial viewpoint on the war that had occurred in *The Commonweal* occurred also in *Christianity and Crisis* and the *Christian Century*, both of which had supported early U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia to prevent it from falling to communism. The neo-evangelical *Christianity Today* and the Jesuits’ *America* continued to support the war. In the fall of 1967 while *America* was supporting the war “to prevent 17 million Vietnamese from being swallowed up by a voracious and aggressive communism,” *Commonweal* was supporting the escalation of dissent to the level of civil disobedience “in the tradition of Thoreau.”

The May 7, 1965 issue of the magazine lead with a feature on the war by Julian Pleasants titled “Gas Warfare: Reflections on a moral outcry.” Antonnuci’s simple illustration of helicopter hovering over guerilla fighters in tall grass, adorns the cover (see Figure 6).

Pleasents’ essay explores the idea of chemical warfare as a more humane option than the atom bomb, falling into a particular thread of the Catholic intellectual tradition known as just war theory. The just war tradition in Christian ethics traces back to the fourth century

---

with Saint Augustine; with the symbiotic relationship between warfare and advancements in technology it is a endlessly evolving philosophical tradition.\textsuperscript{18} The incarnational conscious central to the Catholic imagination presents itself in the just war tradition. Thomas Aquinas, who stressed the Incarnation as the central truth of Christianity,\textsuperscript{19} outlines the justifications for war in \textit{Summa Theologiae} (1265/66-1273).\textsuperscript{20} In his illustration Antonucci draws attention to the corporeality of war—the effect it has on bodies. The helicopter looms over the figures, which we presume are Vietcong but are not distinguished as such. In the illustration that accompanies the piece in the magazine the figures are black and face the helicopter (see Figure 7). In contrast, the figures in the cover image are white and facing away from the helicopter. It is not clear who is enemy or ally, if either are one, the other, or both. As a result of the incarnational conscious Antonucci exhibits concern not only American bodies, but also those of the Vietnamese. The Jesuit priest and Academic, William J. Byron, describes human dignity as the bedrock principle of Catholic Social Teaching.\textsuperscript{21} With concern for the body, Antonucci highlights this radical notion of human dignity through ornament.

At around the same time, similarly to Antonucci, another first generation Italian American from New York, began making work inspired by the Vietnam War with an incarnational conscious. In the late 1960s and early 1970s Vito Acconci pioneered body art. Body art, by the nature of its title, concerns the body. It should come as no surprise that this evolution in art came at the time it did, when dead and mangled bodies were being brought home

\textsuperscript{19} Heartney, \textit{Postmodern Heretics}, 10.
\textsuperscript{20} Johnson, ”Just War.”
from South East Asia in massive numbers. As America saw a century earlier, war has a unique way of bringing the body to the forefront of the artistic imagination. In “Trademarks” (1970), Acconci bit himself all over to the point of leaving marks. (see Figure 8) In “Conversions,” also 1970, he performed a number of actions on film, such as burning his chest hair, pushing the flesh on his chest together to form breasts, and tucking his penis between his thighs. (see Figure 9) He actively questions ideas about the body and gender—ideas about his humanity and its relationship to his body. Can he make himself woman? What are the confines of his body? The self-afflicted pain in these actions often mirror Medieval piety and self flagellation. An interesting comparison can be made to that of the stigmata—a phenomenon in Christian mysticism wherein bodily marks, scars, or pains corresponding to Christ’s appear on the mystic. St. Francis of Assisi famously bore miraculous wounds in the palms of his hands. Padre Pio, an Italian Saint, pictured above, experienced the stigmata in the twentieth century. Beyond the visual parallels, is there merit in looking at Acconci’s work within the context of the Catholic imagination? Many scholars read his Avant-Garde early work through lenses of transgression, sadomasochism, and second wave feminism. Conversely, Acconci contends that his work is about vulnerability:

In a time when everybody is talking about finding oneself, how do you find yourself? I wanted to do it as literally as possible. How do I prove that I’m concentrating on myself? I prove it by doing something physical. I can bite myself. I can burn the hair off my chest. The goal? Yes, I have a body. I have this thing that people call the self. Maybe I can change the self. [laughs] Maybe I can pull at my breast in a kind of futile attempt to develop a woman’s breast. It’s not that simple to become a woman. But I think what was important, when I think back on that work, is something like The Little Engine That Could. It’s me saying, I think I can, I think I can. Though I’m doing something I obviously can’t, it’s the process toward it that is important. The will toward it, the effort . . . My
work was about getting to a place that you couldn’t get to. I also wanted to make myself vulnerable.\textsuperscript{22}

With this understanding, Acconci is \textit{holding up a mirror to his fragile self, to show us who he really is}. The slow interior process of Christian artists, that W. H. Auden outlined in \textit{Commonweal}, presents itself as the core of Acconci’s work.

Acconci’s early work was a product of its time. He often considers it reactionary to the social upheavals of the 1960s.\textsuperscript{23} In addition to protests against the Vietnam war that period saw radical change brought forth in social movements supporting the rights of workers, black people, Native Americans, women, etc. In 1964 Bob Dylan sang “The Times They are a Changing” for the first time, those lyrics would continue you to ring true well into the next decade. For America as a whole the 1960s were tumultuous—for American Catholics this proved especially true. The archive of \textit{Commonweal Magazine} provides us with an excellent trove of information regarding how (some) American Catholics processed the times that were changing. Circling back to the work of Emil Antonucci, we can use his ornamental illustrations within the magazine to better understand the Catholic imagination in this period.

With the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) the Catholic Church itself underwent radical change. This change, and its coverage, deeply impacted the work of \textit{Commonweal Magazine}. Antonucci appears to have two ways of ornamenting council related material, representing the Church with either architecture or the figures that make up her body. On the cover of the January 12, 1966 issue above the feature article by Hans Kung, “What Has the Council Done?” we see a sketch of St. Peter’s Basilica. (see Figure 10) The iconic architecture of the instantly recognizable building symbolizes where the power lies within the Church. Yet his

\textsuperscript{23} Heartney, \textit{Postmodern Heretics}, 54.
alternative way of ornamenting Council articles through figures becomes much more interesting in the parameters of this paper. A special issue of the magazine, titled “The Council: the Fourth Session” dated September 24, 1965, includes cover art with an abstracted figurative pattern (see Figure 11). A series simple circles attached to geometrically abstracted vestments form rows of isocephalic bishops. This style is reminiscent of Byzantine mosaic work, such as the Mosaic of Emperor Justinian and his Retinue, from the apse of San Vitale, Ravenna, c. AD 546–7 (Figure 12). Again, like he did at Jubilee, Antonucci uses conventions from the canon of Christian art with a modern style to create something both classic and contemporary, traditional yet innovative. His use of figures to represent the Church again highlights an incarnational conscious. Catholics collectively, are the Church—in the Apostles Creed they declare their belief in “the Communion of Saints.” According to the Catholic Encyclopedia the Communion of Saints is, “the spiritual solidarity which binds together the faithful on earth, the souls in purgatory, and the saints in heaven in the organic unity of the same mystical body under Christ its head.”

Although in Antonucci’s cover art illustration he depicts bishops at the council, in another he includes the laity. Accompanying the feature article, “Pope John’s Revolution: Secular or Religious?” from December 16, 1965, Antonucci provides us with a take on the classic papal image (Figure 13). The pontiff embraces the crowds forming in front of St. Peter’s from high above, an iconic image burned into the minds of anyone who has watched televised coverage of a papal conclave, Ron Howard’s “Angels and Demons,” or HBO’s “The Young Pope.” In accordance with his soft modern style, Antonucci presents a hastily sketched dark silhouette of Pope John in front of an abstracted crowd representing the faithful. Here, he visually connects the hierarchy of the Church to the laity. Again the Communion of Saints links

---

to the mystical body of the Church—further embracing the concept of an incarnational conscious. The language and imagery is in accordance with a Catholic preoccupation with the body.

In the secular world the body played an instrumental role in politics throughout the 1960s. Sit-ins, walk-outs, hunger strikes, and marches formed protests that used the body as a political weapon. In March of 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. led the Selma to Montgomery March which helped lead to the 1965 passing of the Voting Rights Act. As a major current event this march, as well as the general protest culture of the 1960s was covered in *Commonweal* with illustrations by Antonucci to accompany. The April 2, 1965 issue of the Magazine with the headlining feature titled, “Meanwhile, in Mississippi,” showcases an Antonucci illustration of figures in protest. (see Figure 14). The non-gendered contoured bodies hold up rectangular signs, creating the abstraction of a protesting crowd. The following weeks issue contained two reports from the scene one from Daniel Berrigan and another from Max L. Stackhouse. On the cover of that issue is Antonucci’s sketch of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (see Figure 15); another illustration of semi-abstract figures in protest goes along with Berrigan’s article (see Figure 16).

As Catholics processed the civil rights movements in the pages of *Commonweal*, Antonucci ornamented those ideas through distinctively figurative work. The struggle for justice exists at the core of Catholic Social Teaching based on a fundamental belief in the dignity of the human person. 25 With the figurative ornamental work, Antonucci highlights this dignity through an incarnational conscious. As the decade waned protest culture grew. In 1968 at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, protesters were famously met with violence and police brutality. 13,000 National Guard and federal troops were brought in to assist the Chicago police

---

25 Byron, “The 10 Building Blocks of Catholic Social Teaching.”
force at the tense convention. Thousands of dissenters came to Chicago in order to voice their opposition to the war and more. Television screens broadcast the confrontation between police and demonstrators. *Commonweal* provided coverage of police brutality at the convention accompanied by Antonucci’s illustrations in September of 1968 (see Figure 17). The sketches feature police, identified with badges and helmets, beating civilians with clubs. In another illustration three police pull one man from the crowd. Antonucci’s illustrations mirror the images broadcast through television screens. He is ornamenting an affront on the body politic—the individuals that make up the state. State violence against political actors is an affront democratic participation and human dignity. Figurative ornamentation in *Commonweal* communicates fundamental Catholic theology about the dignity of the human person through illustration rooted in an incarnational conscious.

Clearly, Acconci and Antonucci created work that functions in different ways. As a graphic designer Antonucci ornamented the publications that featured his art. His work is decorative, secondary to the thoughts and ideas published in writing on the same pages. It functioned to break up the page visually and interest the reader. Acconci, an Avant-Garde artist, was making work that pushed visual art forward. A trailblazer in the genre of body art, his work expanded notions about what art was, or better yet could be. Although their final products differ tremendously, the imagination at the core of their practices roots itself in the same incarnational conscious. The synergy of the two artists work, provides new insights into the Catholic imagination of the 20th century.
Bibliography


http://www.college.columbia.edu/cct_archive/may01/may01_feature_rice.html.


Appendix

Figure 1: Bernini “The Ecstasy of St. Teresa” (detail), 1647-52.
Figure 2: Four Seasons Logo, designed by Emil Antonucci, 1959.
Figure 3: “Mommy What’s Happened to Daddy” illustration in *Jubilee Magazine*, 1955.
Figure 4: “The Church One of a Series” Emil Antonucci, *Jubilee Magazine*, 1955.
Figure 5: “Pentecost” Emil Antonucci, *Jubilee Magazine*, 1955.
Figure 6: “Gas Warfare Cover” Emil Antonucci, Commonweal Magazine, 1965.
Figure 7: “Gas Warfare” Emil Antonucci, *Commonweal Magazine*, 1965.
Figure 8: “Trademarks” Vito Acconci, 1970
Figure 9: “Conversions” Vito Acconci, 1970
Figure 10: “St. Peter’s” Emil Antonucci, Commonweal Magazine, 1966.
Figure 11: “Bishops” Emil Antonucci, *Commonweal Magazine*, 1966.
Figure 12: Mosaic of Emperor Justinian and his Retinue, from the apse of San Vitale, Ravenna, c. AD 546–7
Figure 13: “Pope John XIII” Emil Antonucci, *Commonweal Magazine*, 1965.
Figure 14: “Meanwhile in Mississippi” Emil Antonucci, Commonweal Magazine, 1965.
Figure 15: “Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.” Emil Antonucci, *Commonweal Magazine*, 1965.
How are you to meet this violence with the ordinary love and compassion of an ordinary man or woman? It just can’t be done. OK. I’m glad I said it. It just can’t be done.” The answer is that those who are committed both to equal opportunity for the Negro citizen and to non-violent means of achieving this are not, in many respects, ordinary men and women. Hatred of the power structure and its incumbents erupts continually. Impatience with Negroes who refuse to risk more than

they have; disgust with whites who remain either indifferent or uninvolved; disillusionment with the Federal government which moves only ‘in extremis’: these are some of the factors which repeatedly plague those in the movement, tempting them to what might be called natural or ordinary bitterness, i.e., to violence of spirit. The miracle is that this so rarely takes the form of physical violence or bloodshed. Instead, it usually is turned in upon the person and the drama of absorbing

Figure 16: “Protest Figures” Emil Antonucci, Commonweal Magazine, 1965.
Figure 17: “Law and Order” Emil Antonucci, Commonweal Magazine, 1968.