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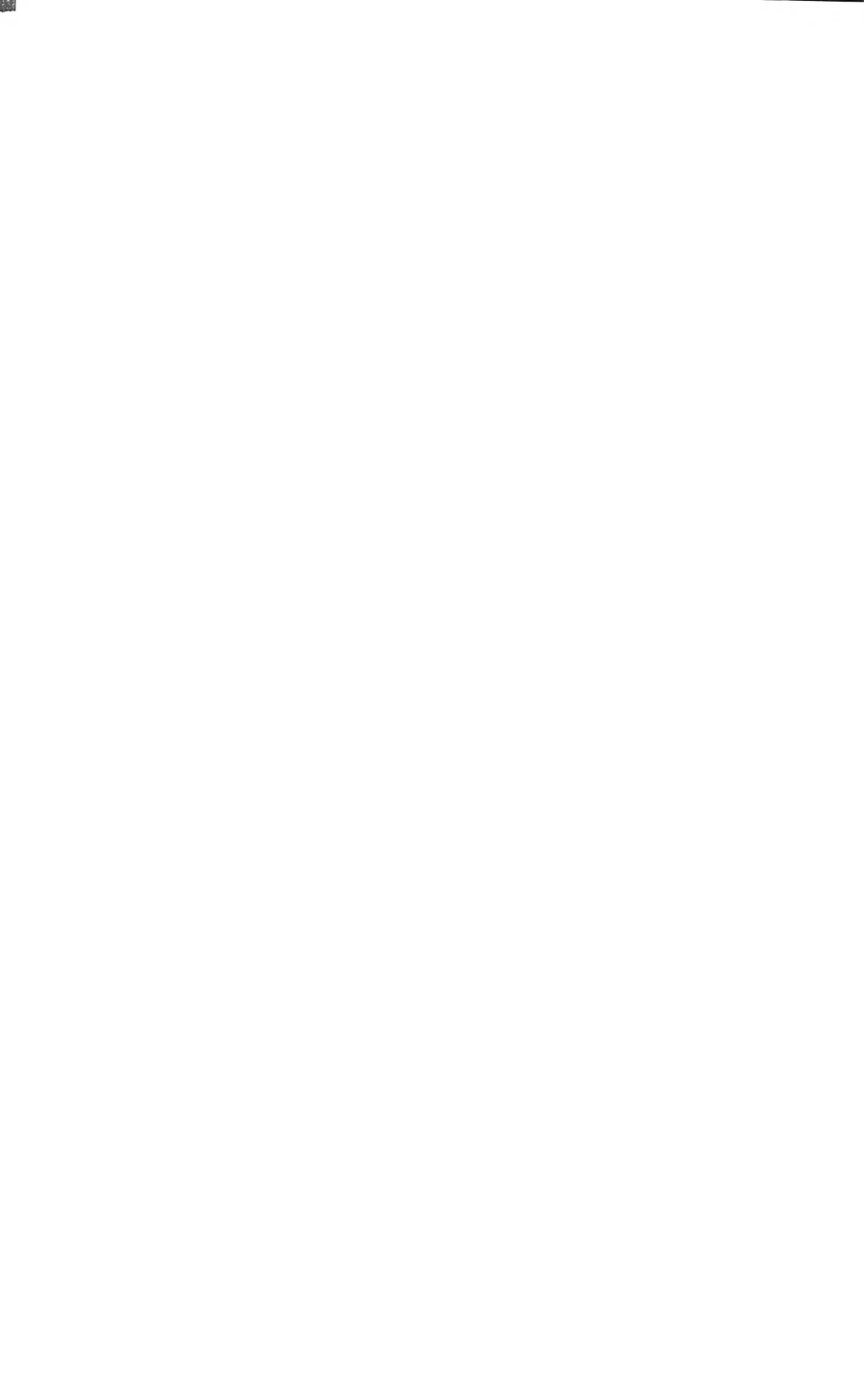
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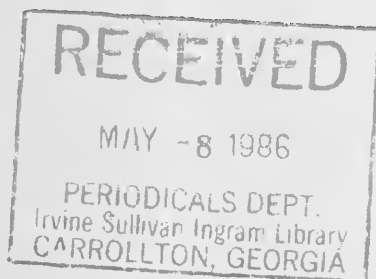
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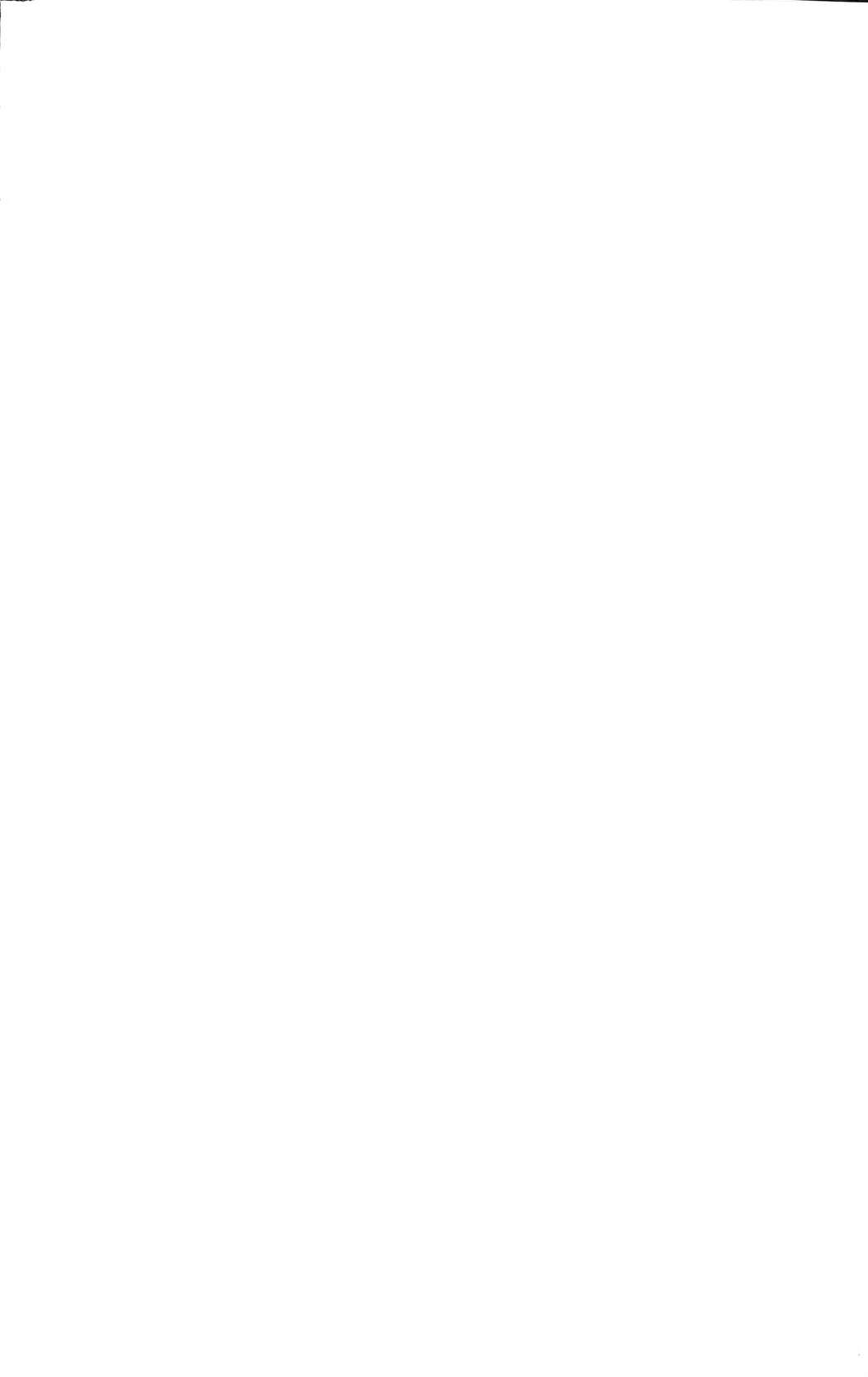


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WEST GEORGIA
COLLEGE
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL
SCIENCES
INVESTIGATING
NATURAL HAZARDS IN
LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Edited by

Robert H. Claxton





WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Volume XXV

1986

INVESTIGATING
NATURAL HAZARDS IN
LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

Robert H. Claxton
Volume Editor

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FOREWORD

History is more than the record of people interacting with other people. History also includes the impact of such non-human factors as diet, disease, insects, the availability or lack of mineral resources or arable soil and draught animals, technology, topography, fire, and natural hazards like weather, volcanic eruptions, and earthquakes. These factors establish limits within which people function but the non-human elements alone do not determine human behavior. The study of the role these non-human elements play is emerging as the specialty which Professor David Sweet (University of California, Santa Cruz) calls "Infra-History."

There is a certain irony in the fact that the United States is one of the safest places in the world. Even so, most case studies regarding the impact of natural hazards concern the United States. Hazard impacts are usually considered in isolation. Few people study hazard impacts in the contemporary Third World where the risks are greater and the populations are often more concentrated. There are still fewer studies anywhere from any historical perspective.

Significant hazard impacts are not simply an aspect of the distant past. Nicaragua provides recent examples. Resentment against the manner in which the Somoza government managed recovery from the 1972 Managua earthquake contributed to its fall to the Sandinistas in 1979. Extensive flooding in 1982 gave the revolutionary government additional reason to rely more heavily on the U.S.S.R. and its allies for assistance. There were several natural disasters in Latin America in 1985. Two—earthquake and volcanic eruption—diverted the energies of Mexico and Colombia away from the foundering Contadora peace initiative for Central America.

Natural hazards become natural disasters when people do not, or will not, understand how to cope with their environment. This volume is a modest attempt to contribute to that understanding. The documentation style in each essay reflects the standard practice in the academic discipline represented.

I wish to express appreciation to Shirley Tanner and Beth Currey for their assistance in the preparation and distribution of *Studies in the Social Sciences*.

Robert H. Claxton,
Editor

PREFACE

Three recent disasters in Latin America — the Mexican earthquakes of September 19th and 20th, the Puerto Rican mudslide of October 8th, and the Colombian volcanic eruption and mudslide of November 13th, all occurring in the Fall of 1985 — have once again called attention to the importance of natural hazards to this region of the world. The North American press has presented these disasters, so costly in human life and in damage to buildings, farms, and businesses, as a cruel blow to countries or regions already struggling against a burden of foreign debt, drug scandals, or severe unemployment. What the many excellent journalistic accounts of these tragedies often neglect to mention is the fact that earthquakes, mud avalanches, and other natural hazards, such as droughts, epidemics, floods, and hurricanes, have occurred repeatedly in Latin American history. Indeed, one of the constants in the past of the Latin American nations is the periodic occurrence of these devastating events.

The study of natural hazards is, therefore, the province of the historian, as well as of the journalist, and the practitioners of other present-oriented disciplines such as the geologist, the anthropologist, and the epidemiologist. However, historians rarely choose a disaster, or series of disasters, as the primary focus of their scholarship. Rather, they treat them as background to other topics or as an aggravating event. This volume of *Studies in the Social Sciences* seeks to rectify the lack of historical perspective on natural hazards in Latin America by presenting several analyses that focus on the hazards themselves and that offer data on their repeated occurrence over long periods of time. In addition, two of the essays offer models that may permit the prediction of hazards in the future.

“The *Matlazáhuatl* of 1737-8 in some villages in the Guadalupe Region” by Murdo MacLeod is a valuable study, because it resurrects the history of a lesser known colonial Mexican epidemic, the *matlazáhuatl* of 1737-8, and illustrates how our knowledge of these events is influenced by subjective considerations. Based on his analysis of the burial registers from several villages in the Guadalupe region, MacLeod concludes that the *matlazáhuatl* of the 1730s was the most deadly epidemic of the

century in these towns but that it was not remembered as such, partly because attitudes toward disease were different at that time than during the far better known epidemic of the 1780s. In the later period, when the government was seen as responsible for aiding victims, relief measures were taken and their relative inefficacy heightened popular awareness of the devastation of the epidemic. In arguing for the need to study how contemporaries themselves viewed epidemics, MacLeod suggests a new direction for demographic history. However, in stressing that epidemics affecting mainly Indians helped create a mestizo population in Mexico, MacLeod follows in the tradition of the Berkeley school.

Sam Adamo's "Order and Progress for Some — Death and Disease for Others: Living Conditions of Nonwhites in Rio de Janeiro, 1890-1940," enables us to compare the impact of disease in a modern, urban setting to its effect in the colonial, rural setting described by MacLeod. The number of similarities is significant and points to the usefulness of focusing on disease itself as the central subject of study. Although the degree of government intervention in the living conditions of the poor, such as the goal of providing adequate low cost housing, has been much greater in the twentieth century, the failure of half-hearted state efforts was common to both periods. Adamo has utilized an interesting variety of turn of the century reports to show that there was concern about poor housing and nutrition but that special interests frustrated the implementation of the remedies devised. Another similarity is the selective impact of disease. Just as Indians were primarily affected by matlazahuatl in colonial Mexico, Afro-Brazilians were the chief victims of the poor living conditions that fostered tuberculosis and gastroenteritis in Republican Brazil. Although the death rates due to these diseases declined for all socio-racial groups in the twentieth century, the decline was less for non-whites.

One reason that the importance of natural hazards to Latin American history has often not been recognized is the lack of information on the disasters that have occurred from the colonial period to the present. Jim Shirley's "Temporal Patterns in Historic Major Earthquakes in Chile," and Lawrence Feldman's "A Master List of Historic (pre - 1840) Earthquakes and Volcanic Eruptions in Central America," are, therefore, particularly welcome contributions to the literature, since they document the recurrence of these events for 300 years or more. With the help of

C. Lomnitz's catalog of major historic earthquakes in Chile, Shirley was able to identify more than 40, dating from 1570. With the benefit of this temporal perspective, he then concluded that the earthquakes' time of occurrence could be correlated with the position of the Moon and the Sun, provided the earthquakes were analyzed by grouping them according to Chile's four seismic regions. Quakes are caused by stresses in the Earth's crust, and the gravitational attractions of the Moon and Sun can produce these stresses. Shirley also notes the conclusions of J. Kelleher, who believed that seismic activity migrated from north to south in Chile in approximately 100-year cycles. Both conclusions demonstrate that earthquakes occur in a pattern. They do not permit precise prediction of the time or place of future earthquakes, but they do establish regularities that may ultimately lead to accurate predictions.

Lawrence Feldman's "Master List" provides a longer list of earthquakes for Central America than does Shirley for Chile, because Shirley limited himself to major disturbances, that is, quakes with magnitudes of at least 7.5. Feldman's essay, therefore, includes many small earthquakes and volcanic eruptions which are significant because of the impact even small disturbances had on local economies. His thorough index is derived primarily, though not exclusively, from the Archivo General de Centro-América and the Archivo General de Indias. Feldman has been concerned to use primary eyewitness accounts and to avoid the reliance of previous historians on colonial chronicles which are basically secondary accounts. He has recognized that the Spanish government's practice of granting tax relief and disaster funding to affected regions is a prime source of first hand information. Beginning with the volcanic eruption of 1505 in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala, Feldman's list covers over three centuries of archival references to 1830. His essay can serve as a model for similar lists for other regions.

"The 1970 Yungay Earthquake: Post-disaster Change in an Andean Province of Peru" by Anthony Oliver-Smith is a case study of a recent earthquake that raises significant questions about the impact of disasters in the context of sociological studies of change, such as the work of Allen Barton on the response of different types of communities and of Raymond Firth on the difference between social organizational change and social structural change. Thus, he provides a framework in addition to the history

of Latin America for the analysis of natural hazards. Another contribution is to identify areas of Latin American society where we might expect to observe disaster-induced change. In Yungay Indian peasants and small town *cholo* and mestizo entrepreneurs experienced upward mobility, due to the near destruction of the traditional *hacendado* and professional elite by the earthquake and rock slide. The barrio of Mitma, which had previously been subordinate to the barrio of Huambo now acted more independently. Oliver-Smith draws a contrast between these social organizational changes in the experience of particular groups and the persistence of the political and social structure in other respects. Thus, Oliver-Smith concludes that while the earthquake hastened the pace of social change and may have even more dramatic long term effects, it did not revolutionize regional society by any means. Oliver-Smith's thesis is persuasive and represents one historiographical approach to disasters: that by disrupting existing arrangements, natural hazards provide an opportunity for positive changes. Scholars familiar with disasters in earlier periods, however, more frequently take the approach that the disaster constituted a heavy drain on the resources of the region, and that far from contributing to development, retarded it.

The two final essays in this volume deal with disasters caused by meteorological variations, producing floods and drought. They too reveal the contrast in approaches between those who study contemporary disasters and those who focus on historical disasters. "The Bolivian Disaster Surveillance Data System," by Josephine Malilay, Patrick Marnane, and William Bertrand, describes a computer-based system developed to maximize relief to communities stricken by floods or drought by identifying the disaster in its early stages. The project, sponsored initially by USAID, was stimulated by the havoc wrought by the appearance of the El Niño current in 1981-82. It seeks to provide an "early warning system" for disasters underway rather than, as Shirley intended, to predict the appearance of the disaster itself. The meticulously designed information gathering plan shows the great progress that has been made in understanding the effects of disasters on rural Latin American communities. It also demonstrates a welcome confidence that the damage caused by natural hazards can be reduced to some extent. But, as the authors conclude, even this well-conceived project met the obstacles of community suspicion and incomplete local data. Like Oliver-Smith, the authors view natural

hazards as a reality in Latin America which can be coped with to some extent. Both essays also stress the impact of national patterns which are beyond the control of the affected local communities.

Robert Claxton's "Weather-Based Hazards in Colonial Guatemala" is a comprehensive historical overview of the impact of droughts and floods in that region. By noting the types of archival and non-documentary sources available, by presenting the droughts and floods of colonial Guatemala in Tables I and II, and by analyzing the relief measures and long term effects of these hazards, Claxton combines most of the approaches utilized by the other authors in the volume. The result is the first study to focus exclusively on weather-related disasters over a 300 year period. Claxton makes several interesting methodological contributions. First, he distinguishes among climatological drought (normal dry season), meteorological drought (abnormal dry season), and socio-political drought (shortages due to hoarding of supplies or poor planning). One task of the historian of climate is to relate the three conditions; previously, historians have focused on the third. Secondly, he points out that the governments of the nineteenth and, it is implied, the twentieth centuries, had more resources at their disposal to offer relief, so that the temporal context of the disaster is important. Third, by contrasting the impacts of droughts and floods, he lays a basis for a typology of disasters and, ultimately, and appropriate relief strategy for each. Petitions for tax exemptions, for example, an interesting aspect of colonial disaster history, were more common after drought than after flood, and, in general, drought apparently had a greater impact than flood. Finally, like Oliver-Smith, Claxton refers to Foster, Roth, and other scholars of comparative disaster to locate the Guatemalan data. This volume, therefore, offers not only information about many actual disasters but provides suggestions for further research on this timely topic.

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THE "MATLAZÁHUATL" OF 1737-1738 IN SOME VILLAGES IN THE GUADALAJARA REGION

Murdo J. MacLeod**

European agrarian historians have made us familiar with the term "subsistence crisis."¹ Bad harvest brought on by drought, flooding, late springs or early winters, blights, sudden freezes, hailstorms or gales struck with seemingly cyclical regularity. Large farmers, estate owners, wealthier merchants and city governments could anticipate hard times by holding back and storing foodstuffs in good years, by slaughtering off surplus livestock, or, the most infamous response to hard times, by hoarding and re-grating foodstuffs during the crisis itself and its aftermath. Peasants, poor villagers, and the common folk in small towns usually were unable to afford these solutions.

Pestilence of various kinds could act very much as an independent agent, striking, as we shall see, against a background of seemingly impropitious social and economic circumstances. More usual, however, was the sequence whereby epidemics would take advantage of rising prices, scarcity of staples, and the resultant nutritional deficiencies and immunological weaknesses. The very young, the old, and the very poor suffered most in many of these pestilences, and population decline, even if sometimes very temporary, was the result, often most noticeable in the year following the harvest damage or failure, because resistance was at its lowest and malnutrition at its highest by then. Poor relief, rudimentary in the large towns and cities, was almost non-existent in the poorer rural areas, and many people resorted to flight, seeking food and work in less affected areas, trying to avoid contagion but often carrying it with them, and hoping to outdistance the omnipresent tax collectors, labor recruiters and other authorities,

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¹ The literature on these crises in Europe is large. For the moment, see B. H. Slicher van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe, A.D. 500-1850*, Oliver Ordish trans. (London, 1963); and Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500-1820* (Baltimore, 1981).

whose demands often continued in spite of hard times.²

Research on agrarian crises in Mexico was pioneered by Enrique Florescano, who was able to demonstrate a close relationship between droughts, blights, harvest failures and the price fluctuations of the basic cereal, maize. Most notable, in Florescano's important survey, is the seeming inevitability and cyclicity of these agrarian crises. There were ten, one almost every decade, during the eighteenth century in Mexico. These varied widely in severity, of course, and from a central Mexican standpoint, and by popular tradition, the ferocity, misery and price inflation brought by the famine and epidemic of 1785-86, the notorious *año de hambre*, were the worst.³

Even more recent, although the volume of work is becoming impressive, has been detailed research on Mexican epidemics. Again, Florescano has been one of the pioneers, and has provided scholars with a basic outline of these disasters. As is to be expected the relationship between some of these epidemics and the preceding subsistence crisis is clear. Diseases such as measles and smallpox, especially, seem to have been "piggyback" opportunists. In a few cases, however, no necessary relationship has been found between agrarian difficulties and epidemics, and, at least at this stage in the research, examples have been found where one or the other of these types of disaster surge through communities and pass on, in seeming isolation.⁴

Within the general context of this work on Mexican epidemics I have been studying the burial registers from several villages in the Guadalajara region. These villages begin around Lake Chapala and stretch in a narrow band northwards to an area roughly half way between the cities of Guadalajara and

² The measles epidemic of 1726-27 was related to a subsistence crisis. See Murdo J. MacLeod, "The three Horsemen: Drought, Disease, Population and the Difficulties of 1726-1727 in the Guadalajara Region," *SECOLAS Annals* 14 (March 1983): 33-46. But there is no inevitable relationship between dearth and pestilence. See the discussion on these matters in D. A. Brading and Celia Wu, "Population Growth and Crisis: Leon, 1720-1860." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 5 (May 1973): 27-29. Moreover, famines are often problems of equity and distribution rather than a result of crop failures. See Amartya Senn, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Corrected ed. (Oxford, 1982).

³ Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, (1708-1810)* (Mexico City, 1969), especially the graphs, pp. 113, 124 and 139. See also Enrique Florescano, comp., *Fuentes para la historia de la crisis agrícola de 1785-1786*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1981).

⁴ Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido, comps., *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1982), and the materials in note 2 above.

Zacatecas. The climate around Lake Chapala and Guadalajara resembles that of most of montane Mexico. There are few major rivers, but the lakeside communities are less subject, for obvious reasons, to the effects of drought. The temperate climate provides one rainy season, June to mid-October, anxiously awaited and uncertain, and a long dry season. Nearly everywhere, except where there is irrigation in a few places on the lake, for example, there is one growing season and one harvest per year. Generally speaking, dessication increases as one moves north towards the semi-deserts of Zacatecas, and the agriculture situation becomes more precarious.⁵

There is a variety of problems which frustrate the researcher working in these burial registers. Incomplete runs, obliterated pages, difficulties in making data comparable, are common. Most problematical is the variability in the data written down. Some compulsive village priests entered a large array of interesting specifics in the register after each funeral, including ethnic category, age, cause of death, and economic rank of funeral. Others insouciantly wrote a brief note after each funeral, or simply wrote up the ones they could remember at the end of the month or thereabouts. Some went to Guadalajara for long visits. A few fled their parishes when crises such as epidemics began, thus leaving later researcher without data at the specific times when they most needed them. In short, the reliability of data varies widely, and macro statistics should cause less suspicion than findings based on small samples, on ones limited to one village, or on ones brief in the time span covered.⁶

Specifically this paper casts a brief glance at a handful of villages for which, so far, I have completed approximately one century of official burial statistics. My emphasis is upon the epidemic of 1737-38, recognized in Mexican historiography as very severe, but one which has never approached the infamous reputation of the *año de hambre*.⁷

⁵ Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675-1820* (Berkeley, 1981), pp. 14-15, and the works mentioned in these pages.

⁶ Bishops passing by on pastoral *visitas* constantly chided the village clergy over their negligence in the maintenance of parish registers. A typical example is the visita by the Bishop of Guadalajara to the pueblo of Ajijic, Nov. 21, 1715, in *Archivo de la Parroquia de San Francisco de Asís de Jocotepec, Jalisco, Defunciones, Años 1695-1765*, Vol. II. 40v.-41.

⁷ I have been unable to find any research specifically devoted to this epidemic. Works devoted to the *año de hambre* are relatively numerous.

The pestilence of 1737-38 in the region under study began late in 1737, the earliest record so far being from August 1737 at Jocotepec at the eastern end of Lake Chapala. In the parish of Chapala and Ixtlahuacán the first death noted as a result of the epidemic took place the day after Christmas, 1737. From the lakeside the disease spread quickly north, and perhaps east. In fact, very tentatively — and somewhat surprisingly given the central Mexican origins of so many Mesoamerican pandemics — the epidemic seems to have spread from the south and east, that is from Colima. For some of the villages to the north of Guadalajara, Colotán being an exception, the epidemic occurred entirely within the year 1738. In a few villages in Zacatecas it lasted into 1739.⁸

Many villages curas spoke simply of “la epidemia,” and a few did not even mention it specifically, in spite of the line of corpses which they had to bury daily. Others identified the disease as being that scourge of sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Mexico, *matlazáhuatl*. After examining the scanty information on the symptoms and progress of the disease, many scholars have decided that *matlazáhuatl* was exanthemic typhus. This diagnosis, while fitting the evidence fairly well, and while certainly compatible with the extraordinary mortality rates, presents some problems as on considered the data from the Guadalajara region. The disease began in most places at the height of the dry season, and waned, in general, during the rainy season, as monthly burials in the following villages illustrate.⁹

Table 1
Burials by Month, 1738

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Chapala & Ixtlahuacán	13	5	132	109	39	41	48	36	24	9	M	6
Colotlán	20	43	74	120	64	44	9	18	24	16	10	M

(M=Missing)

Another problem is the selectivity of the disease. Immunity to typhus, a disease spread from the feces of body lice, in damp,

⁸ See the *Libros de Entierros* of the Parroquias of Jocotepec, Chapala and Ixtlahuacán (not to be confused with Ixtlahuacán del Río), and Colotlán.

⁹ Archivo de la Parroquia de Chapala, México, *Defunciones*, Vol. II, *Entierros de 1735 a 1775*, ff. 7v-f.29; Archivo de la Parroquia de San Luis en Colotlán, Jalisco, *Diócesis de Zacatecas, Defunciones*, Vol. I, Años 1718-1760, ff. 74v.-124.

crowded conditions, is short lived, and as far as I know, shows no hereditary strength. Yet people of the time, and the evidence supports them, considered *matlazáhuatl* to be a disease confined almost entirely to Indians. “Agui comenzo la enfermedad de los indios llamada vulgarm[en]te. Matlazaguat,” wrote the village priest of Chapala. In Ciquío, well to the north, a priest concluded his entries for the *sujeto* village of Teponguazco by stating “Murieron en d[ic]ho Pueblo de Teponaguaso 1,083 Indios, de Matlazahuatl.” (His arithmetic was slightly off.) In Zacatecas, in the village of Tlaltenango (now “de Sanchez”), the priest, who tried to give a cause of death whenever possible, noted 917 deaths in 1738, and the correspondence between *matlazáhuatl* and Indian ethnic origin was almost total.¹⁰

There is also evidence of another kind that *matlazáhuatl* was almost exclusively a killer of Indians. The low-lying village of La Barca, just west of Lake Chapala, had become mestizo and, above all, mulatto in ethnic composition by the early eighteenth century. Very few Indian burials were being recorded by then, and even these decreased throughout the century. This non-Indian village was affected very little by the *matlazáhuatl* of 1737-38, and there are no later references to this disease in the burial registers for the village. On the other hand, an epidemic of unknown kind in 1778 (I counted 194 burials), and one of smallpox in 1780 (I counted 132 burials), struck La Barca as hard as or harder than surrounding villages, and the *año de hambre* affected the mulattoes there — by this time the village was almost completely mulatto according to the official records — with about the same severity as it did other groups in other places in the region. Obviously it is risky to generalize from one village’s burial records, but that the *matlazáhuatl* of 1737-38 may have killed mainly Indians, and that the *año de hambre* may have killed all rural ethnic groups more or less indiscriminately, could be a potentially significant problem worthy of more investigation. Nor should such research necessarily assume a biological or even immunological emphasis, although such approaches seem to be promising. Although it seems unlikely from present evidence, there may have been cultural, economic, or medical differences of significance between Indian and all non-Indian communities which could help to explain such seemingly

¹⁰ See the above Chapala Libro de Entierros, f. 7; also Archivo de la Parroquia de Cuquío, Jalisco, Diócesis de Guadalajara, Defunciones, ff. 67v.-74; Archivo de Tlaltenango, Zacatecas, Defunciones, ff. 43v-90.

large disparities in mortality rates under the impact of one epidemic. This ethnic change via selective epidemics is an interesting story in itself, but the point here is that deaths from matlazáhuatl gradually disappear in La Barca, at the same time as its Indian population.¹¹ In short, if matlazáhuatl was typhus, it showed a characteristic virulence, but a capricious seasonality and an ethnic selectivity which demand further enquiry.

We now turn to annual totals of burials, and compare the approximate mortality, in villages where, so far, the data have allowed me to make such comparisons, year by year, throughout the eighteenth century. In the villages presented below, and, I suspect, in almost of the villages of the region, the epidemic of 1737-39 was the largest and most deadly one of the eighteenth century. The año de hambre, 1786-87, occupies second place, and, in some villages third place behind the smallpox epidemic of 1780.

Table 2
A Comparison of Two Epidemics and Surrounding Years

<u>Village</u>	<u>1730</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>40</u>
La Barca	13	10	7	18	15	7	15	6	31	14	5
Chapala (W. Ixtlahuacán)	17	29	19	14	26	38	M	32	462	32	11
Colotlán	9*	32	34	31	43	52	35	56	442	25	8*
<u>Other Villages</u>											
Tlaltenango	11*	21*	M	M	M	M	M	M	917	97	81
Cuquío	40	37	48	42	63	38	19*	38	1167	210*	M
Ciénaga de Mata	18	27	32	64	21	13	15	29	175	92	48
Jocotepec	25	7*	6*	28	33	M	26	178	M	11*	12*
*Record is seriously incomplete (M = Missing)											
<u>Village</u>	<u>1780</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>90</u>
La Barca	132	43	37	23	37	100	142	38	19	15	38
Chapala (W. Ixtlahuacán)	312	51	55	74	66	121	198	73	55	31	56
Colotlán	209	57	60	80	90	252	157	86	31	50	48
(Sources: The Libros de Entierros of the above villages.)											

¹¹ Archivo de la Parroquia de La Barca, Estado de Jalisco, Defunciones. See the burials by race in Vol. I, and Vol. II, 1769-1798, ffs. 103-119v., 124v.-135v., 176-190.

Even more noteworthy is that the general population of the region was considerably lower, perhaps by one third, in the decade of the 1730s than it was in the decade of the 1780s. Thus, not only was the matlazáhuatl of 1738 the most deadly epidemic of the century in these villages, but if one compares it to the population size of its time proportionately, it is far and away more deadly than its more famous successor of the 1780s. In some areas, some of the sujetos around Cuquío, for example, whole Indian village populations disappeared, never to return in any force. Add to this the general impression one has that record keeping was more careful in the 1780s, and that more priests abandoned their charges in the 1730s, at least in the villages I have studied, and the differences in the total number of deaths grows even larger.

Before one generalizes from these few villages to all of Mexico or just to the whole Guadalajara region, it is well to note that another study, based on a small sample of villages, indicated that while the Guadalajara region suffered heavily mortality between 1784 and 1786, it was by no means as hard hit as parts of the Bajío, central Mexico, or Chiapas.¹² Moreover, in at least one village, Tonalá, close to the city of Guadalajara, the burials for 1784-86 far exceeded those of 1737-38, probably because of an influx of refugees from the starving countryside.¹³

In spite of these minor caveats, one is left with the task of explaining the peculiar neglect of the matlazáhuatl of 1737-38 in the historical record, and the comparative importance of the año de hambre in these same writings. As soon as the matlazáhuatl had passed it was forgotten, at least by literate survivors, whereas the crisis of 1784-86 became a haunting legend, and continues to draw the attention of scholars to this day.¹⁴

Perhaps the suggested predilection of matlazáhuatl for Indian victims has something to do with it. As the most lowly and ignored sector of the population, their tribulations may have passed relatively unnoticed. Then too, there were few relief measures in the 1730s. The great epidemic did provoke some people in Mexico

¹² R. Spillman, "The Disaster Complex of 1785-86 in New Spain: Prologue to a Geographical Analysis," Paper, 75th Annual Meeting, Association of American Geographers, Philadelphia, 1979, and the map based on it in Linda Greenow, *Credit and Socioeconomic Change in Colonial Mexico: Loans and Mortgages in Guadalajara, 1720-1820*, (Boulder, Colorado, 1983), p. 175.

¹³ Greenow, *Credit*, p. 158.

¹⁴ Compare the treatment of the two epidemics in Van Young, *Hacienda and Market* and also see the compilation by Florescano and Malvido in *Ensayos*.

to deplore this lack of relief facilities and Marquesado del Valle officials promoted the establishment of hospitals, but around Guadalajara, with the exception of a few Franciscan village hospitals, seldom mentioned, and in which few people seem to have died, the sick were left to their own devices, often abandoned even by the fleeing fellow villagers.¹⁵ By the 1780s the situation had changed somewhat. Guadalajara had its alhóndiga, and a few of the larger villaged seem to have had more effective, or at least occupied, "hospitales" for the destitute. Given these efforts, which presumably denoted a higher level of public and official sensitivity and concern, the obvious inability to influence outcomes, and thus feelings of helplessness, may have caused more distress over the situation.¹⁶

The leading factor in this puzzle, however, may be the basic socio-economic conditions of the 1730s and the 1780s. In the 1730s the region's population was still sparse. Recovery from the demographic nadir of the seventeenth century had been slow and there was little general pressure on the land. Nor was the matlazáhuatl a "piggy back" epidemic. It does not appear to have been associated with any major dearth or agrarian crisis. Thus it arose, terrible though it was, in apparent isolation from its surrounding context, killing many, leaving whole villages abandoned, but also leaving the grief stricken survivors relatively healthy and well fed. In fact, the deaths may have relieved whatever pressure on resources there was, and probably helped to better wages and diet in some places.

By the 1780s the socio-economic context had changed. Especially around Lake Chapala there was considerable malthusian pressure, perhaps even some elements of a crisis. The rural population was much larger, even double what it had been half a century earlier in a few places. The smallpox epidemic of 1780, which killed mostly small children and infants, did not do much to relieve the situation. To make matters worse, haciendas had encroached on many of the free ranges which had existed earlier in

¹⁵ Personal Communication from Prof. Cheryl E. Martin, Jan. 23, 1985, which cites Archivo General de México, Hospital de Jesús, legajo 344, expediente 33, May-July, 1737.

¹⁶ Van Young, *Hacienda and Market* discusses the alhóndiga at some length. For mentions of pueblo "hospitales," see Archivo . . . de la Barca, Vol. II, f. 133; Archivo de . . . Colotlán, Vol. II, f. 112. There is brief discussion of the Franciscan origins, cofradia sponsorship, and history of these Jalisco village hospitals in, John K. Chance and William B. Taylor, "Cofradías and cargos: An historical perspective on the Mesoamerican civil-religious hierarchy," *American Ethnologist*. 12 (1985): 9-10.

the century, and thus prevented the expansion of village agriculture. Worse still, the epidemics of 1784-86 were related to a prolonged subsistence crisis.¹⁷ The survivors had suffered years of poor harvests, malnutrition and other hardships, and would remember the año de hambre in very personal ways.

As far as the ethnic structure of many villages around Guadalajara was concerned the matlazáhuatl of the 1730s may have been of great importance, setting the area on the road to a mestizo, hispanized future rather than a more Indian one. As far as the question of historical memory is concerned, however, it was an awful, death-dealing accident, not part of a general social and economic crisis of long duration; and as such, the living tried to forget and continued with their lives, something the struggling, ill-fed survivors of the comparatively milder año de hambre were quite unable to do.

In short, the statistics on morbidity and mortality which we glean from disasters tell us only part of the story. Of more importance than straightforward study of the data is the social and economic context surrounding the disaster, for only by an appreciation of this context can we tell, approximately, what the event meant to people of the time, and thus what kind of impressionistic historical record these unhappy survivors will leave to their descendants.

¹⁷ Van Young, *Haciendas and Market*, pp. 94-103.

ORDER AND PROGRESS FOR SOME—DEATH AND DISEASE FOR OTHERS: LIVING CONDITIONS OF NONWHITES IN RIO DE JANEIRO, 1890-1940

Sam Adamo**

INTRODUCTION

The paper examines the living conditions of the poor in Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the twentieth century. The substandard housing, inferior nutrition, and presence of innumerable epidemic and contagious diseases formed a debilitating and often deadly troika that decimated the city's lower classes. Mortality from the conditions and diseases prevalent in the city were not evenly distributed between the groups inhabiting the city in the 1890-1940 period. Blacks and mulattoes were disproportionately represented among the poor and the death rates from "diseases of poverty" reflect the inferior status of nonwhites in the city. The following presentation describes the relationship between inferior housing, poor nutrition and disease and how they worked together to the detriment of Afro-Brazilians in Rio de Janeiro.

HOUSING

The favelas dotting the hillside of modern Rio de Janeiro are a consequence of a problem that has haunted government officials since the nineteenth century. Sustained natural increase and migration led to a great demand for housing. Government officials experimented with various schemes to provide low cost housing for the lower classes between 1890 and 1940. Most of the projects failed due to insufficient funds, poor planning, long distances from work, and neglect. The breakdown of low cost housing programs and half-hearted attempts to establish and enforce rent controls gave landlords the power to charge outrageously high rents for cramped, overcrowded, and unsanitary quarters.

The middle and upper classes lived in single family dwellings

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while the poor were forced to live in substandard communal or favela housing. The *corticos* and *estalagens* were cheap structures designed to earn quick profits for their proprietors. These buildings resembled the tenements built in urban centers of the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Materials for construction differed little: the main buildings were generally made of unseasoned wood that rapidly developed large cracks and gaps as the wood dried. These openings exposed the superstructure to rain and humidity which accelerated deterioration. Termites compounded the effects of environmental decay, further shortening the life span of the fragile structures.¹

Most of the small apartments or *casinhas* were assembled along an extended corridor with a central patio and only one exit to the street. The more spacious quarters had a small living room, a kitchen, and one or two small bedrooms. The majority of the *corticos* and *estalagens* were rooms with one window which were described as “sepulchers” since they restricted admission of fresh air and light.² Most apartments were so small that Dr. Agostinho José de Souza, a health specialist, recommended legislation prohibiting construction of communal dwellings unless the rooms were at least three to four meters square.³ The small cubicles in the *corticos* housed from six to ten persons, while larger dwellings designed for ten to twelve would accommodate forty to fifty people.⁴

Residents shared a common water tank or fountain and latrines, so hygiene was difficult, if not impossible to maintain. Crowded conditions accentuated the inadequate sewerage service which was frequently interrupted, sometimes for days. The occupants also shared their limited space with an assortment of animals (poultry, pigs, and even horses) contained in make-shift stalls in the patios of the buildings. The agglomeration of humans and animals in cramped quarters without proper ventilation, water, or sewerage made the *corticos* and *estalagens* breeding grounds of infections and contagious diseases.⁵

¹ Conselho Superior de Saúde Pública, *Os Meios de Melhorar as Condições das Habitações Destinadas as Classes Pobres* (Rio de Janeiro, 1886), p. 3.

² Conselho Superior, *Habitações as Classes Pobres*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Gazeta de Notícias*, 17 February 1917, p. 1; Antônio Pedro Pimentel, *Terceira Delegacia de Saúde-Relatório Annual Apresentado ao Exm. Sr. Dr. Oswaldo Gonçalves Cruz*, 2 Vols., (Rio de Janeiro: Relatório da Ministério da Justiça, 1907), II: 5.

⁵ Conselho Superior, *Habitações as Classes Pobres*, pp. 22-25; Antônio Martins de

The impoverished who were unable to afford the exorbitant rents of the corticos, estalagens, or hostels lived in the city's infamous favelas. Favelas were squatter settlements established on hills located in the center of the city. They provided cheap, affordable housing with ready access to the work places located in the inner city. A small house on the Morro do Santo Antônio could be erected for as little as forty to sixty mil reis while the average rent for an apartment in a collective housing unit was forty to eighty mil reis per month.⁶

The inexpensive favela housing has serious liabilities that offset the monetary savings that accrued to residents of these neighborhoods. Old zinc plates, flattened kerosene cans, and discarded lumber were the primary construction materials. Most houses were one-room affairs less than two meters in height. The makeshift methods of construction meant homes were stifling in the summer and cold in the winter. Furniture was rudimentary at best, often constructed from discarded materials found in the streets. Limited space and danger from fire meant kitchens, usually no more than a collection of old pots and pans, were located outside. Families commonly slept together, so the number of person per house ranged from two to as many as ten.

A distinguishing characteristic of the favelas was the absence of piped sewerage and water. Most residents, like those on the Morro do Santo Antônio, had to carry water to their homes. Some lucky settlements had piped water, but they were the exception rather than the rule.⁷ The unplanned neighborhoods and streets, which were little more than dirt footpaths, complicated efforts to improve sanitation. The frequent rains turned the streets into quagmires and homes were in constant danger from mudslides because they had no foundations.⁸

Azevedo Pimental, *Estudo de Hygiene no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1890), pp. 184-86.

⁶ Mil reis were Brazil's old monetary standard which was superseded by the *cruzeiro* in 1942. João do Rio, "A Cidade do Morro de Santo Antônio," *Gazeta de Notícias*, 5 November 1908, p. 1; Victorino Oliverira, "Babylonias do Rio a Estalagem," 23 August 1907, p. 1.

⁷ Contemporaries, for example, described the fountain on the Morro da Providencia as "primitive," only capable of furnishing a "thin stream" of water. Residents had to wait in long lines for their daily water supply or go to a public fountain. *Gazeta de Notícias*, 25 July 1914, p. 1.

⁸ Everado Backheuser, *Habitações Populares* (Rio de Janeiro, 1906), p. 111; José Antônio, "Alta da Miséria," *Gazeta de Notícias*, 11 August 1907, p. 4; 15 May 1915, p. 1. Conditions in favelas improved and these reforms are noted in the following works even though the authors continue to describe living conditions that are horrid when judged by

NUTRITION

Poor nutrition was another cause of high mortality, particularly among nonwhites. The lower classes lacked adequate nutritional knowledge to select proper diets, and their low incomes severely restricted purchases of foods rich in proteins, minerals, vitamins, and fats. Unbalanced diets coupled with low caloric intake made good health difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. The diseases endemic to the city intensified the effects of poor nutrition and created a vicious cycle of malnutrition and illness that frequently proved fatal. Before and after the abolition of slavery in 1888, low socioeconomic status with little opportunity for upward mobility locked most nonwhites into the vicious cycle which debilitated the living as well as future generations.

Contemporaries unanimously condemned the dietary habits of the poor. According to an 1860s study, breakfast was light, consisting of coffee or tea with some bread. Lunch was a much heartier meal, at which time small portions of salted or dried beef were consumed along with beans, manioc flour, bread, and fruit (usually oranges or bananas). Dinner was similar to lunch but varied with the addition of soup, vegetables, and more fruit. Fresh meat was a luxury item that rarely appeared on the tables of Rio's working poor who reserved its consumption for Sundays, holidays, or special occasions. Other sources of meat protein available to the lower classes were codfish and sardines, but expenditures on fish products were rare. Beans were typically cooked with a variety of vegetables that included potatoes, yams, sweet cassava, squash, cabbage, turnips, and okra. The most popular beverages were coffee, tea, chocolate, and alcohol. The absence of refrigeration and transportation facilities precluded the consumption of fresh milk for most residents of the city.⁹

Nutrition was worse for slaves and freedmen than for other members of the lower classes. Breakfast was a simple affair of coffee and bread, while lunch and dinner were a combination of beans, manioc flour, and an occasional piece of salted beef or fish. Nonwhites preferred dried meat and fish over the same foods

modern standards: Maria Hortência do Nascimento Silva, *Impressões de Uma Assistente Sobre o Trabalho na Favela* (Rio de Janeiro, 1942); Departamento de Geografia e Estatística, *Censo das Favelas, Aspectos Gerais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949); Carlos Calderaro, *Favelas, e Favelados do Distrito Federal* (Rio de Janeiro, 1957).

⁹ Antônio Correa de Sousa Costa, *Alimentação que Usa a Classe Pobre do Rio de Janeiro e sua influência Sobre a Mesma Classe* (Rio de Janeiro, 1865), pp. 33-35; Pimental, *Estudo de Higiene*, pp. 241-43, 245-46.

fresh. Many also had to secure their own fresh fruits and vegetables. Free blacks and mulattoes employed as masons, carpenters, stevedores, or in other occupations outside of the household had to buy their own food. Consequently, their diets were frequently worse than the slaves in the city. Haphazard eating habits characterized the diet of free blacks and mulattoes.¹⁰

There were few scientific studies of diet and nutrition in Rio in the 1890-1940 period under scrutiny. Conditions gradually improved, but severe nutritional imbalances were evident in the diet of Rio's poor as late as the 1960s. A 1961-62 study of dietary habits in Rio discovered continued inadequacies that were again correlated with socioeconomic status. The average per capita consumption of meat and milk was seven and fifteen times lower for those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder than those in the middle and upper classes.¹¹

Ignorance of proper diet contributed to the malnutrition that plagued Rio's lower classes, but the high cost of food over-rode poor nutritional habits as a cause of the poor health of the disadvantaged. Descriptions from newspapers and government officials indicated all basic food prices were unusually high in the period under scrutiny.¹² In 1890 government officials reported the city was totally dependent upon Minas Gerais for its stock of fresh meat. Any interruption in the supply would result in an immediate shortage. The report's release was accompanied by news of a price-fixing plot between Cesário Alvim, the interior minister, and the Companhia Pastoril, the business enterprise responsible for the shipment of cattle to the local market. The interior minister granted the company a monopoly to facilitate transportation of cattle and to protect the beef industry in Minas. Rising meat

¹⁰ Costa, *Alimentação*, pp. 35-37. For greater details on insufficient diets of slaves consult Alvaro de Faria, "Alimentação e Estado Nutricional do Escravo no Brasil," *Estudos Afro-Brasileiros*, vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), pp. 199-213.

¹¹ Jacques M. May and Donna L. McClellan, *The Ecology of Malnutrition in Eastern South America*, Studies in Medical Geography, vol. 13 (New York: Hefner Press, 1974), pp. 299, 303-04.

¹² Consult the following for typical reports pertaining to high food prices in Rio. Polícia Administrativa, *Boletim, Outubro, Novembro, e Dezembro de 1890* (Rio de Janeiro, 1890), p. 11; Aloar Prata Soares, *Mensagem do Prefeito do Distrito Federal Lida na Sessão do Conselho Municipal, 1 de Junho de 1923* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923), p. 11; Diretoria Geral Polícia Administrativa, *Arquivo, e Estatística, Boletim da Intendência Municipal Abril a Junho, 1906* (Rio de Janeiro, 1906), *Gazeta de Notícias*, 29 January 1890, p. 1; 2 February 1890, p. 6; 28 October 1899, p. 1; 6 July 1901, p. 1; 9 February 1920, p. 1; *A Lucta*, 20 March 1915, p. 1; 8 March 1915, p. 1; *A Notícia*, 24-25 January 1917, p. 3; *Jornal do Brasil*, 2 June 1920, p. 6.

prices in Rio were allegedly the consequence of a drought that decimated herds in the state. A subsequent investigation revealed the company was fixing beef prices by controlling the number of cattle reaching Rio's market. The drought was used as a ruse to justify price increases in the city. Importation of cheap foreign beef alleviated the meat shortage and the conspiracy of the *Companhia Pastoral* backfired, as its sale of beef in the city plummeted.¹³

Abuse of power like that recounted above was not unusual nor was it limited to one commodity. Thirty years later the *Journal do Brasil* called milk producers "monopolists of commerce" who "extorted" money from the poor, making it impossible for them to purchase milk necessary for their families.¹⁴ City fathers were aware of the abuses but were hamstrung by laws prohibiting them from immediately punishing offending merchants.¹⁵ Prices were so high that working class families spent 50 to 75 percent of their total wages on food.¹⁶ Popular outcries for regulation of food prices went unheeded, leaving the poor at the mercy of local merchants.¹⁷

Aside from price, food quality was marginal. Only the middle and upper classes could afford the most expensive domestic and imported foods. Meat, regarded as a necessity by Brazilians of the era, regularly entered the market in such a pitiful state that it was often dangerous for consumption. All aspects of meat preparation, preservation, and shipment were unsatisfactory. A local newspaper claimed sanitation at the Island of Sapucala, the city's garbage dump, was superior to that of the city's slaughterhouses.¹⁸ Meat was cut on soiled wood blocks, wrapped in newspaper, and then shipped without refrigeration to the markets in Rio. Poorly paid employees had little incentive to maintain sanitary conditions pre-

¹³ There was no mention of disciplinary action undertaken against the interior minister or the *Companhia Pastoral*. *Policia Administrativa, Boletim, Outubro, Novembro, e Dezembro de 1890* (Rio de Janeiro 1890), p. 11; *Gazeta de Tarde*, 28 October 1890, p. 1; 10 November 1890, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Jornal do Brasil*, 2 June 1920, p. 6; 4 June 1920, p. 7. The *Gazeta de Notícias*, 7 February 1915, p. 6, reported price fixing by vendors of fresh fruits and vegetables in the city.

¹⁵ Soares, *Mensagem, 1 de Junho de 1925*, p. 18.

¹⁶ João de Barros Barreto, José de Castro, and Almir Castro, "Inquérito Sobre Condições de Alimentação Popular no Distrito Federal," *Arquivos de Hygiene*, 2 (1930), p. 375.

¹⁷ *Gazeta de Notícias*, 7 February 1915, p. 6; "O Problema da Alimentação," *Brazil Moderno*, 4:90 (14 July 1917), p. 1.

¹⁸ *Gazeta de Notícias*, 15 November 1919, p. 1.

scribed by law, nor did public health authorities do much to enforce them. Tubercular, cancerous, carbuncular, and rotten meats were regularly sold in markets throughout the city.¹⁹ The sale of tainted meat exemplified conditions widespread in the food processing industry. Purchases of milk, meats, fresh fruits, and vegetables often depended on price and distance from the market as late as the 1930s.²⁰ The absence of refrigeration and preservation techniques made fresh foods difficult to obtain for many of the city's residents. Proper nutrition was a luxury which only the middle and upper classes could afford. The inferior socioeconomic status of nonwhites restricted their diet which in turn subjected them to a variety of nonlethal but debilitating diseases like scurvy, rickets, ophthalmia, xerophagia (eating dry or desiccated food), and hemeralopia (day blindness) as a consequence of poor nutrition.²¹ The regime of most blacks and mulattoes seriously affected the newborn, who entered the world with nutritional deficiencies that decreased chances for survival.

EPIDEMIC AND CONTAGIOUS DISEASE

The last section of the paper will examine mortality from epidemic and contagious diseases and then concentrate on two maladies that were particularly lethal to residents of the city. Tuberculosis and gastroenteritis have been selected because they underscore the vicious circle of substandard housing and improper diet which resulted in permanent disability and death for nonwhites in the city. Infectious and parasitic diseases were responsible for most of the mortality in Rio. This category includes cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, measles, yellow fever, malaria, and venereal diseases. Improved sanitation eradicated malaria and yellow fever, yet it was powerless against the city's major killer, tuberculosis. Deaths from all infectious and contagious diseases in 1904 were 935 per 100,000 for whites, 1,133 for mulattoes, and 1,245 for blacks. Whites experienced the greatest mortality rate decline: their death rates fell to 594 per 100,000 by 1926.²² Decreases for nonwhites were not as great;

¹⁹ *Gazeta de Notícias*, 23 January 1890, p. 1; 27 January 1890, p. 1; 11 April 1890, p. 1; 6 July 1901, p. 1; 15 November 1919, p. 1; 4 February 1920, p. 2. *A Lucta*, 20 March 1915, p. 1.

²⁰ Barreto, Casto, and Castro, "Alimentação Popular," pp. 391-396.

²¹ Faria, "Alimentação e Estado Nutricional," pp. 206-11.

²² All disease specific mortality rates were calculated in deaths per 100,000 persons.

mulatto and black deaths declined only to 968 and 913 per 100,000, respectively. White mortality therefore declined 36 percent versus 15 and 27 percent for mulattoes and blacks. The same trends emerge when mortality rates are examined by sex. Non-white males and females both had much higher death rates than their white counterparts.

Hard work, overcrowding, poor sanitation, and malnutrition typified life for most nonwhites and it was these conditions which provided tuberculosis bacteria an ideal environment for growth. The poor socioeconomic conditions of these people made tuberculosis the deadliest killer in the city. Public health and government officials long identified that disorder as an affliction of the "less favored classes."²³ The Brazilian League Against Tuberculosis also recognized that blacks and mulattoes were more likely to contract the affliction than whites.²⁴ The League's observations were by no means unprecedented as similar reports from the nineteenth century also indicated that slaves were highly susceptible to the disease.²⁵

²³ Polícia Administrativa, *Boletim de Indendência Municipal, Julho a Setembro, 1902* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), p. 91; Joaquim Xavier da Silveira Junior, *Relatório do Prefeito do Distrito Federal, 5 de Setembro de 1902* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), p. 19.

²⁴ Liga Brasileiro Contra Tuberculose, *Relatório da Liga Brasileiro Contra Tuberculose Sobre a Gerência de 1910* (Rio de Janeiro, 1911), pp. 35-36. The League estimated differential mortality from tuberculosis was 2.8 per 1,000 for whites and 9.1 per 1,000 for blacks and mulattoes.

²⁵ Mary C. Karash, "Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Wisconsin, 1972), pp. 210-211; Blacks in the United States and in South Africa are noted for their susceptibility to tuberculosis. Julian Herman Lewis, *The Biology of the Negro* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 101-01; Edward E. Mays, "Pulmonary Diseases" In *The Textbook of Black Related Disease*, edited by Richard Allen Williams (New York, 1975), pp. 417-18. Kenneth F. Kiple and Virginia H. King, *Another Dimension to the Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease and Racism* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 146; Jacques M. May, *The Ecology of Human Disease, Studies in Medical Geography*, vol. 1 (New York: MD Publications, 1958), p. 111; Ida Freiman and Jacob Geefhuysen, "Tuberculosis in Black Children," *South African Medical Journal*, 49:39 (13 September 1975), p. 1591.

Table 1

**DEATHS FROM INFECTIOUS AND PARASITIC DISEASE
BY RACE AND SEX**

Year	Deaths per 100,000 persons		
	White	Mulatto	Black
1904	934.6	1,132.5	1,244.5
1910	589.5	634.3	654.7
1915	579.2	818.7	905.0
1919	633.2	863.5	758.7
1924	491.2	709.9	665.4
1926	594.0	967.8	913.0
	Males		
1904	971.5	1,288.0	1,360.0
1910	610.4	652.5	712.8
1915	630.6	854.6	969.9
1919	690.4	892.8	816.0
1924	552.6	787.7	775.6
1926	655.3	1,052.7	1,067.9
	Females		
1904	876.6	1,006.9	1,041.8
1910	567.7	639.0	562.3
1915	527.2	810.3	823.3
1919	584.9	860.1	705.2
1924	433.4	659.0	575.1
1926	538.7	908.3	786.6

Source: Directória Geral De Saúde, *Boletim Mensal de Estatística Demografo-Sanitária da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Directória Geral de Saúde Pública), no. 1-12, 1904, 1910, 1915, 1919, 1924, 1926.

Tuberculosis was more lethal to blacks and mulattoes than to whites in Rio de Janeiro. The white mortality rate in 1904 was 322 in contrast to 394 and 498 for mulattoes and blacks, respectively. Mortality from the disease rose significantly for all races during the hardships imposed during World War I and the depression. White death rates rose by 16 percent while those for mulattoes and blacks increased by 29 and 24 percent. Death rates declined as conditions improved in the 1920s to a low of 264 for whites, 443 for mulattoes, and 436 for blacks. The mortality decline was not sustained in the 1930s. The increasing death rates

were probably a consequence of deteriorating economic conditions that were particularly difficult for nonwhites. Tuberculosis death rates in 1938 rose to 343 for whites, 542 for mulattoes, and 520 for blacks. Mortality from tuberculosis paralleled economic upturns and downturns, confirming the disease's relationship to environmental conditions.

Table 2
DEATHS FROM TUBERCULOSIS BY RACE

Year	Deaths per 100,000 persons		
	White	Mulatto	Black
1904	322.1	394.1	497.5
1910	382.1	430.0	506.2
1915	360.3	554.4	650.1
1919	347.3	482.3	504.2
1924	303.1	472.2	473.6
1926	264.2	442.5	435.5
1936*	263.1	405.0	347.4
1937*	287.6	445.1	450.8
1938*	343.4	542.2	520.3

Source: Directória Geral de Saúde, *Boletim Mensal de Estatística Demografo-Sanitária da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, (Rio de Janeiro: Directória Geral de Saúde Pública), no. 1-12, 1904, 1910, 1915, 1919, 1924, 1926.

*José Paranhos Fontentelli, *A Saúde Público no Rio de Janeiro, Distrito Federal 1937 & 1938* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Saúde Pública, 1939), pp. 86-91.

The highest death rates for tuberculosis occurred in the city's lower class areas. Middle-and-upper-class neighborhoods such as Botafogo, Copacabana, and Tijuca had the lowest death rates from the disorder while the poorest areas of the city (São Cristovão, Engenho Velho, Engenho Novo, Piedade, and Madureira) had the highest mortality rates.²⁶ The death rates from tuberculosis are indicative of the continuing poverty in which Rio's non-white population lived between 1890 and 1940.

²⁶ José Paranhos Fontenelli, *A Saúde Pública no Rio de Janeiro, Distrito Federal, 1937 e 1938* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Saúde Pública, 1939), pp. 171-72.

DEATHS FROM NUTRITIONAL DISORDERS

Nutritional diseases were not a major cause of death in Rio de Janeiro, yet mortality from non-lethal afflictions like gastroenteritis, measles, whooping cough, and the helminthic infections suggest malnutrition was an important factor contributing to elevated mortality rates. The analysis of deaths related to deficiency diseases is complicated by the public health services' limited acknowledgment of vitamin deficiencies as the only form of death related to malnutrition. Attacks of diarrhea in Brazil frequently precipitate severe states of malnutrition that end in death, but diarrhea or enteritis rather than malnutrition were listed as the official cause of death. Similarly, deaths from protein calorie malnutrition or marasmus were frequently ascribed to other diseases because there was no classification for malnutrition outside of vitamin deficiency disorders.²⁷

Poor nutrition has residual effects on the survivors and their offspring.²⁸ Gastroenteritis was endemic to Rio and it was a major cause of nonwhite infant mortality. Recent studies of nutrition showed antibiotics and immunizations played a much smaller role in the decline of infant mortality in less developed countries than originally surmised. Improved nutrition was a much stronger force in reducing infant mortality than drugs. This was probably the case for measles and gastroenteritis which were endemic to Rio and major causes of nonwhite infant mortality.²⁹ Poor diet can initiate alterations in microbial flora (which play a secondary role in resistance to contagions) and reduce the body's capacity to fight infection.³⁰ The negative aspects of malnutrition upon health are

²⁷ Derrick B. Jelliffe, *Infant Nutrition in the Subtropics and the Tropics*, 2nd ed. (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1968), p. 120.

²⁸ Malnutrition reduces the capacity of the host to resist infection, particularly if the contagions are bacteria, rickettsia, intestinal protozoa, or intestinal helminths, all of which are endemic to Rio. Deleterious side effects of malnutrition upon resistance to infection include reduced capacity of the host to form antibodies, decreased antibody activity, interference with the production of nonspecific protective substances, less immunity to bacterial toxins, alterations in tissue integrity, diminished inflammatory response, and alterations in wound healing and collagen formation, changes in intestinal flora, and variation in endocrine. Nevin S. Scrimshaw, Carl E. Taylor, and John E. Gordon, *Interactions of Nutrition and Infection* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1968), pp. 12-13.

²⁹ D. C. Morley, "Nutrition and Infectious Disease." In *Disease and Urbanization*. Symposia for the Study of Human Biology, vol. 20, edited by E. J. Clegg and J. P. Garlick (London, 1980), pp. 39-40.

³⁰ Less definite protective substances like the skin, mucous membrane, lysozymes in tears, sweat, peritoneal fluid, and euglobulin properdin, and interfeon are all restricted in the ability to ward off infection by malnutrition. Scrimshaw, Taylor, and Gordon, *Nutrition and Infection*, pp. 263-64.

compounded by infection's detrimental effects upon the host's nutritional status. Infections trigger physiologic and anatomic changes that hasten debilitation of an already malnourished host. Diseases of the digestive tract were an important cause of death in Rio. Intestinal obstructions, peritonitis, chronic liver disease, cirrhosis, cholelithiasis (calculi in the liver or in the bile duct), and disorders of the pancreas claimed many lives in the city. The combined death rates from the above diseases do not, however, equal mortality caused by gastroenteritis and colitis. Mulattoes registered the highest death rates from enteritis and colitis from 1915 to 1926. Mortality ranged from a low of 190 per 100,000 in 1904 to a high of 467 per 100,000 in 1919. They were followed by whites with intermediate levels of mortality (a low of 268 in 1904 and a high of 385 in 1919). Surprisingly, blacks had the lowest level of mortality from the disorders. The low black death rate may be related to different dietary and weaning practice. Karasch found bondsmen in Rio often put together more nutritious meals than other Brazilians and they breast fed their children until the age of 2 or 3.³¹ The low death rates of blacks may be related to survivals of these practices in Rio. The high death rates from enteritis suggest the kwashiorkor and marasmus were sidespread problems affecting all racial groups in the city. Deaths from these diseases and those from nutritional deficiencies indicate malnutrition was an acute problem, especially for mulattoes in the city.

³¹ Karasch, pp. 174, 179-80.

Table 3
DEATHS FROM ALL DIGESTIVE DISORDERS BY RACE

Year	Deaths per 100,000 persons		
	White	Mulatto	Black
1904	379.7	262.0	188.2
1910	378.0	330.7	211.1
1915	432.6	427.0	284.0
1919	461.4	539.0	332.9
1924	366.9	502.4	361.7
1926	332.9	422.9	279.2

DEATHS FROM ENTERITIS AND COLITIS

1904	268.4	189.9	108.2
1910	331.9	283.8	163.4
1915	357.4	362.8	215.9
1919	385.2	466.8	271.0
1924	307.6	451.2	306.4
1926	276.9	378.5	230.6

Source: Directória Geral de Saúde, *Boletim Mensal de Estatística Demografo - Sanitária da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Directória Geral de Saúde Pública), no. 1-12, 1904, 1910, 1915, 1919, 1924, 1926.

CONCLUSION

Housing, nutrition and disease were intimately linked to excessive black and mulatto mortality. Rio's tropical climate provided an ideal environment for infectious and parasitic disorders. Substandard housing, poor to nonexistent piped water, and sewerage facilitated the dissemination of epidemic diseases by providing breeding grounds necessary for the survival of the microorganisms. The poor nutrition of most blacks and mulattoes weakened natural defenses, making them ideal hosts for contagions. Recovery was difficult, if not impossible, in the ongoing cycle of malnutrition and infection. The disastrous consequences of environmental and nutritional factors are reflected in mortality from diseases to which nonwhites have genetic resistance. Death rates from malaria show blacks and mulattoes died in greater numbers than whites, even though the sickle cell trait and the G6PD deficiency gave the former extra defenses. The overworked and poorly fed nonwhites were unable to engage defensive mechanisms without

necessary stores of proteins, vitamins, fats, and minerals. Deaths from a normally inconsequential childhood disease such as measles underscore the precariousness of nonwhite nutritional status.

The absolute reduction in the death rates for nonwhites were impressive, the the decline was not proportional to that of whites in the city. The gap between white and nonwhite mortality increased with the passage of time and the death rates show that blacks and mulattoes remained on the periphery of society for more than fifty years after slavery's demise. Abolition freed the slaves, but it did not improve their socioeconomic status.

TEMPORAL PATTERNS IN HISTORIC MAJOR EARTHQUAKES IN CHILE

James H. Shirley**

INTRODUCTION

The historic record of seismic activity in Chile extends from 1570 forward and includes more than 40 major earthquakes (with magnitudes of about 7.5 and larger). Well-defined temporal patterns emerge when these earthquake are grouped by region of occurrence. Statistically significant clustering is present in the solar times of occurrence of the earthquakes of the Northern Chile and Transverse Valleys seismic regions. The hour angle of the Moon (which is the 24.8 hour lunar analog of the 24 hour solar time) also shows significant clustering for the Northern Chile and coastal Central Chile seismic regions. These correlations of earthquake time of occurrence with the positioning of the Moon and Sun suggest that gravitational stresses may contribute to the triggering of major earthquakes in Chile.

Earthquakes are one of the most significant natural hazards of life in Chile. Large deadly and damaging earthquakes have occurred repeatedly in several distinct source regions along the length of the country. Several cities here have been seriously damaged by earthquakes at least five times in the period from 1530 to the present; these include Arica, Concepción, Copiapó, Coquimbo-La Serena, Santiago, Valdivia, and Valparaíso (Lomintz, 1970). Some of the world's largest earthquakes take place here; the earthquake of May 22, 1960, for instance, is the largest earthquake recorded anywhere in the world this century (Kanamori, 1978). The historic record includes at least 19 earthquakes of magnitude 8 or larger.

The use of unreinforced masonry construction often results in tragically high loss of life and extensive damage to structures in these very large earthquakes. In the Chillán earthquake of 1939, 28,000 people lost their lives; several other events have claimed more than 1,000 lives (Lomnitz, 1970; Nelson and Ganse, 1980). Damages in the great Valparaíso earthquake of 1906 are esti-

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mated at approximately 3.55 billion 1980 dollars; losses due to the 1960 earthquake were approximately half as large (Nelson and Ganse, 1980). The recent (3 March 1985) earthquake near Valparaíso does not rank with the 1939 and 1960 events in terms of deaths and damages; still this event claimed more than 100 lives and left approximately 100,000 homeless.

Great Chilean earthquakes may, in addition, represent a natural hazard for other regions because the events occurring offshore often generate large seismic sea waves (tsunamis). Tsunamis originating in Chile have repeatedly damaged coastal settlements around the Pacific Rim (for instance, in Australia, Samoa, Hawaii, Japan, and California) in historic times (Lomnitz, 1970; Abe, 1979).

Lomnitz (1970) has presented a descriptive catalog of major historic earthquakes in Chile. In the following sections this catalog (updated and with some additions) is described and subjected to a simple analysis to determine the presence or absence of correlations of time of occurrence with the positioning of the Moon and Sun. First, the relationship of the earthquakes to the major crustal structural features of Chile is outlined briefly. Next the basis of the investigation and the methodology is described; this essay concludes with a discussion of the results and the implications.

EARTHQUAKES AND THE TECTONIC STRUCTURE OF CHILE

The crustal plate which forms the ocean floor to the west of Chile (i.e., the Nazca Plate) is overridden by the South American continent. This is the single most important feature of the tectonic structure of Chile. This thrusting convergence of two plates is responsible for the presence of a deep trench in the ocean floor immediately offshore. This type of tectonic structure, where oceanic crust is thrust down beneath an adjacent crustal plate, is termed a subduction zone. Some idea of the tremendous scale of the subduction process in Chile may be had by noting that in one earthquake (May 11, 1960) the oceanic crust along more than 800 kilometers of the Chilean coast thrust an average distance of 24 meters down to the east beneath the continent (Kanamori and Cipar, 1974).

On land, moving from west to east, the crustal structure generally consists of a range of mountains along the coast, a central

valley running roughly north-south, and the Andes mountain chain which separates Chile from Argentina to the east. There are significant regional departures from this structural pattern, however. Following Lomnitz (1970), we can divide the Chilean seismic zone into four main regions; these are the Northern region, the Transverse Valleys region, the Central Chile region, and a Southern Chile region. The boundaries of these regions are shown on Figure 1, along with the locations of the major earthquakes to be studied here. All figures and tables appear at the end of this essay, following references and two appendixes. The dates, times, magnitudes, and locations of these events are listed in chronological order in Table 1. Selection criteria (for inclusion in this listing) are outlined in the footnotes to Table 1.

The Northern region, from about 18° South latitude to about 25° S, shows a center of activity offshore to the west of Arica. Six very large earthquakes are located in this area by Lomnitz (1970); however the most recent took place more than a century ago, in 1869. Both the coastline and the oceanic trench offshore bend abruptly to the northwest near Arica. The central valley structural pattern is present north of latitude 22° S, but not in the southern portion of this seismic region (22° - 25° S).

The Transverse Valleys seismic region extends from about 25° - 33° S (Lomnitz, 1970; Kelleher, 1972); here east-west trending structures are found and the central valley is generally absent. The southern boundary of this region is just north of Valparaíso. Here the dip angle of the subducted oceanic plate changes from about 10° (beneath the Transverse Valleys region) to about 25° - 30° (beneath the Central Chile region) (Baranzangi and Isacks, 1976). There is an east-west trending ridge on the oceanic plate (the Juan Fernández Ridge) at the latitude of Valparaíso which may be in some way structurally related to this change in the subduction dip angle. Thirteen of the earthquakes in Table 1 occurred in the Transverse Valleys region.

The Central Chile seismic region extends from near Valparaíso (33° S) to the latitude of Concepción (about 37° S). Here the central valley type structure is present, and is reflected in the pattern of seismic activity. There is a cluster of major earthquakes near Valparaíso, some occurring offshore and some along the coast. Most of the rest of the major earthquakes of this zone however took place inland, within or near the boundaries of the central valley, in the vicinities of Santiago and Chillán. All of these

earthquakes (except the 1575 Santiago event) caused significant damage. Transverse (east-west trending) mountain ranges intrude the central valley at about the latitude of Concepción; these define the southern boundary of this region. Lomnitz (1970) notes that this marks a transition where major earthquake activity moves offshore.

The Southern region, from about 37° - 46° S. possesses the central valley structure along much of its length. A submarine ridge (the Chile Rise) intersects the continent at about 46° S, forming the southern boundary of this region. Very large earthquakes take place here; the 1960 earthquake, for instance, apparently involved inter-plate motion along the entire length of the zone, from well north of Valdivia in the north all the way to the intersection of the Chile Rise near 46° S. Lomnitz (1970) considers the 1575, 1737, and 1837 earthquakes to have been comparable in size to the 1960 event. The Chilean coast south of latitude 46° S experiences a much lower level of strong earthquake activity.

An interesting and important pattern has been detected in the history of major earthquake activity in Chile. This is a migration of seismic activity from north to south, in the region from 30° S to 46° S (Kelleher, 1972). Kelleher showed that the earthquakes of 1880, 1906, 1928, 1939, and 1960 stepped one after the other, from north to south, breaking the entire length of the Chilean seismic zone south of 30° S in 80 years. Studying the record of earlier major earthquakes he suggested that similar migrations took place three times previously in the period since 1570, requiring about 100 years to complete each cycle of activity. On this basis he was able to predict that a new cycle should begin sometime before the end of this century, starting at about the latitude of Valparaíso (as this part of the zone had not broken in a major earthquake since 1906). Two major earthquakes have occurred near Valparaíso since his prediction was made, in 1971 and 1985. This work clearly represents a major step forward in the effort to achieve accurate advance prediction of earthquakes in Chile.

The absence of a major earthquake in recent history in a particular segment of seismic zone in many parts of the world indicates a higher potential for a large earthquake in the future (McCann et. al., 1979). That is, the longer the time interval since the last event, the higher the probability of a significant earthquake in the future. The quiet zone is termed a "seismic gap." McCann et

al. (1979) have considered the pattern of past activity along the Chilean seismic zone, and identify two seismic gaps where future large earthquakes may be expected to occur. One of these is in the Northern region in the vicinity of Arica; this area has not experienced a major earthquake in more than a century. The second gap is near Valparaíso; the zone just south of the area affected by the 1985 earthquake must still be considered suspect.

From a physical standpoint the migration of earthquakes along a seismic zone and the related concept of the seismic gap can be explained as a simple stress accumulation and release cycle. The occurrence of an earthquake relieves the stress in that location, and perhaps helps focus inter-plate stresses in the areas adjacent to the faulted zone. Then these adjacent areas become more prone to seismic activity, while the area experiencing the earthquake becomes seismically inactive while stresses again begin to accumulate.

Accurate prediction of future earthquakes on the basis of the concepts of earthquake migration and the seismic gap is not possible because the times of the future earthquakes cannot be accurately specified.

METHODOLOGY

The earthquakes of Table 1 are a unique and critically important sample of events, both from a socio-economic standpoint and from a physical standpoint. We have seen that the presence of a migration pattern in the catalog has helped define the most probable locations of future events. In general the detection of order and pattern in such a sample is important because it sheds light on the nature of the earthquake generation process, which is not yet fully understood.

Presently the least satisfactory aspect of earthquake prediction techniques in general is a lack of resolution in time. Thus it is important to look for indications of temporal order and pattern in samples of earthquakes, since by improving our understanding these may conceivably lead to an improvement in the accuracy of our earthquake prediction techniques. Accordingly the strategy adopted here is to look for regularities in the time of the earthquakes of Table 1.

The first temporal parameter considered is the solar time; this is of course nothing more than the time of day, which is a mea-

sure of the position of the Sun. The solar day begins at midnight; at 6 hours and 18 hours the Sun is near the horizon, while at noon (12 hours) the Sun is positioned approximately overhead (technically, "upper culmination"). The second parameter considered is the hour angle of the Moon, which is the same sort of positional indicator. The "lunar day" is on the average about 50 minutes longer than the orbit around the Earth, in a west to east direction; thus the Earth must rotate not 360° but 373° to bring the Moon from its upper culmination position one day to the next. The local solar time of each earthquake is given in Table 1; the lunar hour angle is calculated for the day, time, and geographic longitude of each earthquake using a program written by B. Emerson of the Royal Greenwich Observatory (Emerson, 1979). One further lunar positional parameter was also evaluated; this is the ecliptic longitude of the Moon, which is the direction with reference to the equinox. No indication of any significant pattern was found in this series, so for brevity this portion of the experiment is not discussed further. For completeness the raw data and the statistical results are summarized in an appendix.

There are two reasons for choosing these gravitational temporal parameters for analysis. First, from a physical standpoint: Earthquakes result from stresses in the Earth, and the attractions of the Moon and Sun produce rapidly varying stresses in the crust. (The tidal stresses, which distort the Earth into an ellipsoidal shape, are the best known of the gravitational stresses). Thus it may be that oscillatory gravitational stresses help to trigger the release of accumulated crustal stresses. The gravitational stresses at a particular locality at a particular time depend in large part on the positioning of the Moon and Sun.

The second reason for employing these parameters is that other researchers have detected solar time and lunar hour angle correlations of times of earthquakes in other regions of the planet (McMurray, 1941; Kilston and Knopoff, 1983). Thus there are at least two good reasons to look for gravitational temporal correlations in the times of occurrence of important samples of earthquakes.

Each solar time or lunar hour angle value can be represented as an angle (0° - 359°) on a circle. Statistical procedures have been developed specifically for the analysis of directional (angular) data. The test employed here was introduced by A. Schuster in 1897, and has since been used in many studies of tidal phase cor-

relations of earthquakes (McMurray, 1941; Shlien, 1972; Klein, 1976; Heaton, 1982). The test is sensitive to the clustering of values of the angles in the sample tested. If the angles are distributed randomly about the circle, then the random probability of occurrence for the set is large (i.e., such a distribution would occur often in random samples of angles); on the other hand, if the values cluster in one part of the 360° range, then the random probability of occurrence for the set of angles will be smaller. This procedure thus determines a random probability of occurrence for the distribution of angles tested. Small values of the test statistic P_R indicate a departure from randomness in the sample of angles tested; the threshold of statistical significance is often taken to be .05 ("5% level"). Such a value indicates that random sets of angles would cluster in the fashion observed approximately once in every 20 trials. The test is surprisingly rigorous with small samples (n , the number of angles, must be equal to or greater than 5). The test procedure is described in Appendix 1.

A trivial modification of the test procedure (described in Appendix 1) adapts the test for the case when the angles cluster on an axis. (For example: If the earthquakes tended to occur at both 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., the distribution would be axial or bi-modal). It is appropriate to look for axial clustering here, because the stresses exerted by (for instance) the Sun may be similar in nature at sunrise and sunset, and at noon and midnight. (This is the certainly the case of the tidal stresses). Thus each set of earthquake solar times and lunar hour angles is tested twice, once for simple clustering and once for axial clustering.

The null hypothesis for this test is that the sets of angles should be randomly distributed; this would suggest that the positioning of the Sun and Moon does not influence the timing or the triggering of the earthquakes. On the other hand if the distributions depart from statistical randomness this would suggest that the positioning of the Sun and Moon may have some physical significance in connection with the triggering of the earthquakes considered.

The earthquakes in Table 1 were first sorted by region. The structure of each of the four seismic regions discussed in the previous section differs from the others in major ways. Gravitational stresses which may be effective in aiding the triggering of earthquakes in one region may have no corresponding effect in another region with a different crustal structural geometry. Thus it is to be

expected that if some gravitational effect is present, it may act in different ways in different seismic provinces. At the same time however it may be that earthquakes taking place in one particular region may tend to occur under similar (gravitational stress) conditions. This is the hypothesis to be evaluated in this search for pattern in the positioning of the Sun and Moon for the times of the major earthquakes of the four principle Chilean seismic regions.

RESULTS

Table 2 gives the solar time and lunar hour angle for the earthquakes of Table 1. Here the events are arranged not chronologically but by seismic regions and by latitude, from north to south. The distributions of solar time and lunar hour angle for the regional groupings are presented graphically in Figures 2-5. The patterns (and their statistical significance) are discussed below.

Northern Chile Region

The earthquakes of the northern region are broken down into two groups on the basis of crustal structural differences; the northern group of six occurred near Arica, where the coastline bends to the northwest, while the events near Iquique and Pisagua occurred in a zone where the oceanic trench offshore and the crustal structure onshore trends north and south (McCann et. al., 1979, Figure 8). The solar times and lunar hour angles for the time of occurrence of the Arica set are shown in Figures 2A-2B. The solar time is shown in Figure 2A; here we see that all of the major earthquakes for which the time of occurrence is accurately known took place between 13:30 and 19:00 (1:30 p.m. and 7 p.m.). Application of Schuster's test reveals a low random probability of occurrence for this distribution of under .025; that is, random samples of angles will cluster in this fashion only about 3% of the time.

The sample of lunar hour angles in Figure 2B provides a good example of an axial or bi-modal distribution. The single cluster version of the statistical test gives an unremarkable random probability of .82 for this distribution, but the bi-modal test yields a value of .026, which is again statistically significant. Here we see that the earthquakes occurred with the Moon either 1) approaching its highest elevation in the sky, or 2) about 180° away from this position, on the opposite side of the Earth.

The sample of three Iquique-Pisagua events is too small to evaluate statistically, but we can note in passing that the solar times of the 1871 and 1933 events are similar (5 a.m. and 4:09 a.m. respectively), while the 1877 earthquake time of 8:30 p.m. is about $\frac{1}{4}$ day removed from these values.

Transverse Valleys Region

Figure 3A is the distribution of solar times for the earthquakes of the Transverse Valleys region. Ten of the thirteen earthquakes took place between midnight and the following noon, with eight of these occurring between about 6 A.M. and noon. The distribution is statistically significant, with a random probability of occurrence of .03 for the single-cluster test. The distribution of lunar hour angles of Figure 3B does not attain statistical significance (random probability .19) but is nevertheless interestingly quite similar to the distribution of solar times. Here also ten of the thirteen events take place with the body in question to the east of the epicentral region.

Central Chile Region

The earthquakes in the Central Chile seismic region can be broken down into two distinct sets, one set along the coastal zone and another inland along the central valley. Six of the eight earthquakes of the coastal zone are located near Valparaíso; these include the great 1906 earthquake and also the most recent (1985) event. Two additional coastal earthquakes to the south of Valparaíso complete this set. Figure 4A is the distribution of solar times for this group of earthquakes. Here we note that all of these earthquakes took place between 6 P.M. and 8 A.M. Application of the statistical test yields a random probability of occurrence of .07 for this set. Figure 4B gives the distribution of lunar hour angles for this coastal group of major earthquakes. The bi-modal pattern shown here is statistically significant with a random probability of .03. Thus here, as in the case of the Arica group, both the solar and the lunar distributions have random probabilities of less than 10%.

Figures 5A and 5B give the solar times and lunar hour angles for the group of earthquakes taking place inland in the Central Chile seismic zone. This set includes the great Santiago earthquake of 1647 and the deadly magnitude 8.3 Chillan earthquake

of 1939. No pattern is present in the solar time of occurrence of these earthquakes (Figure 5A); however a weak bi-modal pattern is present in the series of lunar hour angles for the times of these events (Figure 5B). The random probability for this distribution is .12 (not statistically significant).

Lomnitz (1970) locates four great earthquakes off the coast near Concepción at about 37° S, which are most probably related to the east-west trending structural break which forms the southern boundary of the Central Chile region. This set is too small to evaluate statistically.

Southern Chile Region

Five major historic earthquakes have occurred in the Southern seismic region, from about 38° S to about 46° S. This group includes the extremely large earthquake of May 1960, and several others which may have been roughly as large. Unfortunately the time of the 1737 event is not accurately known, leaving only four events in the set and precluding a statistical evaluation. Still the solar times of the remaining events cluster between 8 A.M. and a little after 3 P.M., a range of about 7 hours (Table 2). If the solar time of the 1737 event fell in this range the distribution would have a random probability of under 10%.

Table 3 gives a summary of the statistical test results obtained here. Two independent gravitational positional parameters for the times of the earthquakes of four Chilean seismic sub-regions were analyzed; each of the eight distributions was tested twice, for clustering and bi-modal clustering, giving a total of sixteen trials. In twenty trials with random samples of angles one would expect to find perhaps one distribution showing clustering significant at the 5% level, and perhaps two at the 10% level (experiments with random samples confirm this). Here however four of the tests show clustering significant at the 5% level. The frequency of statistically significant clustering in these distributions is thus more than three times greater than the expectation for random data. (As noted earlier one further parameter was also tested, so the actual number of trials made in this experiment is twenty-six (see Appendix 2); still the frequency of significant clustering continues to exceed the expectation by a substantial margin.)

The solar times and lunar hour angle values for the times of

the major historic Chilean earthquakes, when sorted by tectonic region of occurrence, do not appear to be randomly distributed. The results are inconsistent with the null hypothesis of no connection linking the positioning of the Moon and Sun with the timing of major earthquakes in Chile.

Pattern emerges in Table 3. Three of the four regional samples have solar time distributions significant at the 10% level or better with the single cluster test, while none show significant bi-modal patterns. The opposite case obtains in the lunar hour angle test results; three of the four groups show bi-modal clustering, with two sets significant at the 5% level or better, but none of the single cluster tests reveals the presence of unusual pattern. This consistency (simple clusters in the solar times, bi-modal clusters in the hour angles) is an additional indication of order, reinforcing the conclusion that in these patterns we are seeing something of physical significance.

DISCUSSION

The earthquakes considered here all have magnitudes of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ and larger; from a physical standpoint these are clearly the most important events of the region, because they completely dominate in terms of the total energy of earthquakes (Kanamori, 1978). They are also important in human terms (though some smaller events can also be deadly and damaging). The statistical results presented here strongly suggest that the triggering of these major events depends in some way upon the positioning of the Sun and Moon. The correlations are found for time scales of hours; so far as I know this is the first investigation to uncover any short-period temporal pattern linking these important earthquakes one with another.

The patterns uncovered do not afford a basis for prediction of future earthquakes, nor can they be considered to provide any significant reduction of the earthquake hazard in Chile. One cannot place a city on "earthquake alert" for several hours each day, while the Sun and Moon are in higher-risk positions relative to the region in question. The correlations found also do not constitute a rigorous proof that some gravitational process is necessarily involved in the triggering of the earthquakes, as a remarkable coincidence ("statistical fluke") or some non-gravitational effect could be involved (though these possibilities must be considered un-

likely). No attempt to relate these positional patterns to actual crustal stress conditions has been made at the present time.

Temporal patterns in earthquake occurrence are rare; as noted earlier the greatest uncertainty in present earthquake prediction techniques is associated with the prediction of the times of upcoming events. The results presented here are important because they bear upon this problem. The presence of correlations of earthquake time with gravitational parameters suggests a physical connection linking gravitation and the earthquake triggering mechanism. If this is in fact the case then it is possible that further study in this area may lead to a reduction in the uncertainty attending the prediction of the times of future earthquakes.

The magnitude of the earthquake hazard demands that all promising avenues of inquiry be investigated to the fullest. Currently however very little research is directed toward the question of a possible gravitational influence on the triggering of significant earthquakes. Hopefully the present results may stimulate greater interest and further research into the question of a possible role for gravitation in the triggering of earthquakes. After all, if gravitation plays an important role in the triggering process, then clearly so long as this area is ignored, accurate prediction will continue to be "impossible with today's technology."

CONCLUSION

Statistically significant clustering is present in the positioning of the Sun and Moon for the times of occurrence of historic major earthquakes in Chile, when the events are grouped by tectonic region of occurrence. The results of this investigation suggest that gravitational stresses may play a contributory role in the triggering of major earthquakes in Chile.

Acknowledgment: I thank Bob Claxton for help with the problem of determining the correct dates for events prior to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar.

Note added in proof: An important paper by S. P. Nishenko was published after this study was completed ("Seismic Potential for Large and Great Interplate Earthquakes Along the Chilean and Southern Peruvian Margins of South America: A Quantitative Reappraisal"; *Journal of Geophysical Research* 90, 3589 (1985). Nishenko's paper provides the best estimates to date of the probability of future earthquakes in specific regions along the

Chilean seismic zone. This paper should be of great interest to planners and others working in the area of earthquake hazard mitigation. Nishenko assigns high risk of earthquakes in the next 20 years to several segments of the Chilean seismic zone.

Nishenko subdivides the Chillán seismic zone in a manner somewhat different from that employed here. For instance, he groups the 1939 and 1953 Chillán earthquakes and the 1928 Talca event with the set of Concepción earthquakes. No revision of the subdivisions used here was made on the basis of Nishenko's work, as this is not good practice from the standpoint of statistical method (Heaton, 1982). I note in passing that the use of Nishenko's geographical breakdowns would not alter the conclusions of this study, as the significance levels of several subregions continue to be high. As an example: The new set of events near Concepción (as described above) shows .04 level bi-modal clustering for the solar time and 6% level bi-modal clustering for the lunar hour angles. Removing the 1928 event from the coastal Central Chile distribution improves the already significant pattern in the Moon hour angle, and subtracting the Chillán events from the Central Valley set (where no significant patterns were found) leaves a sample too small to evaluate.

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APPENDIX 1: STATISTICAL EVALUATION OF DIRECTIONAL DATA

The procedure employed here was first suggested by A. Schuster in 1897, in connection with the analysis of tidal phases and the timing of earthquakes. In this simple test the angular phases (θ_i) of the n events (i.e., the Sun and Moon directions, each considered as unit vectors) are summed. The vector resultant magnitude R and phase ϕ are given by

$$R = \sqrt{(A)^2 + (B)^2} \quad \text{and} \quad \phi = \tan^{-1} \left(\frac{B}{A} \right)$$

$$\text{where } A = \sum_{i=1}^n \cos(\theta_i) \quad , \quad B = \sum_{i=1}^n \sin(\theta_i)$$

The probability P_R of obtaining a resultant of length R or greater is approximately

$$P_R = \exp \left(\frac{-R^2}{n} \right)$$

when $n \leq$ about 8. P_R is often described as the probability that a random walk of n steps will travel a distance R from the origin. The theoretical properties of R have received further attention since the test was originally suggested, and critical values of R/n for $n \leq 5$ are given in Mardia (1972). Mardia's tabulated critical values (his appendix 2.5) are used to determine significance levels of small samples as presented here in Table 3.

If a bi-modal distribution is expected then the initial values of (θ_i) are first converted as follows:

(θ_i)_{bimodal} = 2 (θ_i) (where 360° should be subtracted from values exceeding this threshold, i.e., $476^\circ = 115^\circ$)

See Shlien (1972) and Mardia (1972) for a more extensive discussion of bi-modal and multi-modal distributions. (Note: In Mardia

the statistical procedure described here is termed the Rayleigh test).

It is important in this sort of investigation to ensure that no systematic effects are present which may possibly bias the results. This would be the case for instance if the Sun spent twice as long in the midnight-noon range as in the noon-midnight range; in this case randomly distributed times would cluster in the midnight-noon range, and the statistical test would yield a significant result when in fact no systematic, ordered behavior was occurring. Experimentation with random sets of directions/times is recommended, as this can help detect systematic variations (whose origins may at times be quite subtle and elusive). It is extremely important to define the procedure and the sample to be tested before examining the data. There is a large temptation to arrange the data after examination, which must be resisted; this is cheating, akin to having a look at your opponent's hands in a card game before deciding how to bet (Heaton, 1982).

Finally it is also necessary to remove foreshocks and aftershocks from earthquake samples subjected to statistical analysis; by including them one earthquake event is in effect counted many times, often leading to erroneous conclusions regarding the significance of results.

APPENDIX 2: LUNAR ECLIPTIC LONGITUDES FOR THE MAJOR EARTHQUAKES OF TABLE 1

Statistical Summary:

	Single Cluster	Bi-modal cluster
Northern Chile (Arica)	.69	.21
Transverse Valleys	.62	.35
Central Chile Coastal	.55	.15
Central Chile Interior	.43	.74
Southern Chile	<u>.08</u>	.94

Data:

Region/Year	Longitude
Northern Chile, Arica	
1604	289.24
1615	105.47
1681	242.41
	(+ 8°)
1715	75.33
1868	81.42
1869	359.74
Iquique-Pisagua	
1877	10.48
1871	87.36
1933	319.37
Transverse Valleys	
1966	103.88
1918	261.19
1909	309.05
1946	196.49
1796	268.23
1819	113.20
1859	300.05
1851	15.7
1922	123.4
1849	263.45
1847	186.94
1880	259.87
1943	38.05

Central Chile, Coastal

1730	30.79
1822	306.47
1906	107.42
1971	295.11
1985	120.76
1851	20.17
1914	352.91
1928	121.57

Central Chile, Interior

1687?	145.42?
1688?	283.05?
1575	74.34
1647	175.93
1850	285.53
1939	354.34
1953	318.54

Concepción Offshore

1570	9.69
1657	6.44
1751	66.64
1835	247.62

Southern Chile

1575	84.55
1737	313.53
	(+ 8°)
1837	340.6
1960	31.13
1975	41.16

Note: Values for days when solar time is unknown (1681, 1737) are computed for local noon; these may be in error by approximately seven to eight degrees. Lömnitz (1970) lists one earthquake which occurred either in 1687 or 1688; values for both possible dates are given.

Table 1: Major Earthquakes in Chile, 1570-1985

Date	Time	Location	W Lon	S Lat	Mag
Feb 08 1570	09:00	Concepción	75	37	8-8.5
Mar 17 1575	10:00	Santiago	71.5	33	7-7.5
Dec 15 1575	15:00	Valdivia	75	40	8.5
Nov 24 1604	13:30	Arica	72	18	8.25-8.5
Sep 16 1615	17:00	Arica	72	18	7.5
May 13 1647	22:30	Santiago	71	33.5	8.5
Mar 15 1657	20:00	Concepción	75	37	8
Mar 10 1681	?	Arica	72	18	7-7.5
Jul 12 1687/8?	13:00	Santiago	71	33	7-7.5
Aug 22 1715	19:00	Arica	72	17	7.5
Jul 08 1730	04:45	Valparaíso	73	33	8.75
Dec 24 1737	?	Valdivia	75	40	7.5-8
May 25 1751	01:00	Concepción	75	37	8.5
Mar 30 1796	06:45	Copiapó	71	27.5	7.5-8
Apr 03 1819	10:00	Copiapó	72	27.5	8.25-8.5
Nov 19 1822	22:15	Valparaíso	72	33	8.5
Feb 20 1835	11:30	Concepción	75	37	8-8.25
Nov 07 1837	08:00	Valdivia	75	40	>8
Oct 08 1847	11:00	Illapel	71.5	32	7.5
Nov 17 1849	06:00	Coquimbo	73	30	7.5
Dec 06 1850	06:42	Santiago	70	34	7-7.5
Apr 02 1851	06:48	Valparaíso	72	33.5	7-7.5
May 26 1851	13:14	Copiapó	72	28	7-7.5
Oct 05 1859	08:00	Copiapó	71	27.5	7.5-7.75
Aug 13 1868	16:45	Arica	72	18	8.5
Aug 24 1869	13:30	Arica	71	18.5	7-7.75
Oct 05 1871	05:00	Iquique	71	21	7-7.5
May 10 1877	20:30	Pisagua	71	20	8-8.5
Aug 15 1880	08:48	Illapel	72	32	7.5-8
Aug 16 1906	20:40	Valparaíso	72	33	8.6
Jun 08 1909	01:46	Copiapó	70.5	26.5	7.6
Jan 29 1914	23:36	Constitución	73	35	7.6
Dec 04 1918	07:47	Copiapó	71	26	7.75
Nov 11 1922	00:32	Huasco	71	28.5	8.4
Dec 01 1928	00:06	Talca	72.5	35	8.4
Feb 23 1933	04:09	Iquique	71.5	20.5	7.6
Jan 24 1939	23:32	Chillán	72.5	36.5	8.3
Apr 06 1943	12:07	Illapel	72	30.7	8.3

Aug 02 1946	15:18	Copiapó	70.5	26.5	7.5
May 06 1953	13:18	Chillán	72.5	36.5	7.5
May 22 1960	15:11	Valdivia	72.6	38.2	8.3
Dec 28 1966	04:18	Copiapó	707	25.5	7.75
Jul 08 1971	23:03	Valparaíso	71.1	32.5	7.5
May 10 1975	10:27	Valdivia	73.2	38.2	7.7
Mar 03 1985	18:47	Valparaíso	71.8	32.9	7.7

Most of the earthquakes listed were tabulated by Lomnitz (1970). He included known historic earthquakes with magnitudes which may have reached 7.5, based on the observed effects of the earthquakes (no instrumental records are available for earthquakes before the turn of the century). Gutenberg and Richter (1954) list four earthquakes with magnitudes of 7.5 or larger not included in the list by Lomnitz; these four (1909, 1914, 1933, and 1946) have been included here. Five major earthquakes in the years 1960-present have also been added; the data for these events in general comes from the NOAA catalog (NGSDC, 1982). Five events from Lomnitz' catalog have been dropped from this listing, one in 1829 of small magnitude (7.0), two from the region near Tierra del Fuego (a different tectonic region), and two which occurred immediately following the 1819 earthquake in the same location. The date listed for the 1981 earthquake by Lomnitz (Dec. 18) is incorrect.

The local date and time are given in the first two columns. For the first three events the date refers to the Julian calendar with modern (Gregorian) year. The times for the events after 1900 are Greenwich time minus four hours. Approximate locations of the earthquakes are given in columns 3-5; note that the cities specified to indicate a region, not a precise location. The longitude and latitude values give a more precise location, but are still only approximate for events before 1900 (see Lomnitz, 1970 for a discussion of the method of determining most probable locations of early events). Magnitude values are as given in the source catalogs.

Table 2: Solar Times and Lunar Hour Angles for Major Earthquakes

Region/Year	Solar Time (degrees)	Lunar Hour (degrees)
Northern Chile Region		
Arica (Figure 2)		
1715	285.0	179.9
1604	202.5	336.1
1615	255.0	142.9
1681	?	?
1868	251.2	132.8
1869	202.5	354.3
Iquique/Pisagua		
1877	307.5	166.7
1933	51.0	240.8
1871	75.0	1.8
Transverse Valleys Region (Figure 3)		
1966	53.8	44.8
1918	105.7	277.5
1909	15.9	319.5
1946	218.9	332.9
1796	101.2	22.0
1819	150.0	225.0
1859	120.0	190.8
1851	198.5	66.0
1922	352.6	275.5
1849	90.0	243.2
1943	169.6	326.5
1847	165.0	355.8
1880	132.0	194.8
Central Chile Region		
Coastal Zone (Figure 4)		
1971	334.6	323.4
1985	270.0	307.7
1730	71.2	330.1
1822	333.7	83.1
1906	297.7	153.8
1851	102.0	271.9
1914	341.0	116.3
1928	349.6	294.2

Interior (Central Valley) (Figure 5)		
1575	150.0	260.1
1687/88	195.0	?
1647	337.5	31.1
1850	100.5	248.7
1939	340.4	110.5
1953	186.7	90.1
Concepción Offshore		
1570	135.0	272.8
1657	300.0	109.8
1751	15.0	192.3
1835	172.5	76.4
Southern Chile Region		
1960	215.2	65.5
1975	143.5	332.9
1575	225.0	235.6
1737	?	?
1837	120.0	183.1

The solar time and lunar hour angle values are given in decimal degrees. For the Sun, 90° is equivalent to 06:00 (6 A.M.). The solar times of the earthquakes are given in conventional notation in Table 1. Both the solar time and the lunar hour angle increase in a clockwise direction, but the zero hours differ; the solar day starts at midnight, but the lunar hour angle is zero when the Moon is overhead at upper culmination. Figures 2-5 reflect this difference; these are arranged so the actual directions, as seen by a local observer, are represented in the same way for both bodies. Thus if an earthquake occurred at noon, with the Moon also overhead, both diagrams would plot this direction "straight up," even though the solar time is 12 (180°) and the lunar time is 0 (0°).

The solar times before 1900 (before the worldwide introduction of time zones) are assumed to be the correct solar time at the longitude of the earthquake. After 1900 or so the times of earthquakes are reported in catalogs in Greenwich time; to convert this value to solar time *at the longitude of the earthquake* it is necessary to subtract (west longitude degrees times 4 minutes) from Greenwich time of day in minutes. This value of solar time will differ slightly from the "correct" time in the local time zone for recent earthquakes; however this procedure is clearly most appropriate because it gives the solar times all on the same scale.

The algorithm for calculating the lunar coordinates (Emerson, 1979) on the other hand requires the correct Greenwich date and time, along with the earthquake longitude, to calculate the lunar hour angle. Thus here reported Greenwich times of recent earthquakes can be used without modification, but correct Greenwich times for early events must be calculated using the inverse procedure from that outlined above. That is, Greenwich time equals the local solar time plus (west longitude degrees times 4 minutes).

The uncertainties in the values of the lunar and solar positions thus calculated of course depend on the accuracy of the earthquake times. An error of two hours will cause the solar and lunar positions to be in error by up to about 30°, which will change the distributions sufficiently to alter the statistical results in important ways. However, if the inaccuracies in the reported times are on the order of minutes, only small changes in the distributions will result. (The question of the accuracy of origin times applies only to pre-1900 events).

Table 3: Summary of Statistical Results

Region	Solar Time		Lunar Hour Angle	
	1 Mod.	2 Mod.	1 Mod.	2 Mod.
N. Chile (Arica)	< <u>.025</u>	.34	.82	<u>.026</u>
Transverse Valleys	<u>.03</u>	.68	.19	.66
Central, Coastal	<u>.07</u>	.28	.57	< <u>.025</u>
Central, Interior	.78	.14	.94	.12

Single cluster and bi-modal tests are denoted by 1 Mod. and 2 Mod. (Mod. = Modal) respectively. The decimal numbers in the table are computed values of the statistical random probability of occurrence for the distributions of angles in Table 2 and Figures 2-5. Distributions where the random probability is .1 (10%) or less are underlined. (Discussion in text).

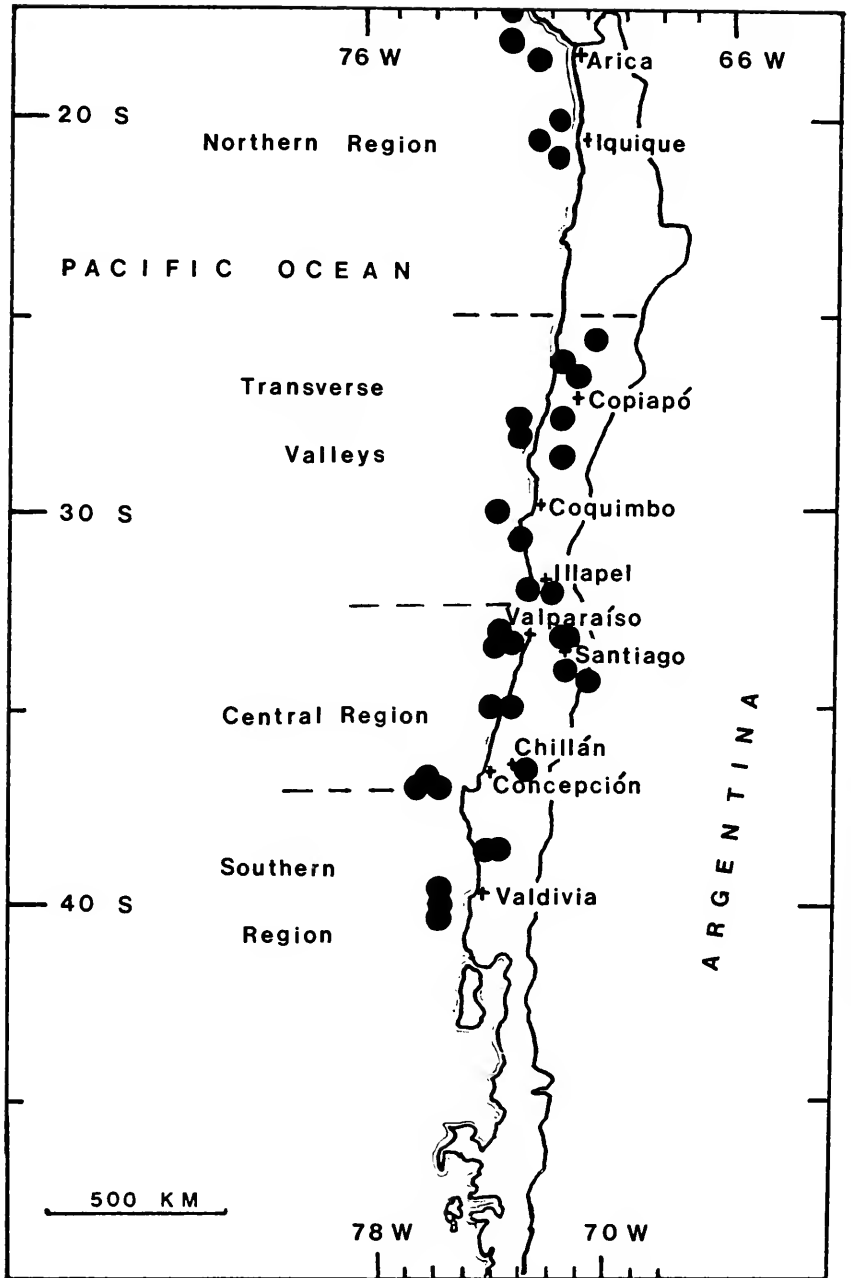


Figure 1: Chilean Seismic Regions and Major Historic Earthquakes

Figure 2: Distribution of Solar Times and Lunar Hour Angles for the Northern Chile Region (Arica Earthquakes)

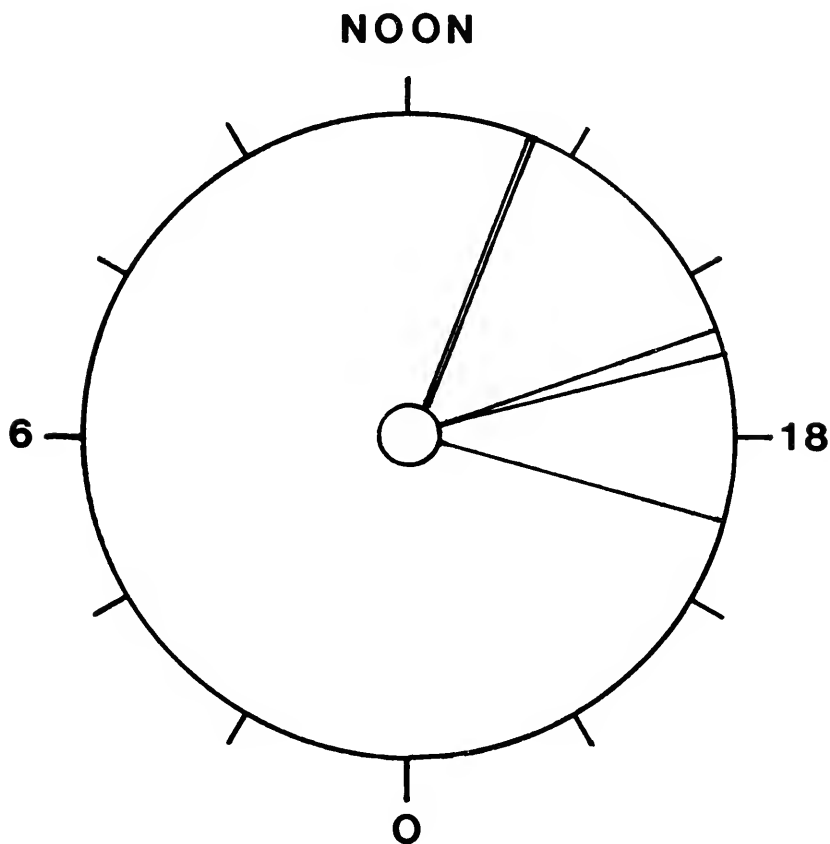


Figure 2A shows the solar times for the Arica earthquakes. In this figure the 24 hour day begins at 0 hours, local midnight, at the bottom of the diagram. The solar times of the five earthquakes cluster in the range from about 1:30 p.m. to about 7 p.m. (Tables 1 and 2). The statistical random probability of occurrence for this distribution is .025.

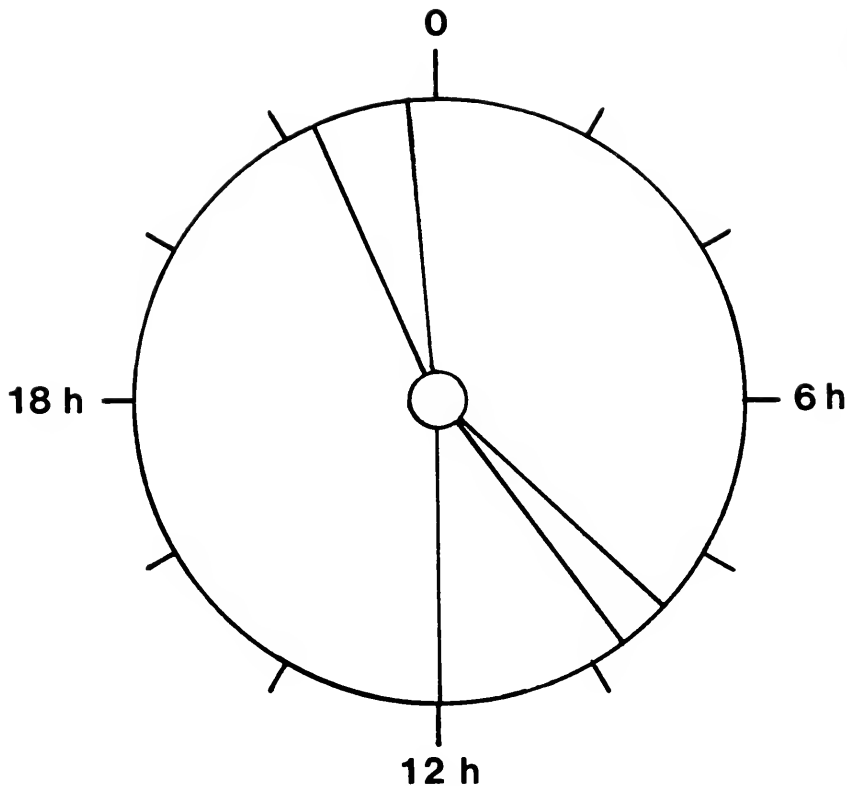
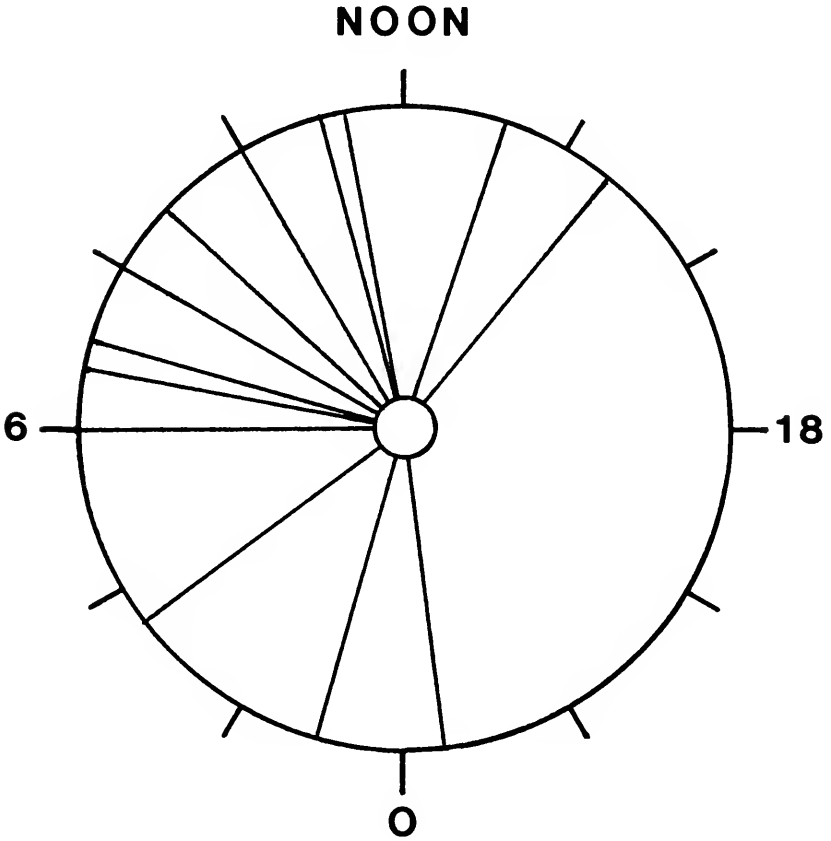


Figure 2B is a plot of lunar hour angles for the times of the Arica earthquakes. Here the 0 hour corresponds to the time when the Moon is overhead (at upper culmination) as seen by an observer at the longitude of the earthquake epicenter. The bi-modal random probability of occurrence for this distribution is less than 3% (see discussion in text and Appendix 1 for a description of the statistical method).

Figure 3: Distribution of Solar Times and Lunar Hour Angles for Earthquakes of the Transverse Valleys Seismic Region



The distribution of solar times in Figure 3A shows a preference for times from about 6 a.m. to noon, with eight of the thirteen events in this range. The random probability for this distribution is .03.

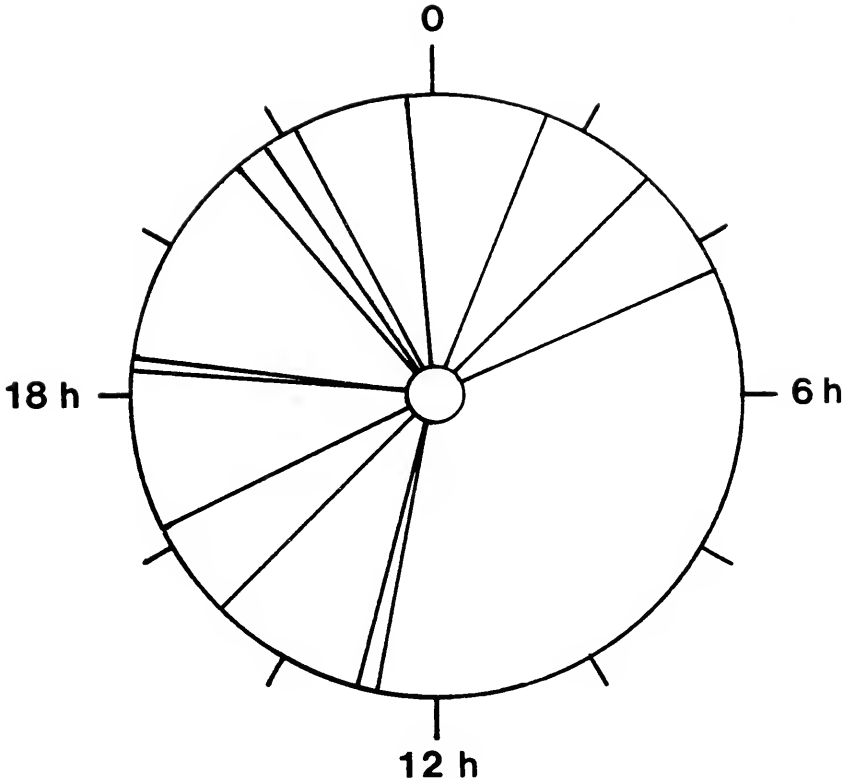
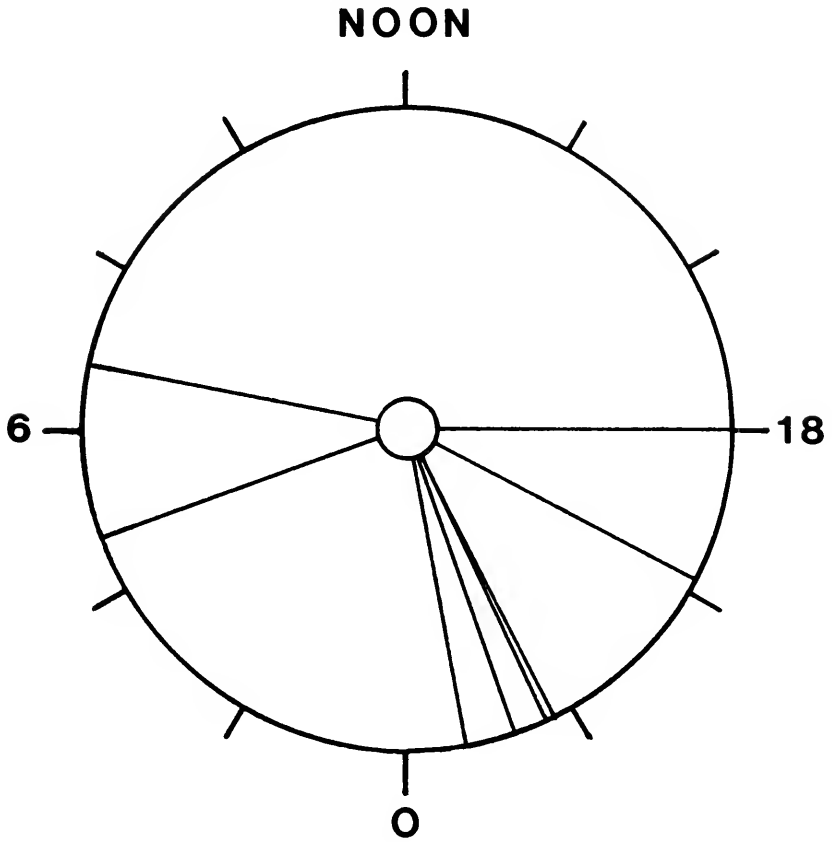
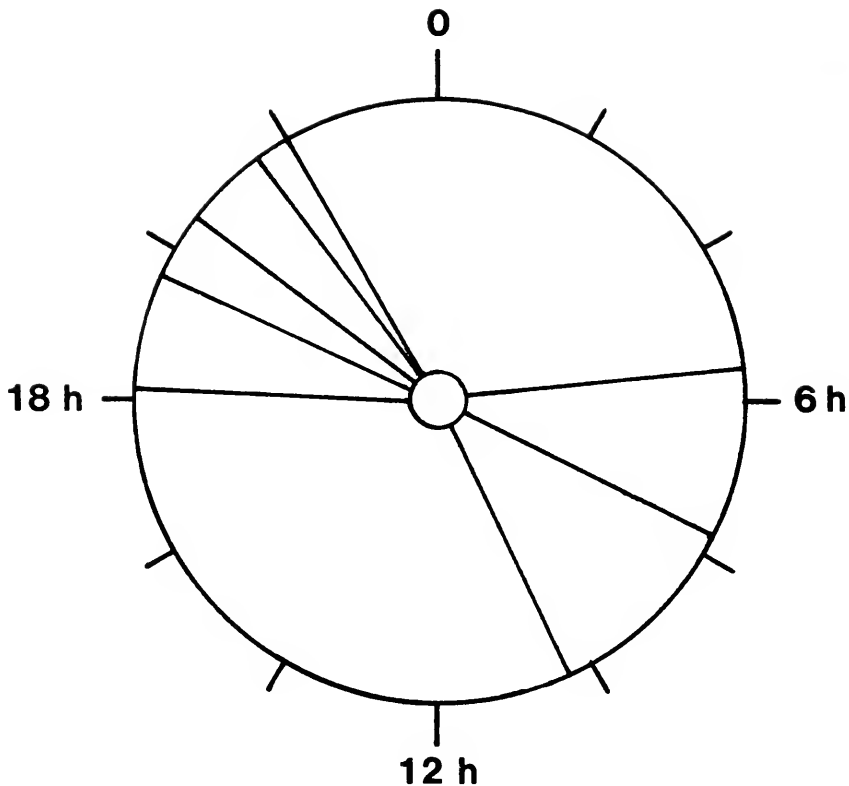


Figure 3B shows that the lunar hour angles for the times of the Transverse Valleys earthquakes also mainly fall into the range where the Moon is to the east of the epicenter (from 12 hours to 0 hours). This distribution however falls short of statistical significance, with a random probability of .19.

Figure 4: Solar Times and Lunar Hour Angles for the Earthquakes of the Central Chile Coastal Zone



The earthquakes of the coastal zone from Valparaíso south to Constitución tend to occur in the evening, between 6 p.m. and midnight (Figure 4A). Random samples of times will show this sort of clustering about 7% of the time.

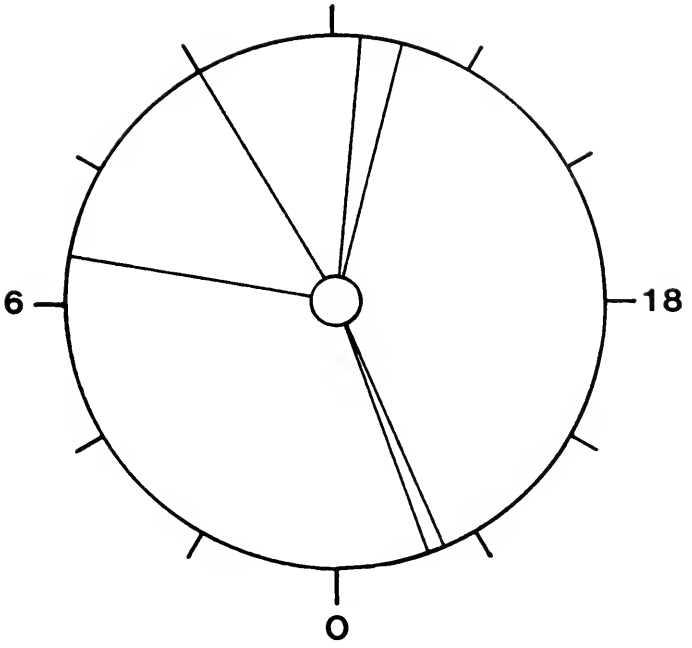


A well developed bi-modal pattern is found in the lunar hour angles for the times of these earthquakes. The distribution indicated that major earthquakes in this region tend to occur two to three hours after moonrise and a similar period after "moonset." The bi-modal random probability here is .025.

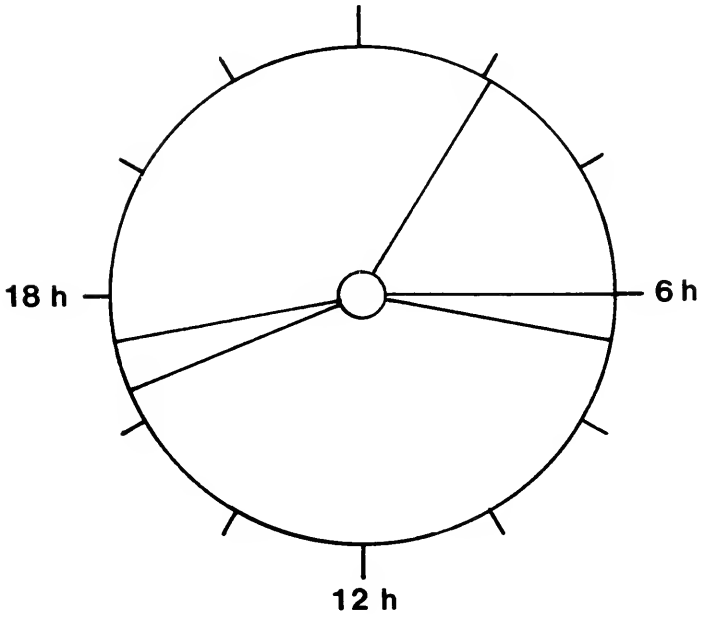
Figure 5: Solar Times and Lunar Hour Angles for Earthquakes of the Central Chile Seismic Region (Inland) *Next page.*

The solar times (Figure 5A) and the lunar hour angles (Figure 5B) for these earthquakes each show a weak tendency toward bi-modal clustering, but neither distribution is statistically remarkable with random probabilities of .14 and .12 respectively. Figure 5B is the third of our four hour angles distributions to show bi-modal pattern.

NOON



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MASTER LIST OF HISTORIC (Pre 1840) EARTHQUAKES AND VOLCANIC ERUPTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Lawrence H. Feldman**

INTRODUCTION

What follows is a Master List of all earthquakes/volcanic eruptions pertaining to Central America, located as of April 24, 1981 for the United States Department of the Interior Geological Survey. Most references are derived from the Archivo General de Centro-América (AGCA) or the Archivo General de Indias (AGI). A word is in order on reference citations. Manuscripts at the AGCA are cited by Signatura-Expediente-Legajo:folio numbers while AGI manuscripts have Ramo name and Legajo number. For each archive a bundle of manuscripts is called a legajo, individual manuscripts in a bundle being known as expedientes while a ramo is a section of an archive. As used here, signatura numbers are equivalent to ramos. As an example of this system in operation, "Guatemala 658" is legajo 658 of the ramo Audiencia de Guatemala while "A1.11.25(4)-1428-123" is signatura A1.11.25 of Honduras (=4), expediente number 1428 and legajo number 123. A published journal of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the *Gazeta de Guatemala*, is cited as if it were a ramo. The copies actually used are kept by the AGI. Other archives whose manuscripts are cited are that of the University of Texas (UT), Museo Naval de Madrid (AMN), the Real Academia de Historia (Madrid) and the Biblioteca Colombina (Seville). Other archives checked whose records did *not* provide useful data were: (1) Hacienda de Sevilla, (2) Biblioteca Universitaria (Seville), (3) Biblioteca de Círculo de Amistad (Córdoba), (4) Biblioteca Pública Provincial de Córdoba, (5) Biblioteca Pública de Granada, (6) Biblioteca General de Universitario (Granada), (7) Archivo de la Real Chancillería (Granada), (8) Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), (9) Archivo General de

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Simancas (Valladolid) and (10) Archivo del Servicio Histórico Militar (Madrid).

No systematic attempt was made to use other data sources but reference is made to data found in the *Annals of the Cakchi-quels* (Recinos and Goetz 1953), Fuentes y Guzmán (1932), Córtes y Larraz (1958), Recinos (1954), Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Francisco Vásquez. Data from the last two are derived from footnotes in Recinos and Goetz (1953), while Fuentes y Guzmán certainly has other pertinent data not cited here. Other published sources that deserve further investigation are the letters of Pedro Alvarado (written ca. 1525), Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo (written in the early 16th century—one should note that he has two separate works, an *Historia natural* and an *Historia general*, both of potential value), Diego Palacio (1576), Vásquez (17th century), Thomas Gage (17th century), Francisco Ximénez (again two, 18th century, works—an *Historia natural* and an *Historia general*), Bartolomé de Las Casas (several different early 16th century works), and Antonio Remesal (ca. 1600). In Central America it might be of value to check the National Archives in Tegucigalpa, Honduras and the State Archives in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas. Certainly the AGCA church reconstruction manuscripts, listed in the Appendix, will have some new quake citations. Manuscripts, from the same archive, marked *not seen* in the Master List, certainly should be examined for quake data, (the references are derived from the AGCA card catalogue). Thirdly, at the AGCA, a selection might be made of Protocolos and Cabildo records, by pertinent years, for intensive investigation.

With all references an attempt was made to use primary eyewitness accounts as opposed to secondary sources represented by the compilers of historical accounts. Because of the nature of Spanish colonial administrative procedure, to grant tax relief and disaster funding upon receipt of sworn testimony, such data was common, although rarely published in the literature. Since the royal government was responsible for the collection and expenditure of Church funds, and given that the only substantial public building in many communities was the church, accounts of church reconstruction expenditures provided a valuable means of checking the effects of quakes outside of the capital cities, the only places usually mentioned in the published historical chronicles and in many manuscript sources.

Finally some word should be said of those colonial secondary

sources which, because they are so often quoted, need to be recognized for what they are, namely *not* eyewitness accounts. Fuentes y Guzmán, Remesal and Vázquez are both primary and secondary sources. They are extremely useful because they cite now lost primary sources but, except in so far as they report events witnessed by the authors themselves (as they often do), they are not primary. The printed eighteenth century *relaciones* on the Guatemalan quakes (of Guatemala 658) are highly useful, purely secondary reports of quakes in and about Antigua and Jalapa. They provide data for Pardo (1944) and Juarros (1936) and, because they are unavailable today, have been copied for this project. But they are not primary. The primary records are contained in the abundant certified testimony that also may be found in these same archives.

THE MASTER LIST

[sample]

DATE OF OCCURRENCE POLITICAL SUBDIVISION OF
 OCCURRENCE

Place of Occurrence

Date of Descriptive Document: Document Identification
Description of event (archaic spelling maintained)

Editor's Note: All dates before October 15, 1582 are in the Julian Calendar mode of reckoning time. All Catholic nations adopted the Gregorian Calendar correction on the cited date.

- ca. 1505 GUATEMALA
- Santiago Atitlán
- 1585, 8 Febrero: Relación de Santiago Atitlán, UT#65. Del uno [Volcán Fuego] se tiene noticia que en los años pasados puede haver ochenta años poco más o menos reventó, y echa mucha cantidad de agua, piedra y fuego, y ansi ahora se echa de ver por estar todo lo que dize la boca pelado y quemado, a modo de una caldera.
- 1530, Mayo 29 GUATEMALA
- Ciudad Vieja
- 1719: Guatemala 309. Notes terremotos at Ciudad Vieja in 1530, no month. Quetzaltenango, San Marcos
- 1530: Libro de Ayuntamiento (o Cabildo) de Guatemala 1. Mayo 29, 1530.
- 1535 GUATEMALA
- Sololá
- 1535: Annals of the Cakchiquel. "I heard Hunahpu [Volcán Fuego] rumble".
- 1538, Mayo 1 NICARAGUA
- Volcán Masaya
- 1538: Patronato Real 180-1-71. Testimonio de una información hecha en Nicaragua sobre el Volcán de Masaya y cuerca de en tras en el y reconocerse sus metales.
- 1585: Guatemala 56. Probanza data citation of above, nothing of interest.
- 1541 GUATEMALA
- Santiago Atitlán
- 1585, 8 Febrero. Relación de Santiago Atitlán, UT#65. Eruption of Volcán Fuego.
- 1541, Septiembre 11 GUATEMALA
- Ciudad Vieja
- 1774: Guatemala 658.
- 1541: Patronato Real 181-1-2. Relación hecha por el obispo de Guatemala de lo sucedido allí el día 10 de Septiem-

bre con motivo de un Volcán. Description of mud slide after heavy rains and during heavy rains. Took place 2 AM. No quake mentioned in either of two given letters.

1541, Octubre 14: Guatemala 46. Reference to "Gran Terremoto" in letter signed by Francisco Castellano (treasurer of government of Guatemala) at Ciudad Vieja in 1541.

1559, Enero 4: Patronato 62-2-13. Falleció el dicho adelantado en servicio de VM desde a dos meses sucedió el terremoto desta Ciudad de Guatemala.

1552, 31 Marzo

GUATEMALA

Sololá

1552: Annals of the Cakchiquel. On the day 9 Ah [March 31, 1552] fire emerged from inside the volcano [Fuego].

1565

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1565: Libro de Ayuntamiento (o Cabildo) de Guatemala 4:folio 77-as cited in Fuentes y Guzmán 1932:1:260. Reventó este monte [either Volcán Fuego or Pacaya as he equates the two], con grande ruina de esta ciudad y sus contornos, la última vez en nuestra tiempos, el año de 1565 (FyG wrote ca. 1699).

1565, Agosto y Septiembre

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. cf. Guatemala 661 for further detail.

San Juan Comalapa

1774: Guatemala 658. Fuertes temblores quales sintieron gravemente.

1566, Mayo

GUATEMALA

Patzún

1566: Annals Cakchiquel. There was a terrible earthquake; houses toppled over in Zelahay and Patzún but no damage was caused here in Sololá.

Antigua

1566: Bernal Díaz del Castillo, chapter 214. In the year

1566, being. . .month of May, between one and two in the afternoon, the earth began to shake in such a way that houses and walls and even roofs were lifted and many of them fell to the ground and others were left without roofs, lying to one side. . .And of those severe earthquakes which lasted nine days there is much to say. . .

1569

GUATEMALA

Nestiquipaque, San Cristóbal (near Chiquimulilla)

1570: Contaduría 967. El licenciado Brizeno gobernador que fue desta provincia para ayuda a hazer la iglesia y reparar sus casas que servían caído con cierto temblor que en el dicho pueblo.

1571, Diciembre

GUATEMALA

1571: Annals Cakchiquel. On December 25 the Volcano erupted. There was fire and darkness over the city of Xelahub during Christmas.

1575

CHIAPAS/NICARAGUA

Provincias de Chiapa hasta Nicaragua

1774: Guatemala 658. Pérdida muchas vidas y hacienda en toda la Provincia de Chiapa a la de Nicaragua.

Antigua

1773: Guatemala 661. Cites José de Acosta as source for data.

1577, Noviembre 29

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. Ultimo día de Noviembre 1577, 3 hour quake destroyed much in Antigua.

Sacatepéquez (en departamento de San Marcos), Antigua

1578, Marzo 17: Guatemala 10. En 29 de Noviembre de 77 vinó un temblor de tierra en toda esta provincia y deudo dezze. . .uentar en un pueblo que se dize Zacatepeque quel de la encomienda de Doña Leonor de Alvarado. Tenían acauado un monestero. . .y trauajo de los indios todo de teja muy bien cobrado. El iglesia el qual dezribo por los cimientos la fuerza del temblor y del mesmo pueblo 60 casas de yndios. . .En el este

tanto que lo tracosa se prouere suedios servido que no hiciese e ningun daño el monesterio ni las casas y este mismo tenblor aunque no contenta forza sucedió en este ciudad en aquella misma forza y dista quarenta leguas.

Sololá

1577: Annals Cakchiquel. On November 28, in the middle of the night, we were shaken by an earthquake, on the eve of the feast of San Andrés.

Antigua

n.d.: Vázquez (17th century). The earthquakes which started in 1575 continued destroying many buildings in this province until San Andrés day, in 1577, at midnight, when there was a farewell swing which lasted almost three hours. Many houses were ruined and then (the earthquakes) stopped.

1581, Diciembre 26

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658.

Sololá

1581: Annals Cakchiquel. During the celebration of Santo Tomás, December 5, 1581, fire from the Volcano of Fire was seen. It was really a big eruption, which increased during Christmas and stopped afterward.

1581

EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1801: Guatemala 942. Iglesia parroquial de San Salvador ar-
ruinada, (from context guess that was quake caused).

1582, Enero 14

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. Eruption only.

Santiago Atitlán

1582, Febrero 8. Relación de Santiago Atitlán. UT #65. Este propio bolcán [Fuego] cuando revantó el de Guatemala puede haber tres años poco más o menos echó fuego aunque muy poco. Y ansi de cuando en cuando, por las mañanas y algunas tardes echa humo aunque es poco cosa. Llámase este bolcán en la lengua

materna Hunqat, que suena "cosa que quema entre si".

1585, Enero 16

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658.

Sololá

1585: Annals Cakchiquel. On the sixteenth of January there was a very big earthquake which lasted until sundown.

1586, Diciembre 5

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1586: Annals Cakchiquel. On December 5, at daybreak, an earthquake destroyed houses in Antigua. Some Spaniards were among these who died.

1586, Diciembre 23

GUATEMALA

1774: Guatemala 658.

1587: Guatemala 10. Tenblor que a 23 de diziembre del año pasado de 86 Vuo en ella que. . .recio y fuerte que se cayeron como sesenta casas de gente pobre y las de mas y la dicha yglesia mayor y monesterios quedaron arruynadas y muy maltratados y en especial la dicha iglesia mayor cuya fábrica es muy tenue y pobre. cf. also Guatemala 678. ANTIGUA.

1587 (San Phelipe)

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1773, Septiembre 1: Guatemala 661. Cuando comenzó a respiran fuego una de los tres volcanes la otra (quake?) por el día de San Phelipe.

1594, Abril 21

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1595, Enero 18: Guatemala 43.

1607, Octubre 9

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1607, Octubre 23: A1-1-1. Auto promulgado por el Presidente Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, ordenado sean traídos indígenas de algunos pueblos comarca dos para

los trabajos de descombramiento de la Ciudad, abatida por temblores desde la noche del 9 del mismo mes y año. *Not seen.*

1608: Guatemala 12. A nueve de Octubre pasado a las diez de la noche un terremoto repentino que dió tres impetus. . . los quales quedaron muy quebrantados y muchos aruinadas (todos los edificios e yglesias y monesterios desta ciudad). Vino este terremoto o temblor de la parte del norte a mediodía. . . y tras del subcediron otros muchos temblores continuadamente was de seis meses. . . continues with talk of "los quatro elementos" and the volcanic cause of quakes.

1609

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1609: Guatemala 678. Noticia sobre el gran temblor de tierra que continuaron por espacio de cuatro meses. 1 folio, date of manuscript is 5 Octubre 1609.

1610, Marzo 22

HONDURAS

Comayagua

1610-1611: Guatemala 167. Arruinada iglesia walls.

1610, 16 enero

NICARAGUA

1610: Guatemala 43.

1610

NICARAGUA

Volcán Momotombo

after 1781: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid Ms. 570 #6. Eruption.

1621, Mayo 2 hasta Agosto 21

PANAMA

Ciudad de Panamá

1640: Relación Histórica y Geográfica de la Provincia de Panamá por Juan Requejo Salcedo. EN Relaciones de América Central, Madrid; Librería General de Victoriano Suárez. 1908. DE Colección de Libro y Documentos Referentes a la Historia de América, Tomo 8, pps 1-84; quake data pps 40-61. Refers to un temblor y temblores que duraron por más de tres meses y medio, desde 2 de Mayo hasta 21 de Agosto,

víspera de San Bartolomé el año de 1621, que se continuaron casi cada día, algunas de doce, diez y menos remezones.

1650 EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1650: Guatemala 942. Iglesia Parroquial de San Salvador aruinada, (from context guess was quake).

1651, Febrero 18 GUATEMALA

Antigua

ca. 1699: See Fuentes y Guzmán 1932:1:262-263 for detailed description of quake which continued to March 5.

1651, Octubre 8 GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658.

1654 GUATEMALA

Amatitlán

1662: Guatemala 72. La iglesia de dicho pueblo esta amenazando ruina por los grandes temblores de tierra y terremotos que a aviso en aquella partes. Asking for money in Dic 5 1654-los temblores grandes que ahora tres años hubo maltrataron tanto la iglesia del dicho pueblo.

1655, Junio 22 GUATEMALA

Pacaya/Fuego (author does not distinguish between them)

ca. 1699: See Fuentes y Guzmán 1932:1:262 for detailed description of eruption and ash fall.

1658, Noviembre 3 EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1658: A1.1-2-1 (3). Medidas tomadas para proteger al vecindario de San Salvador, con motivo del terremoto habido el 3 de Noviembre. Also see A1.1-3-1 (3).

1658 EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1658: A1.1-2-1:7 (3). Breve Relación de la Reventazón del

Volcán de la Ciudad de San Salvador.

Provincias de San Miguel y San Salvador

1659: Guatemala 387. A quese le acrecento una gran ruina ocasionado de hauer rebentado un bolcán cuias cenicas destruyeron los fructos y los temblores de la tierra, las casas y senaladamente los templos, de la yglesia parrochial y las de Santo Domingo, San Francisco y la merced y refuil las asistencia, personal que hicistes en la ciudad de San Salvador. . .reparo de la iglesia.

San Salvador

1660: Guatemala 20. Un volcán que estaba junto a la Ciudad de San Salvador de bento que causo mucho daño a su con los temblores de tierra como con las cenicas que se diuir dieron en la provincia y alcalde mayor de Sonsonate, sobre que muchas pueblos de indios han pedido deferia de tributos. . .y ayudado algunos de vecinos de dicha ciudad y al reparo de la iglesia de ella.

1671, Agosto 16

EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1671: A1.24-10208-1564:308. Parish templo of Ciudad de San Salvador suffered during temblores in 1671.

1671: A1.1-4-1(3). Autos tramitados por el alcalde mayor de los provincias de San Salvdor y de San Miguel, con motivo de la ruina habida en San Salvador el 16 de Agosto de 1671.

1674: A1.23-1520:28. Real Cédula. Pidese a la Audiencia informes circunstanciados de las daños sufridos en la Ciudad de San Salvador debido al Terremoto del 16 de Agosto de 1671 y las pérdidas como consecuencia, además, de la erupción del volcán inmediato a dicha ciudad.

1674: Guatemala 189. Sobre uiniendo tan grandes temblores de tierra, y terremotos, causados de hauesse reuentado un volcán, que esta inmediato a ella, que no quedo templo, ni casa, que no sea ruinase y cayese y que las que no cayeron, quedar un inabitables y sin de provecho, cuyo suceso ocasiono aquellos mas vecinos, se retirasen a sus estancias, y a los pueblos de los in-

dios. cf. also Guatemala 209.

1677 (?)

CHIAPAS

Ciudad Real (Las Casas)

1721: Guatemala 309. Notes repair of Ciudad Real cathedral in 1677 in context that suggests quakes were causal of damage.

1678, Agosto

GUATEMALA

Pacaya/Fuego (author does not distinguish between)

ca. 1699: Fuentes y Guzmán 1932:1:262. No menos por el mes de Agosto del año de 1678 volvió a bramar por muchos días lanzando grandes llamas de fuego, y mucho y espeso humo, con grandes estremecimientos de tierra que imitaba a un lento temblor continuado, y condensan dose del frecuente huma aquella pavorosa nube. . .(further description given).

1687, Marzo 26

GUATEMALA

Pacaya/Fuego (author does not distinguish between)

ca. 1699: Persistencia de los días, pero las llamas de fuego, y el retumbo fue mucho mayor, y el nubarron de humo mucho más extendido, y espeso tanto que extendido sobre el surdeste, y el nordeste, tenia asombrado el sol con su interposición hasta la hora de las once del día, que se elevaba y propagaba la nube. Fuentes y Guzmán 1932:1:262.

1689, Febrero 12 = 2 temblores (11 AM & 11 PM) (Santa Eulalia)

GUATEMALA

San Pedro Huertas (El Tesorero)

1689: A1.10.3-31270-4046. Los alcaldes del pueblo de San Pedro indican que con el temblor del 12 de Febrero, quedo arruinado el templo y piden ayudar para reconstruirlo.

Parroquia de San Sebastián de la Ciudad (de Guatemala)

1690: Guatemala 905. Terremoto ruined iglesia.

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658.

1689, Febrero 23

GUATEMALA

- Antigua
1689: Guatemala 180.
- 1702, Agosto 4 (Santo Domingo) GUATEMALA
- Antigua
1773, Septiembre 1: Guatemala 661. En que exhaló, y vomitó tanto fuego, humo, y ceniza este volcán con horrosos libramidos que obscureciendo la luz del sol, aun siendo las nueve del día, fue necesario ensenderse luces como se fuese de noche.
- 1702, Agosto 14 EL SALVADOR
- Asunción Ahuachapa
1702: A1.24-10217-1573:128. Templo ruined by terremoto of 14 de Agosto.
- 1702 NICARAGUA
- Masaya
1739: A1.25 (5)-383-42. Terremotos arruinado iglesia en año de 1702.
- 1703 (?) GUATEMALA
- Cubulco
1703, 31 de Marzo: A1.24-10217-1573:273. RP para que de los bienes de comunidad del pueblo de Santiago Cubulco, jurisdicción de Verapaz, se les de la cantidad de 600 pesos, para la obra de la capilla mayor, arruinada por temblores.
- 1705, Febrero 1 GUATEMALA
- Antigua
1774: Guatemala 658.
Volcán ceniza entre nueve o diez de la mañana.
1773: Guatemala 661 cf. for further detail.
- 1709, Octubre 14 GUATEMALA
- Antigua
1774: Guatemala 658. Ríos de fuego que vomitó el volcán.
- 1712, Diciembre 14 EL SALVADOR
- Nuestra Señora Candelaria Ostuma

1712: A1.24-10224-1580:187. Templo destroyed by temblor on 14th of diciembre of 1712.

Santa Lucía Sacatecoluca

1712: A1.24-10224-1580:190. Templo destroyed by temblor de 14 de diciembre.

1714, Mayo 15

CHIAPAS

Santiago Amatenango

1714:A1.24-10225-1581:540. Church reconstruction.

1715

EL SALVADOR

San Vicente

1715: A1-31190-4043. El Ayuntamiento de San Vicente expone que con motivo de un terremoto muchos pobladores han desamparado la Villa y pide sean obligados a retornar.

1717, Agosto 22

GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. Uno de los volcanes voracos llauas de fuego y humo.

1717, Agosto 28

EL SALVADOR/GUATEMALA

San Pedro Metapas

1774: Guatemala 660. Saw flames in the night.

Antigua

1718, Junio 28:Guatemala. Volcanes que empezaron el día 27 de Agosto hasta 29 de Septiembre — Volcán del Fuego.

1718: Guatemala 307. Testimonio de los autos sobre el fuego que exsala dicho de los quatro bolcanes que circumbalen esta Ciudad de Guatemala y terremotos acaezidos la noche del día del San Miguel con le demás que contiene. 156 folios.

1717: Guatemala 305.

1717

GUATEMALA

Guazacapán

1718: A1.10-31290-4047. Templo "ruinada con los terremotos".

San Gaspar Vivar

1729: A1.10.3-31299-4047. Su convento y la iglesia se cayó con el terremoto del año diez y siete.

1717, Septiembre 29 (San Miguel)

GUATEMALA

Palín

1718: A1.10.3-31289-4047. Fr. Ignacio Ceballero (O.P.), certifica el mal estado en que quedó el templo del pueblo de San Cristóbal Amatitlán con los temblores del 29 de Septiembre de 1717.

Santa Cruz Balanya

1719: A-53749-6057. Los alcaldes y regidores de pueblo de Santa Cruz Balanya, piden se les exonere de dar cada semana los cien indios de servicio, por estar ocupados en la reconstrucción de su iglesia parroquial destruída con los terremotos de Septiembre de 1717.

San Andrés Izapa

1718: A1.10.3-31287-4047. El cura doctrinero de San Andrés Izapa, indica que el templo de dicho pueblo quedo arruinado con los temblores del 29 de Septiembre.

Santiago Zamora

1717: A1.10.3-31284-4047. El común del pueblo de Santiago Zamora piden ayuda para reedificar el Templo, destruído con los terremotos de Septiembre.

Chimaltenango, Comalapa, Tecpán, San Martín Xilotepeque

1776: Guatemala 659. Los temblores en el año de 17, llamados de San Miguel, no hicieron estrago alguno en los pueblos de. . .

Antigua, Ciudad Vieja, Alotenango, Escuintla, Masagua, Mistén, Aguacatepeque, Alotenango, Comalapa, Palín.

1774: Guatemala 660. Quake felt as far as Paraje de Sabana Grande. Also noted was San Sebastián Chagat

Alotenango

1774: Guatemala 660. Se arruinó tan del todo que no quedó en pie cosa alguna de iglesia, convento, cabildo, ni casa o hermita de adobe y cayeron aun muchas casas de palizada, se hallan arranca dos de raíz, árboles gruesos y mucha parte de las sencas de chicicaste de dicha casas, y se halla en algunas partes hendida la tierra, cosa que atribuyeron los naturales del dicho pueblo, y otras personas que se hallaron presentes.

Antigua

1718: Guatemala 307. Testimonio sobre el lastimoso estras y ruina que padeció la Ciudad de Guatemala con los terremotos que experimentó la noche del día del Glorioso Archangel San Miguel de veinte y nueve de Septiembre del año pasado de 1717 causado por sus vezino volcanes huyendo amenazando antes con espantozas vorazes llamas de fuego y lo demás que expresa. 118 folios.

1717: Guatemala 309. Testimonio sobre el lastimoso extrage y ruina que padeció esta Ciudad de Guatemala en los terremotos que experimentó la noche del día del Glorioso Archangel San Miguel 29 de Septiembre de este año de 1717. Palín 54r, Escuintla 54r, Chaguit 56, diagram 58r, Volcán Fuego 60r, Sabana Grande 61r, Volcán de Agua 62r, Aguacatepeque 63r.

1718: Guatemala 197. Further description.

Patzicia

1723: Guatemala 250. Ruinas acaecidas en las terremotos de que han provevido las grandes diminuzion de tributos.

Siquinala, Santa Lucía Cotzumalhuapa, Acatenango

1773, 1 Sept.: Guatemala 661. Se noticiaron que su estrago y perjuicio lo infirió a los pueblos de Ziquinala, Santa Lucía y los de Acatenango por cuyo lado y barrancas de las lajas havian vasado los arrollas de fuego despidiendo tambien mucha ceniza. . . y en la del de Acatenango arrancados grandes árboles y otras menos de maíz pero esto se atribuyo a ser el suelo arenisco.

1717, Octubre 3

Guatemala

Antigua

1718, Junio 28: Guatemala 186. Rebutó el Volcano de Agua, hechando de si un considerable arroyo de cieno amarillo y piedras, y despues prosiguieron los temblores por todo el referido mes de Octubre aun que parece haulan ya cesado.

1719, Marzo 5

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador, San Vicente, Apastepeque

1721, Abril 4: Guatemala 187. Guatemala 198—More than 150 temblores on 5 de Marzo 1719, most violent one in

hour of eclipse.

San Vicente, Ystepeque, San Salvador, Sacatecoluca, Cojutepeque
1719: Guatemala 309. Providencias—en el lastimoso subceso
producido de los terremotos experimentados en la Ciu-
dad de San Salvador y demas de su jurisdicción. 166
folios.

San Salvador, San Vicente

1719, Sept 26: Guatemala 198. Temblores y terremotos
acaezido en la Villa de San Vizente de Austria y Ciu-
dad de San Salvador en los días 4 y 6 de Marzo de
este año.

San Miguel, San Salvador, San Vicente, Santa Ana, Apastepeque
1721: Guatemala 198. Seven persons died in Ciudad de San
Salvador y que los mas de los pueblos que dauan ar-
rasados con sus iglesias y que en el todo que daua
aquella ciudad asolada. Damage noted in San Miguel,
San Vincente, Santa Ana and Apastepeque.

1726 (?)

NICARAGUA

Nuestra Señora del Viejo, Chinandega, Chichigalpa

1726: A1.24-10229-1585:175. Concediendo la cuarta parte
de los tributos para cubrir los gastos de la reconstruc-
ción de sus iglesias parroquiales, arruinada que fueron
por varios terremotos.

1730

EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1801: Guatemala 942. Iglesia parroquial de San Salvador ar-
ruinada en 1730, (from context guess cause was
quake).

1733, Marzo 9 (San Francisco)

HONDURAS

Intibuca, Tamba, Languira

1735: A1.11.25(4)-1428-123. Acaecieran asi en 1733 el pri-
mero viernes despues de la Feria 4a, cinerum en este
pueblo de Intibuca, como en el de San Francisco del
pueblo de Tamba, languira, tanta multitud de tem-
blors, unos mayores que otros que temiendo alguna
fatalidad sobre la gente, retablos, y la imagenes de
termine con los indios de ambos pueblos de sembrazar
los iglesias y celebrar en el patio de ellas los santos

sacramentos hasta el Domingo de ramos, que ya se acabaron dichos temblores, los que dexaron ambos yglecias aruinadas, y peligrosos siempre refeloso de que no venga otro temblor, por cura Fr. Nicolás del Castillo, 12 días del mes de Marzo.

1733, Mayo

GUATEMALA

Quetzaltepeque

1733: A1.10.3-31300-4047. Templo reconstruct costs, also other towns (names not given) in Provincia destroyed by "los grandes terremotos que en dicha provincia" decimos que con los grandes terremotos que en dicha provincia (de Chiquimula de la Sierra) se han experimentado, padecer ruina la iglesia del dicho nuestro pueblo, en tal manera que quedo de el todo abatida por el suelo, sin poderia aprobechar della fragmento alguno, quake happened before 13 Julio 1733 (date of Ms.).

Santa Catarina Mita

1770: A1.11-3540-175. Templo ruined for more than 40 years by "un memorable terremoto".

Chiquimula de la Sierra, Santa Elena, San Luis Xilotepeque, Ipala Quetzaltepeque.

1736: Guatemala 230. Date of 1735 is given for reconstruction of churches in these towns. . . Toda ella arruinada con varios terremotos. No date is given for the quakes other than might be infered from "había muchos años que estaba la iglesia sin acauar sus bóbedas".

Chiquimula de la Sierra

1733: A3.16-17575-942. Que habia habido en aquel territorio un terremoto tan grande que alcanzo en su impetuosa ejecución a mal tratar su templo dejandolo en el estado que si no se acudia a su alino estaba en peligro de caerse y hacerse mayor el daño. . .

1733, Mayo 22 (San Joaquín)

GUATEMALA

San Juan Bautista Alotenango

1733: A1.10.3-31303-4047. Fr. Juan de la Concepción (OFM) cura doctrinero de San Juan Bautista Alotenango, certifica haber sufrido el templo con los

temblores habidos el día de San Joaquín.

1736

NICARAGUA

Volcán Momotombo

after 1791: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid Ms. 570 #6.

Eruption description.

1742, Agosto 10

GUATEMALA

San Antonio Suchitepéquez, Santos Reyes Cuyutenango, San Andrés Villa Seca

1743: A1.10.3-31328-4048: Church danger of falling from quake.

San Francisco Zapotitlán, Santiago Sambo

1743: A1.11.25-42731-5034. Terremoto of Agosto 1742 ruined churches of these towns.

Tacuilula

1743, Sept. 3: A1.10.3-4048-31328. Iglesia arruinado por los temblores, no quake date given.

Siquinala, Sn Andrés (Villa Seca?), San Bartolomé, Santa Ana Mixtán, Escuintla, Tacuilula, Nestiquipaque

1743: A3.16-2824-41031. Request exemption from paying taxes, no reason visible (manuscript is in very poor condition).

1742

NICARAGUA

Niquinohomo

1742: A1.11.25(5)-384-42. Maltradas por los terremotos.

1743: A1.11.25(5)-385-42. Con varios temblores que apadecido sus paredes.

Masatepet, Jalapa, Mandagmo

1747: A1.11.25(5)-387-42. Las yglesias de los pueblos todos maltrados con la continuación de varios terremotos.

San Juan Namotiua and Santa Catarina Namotibo, anexos al Niquinojomo

1743: A1.11.25-384-42. Los temblores lo maltrataron la iglesia.

1743, Octubre 15

GUATEMALA

Chiquimula de la Sierra

1745: A1.11.25-46573-5439. Un fuerte temblor de tierra se

arruinaron tanto sus paredes como el techo.

1747, Octubre 13

GUATEMALA

San Bartolomé Mazatenango

1747: A1.10.3-31339-4048. Acerca de la reedificación del templo de San Bartolomé Mazatenango, arruinado con los temblores del 13 de Octubre de 1747.

San Bernardino Suchitepéquez

1747: A1.10.3-31338-4048. This temblor, which this manuscript assigns to 1746, caused "major ruina".

1748, Marzo 15

EL SALVADOR

San Martín Perulapán

1748: A1.11-6197-674. Church ruined by temblores en Marzo.

San Martín Cojutepeque, San Martín Obispo

1748: A1.11.25-319-34. Church ruined by terremotos of 13 Marzo.

1750, Marzo 8

GUATEMALA

Solomá

1750: A1.1-55084-6087:4. La iglesia caerse de los continuous temblores que ha hauido.

1751, Marzo 4 (Sn Casimiro)

GUATEMALA

Guazacapán

1752: A3.16-41192-2833. Templo hurt in quake.

Comalapa

1758: A1.11.25-3284-163. Capilla mayor della con el temblor a-caecido el día de San Casimiro, cuatro del Marzo de. . .

San Felipe Jesús

1753: A1.10.3-31353-4049. Terremoto del día cuatro de Marzo ruined church.

San Pedro Las Huertas

1751: A1.10.3-31344-4049. El terremoto del día 4 de Marzo causó tanto estrago en la iglesia.

Antigua

1760: Guatemala 657. Guatemala 406 and Guatemala 725. Damage to the Palacio.

Jalapa

1774: Guatemala 658. Quebranto la portada de la Iglesia.
Area between Jumay and Mataescuintla (Valle de Santa Rosa)

1774: Guatemala 660. Se dice haber parecido extremo por el movimiento tan fuerte, que se advirtió de conformidad, que se inclinaba notablemente el techado de las casas hacia la tierra, pero en las paredes, que son adobe no se experimentó lesión.

Antigua

1775: A1-17862-2362. Francisco Antonio de la Fuente, pide se le de ayuda económica para la reedificación de su casa destruida durante los terremotos del 4 de Marzo.
Not seen.

1757, Octubre 4 (San Francisco)

GUATEMALA

San Juan Alotenango

1758: A1.11.25-2971-151. El temblor que sobre vino el día de San Francisco pasado deste presente año, church needs repairs.

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. Terremoto.

1765, Junio 2 (Santissima Trinidad)

GUATEMALA

Chiquimula de la Sierra

1784: A1.11.25-3570-176. Templo reconstruction costs.

1764: Guatemala 407.

1766: Guatemala 543. Hot sulfuric water comes out of arroyos and burns milpas totally.

1767: Guatemala 407. Terremoto acahecido la noche del día dos de Junio del 1765 que repitieron hasta el siguiente mes, died 53 personas entre ellos el cura doctrinero, uno de sus coadjutores, y el alcalde mayor Joseph Antonio Ugarte (this last is wrong). Otros muy lastimados y perdidone los mas de los edificios.

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658. Que quando hayan causado algunan corta ruina en algun solar o pared de los barrios, no han merecido atención estos sucessos.

Jalapa

1774: Guatemala 658. Se descompuso, y cayo alguna teja de la iglesia.

Antigua (10:30 o 11:00 PM)

1774: Guatemala 658. Cuyo movimiento fue bien considerable y terrible, pues a sus impulsos se tocaron los campanas de la Cathedral, sin que pueda ofrecerse la menor duda; no causaron visible daños, y ruinas, pero probablemente lastimarían en alguna parte dos edificios, como se puede discurrir sin violencia.

Area between Jumay and Mataescuintla (about Xalapa), Valle de Santa Rosa

1774: Guatemala 660. Aunque se experimentó igualmente (to San Casimiro quake) fuerte, y largo no causo otro perjuicio, que el haberse desmoronado parte de una loma tajada, que sirve de cerca al corral de esta hacienda.

Alotepeque (today Concepción de las Minas) (and also the Province of Chiquimula)

1770, Julio 20: Guatemala 644. Al corregidor de Chiquimula de la Sierra y trate con el prelado, y proponga los medios de reparan los iglesias deterioradas de los terremotos-e igualmente los minerales de San Joseph Alotepeque totalmente perdidos.

Zacapa

1768: Cortés y Larraz relación. Serios estragos en la población.

Esquipulas

n.d.: A1.21-3539-175. Algunos perjuicios a iglesia parroquial, la casa del curato y el santuario del Senior.

1765, Octubre 24

CHIAPAS/GUATEMALA

Asunción Sololá

1765: Reconstrucción del templo parroquial del pueblo de Asunción Sololá, arruinado por los temblores de 24 de Octubre. A1.11.25-4065-201.

Corregimiento de Quetzaltenango

1765: A1-47176-5482. Informes rendidos por el corregidor de Quetzaltenango, acerca de la ruina habida con motivo de los terremotos del 24 de Octubre 1765. *Not seen.*

Corregimientos de Quesalthenango, Totonicapán y Ciudad Real

1776: Guatemala 659. Son recientes los temblores del año de sesenta y cinco que arrionanon la Provincia entera de Chiquimula y parte de las de Quezalthenango, Totoni-

capán y Ciudad Real.

- 1765 NICARAGUA
Volcán Rincón de la Vieja
after 1791: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid Ms. 570 #6.
Eruption description.
- 1772 (?) HONDURAS
Gualcha (en Gracias a Dios)
1772: A1.11.25(4)-361-42. Terremoto makes aperturas en iglesia.
- 1772, Marzo 16 NICARAGUA
Nindirí
after 1792: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid Ms. 570 #6.
Temblor.
- 1772, Julio 15 GUATEMALA
San Bartolomé Mazatenango
1773: A1-24792-2812. Informe acerca del estado en que quedó San Bartolomé Mazatenango como consecuencia de los temblores habidos al 15 de Julio 1772.
Not seen.
- 1773, Mayo 31 hasta Junio 11 (*FIRST SANTA MARTA QUAKES*) GUATEMALA
Chiquimulilla
1828: B83.13-25502-1125:29. La municipalidad del pueblo de Santa Cruz Chiquimulilla, certifica que el parroco Pbro. José Gregorio Echegoyu se interesó por la reedificación del templo parroquial, el cual estaba en ruinas debido a los temblores de "Santa Marta" y a los árboles que habian crecido sobre su medio canon, certified that church could not be repaired.
- Solomá
1954: *Monografía del Huehuetenango* (Adrian Recinos). Solomá había sufrido los efectos de los terremotos de Santa Marta.
- 1773, Julio 29 hasta 30 (*SECOND AND MAJOR SANTA MARTA QUAKES*) GUATEMALA

La Ermita (Valle de Guatemala)

1773: A1.10.3-6523-313. Terremoto this July ruined church.

San Martín Jilotepeque

1774: A1.11.25-3290-163. Los indígenas de San Martín Jilotepeque solicitan ayuda económica para la reconstrucción del templo parroquial, arruinado con los sismos de 29 de Julio de 1773.

Patzicia

1777: A1.11.25-3296-163. Church ruined by temblores del día de Julio del año 1773; also see Guatemala 562 and Guatemala 661 (the last of which says total ruina así en este pueblo).

San Agustín Sumpango

1774: A1.11.25-3291-163. Los indígenas del pueblo de San Agustín Sumpango, solicitan fondos para la reedificación del templo parroquial, arruinado con los temblores del 29 de Julio de 1773; (cf. also Guatemala 661).

Antigua (from 3:30 PM of the 29th and/or to 9AM of next day)

1773, Agosto 2: Guatemala 657.

1774: Guatemala 658.

1773, Agosto 1: Papeles de Correos 90. Raining at same time as quakes.

Jalapa (en tarde y noche de 29 de Julio sintió dos de ellos particularmente fuerte)

1774: Guatemala 658.

San Raymundo de las Casillas

1779: Guatemala 562. Ruined church.

San Juan Sacatepéquez

1779: Guatemala 562. Que quedó maltraltada iglesia.

Jocotenango

1779: Guatemala 562. Que no esta aun concluida y no deja de tener quebran toda sin servible la bóveda (de iglesia). Cf. Guatemala 661.

Tecpán Guatemala

1779: Guatemala 661. Ruina general de los terremotos (10 Dic. 1773). Guatemala 562. Iglesia quedaron igualmente destruída.

Patzún

1779: Guatemala 562. Iglesia quedaron igualmente destruída.

Santa Ana Chimaltenango

1773, Dic. 6: Guatemala 661. Quebrado el terremoto. Does

not say if of Julio.

San Andrés Acatenango

1793: A1.11.25-3318-164. Temblor of 1773 ruined church.

San Juan Amatitlán

1776: A1.10.3-31360-4049. Church ruined in 1773.

San Lucas Sacatepéquez

1780: A1.11.25-3011-153. Church ruined by los terremotos.

Santiago Sacatepéquez

1782: A1.10.3-31368-4045. Church totally ruined by los temblores of 1773.

Comalapa

1776: Guatemala 659. Quake damage from 1773 quake.

Guatemala 562. Damage from Julio 29 quake.

Ostuncalco

1774, Junio: Guatemala 661. En el pueblo de Ostuncalco se cuentan difuntos cuatro mil indios y niños diez no más hace como un mes y se va estendiendo en las Alcaldías de Totonicapán y Quezaltenango como tambien se ha padecido en algunos pueblos. . .han fallecido muchos indios. . .Context is quakes but does not explicitly state is cause of deaths.

Area between Jumay and Mataescuintla (about Xalapa, Valle de Santa Rosa)

1774: Guatemala 660. Se aseguara que se sintieron, como seis, o siete, pero no se notó movimiento violento ni extraño, aunque si bastantemente largo sin causa en los edificios ni demas oficinas detrimento alguno.

Petapa, Mixco, Pinula

1777: Guatemala 559. Churches quedaron arruinadas o tan maltradas, que si no se componen están inservibles.

Provincias de Chimaltenango y AM Sacatepéquez

1779: Guatemala 562. States that all churches in these provinces ruined by 1773 quakes.

1773, Septimebre 7 (THIRD SANTA MARTA
QUAKE) GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774: Guatemala 658.

1773, Septiembre 16

HONDURAS

Omoa

1773, Octubre 24: Guatemala 450. Que el 16 de Septiembre se experimentó un recio temblor, seguido por la noche de un dilubio y viento tan fuertes, que hasta el día siguiente estuvo inundada aquella población, . . .salió de madre el Río Grande rompiendo la corriente un llano de 400 baras de largo y 200 de ancha, y llebandose una quebrada, de que resultó ba inundación-desbarato alguna obra nueva del Castillo; se arruinó la contaduría y unos almacenes con varias casas del pueblo; destruyó las cosechas y platanares. . .con la continuación de lluvias pudiera causar muchos daños.

1773, Diciembre 13 (FOURTH SANTA MARTA QUAKE & SECOND IN FORCE) GUATEMALA

Antigua

1774, Febrero 7: Guatemala 830.

1774, Octubre

HONDURAS

Comayagua

1776: Guatemala 659. Los (quakes) del año de 74 que arrazaron a Comayagua y su cercanías.

Comayagua, Legamaní, Ajuterique

1774, Dic. 4: Guatemala 450. 9 AM or a little after was first, the second temblor at 3 PM. Rain with quakes.

Comayagua

1774-75: Guatemala 469. (nothing new).
Guatemala 410.

1775

HONDURAS

1798: A1.11.25(4)-384-43. Cathedral ruined by temblores of 1775.

1775, Julio 2

GUATEMALA

Amatitlán

1775: Guatemala 662. 84 folios. Testimonio de los autos causados sobre la reventasion del Bolcán nombrado los humitos ymediato al pueblo de San Juan Amatitán en fuego y piedra que despide por tres bocas que se abrieron la noche del día 2 de Julio de este año de 1775.

Palín

- 1776: Guatemala 558. Bolcán de Pacaya arruinando todas las casas, y destruyendo sus sementeras, y haciendas.
- 1775: Guatemala 558. Que con la ocasión de haver reventado un cerro inmediato al oriente de nuestro pueblo inclinado hacia el sur brotando fuego, piedras, ceniza, y arena, se ha inundado todo nuestro territorio de modo que se cayeron todas las casas de los indios, a excepción de la Casa del Cura, y de la Yglesia del pueblo las que sin duda caeran, por que como las arenas, y cenizas continuar sin intermisión de más de los graves terremotos que hubo, se detienen las aguas lluvias en los texados con que se ha causado y cauzan muchas goteras, y la ruina del resto de las casas.

Volcán Pacaya

- 1775, Julio 31: Guatemala 450. En la arruinada ciudad se obserbaron en el día de la rebentaron 7 to 8 temblors (3 July 1775), y repetidos antes, y después de ella, con aquella especie de ruido subterráneo, o erbidero, que tanto consterno en la ruina pasada. Context for Mapas y Planos Guatemala 219bis and 315.
- 1775, Julio 16. Real Academia de Historia, Colección Papeles Varios de América, ff. 543-552.
- 1775, Agosto 31: Guatemala 557. Participa que por los avisos que ha tenido hasta el 12 de mismo, consta que en el Volcán de Pacaya, continuan sus bocas hechando considerable porción de fuego; que sigue la frecuencia de retumbos; que el humo es exorbitance; que la piedra, y arena que continuamente expele, la dirige hacia la costa, cayendo, como aguacero en el pueblo de Palin; que se han abierto en el citado cerro tres bocas más, y se han cerrado otras con la piedra, de cuyo numero no se hace expecificación; y que la principal esta permanente; subsistiendo sin incremento, ni diminución el río de fuego que gira al sur.
- 1775: Biblioteca Colombina, Sevilla.
Another description of eruption.
- 1775, Agosto 1: Guatemala 877. Description of eruption from 2 Julio 1775 on.

1776, Marzo 30 e 31

GUATEMALA/EL SALVADOR

1776: A1-4466-62. Autos acerca de las medidas que debían

ser tomadas con motivo de la ruina de San Salvador. Estos temblores fueron sentidos en Guatemala. *Not seen*. Probably error for quake of 30 & 31 of May 1776.

1779: Guatemala 562. Implies that 1776 quakes felt in the provinces of Escuintla and Chiquimulilla. States that effected entire province of Sonsonate and San Salvador.

1776, Mayo 30 e 31

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1802: Guatemala 908. Iglesia arruinada de resultas del terremoto acaecido el año de 1776.

Provincias de Sonsonate, San Salvador y sus adyacentes

1776: Guatemala 659. Los terremotos del presente año de 76, que desolaros las provincias de Sonsonate, San Salvador y sus adyacentes.

Ciudad de San Salvador, Nexapa, Apopa, Quezaltepeque, Coxutepeque, San Vicente

1776: Guatemala 450. 11:15 AM 1st quake until 6PM May 31st last quake. Mud flow from small volcano near San Salvador City. Also effected—Comayagua, Sonsonate, Izalco.

1776, Julio 6

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1776, Diz. 9: Guatemala 450. Un temblor tan grande que había acavado de arruinar todos los templos, y casas.

1776, Noviembre 15.

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1776, Diz. 9: Guatemala 450. Con fecha de 15 de Noviembre ultimo que a las dos de la mañana del mismo día acontecieron dos formidables temblores con los quales dicen acabo aquella pobre ciudad de experimentar su total ruina, de manera que varios edificios caieron del todo. . .no podian darme noticias de los pueblos de aquellas immediciones, porque no cesaban los temblores.

1778, Febrero 3

EL SALVADOR

San Salvador

1801: Guatemala 942. Iglesia parroquial de San Salvador aruinada con el terremoto del 3 de Febrero 1778.

1780, Septiembre 21 (San Matheo)

GUATEMALA

Ciudad de Guatemala, Antigua

1781, 19 Abril: Guatemala 451. El día de San Matheo, y veinte y uno del próximo pasado mes cerca de las doce de la noche se sinuio en esta *capital* un violento *terremoto* de trepidación, que duró minuto, y medio, despertó con el malor susto a los que ia dormian, y puso a todos en grande consternación. Ni en fábricas, ni en cosa alguna ha dexido la menor senal de su fuerza, y poder, a diferencia del pueblo de la Vieja Guatemala, en donde fue mucho mayor su impetu, y derribo algunos fragmentos, que se concervaban en pie de sus antiguos edificios. Con algunos experiencias de esta se conseguira totalmente la debida conformidad a la justificada resolución de SM en la traslación, cara written 6 de Octubre 1780.

1784 (Los Santos Reyes)

GUATEMALA

Cobán

1792: A1.11.25-3723-181: Pilares of church need rebuilding since temblor de Los Santos Reyes, speaks of many temblores here in past but church survived since sixteenth century.

San Cristóbal Verapaz, Santa Cruz Verapaz

1785: Guatemala 603. Arruino iglesia por terremoto de día del Reyes.

1785 (?)

HONDURAS

Cucuyagua

1785: A1.11.25(4)-368-42. Church damaged with motion of land.

1787

EL SALVADOR

Usulután, Santa María, Ereguaiquín, Tiquilizco

1787: Guatemala 971. Lost entire crop con la erupción de el volcán de San Miguel cuyas cenizas y escorias destruyen de el todo las sementerias de los cuatro pue-

blos comprendidos en aquel partido.

1791, Enero 24

NICARAGUA

Volcán Telica

after 1791: Archivo Museo Naval, Madrid Ms. 570 #6.

1791, Marzo 16

GUATEMALA

San Pedro Sacatepéquez

1791: A1.11.25-4974-200. Los nativos de San Pedro Sacatepéquez, de la jurisdicción de Quezaltenango, exponen el estado ruinoso de su iglesia, debido a los temblores del 16 de Marzo.

San Marcos

1791: A1.11.25-4975-200. Instancia presentada por el cura de San Pedro Sacatepéquez, jurisdicción de Quetzaltenango, informando del estado en que se encuentra la iglesia del Barrio de San Marcos con motivo de los terremotos de 16 de Marzo de 1791.

Cuilapa

1791: A1.5-20007-1105:folio 162. Garita de Cuilapa ha maltratado el texado de ella con los temblores en 16 y 17 de Marzo próximo pasada y que para la continuación de goteras que experimenta con las aguas.

San Cristóbal Cucho, San Antonio Sacatepéquez

1791: A1-4972-200. Diligencias relativas para determinar los daños que acacionó el, temblor del 16 de Marzo de 1791, en los temblores [*sic*] de los pueblos de San Cristóbal Cucho e San Antonio Sacatepéquez. *Not seen.*

San Pedro Sacatepéquez e Barrio de San Marcos

1791: A1-4973-200. Orden para que se detallen los daños y necesidades habidas con motivo del temblor de 16 del Marzo en San Pedro Sacatepéquez y Barrio de San Marcos en Quetzaltenango. *Not seen.*

1791: A1-3982-137. Diligencias practicadas por el corregidor de Quetzaltenango para terminar los daños ocasionados por los temblores del 16 de Marzo de 1791 en San Pedro y San Marcos Sacatepéquez. *Not seen.*

1795, Diciembre 29

GUATEMALA

Chiantla

1805: A1.24-55307-6091:93. RP. Concedese al pueblo de

Chiantla, 150 pesos de los fondos de bienes de comunidades de indios, para cubrir el costo de la reedificación del templo parroquial. Esta iglesia estaba dañada a consecuencia de los temblores habidos el 29 de Diciembre de 1795.

Concepción Huehuetenango

1805: A3.16-4923-247. El común del pueblo de Concepción Huehuetenango solicita exoneración de tributos por estar ocupados en la reconstrucción del templo parroquial, arruinado por los temblores que hubo hacia diez años.

1798, Febrero 3

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1803, Enero 31: Guatemala 415. Terremoto en 3 de Febrero 1798 destruyendo parte de lo edificado iglesia parroquial dejó al vecindario imposibilitado de continuar (to use).

1798, Febrero 27: Guatemala 843. Informe sobre las fuertes terremotos en San Salvador el día 3 del Febrero a las dos y cuarto de la tarde se sintió un terremoto tan fuerte que carecede de exemplar, segun me ha asegurado algunos de estos vecinos antiguos, que alcanzaran la última ruina de las varias que aquí se han experimentado y con este motivo han padecido mucho las edificaciones habiendose arruinado totalmente la iglesia parroquial y otras. Felt also in San Miguel, description of adjacent volcano (near San Salvador) after quake.

1798, Julio 2 (?)

GUATEMALA

Lanquín

1799: A1.11.25-3732-182. Church ruined on July 2, 1798, no reason given for destruction.

1798, Noviembre 3

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1802: Guatemala 908. El último terremoto en 3 de Noviembre de 1798 que dejó arruinada la mayor parte de la obra (de iglesia).

1798: *Gazeta de Guatemala* 2.

1798

NICARAGUA

1798: *Gazeta de Guatemala* 2.

1800, Agosto 14

EL SALVADOR

Chinameca and Tecapa

1800, Sept. 30: Guatemala 921. Se le permite regresarse a su curato por tener que reedificar aquellas iglesias que han padecido ruina 1800 "fue cierto que el día 14 del mes de Agosto hubo un temblar de tierra muy grande, el que quebro por varias partes nuestras iglesias del indicado pueblo de Chinameca y Tecapa su anexo."

1803

EL SALVADOR

Volcán Izalco

1803: *Gazeta de Guatemala* 7.

1811, Mayo 23

GUATEMALA

Guatemala City

1811, Sept. 3: Guatemala 417. Informe sobre la necesidad con se procedió a reparar el cuartel de Dragones de esta capital, que sufrió gran detrimento por un terremoto el 23 del Mayo último consecuencia de la mala construcción del edificio.

1815, Agosto 20

EL SALVADOR

Ciudad de San Salvador

1815: A1.1-42-4 (3). Informe acerca de que el 20 de Agosto, a las siete y media de la noche, la ciudad de San Salvador fue con movida por temblores.

1816, Junio 2

GUATEMALA

Santa Lucía Utatlán

1816: A1.11.25-8194-393. Church ruined entirely on June 2, 1816.

1816, Julio 22 and 21 (Santa María Magdalena) GUATEMALA

Aguacatán e Chalchitán

1816: A1.11-56865-6119. Las justicias de los pueblos de Aguacatán y de Chalchitán piden del alcalde mayor de

Totonicapán y Huehuetenango fondos de sus bienes de comunidad para cubrir los gastos que ocasione la reedificación de la iglesia arruinada por los temblores del 21 y 22 de Julio 1816.

Todos Santos Cuchumatán

1817: A1.11-56688-6118. Instancia del común del pueblo de Todos Santos Cuchumatán ante el alcalde mayor de Totonicapán y Huehuetenango, sobre que se les proporcionen medios para reconstruir el templo parroquial, dañado por los temblores del 21 y 22 de Julio de 1816.

Chiantla

1816: A1.11-56730-6118. El Pbro. José Ceferino Aguilar, cura del pueblo de Chiantla, pide al alcalde mayor ayuda del fondo de comunidades para la reconstrucción de los cuatro templos de su curato, arruinados por los temblores habidos en Julio de 1816. In 1769 the towns of this parish were: Chiantla, Aguacatán, Chalchitán, Todos Santos Cuchumatán, and San Martín Cuchumatán. Cf. also A3-53258-2801.

Concepción Huehuetenango

1816: A1.11-56663-6118. Sobre la reconstrucción de las iglesias de los pueblos del curato de Concepción Huehuetenango, dañadas con los temblores habidos el 22 de Julio 1816. In 1769 the towns of this parish were: San Lorenzo, San Sebastián, Santa Isabel, San Juan, Santiago, San Pedro and Santo Domingo.

Huehuetenango

1817: A1.11.25-8094-388. El común de Huehuetenango solicita fondos para reedificar el templo parroquial arruinado con los temblores del 22 de Julio de 1816.

Santa María Joyabaj

1817: A3.1-22525-1344:6. Sobre autorizar del fondo de comunidades del pueblo de Santa María Joyabaj, los fondos necesario para reconstruir el templo de dicho pueblo, arruinado por los terremotos habidos el 21 de Julio de 1816.

San Andrés Sacabaja

1816: A1.11.25-8192-392. El temblor del día 21 del corriente por la noche, y el del 22 a las 8 del día ruined church,

need to rebuild "from floor".

San Cristóbal Totonicapán

1817: A1.11-56692-6118. Auto tramitado por el común del pueblo de San Cristóbal Totonicapán, sobre la asignación de fondos de bienes de comunidades, para la reedificación del templo de dicho pueblo, dañado con los terremotos del 21 y 22 de Julio de 1816.

San Miguel Totonicapán

1817: A3.1-22532-1344:5. Sobre la aprobación de 2500 pesos para la reconstrucción del templo del pueblo de San Miguel Totonicapán, arruinado por el temblor habido el 22 de Julio de 1816. See also A3-5191-253 and A1.73-56707-6118.

San Andrés Xecul

1816: A1.1-56660-6118. El comun del pueblo de San Andres Xecul pide se los proporcionen fondos de sus comunidades para reedificar el templo parroquial dañado con los temblores habidos el 22 de Julio.

Guatemala City

1817: Guatemala 497. Two quakes, at 12 AM on the 21st and at 9:30 AM on the 22nd.

Totonicapán, Quetzaltenango, Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal Las Casas), Provincia de Verapaz

1817: Guatemala 497.

Solomá y seis anexos (Ixcoy, Santa Eulalia, Istatán, San Sebastián Coatán, San Miguel Acatán)

1817: Guatemala 497.

Santiago Momostenango

1816: A1.11.25-27459-2929. Church ruined by temblores of July 20, 1816.

Guatemala City

1816, 3 Octubre: Guatemala 496. La noche del 21 de Julio de este año como a las doce de ella se sintió en esta capital un terremoto con explosión tan fuerte que puso en consternación al vecindaro, y que no obstante, solo que fue precursor de otro más fuerte y de más duración que se experimente a las nueve y media de la mañana del día siguiente 22. . .

Santa Cruz Verapaz

1818: A1.11.25-7982-384. Fr. Francisco Arriaza, parroco de Sn Cristóbal Cajcoj, expone ser necesaria la recon-

strucción del templo de Santa Cruz de Santa Elena filial de dicha parroquia (este templo quedo arruinado por el terremoto de Santa Magdalena, del año 1816).

Alcalde Mayor de Totonicapán e Huehuetenango

1816: A1-56670-6118. Informe acerca de los temblores habidos el 22 de Julio y que causaron graves daños en varios pueblos. *Not seen.* cf. Also A1-8085-388. *Not seen.*

Santa Catalina Ixtahuacán

1819: A1.11.25-8202-393. Pasado Julio el temblor del día de Santa María Magdalena se aruinó enteramente la yglesia.

San Antonio Ilootenango

1821: A3-5230-254. El alcalde del pueblo solicita exoneración del pago de tributos, aduciendo como razon los daños causados por los últimos temblores. *Not seen.*

Malacatán

1954: *Monografía del Huehuetenango.* Arruinada la Iglesia.

1818

GUATEMALA

Quetzaltenango

1818, Marzo 18: Guatemala 498. Refers to 21/22 Julio 1816 eruption and says this came after it. A basically volcanic eruption, with quake, caused mayor estrago en sus edificios. Erupción de un cerro que se halla a una legua de la población.

1820, Febrero

GUATEMALA

Almolonga (Provincia de Quetzaltenango)

1820, Marzo 20: A1.11.25-8152-391. Los frecuentes temblores originados de la rebentazón del volcán que tenemos a la vista y muy cercano al pueblo de Almolonga perjiridicaron bastante los iglesia de dicho pueblo, cuyos perjicios repare entonces con mis cortos arbitrios; pero los últimos temblores del mes pasado me han echo desmayor. Estos quasi arruinaron el techo de la iglesia.

1821, Julio 6

GUATEMALA

San Mateo Salamá

1821: A1.1-57284-6931. Minuta indicandole que los vecinos

del pueblo de San Mateo Salamá descaban reedificar el templo parroquial arruinado por los temblores habidos en 1820 y que como carecían de fondos, solicitaban autorización para tomar dondos de cofradiás.

- 1821: A1.11.25-7997-384. El ayuntamiento constitucional de San Mateo Salamá, propone un plan de arbitrios para reedificar el templo parroquial, arruinado por los temblores habido el 6 de Junio.

1821, 6 Mayo

GUATEMALA

San Pedro Jocopilas

- 1821: B3.6-985-47. Minuta solicitando informe sobre si existen fondos para reedificar el templo parroquial de San Pedro Jocopilas y casa conventual, destruido por un terremoto.

Alcaldía Mayor de Totonicapán

- 1821: A1-24675-2806. Informe rendido por el alcalde mayor de Totonicapán, acerca de los danos ha idos con motivo de los temblores. *Not seen.*

1830, Abril 21

GUATEMALA

Amatitlán

- 1831: B85.1-26530-1150: El Pbro. José María Mijangos, cura de la parroquia de Amatitlán, ante el Jefe del Estado de Guatemala, pide ayuda económica para reconstruir el templo y la casa parroquial, arruinado por los terremotos del año 1830. See also B11-600067-2553:folio 6, (of abril 21-1830).

Escuintla

- 1841: B119.3-59094-2544:1. El corregidor de Escuintla la solicitud del parroco y vecinos de la cabecera, contra ida que de parte del gobierno se les ayude para reedificar el templo parroquial, arruinado por el terremoto habido en 1830. *Not seen.*

Petapa

- 1830, Abril 21: B1-60067-2553:folio 8. Informa el alcalde de la municipalidad de Petapa, que a las cuatro de la madrugada, a mentaron los temblores, originando la caída del templo parroquial, casas parroquiales, el cabildo y muchas de particulares. *Not seen.*

Amatitlán, Petapa (San Miguel), Palín

1830, Abril 22: B95-32577-1398. Juan Manuel Rodríguez comisionarle para que pasara a los pueblos de Amatitlán, Petapa y Palín a informarse si las circunstancias en que se encontraba el vecindario como consecuencia del pasaso terremoto y temblores que estaban sacudiendo aquella zona. *Not seen.*

Guatemala City

1830, Abril 22: B1-60067-2553:folio 17. El jefe político del departamento de Guatemala, informa a la Secretaría General del Gobierno, de las médidias tomadas para mantener el órden en la capital y sugerirá se pidiera la colaboración de las fuerzas militares, para perseguir a los ladrones, que podrían aprovecharse la confusión causada por los temblores.

Santa Inés Petapa

1830, Abril 23: Informa el Secretario de la municipalidad que el terremoto del día 21 destruyó el templo parroquial, casa consistorial y varias casas de personas particulares. B1-60084-2555:folio 58.

Amatitlán

1830, Abril 23: B1-58506-2539:folio lr. Juan Manuel Rodríguez, comisario por el gobierno para inspeccionar los daños causados por los temblores en Amatitlán, informa que aun continuaba temblores.

Hacienda El Rosario

1830, Abril 26: B1-45047-1959. Parte relativo a que las casas de la hacienda El Rosario, en jurisdicción de Amatitlán, perteneciente a los bienes de temporalidades, Quedaron arruinadas por los últimas temblores. *Not seen.*

Villa Nueva, San Miguel e Santa Inés Petapa, Amatitlán e Palin

1830, Abril 28: B1-50121-2405. El Lic. Juan Manuel Rodríguez informa los daños causados por los terremotos. *Not seen.*

Palín

1830: B11-50119-2404. El alcalde lo de la municipalidad informa al jefe de estado que desde principio de Abril eran constantes los temblores siendo necesario el “descargo” de los techos del templo parroquial, casas de cabildo, casa parroquial, etc. *Not seen.*

Amatitlán, Palín e otras

1830, Abril 24: B-28866-1189. Circular informandoles que el día 21 se arruinaron los pueblos de Amatitlán y Petapa y algunos otros de las mediciones de la capital, a causa de los grandes y frecuentes temblores y que desde el mismo día han sido numerosísimos en esta capital. *Not seen.*

Volcán Pacaya

1830, Abril 22: B-32578-1398. El poder ejecutivo del estado comisionado los señores Coronel Nicolás Raúl y Faustino Padilla, para que pasen a la zona inmediata del Volcán de Pacaya y reconozcan los daños causados por los últimos temblores. *Not seen.*

1830, Abril 29: B95-32576-1398:folio 1. El poder ejecutivo del Estado de Guatemala comisiona a los señores Coronel Nicolás Raúl, teniente Coronel Manuel Jonama, Antonio José Coitho, para que pasen a reconocer el Volcán de Pacaya y el cerro de Petapa, nombrado El Pelón. *Not seen.*

1830, Mayo 11: B-32576-1398:folio 4. El señor Antonio José Cofino informa al secretario general de gobierno haber ascendido al volcán de Pacaya y al cerro El Pelón, en unión del Coronel Nicolás Raúl, encontrando que el primero presentado derrumbres y grietas y el segundo zonas que mostraban desniveles, producidos por hundimientos.

Guatemala City

1830, Mayo 21: B-28870-1189. Circular informandoles haber retornado a la Ciudad de Guatemala, desde el pueblo de Jocotenango, la Asamblea Legislativa y el Poder Ejecutivo del Estado, por haber cesado los temblores que se iniciaron desde el 21 de Abril anterior.

1830, Junio 9: B-50118-2404. El arquitecto Santiago Marqui informa haber inspeccionado el altar mayor de la Catedral, dictando las provincias necesarias para asegurarlo, en vista del estado en que quedo debido a los temblores de Mayo último.

Amatitlán. Pinula, San Miguel Petapa, Santa Inés Petapa

1831, Diciembre 15: B-29197-1194. Que a los pueblos que fueron dañados por los temblores del 21 de Abril de 1830 queden exonerados del pago de la contribución.

Cuilapa

1830: B119.2-56593-2513. Pasa al consejo representativo, la solicitud presentada por la municipalidad de Cuilapa, relativa a que los vecinos de los Valles inmediatos, rindan trabajo personas para reedificar el templo parroquial, arruinada por los temblores habidos el día 3 de Mayo.

APPENDIX

Call Numbers for additional AGCA Church Reconstruction Manuscripts not seen by L.H. Feldman

- San Andrés Acatenango. 1799. A1.11-3339-165
Ciudad Vieja. 1805 A1.10.3-6621-322. 1780. A1.10.3-4576-76.
San Juan Alotenango. 1818. A3.1-22553-1346.
Palín. 1812. A1.11.25-7641-370. 1832. B119.4-60170-2561:35.
1837. B119.3-58755-2542.
Amatitlán. 1672. A3.12-40062-2775. A3.12-42184-2886.
1811. A1.11.25-7619-370.
Santiago Atitlán. 1735. A1.10.3-31308-4047. A1.10.3-31310-4047.
Santa Cruz Balanya. 1799. A1.11.25-3339-165.
Cobán. 1741. A1.10.3-31319-4048. 1794. A1.11.25-3728-181.
San Miguel Cojola (near Ostuncalco). 1681. A1.24-10210-1566:152.
1771. A1.10.3-18809-2448.
Comalapa. 1588. A3.16-40484-2799. 1840. B119.1-55752-2504:14r.
Santa Lucía Cotzumaluapa. 1710. A1.11.25-3371-168.
1832. B119.3-58533-2539.
Cubulco. 1785. A1.11.25-3716-181.
San Gaspar Cuyotenango. 1748. A1.10.3-31342-4048.
San José Chicaya Sololá. 1813. A1.11.25-8183-392.
San Jacinto Chimaltenango. 1830. B119.1-55622-2503.
Chinautla. 1843. B83.2-25235-1114.
Santa Elena Chiquimula. 1840. B119.2-57362-2526.
San Andrés Dean. 1734. A1.10.3-31305-4047.
San Miguel El Tejar. 1736. A1.10.3-31312 and 31311-4047.
San Sebastián Tejar. 1736. A1.10.3-31312-4047. 1813. A1.11.25-3366-166.
Escuintla. 1800. A1.11.25-7783-377. 1840. B119.3-58929-2544:3.
San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán. 1759. A1.11.25-3852-190.
San Andrés Izapa. 1678. A1.11.25-46503-5405.
1821. A1.11.25-24361-2782.
Jacaltenango. 1726. A1.10.3-31298-4047. A1.10.3-31296-4047.
San Felipe Jesús. 1693. A-53748-6057.

San Pablo Jocopilas. 1821. A1.11.25-8208-393.
 Santa Clara Laguna. 1821. A1.1-57336-6932.
 San Juan Laguna. 1819. A1.11.25-8200-393.
 San Pablo Laguna. 1815. A1.11.23-8186-392.
 San Pedro Laguna. 1815. A1.11.25-8187-392.
 Lanquín. 1805. A1.11.25-3748-183.
 San Juan Los Lepasos. 1817. A3.1-22530-344:6.
 San Bartolomé Mazatenango. 1790. A1.11.25-24796-2812.
 1802. A1.11.25-8224-394. 1810. A1.11-4189-208.
 San Lorenzo Suchitepéquez. 1710. A1.10.3-31282-4047.
 1801. A1.11.25-4993-205.
 Santa Lucía Milpa Altas. 1820. A1.11.25-24213-2775.
 1736. 3.16-10012-482.
 San Antonio Nejapa. 1647. A1.10.3-31252-3046.
 San Juan Obispo. 1677. A1.10.3-31260-4046. 1818. A1.11.21-
 3236-160.
 Panajachel. 1821. A1.11.25-8210-393.
 Párramos. 1735. A1.10.3-31306-4047.
 Patsicia. 1821. A1.11.25-24354-2782. 1836. B119.1-55660-
 2503.
 San Miguel Petapa. 1783. A1.11.25-3108-153.
 1811. A1.11.25-7617-370.
 1830. B108.7-45054-1959.
 Santa Inez Petapa. 1847. B119.3-59718-2548.
 Santa Catalina Pinula. 1821. A1.1-57596-6934.
 Quetzaltenango Parish. 1672. A1.10.3-31257-4046.
 1784. A1.11.25-3964-195.
 San Luis Suchitepéquez. 1788. A1.11.25-47850-5536.
 San Antonio Retalhuleu. 1748. A1.10.3-31340-4048.
 San Juan Sacatepéquez. 1802. A1.11.25-3101-155.
 San Lucas Sacatepéquez. 1797. A3.1-15100-819. 1821. B1.13-
 8401-495.
 San Pedro Sacatepéquez. 1801. A1.10.3-18828-2448.
 San Pedro (San Marcos) Sacatepéquez. 1714. A1.24-10225-
 1581:262.
 Santiago Sacatepéquez. 1813. A1.11.25-7660-371.
 Zacualpa. 1813. A1.11.25-8188-392.
 Samayac. 1811. A1.11.25-4190-208.
 Santa Apolonia. 1723. A1.10.3-31396-4053.
 Santa Bárbara (cor. Totonicapán). 1676. A1.10.3-31261-4046.
 San Andrés Semetabaj. 1818. A1.11.25-8198-393.

Siquinala. 1723. A1.10.3-31294-4047.
 Sololá. 1814. A1.11.25-8185-342.
 San Antonio Suchitepéquez. 1639. A1.10.3-31248-4046.
 1776. A1.10.3-16546-2280.
 1817. A1.11.25-8251-3950.
 San Gabriel Mazatenango. 1722. A3.16-40867-2817.
 1805. A1.11-8227-394.
 1821. A1.11.25-8261-395.
 San Sebastián Suchitepéquez. 1824. B80.6-23064-1079:7.
 Tactic. 1729. A1.11.3-6830-329.
 Taxisco. 1823. B119.3-58425-2537:1
 Tecpán. 1711. A1.11.25-3275-163.
 Texutla San Marcos department. 1799. A1.11.25-3984-197.
 San Lucas Tolimán. 1820. A1.11.25-8205-393.
 San Cristóbal Totonicapán. 1812. A1.11.25-8049-386.
 Santa Catalina Utatlán. 1817. A3.1-22525-1344:5r.
 Santo Domingo Xenacoj. 1699. A1.10.3-31277-4041.
 1735. A1.10.3-31307-4047. 1797. A1.10.3-18827-2448.
 San Pedro Yepocapa. 1799. A1.11-3339-165.
 San Pablo Zacapa. 1836. B119.2-57010-2521.
 San Francisco Zapotitlán. 1744. A1.10.3-31332-4048.
 San Pedro Diria. 1725. A1.11-3236-483 (5).
 Quezalhuaque. 1738. A1.11.25 (5)-3844-499.
 Masatepe. 1742. A1.11-3240-483.
 San Juan Bautista Masatepe. 1747. A1.11.25(5)-3225-482.
 Solingalpa. 1821. A1.11-3229-483.
 Mosonte. 1726. A1.24-10229-1585:48
 Santiago Tepesomo. 1672. A1.24-10208-1564:31.
 Telica. 1683. A1.24-10211-1567:370.
 Matagalpa, Solingalpa, Mologuima. 1714. A1.24-10225-1581:111.
 San Francisco Reytoca. 1819. A1.11.25(4)-3527-385.
 Tegucigalpa. 1821. A1.11.25(4)-385-3529.
 Alubar. 1821. A1.11.25(4)-385-3530.
 Gracias a Dios. 1782. A1.11.25(4)-447-47.
 Lepaera. 1814. A1.11.25(4)-3511-385.
 Machaloa. 1818. A1.11.25(4)-3520-385.

OTHER ITEMS

(1) Protocolos Ms.

(2) Libros de Cabildo de Ciudad de Guatemala (Ayuntamiento de Ciudad de Guatemala)

(3) Reports of Fomento o Gobernación (also Hacienda) 1878-1944. Copies in Berkeley.

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THE 1970 YUNGAY EARTHQUAKE: POST-DISASTER CHANGE IN AN ANDEAN PROVINCE OF PERU

Anthony Oliver-Smith**

The study of the processes of socio-cultural change initiated by the onslaught of sudden catastrophic events has been relatively ignored in the social science literature until quite recently.¹ It seems all the more strange when we consider that statistics of the recent past show that a natural disaster of a magnitude requiring international assistance occurs once every three weeks in some area of the world.² Despite increasing recent attention to this issue, the vast majority of the literature from the social sciences on disasters still tends to concentrate primarily on (1) immediate response to impact, (2) adaptation of specific organizations to disaster, and (3) implementation of preventative and protective measures against future disaster agents.³ The present effort contends that such calamities can be singularly revealing about significant elements in the analysis of the direction and rate of socio-cultural change, particularly on the local and regional levels. The specific purpose of this article is to describe certain patterns of change in the Andean province of Yungay, in North-Central Peru, after the earthquake-landslide disaster of May 31, 1970.⁴ Hopefully, the description of these patterns will enable us to perceive them in the context of several existing theoretical perspectives on socio-cultural

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¹ The research on which this paper is based took place initially from October of 1970 to September of 1971 in Yungay, Ancash, Peru. Additional field trips to Yungay were undertaken in November and December of 1971 and during the summers of 1974 and 1975. Support for the first research trip came from the Midwestern Universities Consortium for International Activities while the author was a doctoral candidate at Indiana University in 1970-71. Support for the 1974 field trip came from the Office of Sponsored Research, University College, and the Florida State Museum, all of the University of Florida. The Society for Health and Human Values supported the author's research in 1975.

² Personal Communication: Sverre Kilde, Director of the Disaster Preparedness Bureau, League of Red Cross Societies, Nov. 26, 1974.

³ See for example, Dynes 1970; Form and Nosow 1958; Taylor, Zurcher and Key 1970; and Wallace 1957. An outstanding exception to this trend is Bates, Fogelman, Parenton, Pittman and Tracy 1963.

⁴ For a map of the area under discussion, see Paul Doughty, *Huaylas: An Andean District in Search of Progress* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), frontispiece.

tural change, particularly as they relate to the nature of such change in developing societies.

As previously mentioned, natural disasters have rarely been given more than token attention as causes of social change, particularly in pre-industrial and transitional societies. Although disasters disrupt society and allow for certain social mobility, they are most often seen by social scientists to stimulate immediate adaptations rather than major structural change in pre-industrial societies. Sjoberg articulated this point in his early summary article on the subject of disasters and social change (1962). He contended that disasters in general, while they may have terrible consequences for individuals and families, do not seem to alter the major structural arrangements of the society over the long run. Pre-industrial culture and society are interpreted as being adjustments to, or results of, a fairly constant "reign of terror." Sjoberg further stated that a major consequence of disasters in pre-industrial societies may be a reshuffling of status positions of people and groups, but ultimately little change in the overall structure of society will take place (Sjoberg 1962:361-2). In this sense, if change on the scale of social revolution is meant, one would be inclined to agree, but social change on that scale is a rare enough phenomenon, even without disasters, either natural or man-made. However, if we look at the potentialities for change on a slightly less macroscopic scale, it is possible that this reshuffling of people and groups in upward and downward mobility at this point in time will have important ramifications for change in culture and society in the long run, particularly when there are sharp lines of social demarcation as well as serious value conflicts among the various ethnic groups and classes of a society. No less significant must be the multifaceted efforts at coping and adaptation which individuals and groups may have to undertake in the aftermath of disaster.

Whatever the cause, most anthropological studies of change are concerned, no matter what methodological or theoretical problems the subject may present, with the idea of social process. Social process is found in the repetitive patterns of events in the workings of social institutions, also referred to by Bohannan as the "event system" (1963:359). Events systems are cyclical; that is, they are patterns of predictable, institutionalized events (Bohannan 1963:359). Most natural disasters do not fit into systems of

recurring events.⁵ Indeed, they are potentially disruptive to society and its characteristic event systems. Disasters can change the nature of the cycle of the event system, leading to new adjustments within the particular society. The point to be made here is that disaster is usually not part of process. It is history — and the aftermath of disaster is process coming to grips with history — and, ultimately, change.

Consequently, the study of socio-cultural change does not concentrate specifically on events, but rather on forms and process which evolve in response to and through history. The event-structures of process become predictable to social actors because they are based on shared concepts of expected behavior — the structural principles upon which the form of recurrent events in turn is based. These principles provide the guidelines, the predictive mechanisms which enable actors not only to predict but to act with some sense of relative security. Therefore, a valid theoretical approach to the study of socio-cultural change must concern not only structural principle, but also the organizational framework of social and psychological dynamics. This becomes particularly apparent when we perceive that one of the main events of disaster impact is to invalidate, at least partially, predictive principles, upsetting social as well as psychological equilibrium.

When a disaster strikes a society and becomes part of the personal experience of every surviving member, that society is irrevocably changed. Ultimately, we are concerned with permanent alterations in the structure of society. For example, our concern lies not so much with the change in personnel in a particular social status or role as with the change in definition, function, or disappearance of that status or role. However, we cannot afford to ignore changes in personnel in particular roles or functions, since new personnel may ultimately result in changes in the definition or function of that particular status. Essentially, we have made a conceptual distinction here between social organizational change (personnel change or “social movement”) and social structural change (role definition or function change). The key issue here is that while social organizational change is the stuff of social process, it also may lead to social structural change. Consequently, by

⁵ In the sense that some disasters are recurrent because of predictable environmental factors, internal adjustments and arrangements can be made to minimize the disruptive effect on society. However, there are some disasters expected or unexpected, whose scale simply confounds most adaptive strategies.

studying the processes and systems of decision and choice-making of individuals in the social organization of society, we are not only able to understand the principles on which such behavior is founded, but also we may achieve an understanding of any organizational change ultimately affecting such principles.

My basic point is that disaster shakes up a society, leaving a variety of often urgent needs unmet, setting in motion a host of social organizational responses which were grounded in the pre-disaster situation. In the post-disaster situation, my contention is that many social organizational adaptations to altered circumstances will lay the groundwork for social structural change.

YUNGAY BEFORE THE DISASTER

The setting of the study on which this paper is based is the city and province of Yungay and the refugee camp of Yungay Norte (700 meters north of the old city) in the North-Central Andes of Peru. Yungay, the city, was the central tragedy in a catastrophic earthquake in 1970 which claimed more than 70,000 lives and devastated an area larger than Belgium and Holland combined. It was the worst natural disaster in the history of the Western Hemisphere.

Yungay was a city of some 4,500 inhabitants, nestled in the curve of a hill which supposedly afforded it protection from the dangers of avalanche from Peru's highest mountain, Huascarán, which overlooked the city. Although Yungay was slightly north of the geographic midpoint of the valley known as the Callejón de Huaylas in which it was located, it was traditionally considered to be a central place for the region. As the capital, the city was the seat of most of the important institutions of the province. The vast majority of the province's educational, economic, political, and religious institutions were located in the city. The population of the province, indeed of the entire region, is composed primarily of a small, powerful, urban elite, a small urban service and commercial sector, and a vast rural Indian peasant population engaged in traditional agriculture.⁶ In many ways Yungay was a typical

⁶ The terms "Indian" and *mestizo* are used as cultural labels in this paper. The term "Indian" has lost its racial significance due to the high degree of miscegenation in Peru. In this sense, *mestizo* is used to signify an individual who is part of the national culture and society of Peru. The term *cholo* will also be used to describe a person of Indian background who is integrating himself into *mestizo* national society. Most alternatives to these usages usually only add to the confusion of an already complex problem of terminology.

preindustrial city. However, a more accurate term for the particular state in which Yungay city and province found itself prior to the disaster might be "transitional." For much of this century there had been a steady movement "down" in the sense that the urban elite had been moving down from the Andean valleys to the coastal cities, the urban poor had been moving down to coastal agricultural labor and the growing urban slums, and the rural poor had been moving down into the city of Yungay itself as well as to the coast. Yungay, like the larger cities of the nation, had been experiencing considerable urban as well as economic growth with increasing contact and developmental efforts in the region. The development process had begun.

Land and society in the province were dominated in the 1960s by the largely urban-dwelling wealthy class. The vast peasant population was involved in labor-intensive small-scale agriculture, either on hacienda lands or minifundia holdings. Peasant agriculture is still basically subsistence-oriented with some surplus available for exchange, usually in the market of Yungay. The Indian sector of the peasantry is by far the largest, and is composed of monolingual Quechua speakers whose culture differs markedly in many respects from that of the dominant local version of the national society. However, the peasant and rural sector in general have always played a key role in Andean society and the disaster of 1970 produced developments which illustrate the importance of rural participation in the maintenance of the urban center (Oliver-Smith 1977).

The city of Yungay played the traditional role of social, political, religious, and economic center for the surrounding peasant population. The peasants of Yungay province were tied to the city by social and ritual ties of peonage and *compadrazgo*, by the religious links of the church and the *fiesta* system, by the political links of district and provincial government, and by economic participation in its large and thriving market. Thus, the city serviced not only an urban population but was also a regional center for a large rural population. In order to fully understand the problems of persistence and change within the context of disaster, it is necessary to elaborate somewhat on a number of key elements in the institutional framework of the city and the province.

Patterns of Ethnic Group Interaction

Traditionally, the Indian peasant of the Andes has always occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder. Due to antiquated land tenure patterns, the Indian has been forced to eke out a living as a feudal serf on an hacienda or scratch a bare subsistence crop from small private holdings. In general, his life is a constant struggle against starvation and he has little access to any adequate medical or educational facilities. Plagued as he is by all the variables of poverty, the Indian was considered by Yungay townsmen to be biologically and socially inferior.

The relationships between the Indian and the mestizo begin on an official level with the political authorities of the provincial capital, such as the municipal council, the local courts, the police, the draft board, the local notary and priest. Indian-mestizo relationships are, by necessity, also maintained on an unofficial level. There is fairly extensive commercial contact between Indian and mestizo on marked days in the towns. Sometimes, men from Indian villages will work in town for wages or, until recently, to fulfill the feudal service obligations which are required of an hacienda serf.

The presence of the mestizo is also deeply felt in the rural areas on the haciendas and the hamlets. On a highland hacienda, one member of every Indian family had to work from two to four days a week without pay under the system of feudal peonage. In addition, a landlord at times required the female members of an Indian's family to lend their services as domestics in the manor house. If the Indian did not comply with these traditional demands, any property which he might own, such as livestock which is the most common form of wealth, might be confiscated.

However, regardless of the rural or urban context of relationships, they are always of a definitely hierarchical character. The Indian in the mestizo's eyes is always an inferior. The mestizo will, by subtle or forceful means, always keep the Indian in a socially inferior or dependent position. He may treat the Indian with affection, calling him "my son" or "compadrito"; he may have ceremonial relationships with the Indian through the *compadrazgo* system; but this system of ritual kinship will always place the mestizo in a paternal dominant position and the Indian in a position of social indebtedness. The Indian is never included in any mestizo activity on equal footing. High respect for the townsmen

is considered to be an essential part of his make-up.

Compadrazgo

Compadrazgo in Yungay, as in much of Latin America, is a system by which usually unrelated individuals are bound together through the sponsorship of another individual, or couple, passing through an event of ritual importance in the life cycle (Mintz and Wolf 1950). For example, parents will choose godparents for the baptism of their child. Other events of importance among Indian peasants which may require godparents, or *padrinos*, are the first haircut, engagement, marriage, baptism, and first communion (Stein 1961:130).

Compadrazgo institutionalized a relationship around a set of mutual obligations between *compadres* (co-parents) and between *padrinos* (godparents) and *ahijados* (godchildren). It is a sign of the respect in which one is held to be chosen, for example, as the godfather for the baptism of an infant. In return for the respect and gifts received, one is expected to become the "spiritual father" of the baby and sponsor him with gifts and assistance. Theoretically, the godparents are responsible for the child should something happen to the parents. In addition, the relationship between the godfather and the father of the child becomes duly formalized through the ceremony and a set of responsibilities and obligations are undertaken for mutual assistance (Doughty 1968:115).

Compadrazgo is entered into in varying patterns and degrees by Indians, *cholos*, and townsmen in Yungay. In Yungay, horizontal compadrazgo relationships exist in all classes. The upper class, almost without exception, will choose its *compadres* from its own class or seek someone of a higher status, perhaps in a departmental capital or in Lima. Among the Indians of Yungay, horizontal compadrazgo relationships are entered into in the less important events, such as a housewarming, an ear-piercing, or a hair-cutting ceremony. In vertical compadrazgo relationships, the godfather is invariably in the superior role. It is in the important ceremonies of life that the Indian peasant will seek to ally himself through compadrazgo with a wealthier person in his own community or a townsman from Yungay. In theory, establishing compadrazgo relationships with a townsman could bring increased material assistance to an Indian peasant.

The Traditional Politico-Religious Authority System

The politico-religious authority structure of Yungay was intimately related to the system of fiestas and peasant labor contributions and, as such, must be discussed within that context. The district of Yungay was divided into two barrios: to the south, Mitma and to the north, Huambo. Political authority flowed from the office of the mayor of Yungay into the peasant hamlets along two lines. The first chain of authority involved the *Agente Municipal*, the district agent in all civil matters of the mayor Yungay in the community. The second line of authority involved the barrio structure and dealt primarily with politico-religious functions. The mayor of Yungay appointed each January 1, and *Alcalde Pedaneo*, or Indian "petty mayor," for each barrio. The position of petty mayor is surrounded by many religious and political sanctions. He is appointed by the mayor of Yungay, but also approved in elaborate religious ceremonies involving the benediction of his staff (the symbol of office) by the church. His position has been likened by one informant to that of the "father of his people" and he must be of exemplary character so that he will be a good example to his "children."

Orders from the office of the mayor could follow either chain of authority directly to the municipal agent, or to the petty mayor who would then undertake to direct the individual communities. The responsibilities of the petty mayor lay primarily in two fields: the fiesta system and its religious ramifications and the system of peasant labor for the district of Yungay.

The primary fiestas in Yungay were those of Holy Week, Palm Sunday, the Virgen de la Candelaria, Santa Rosa, and Santo Domingo. It was the responsibility of the petty mayor to mobilize his entire barrio for the fiesta, including the securing of financial contributions to the event, supplying food and drink for the principals in the ceremonies, and organizing the population of the barrio for their participation in the fiesta. Many activities in the fiestas consisted in the playing out of the traditional rivalries between the two barrios, Huambo and Mitma.

In addition to this and other religious functions, the Alcalde Pedaneo was, on occasion, responsible for the organization and assignment of peasant labor whenever so ordered by the mayor of Yungay. The order for peasant labor for a particular project of benefit to the town or district would be sent to the Alcalde

Pedaneo and it would be his responsibility to select the community from which a labor force would be drawn to carry out the work.

The Yungay Market

Yungay had long been known as a commercial center for the middle area of the Callejón de Huaylas. Its concentration of stores and its daily market dwarfed its only provincial competitor of Mancos and was considerably larger than that of the neighboring provincial capital of Carhuaz. It was, in fact, the third-largest commercial center in the entire zone. The reasons for the economic importance of Yungay were the density of the peasant population and the varied ecology of the agricultural system, which provided numerous crops on a year round basis to the Yungay market.

Due to the density of the rural population, the wide variety of crops available, and also the urban population not involved in production, the Yungay market was a key institution in the province from both rural and urban perspectives. The Yungay market served as an outlet for peasant surplus, an exchange for manufactured articles, and as a supplier of both foodstuffs and manufactured articles for urban dwellers. Commercial crops grown on haciendas and other large holdings bypassed the market. Upper class economic interests maintained a high degree of control over the market in all its aspects and, quite often, the market would be manipulated by key individuals to raise prices for nonexportable commodities. The upper class interests involved consisted of livestock owners, landowners, and the larger storekeepers. These people, through their representation on the municipal council, controlled every aspect of the market from pricing to sanitation.

In terms of numbers, if not power, the Indian peasantry was by far the largest group participating in the market. Peasant women in large numbers would daily market extremely small amounts of surplus crops, left over from subsistence needs, in order to buy manufactured necessities in town. Even though the amount marketed as minimal, the high number of sellers provided that a substantial quantity of food was channeled into the city each day in this fashion.

However, despite upper class domination and peasant numerical superiority, the Yungay market had become the platform for lower-class cholo and lower-middle-class mestizo economic ambi-

tions through the formation of a market syndicate. One of the most important groups in the Yungay market was the revendedora (reseller) group made up of essentially chola women who performed both wholesaling and retailing functions for local (and some nonlocal) agricultural products. Almost all of these women were rural residents of small communities close to Yungay. They maintained contacts with peasants for resale in the market. These women, working on a scale too small for large agriculturists to bother with, assured, along with peasant sellers, that there would be a steady flow of food from the countryside into the market. In addition to these non-Indian lower-class women, there was a group of cholo and lower-class mestizo men and women involved as brokers in the export of agriculture products to the coast and the importing of manufactured articles to the highlands. Finally, there were a large number of both male and female cholo dry goods sellers, also essentially of rural origin.

THE DISASTER

The most destructive earthquake in the history of the Western Hemisphere took place on the afternoon of May 31, 1970, in the coastal and mountain areas of North-Central Peru. It registered 7.7 on the Richter scale and covered an area of about 65,000 square kilometers, took approximately 70,000 lives, injured roughly 50,000 people, and damaged or destroyed an estimated 186,000 buildings or approximately 80 percent of all structures in the zone. The earthquake shook loose a slab of ice and rock about 800 meters wide and 1800 meters long from the sheer northwest face of Huascarán, Peru's highest peak, at an estimated altitude of between 5,500 and 6,500 meters. This immense mass, constituting more than 25 million cubic meters of ice, mud, and rock at its source, careened down the Llanganuco Valley at an average velocity of between 217 and 435 kilometers per hour, picking up on its way huge masses of morainal material and hurling literally thousands of boulders, some weighing thousands of tons, down the valley. The momentum of the slide carried it the 16 kilometers from its origin on Huascarán to the valley floor in four minutes. The avalanche developed three separate lobes as it extended itself over the lower parts of the valley. One of these lobes leapt a protective ridge some 200 meters high and buried in seconds the entire city of Yungay, killing approximately 95 percent of its inhabi-

tants. All that remained of Yungay some four minutes after the earthquake had ceased its tremors were four palm trees where the main plaza had been, some 300 terrified survivors who had escaped by reaching high ground, and an immense expanse of dull grey viscous mud, interrupted by huge boulders which, in the days followed appeared to grow in size as the mud settled around them. The total volume of ice, mud, and rock which descended from Huascarán upon Yungay and other neighboring villages is estimated to be approximately 50 million cubic meters (Erickson, Plafker and Fernández Concha 1970:1).

Immediately after the disaster, the survivors sought shelter in a number of locations in the area. These locations eventually became the sites of four of the major refugee camps of the rehabilitative system which was established in Yungay Province. The four sites were Pashulpampa (later to be called Yungay Norte), Aura, Yungay Sur, and Tingua, all within a 15 kilometer radius of each other.

While nothing of the city remains, all but ten of the approximately 50 satellite peasant communities survived. Most of the few urban survivors, some 300 originally, formed a tent camp (later known as Yungay Norte) one-half mile north of the avalanche in the protection of a large hill. Soon they were joined by refugees from the peasant communities in such quantities that a year later the populations had reached approximately two thousand people, less than ten percent of which were original Yungay residents. The town before the disaster had a high percentage of professional and commercial people and, despite its picturesque appearance, had a bustling atmosphere of social and economic life quite remote in aspect and value from the rural setting which it occupied. In the year following the disaster, Yungay Norte grew to approximately one-half its former population level, but the character of the town's inhabitants had changed from one which was basically urban, specialist, and commercial, to one composed of peasant agriculturalists, artisans, and rural proletariat. Although, in the year after the tragedy, approximately 15 percent of the population of Yungay Norte was composed of professional people, many of these individuals were not originally residents of the city, having been sent in as teachers by the Ministry of Education after the disaster. However, notwithstanding the change in the composition of the population, by 1974 the refugee camp of Yungay Norte had acquired all administrative, economic, educational, governmental,

and religious centrality of the former capital. The new city, consisting mainly of composition board barracks through 1975, grew from a ragged group of survivors to a city of more than 3,000 people in less than five years. To all outward appearances, Yungay Norte gave the impression of simply having picked up where the old city had left off. All the former capital's institutions were relocated in Yungay Norte and those individuals of the old urban elite who survived soon appeared in leadership and prestige positions. It seemed almost as though the old system had reappeared relatively unscathed.

POST-DISASTER CHANGES

Despite the persistence of certain formal patterns, a great many processes of change were underway in Yungay Norte. The city of Yungay had been the central place of a region composed almost entirely of numerous small peasant communities. These peasant communities were in a highly dependent relationship to the provincial capital. The disaster completely destroyed the capital city and thus deprived the peasant society of the locus of the cluster of institutions upon which it depended. A center of social, economic, and political power had been destroyed and its survivors set about to rebuild the capital of their social structure and value system, but with vastly depleted resources.

The problem was that Yungay's percentage of power-wielding individuals given all the institutions of the old capital, had retained its structural importance in the traditional system but the personnel which had apparently maintained Yungay's structural importance, the landlords, the professionals, the large commercial interests, the *decentes*, were greatly reduced in number. Being in large part urban dwellers, the powerful of Yungay had perished in the avalanche. Only a small percentage had survived the disaster to take up the reins of power. While they retained the power, they did not and could not constitute or give identity to the new town. While basic political and economic power arrangements in the new city were not radically restructured in any immediate sense, the changed character of the population of the refugee camp of Yungay began to have effects on the nature of rural-urban relationships.

Indeed, an examination of certain patterns of persistence and change in Yungay life reveals an intensification of trends of

change underway before the disaster, as well as a hardening of those attitudes resisting that change. Processes of social change, which had been making slow inroads into traditional sierra society before the disaster, were quickened by the disruption of the disaster. Important alterations in both society organization and, in some cases, social structure demonstrate the increased complexity and fluidity of form and function characteristic of rapidly changing societies which were far less evident in the pre-disaster era.

Compadrazgo

One of the primary areas in which change began to take place in Yungay society in the year following the disaster is in the institution of compadrazgo. Vertical compadrazgo relationships diminished and new patterns of horizontal compadrazgo relationships emerged. The Indian peasant began to choose his compadres, regardless of the relative importance of the ceremonial event, from his own class, usually an individual who has been close to his family. Certainly a key factor in any explanation of this change must be the fact that the number of individuals of social power had diminished greatly in Yungay. However, it must be recognized that sectors of the urban population, notably formerly rural cholo merchants and traders, have enjoyed a considerable rise in income in the new town and have become desirable candidates for compadrazgo relationships. This upsurge of social mobility on the part of people heretofore of inferior status has led to expanded interaction and integration of the lower segments of the population with newly influential groups. Prior to the disaster, the cholo entrepreneurs were small agriculturalists, part-time shop owners, and small-scale agricultural import-export brokers who resided in the small peasant hamlets close to the city of Yungay. Now they constitute a rising economic elite, recognized, albeit reluctantly by traditional elites, as being of some consequence in the socio-economic life of the town, district, and province. Therefore, the Indian peasant has proportionately more people than he had before the disaster with whom he can interact with less subservience and disadvantage. Yungay is now a cholo town.

Patterns of Ethnic Group Interaction

The sudden disappearance of the vast majority of powerful people in Yungay society has had profound effects on the nature

of Indian-mestizo relations. While formal structures since the earthquake have remained relatively intact, aspects of Indian role behavior have begun to change. Indians still occupy the lowest rung on the social ladder but, for example, they are no longer dictated to by townsmen on the issue of wages. Indians who were not satisfied with employers' offers, now refuse with impunity. Townspeople experience a sense of outrage, or righteous indignation, when an Indian now refuses to perform labor at the menial wages traditionally paid. Clearly, a value which is strongly rooted in traditional highland society is being contradicted. Choice in the disposition of their own labor was not something that Indians were permitted to enjoy.

The reasons for such a change in Indian role behavior in Yungay can be traced to the disaster and to the aid which followed it. In the first place, the disaster disrupted the linkages in the chain of informal authority that tied Indian communities to Yungay and Indian individuals to urban individuals. In essence, the strength of the moral authority of those few urban survivors is not sufficient to exert the traditional levels of coercion over Indians who had suddenly perceived an element of choice with regard to the disposition of their own labor.

Another factor which reinforced this alteration in the Indian role was the fact that the national government began to contribute in a serious fashion to the construction of a permanent settlement in the refugee camp of Yungay Norte. This construction program, paying wages two to three times higher than average Indian wages, created a seller's market, albeit a temporary and artificial one. However, the point here is that the Indians, through those factors mentioned here, achieved the ability to choose. Their labor was no longer a quantity to be delivered on demand to the townspeople. Indian refusal to deliver labor at traditional prices is a clear indication that something very basic in the relationship between Indian and townsman has changed since the earthquake. While Yungaino social structure has not been destroyed or overturned by the disaster, adjustments by all survivors to life in the post-disaster period have occasioned behavioral and organizational changes which may evolve into significant social structural alteration in the future. Indeed, the rapidly growing city of Yungay Norte 10 years after the disaster possessed more variegated and flexible patterns of social interaction than its predecessor even though the social structure remained, thus far, relatively constant.

Indeed, while relationships of traditional servile domination diminished, there have been indications in more modern, less personal economic forms of dependency.

The Traditional Politico-Religious Authority Structure

Similar developments have occurred in the traditional politico-religious authority structure. The landslide which buried Yungay also obliterated nine communities and cut off six others in the barrio of Mitma from their district capital. The petty mayor of Mitma was killed, as were many of his assistants in the various communities. Essentially then, this left the traditional village authority system, which is extralegal, reduced almost by half.

When the authorities in the reconstituted government of Yungay Norte attempted to appoint a replacement for the dead petty mayor, all of the potential candidates refused on grounds that they did not want the responsibility for only the remainder of the dead mayor's term. However, when the local authorities in Yungay Norte attempted to recruit a petty mayor for Mitma, at the traditional first of the year appointment date, again they could find no one to undertake the responsibility for its traditional politico-religious authority. As of August of 1980, the barrio of Mitma was still without an Indian petty mayor. This reluctance on the part of the remaining communities of Mitma to reintegrate themselves into the traditional authority structure has had widespread ramifications in the overall nature of rural-urban political relationships as they relate to that barrio.

The fiesta system of Yungay has changed. In the post-disaster period the entire surviving population of Mitma refused to participate in the fiestas of Santa Rosa and Santo Domingo, upsetting the traditional system of barrio rivalries. Since everyone had refused the responsibility of the post of petty mayor, the entire barrio had, in effect, refused to make the financial contributions normally required of them for the success of the fiesta system. The people of Mitma stated that the destruction wrought by the disaster had given them better things on which to spend their money. They stated that they have always considered their participation in the fiesta system to be a burden not worth the expenditure of money and effort which it demanded. No action was taken against them.

The inhabitants of the barrio of Mitma have also used the

disaster as a means of passively resisting the imposition of authority from Yungay. By refusing to have a petty mayor appointed by Yungay Norte, Mitma has effectively limited their forced participation in the unpaid Indian labor contribution to the city. In addition, a number of Mitma communities have elected their own petty mayors, defying the traditional principle that the petty mayor is always appointed by the formal system in Yungay. They have also defied the formal structure of administrative procedure by electing their own municipal agents.

The nature of enforcement of the traditional authority system was such that when disrupted by disaster, the time it took to reestablish all the links in the chain of communications allowed for the possibility of change. By the time attempts were made to restructure the lines of power and communication, dissident factions in Mitma had already exploited the temporary power vacuum and disruption to rid themselves of a system to which they had little commitment and from which they derived few advantages. Insofar as dissatisfaction existed within the system, it is evident that the disaster availed people in the barrio of Mitma with the opportunity to make new choices regarding their continued participation in the entire system. Indeed, the disruption caused by the disaster has resulted in the acquisition of potential power by communities which, prior to the disaster, were relatively helpless to resist traditional forms of coercion from the city of Yungay. In a very real way the peasants of Mitma acquired a sense of their own political expression and will in the aftermath.

The fact that they have been able to resist reintegration into the informal system for better than ten years indicates that this political expression of independence is well on its way to permanence. Moreover, the change in the informal structure may be indicative that change in the formal political structure of the district could come about. There are indications that the rebellious communities of Mitma may initiate action to separate themselves formally from the district of Yungay to form still another district in the province. Here, then, is a case of informal adjustment to disaster conditions ultimately affecting change on a formal structural level.

The Yungay Market

Notwithstanding certain changed patterns in social and polit-

ico-religious institutions, economic institutions have remained relatively stable, although agricultural patterns in general were upset by the disaster. The landslide and earthquake swept away many of the irrigation canals and outlets and, for this reason, agriculture was limited. In November of 1970, a full five months after the disaster, more-or-less normal patterns of agriculture began to be reestablished in the majority of the communities.

Yungay's status as a market center was also soon reestablished. Not two weeks after the disaster, organized commercial activity began to appear in the open area of the refugee tent camp. Indian peasants who immediately after the disaster had given their surplus food to the survivors, began to sell their produce again. In two weeks more, *quinchas* (structures of laced cane and mud) had been erected as stores by urban survivors. Two months later the reconstructed provincial government, now located in the refugee camp, began to collect fees for the right to sell in town. In December of 1970 the Ministry of Housing constructed and distributed to over 90 vendors the official Yungay market buildings. The provincial government immediately took charge of these buildings, instituted rental charges for the stores and ground space, and appointed municipal employees to collect rents and maintain the hygiene of the location. Peasants who had turned to selling their produce in the nearby towns of Cárax and Mancos started returning and Yungay began to regain its importance as a commercial center. Thus, some six months after total destruction, Yungay had reconstructed its economic life and its market was again one of the largest in the valley.

There are a number of reasons for Yungay's rapid economic reconstruction and recovery; principal among them was the existence and participation of a large market-oriented peasant population in the area. There was little change in the status and role of the Indian in the market. They are still today limited to being primary producers of food in extremely small quantities, and consumers of a limited number of manufactured articles. However, their role in the market is determined by mechanisms and institutions external to the market, and conditions endemic to peasant markets in many parts of the world. Because of a high peasant population on minimal arable land, there is still an unusually high number of sellers, all dealing in minimal quantities. There is also still a high number of rather poor buyers in Yungay. Competition is intense and profit, or income, is low. Capital accumulation on

the part of the Indian seller is held to a minimum, a phenomenon not uncommon in peasant markets in general (Belshaw 1965:57). In addition to the difficulties of capital accumulation present in the market, the Yungay Indian peasant still suffers a number of structural restraints imposed on him by his socio-cultural identity. To enable himself to use the market to his best advantage, the Indian peasant must learn Spanish, must abandon Indian dress, must gain access to sources of credit and storage, and must be able to interact freely and equally with the entrepreneurial cholos and mestizos of highland Peruvian society. In short, he must cease being an Indian. The Indian peasant understands the market mechanism. Market conditions and the ramifications of his socio-cultural identity make it extremely difficult for him to use the market in anything but a limited fashion. The disaster had done little to change this situation.

The market is used by the Indian in the only way possible for him at present, and his is fully aware of this fact. The Indian is also fully aware of his own importance to the institution of the market and the town. In discussing the possible location of the provincial capital some 230 kilometers to the south, they clearly stated that it would have to do without the market because they, the campesinos of the Yungay area, would not go there to sell and buy. They would go to market in Cáráz outside of the province. Approximately 60 percent of the communities of the province in the valley are within easy walking distance of Yungay. If the market were moved to the south, this large peasant population would be closer to the market in Cáráz. (Oliver-Smith 1977).

The role of the revendedora women in the market did not change after the disaster, either. They are still instrumental in channeling food into the city from small peasant farms in the rural areas. While some of these women urbanized with the construction of the town, most of them remain rural residents in the small communities which surround the refugee camp.

However, while the structure of economic activity remains fairly constant, the market in Yungay has provided a context for significant social and economic mobility. One group representing about 12 percent of the permanent market participants in the aftermath represented an important tendency in the entire disaster zone — that of the peasant who has seen the disruption and reconstruction aid as an opportunity to urbanize, a much desired goal in Peru. It is important to point out that while all this group

is rural and agriculture in origin, they are not monolingual Quechua-speaking Indian peasants, but cholos and lower class mestizos who are bilingual, non-Indian in phenotype, sometimes literate, and economically ambitious. They have employed ascending vertical compadrazgo relationships, the sale of capital goods, and the commercial vacuum created temporarily by the disaster, to leave their marginal existence in agriculture and break into an equally marginal, but more highly-valued existence in the market selling dry goods, clothing, and other general articles on small established plots on the grounds of the permanent markets. They depend absolutely on credit from wholesalers with whom they have friendly contact and have used predisaster hinterland relationships to develop clientele for their merchandise. However, their extremely small scale does not allow them to derive more than a marginal existence from their enterprise. Nonetheless, the fact that they have urbanized is far more important in their eyes and notwithstanding the rigors of their present economic condition, they express a guarded optimism about their urban futures.

A far more striking example in this regard is offered by the cholo entrepreneurs who represented approximately 15 percent of the permanent market participants. Before the disaster many of these individuals had been crop brokers, exporters of highland agricultural products to the coast, and importers of manufactured goods in the highlands. While most of them were of peasant origin, they were extremely adept at commerce, trading regularly in coastal cities; and after the disaster, they were quick to take advantage of their relationships with truck drivers, tradesmen, and wholesalers in the cities for capitalization and credit for their new enterprises. The majority of them established general stores in the market complex.

For the cholo entrepreneur the chance to become a *comerciante*, a merchant with his own fixed establishment constitutes a step upward — not only in economic, but also in social terms. Merchants are *gente de la ciudad* (city people) and they may eventually become *decente* as opposed to cholo or *gente de la campiña* (country people). However, while these new entrepreneurs from the peasant communities are gathering economic strength rather rapidly, social or political power has been accorded them at a somewhat slower pace. The urban survivors of Yungay, remnants of both the old commercial elite and the professional classes have only recently and reluctantly over the ensu-

ing years begun to include the new commercial class when decisions affecting the community are to be made. Social mixing between the old commercial elite and the cholo entrepreneurs has been extremely rare until quite recently. On the whole, the new entrepreneurs continue to maintain the same circle of friends, very often from the market or their community of origin. They have not changed their style of dress, and occasionally interchange Spanish and Quechua among themselves. However, one individual perhaps the most successful of the group, recently achieved the status of "notable citizen," an honorary title of ceremony and respect. Nonetheless, it must be realized that the gradual accumulation of the socio-economic requirements for positions of social and political importance by the cholo entrepreneurs is primarily an example of social mobility rather than structural alteration. However, the access of the cholo entrepreneurs to these positions is certainly symptomatic of a degree of change to a somewhat more fluid social structure.

DISASTER, SOCIAL PROCESS, AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE

If we examine Yungay in the decade following the disaster of 1970, it becomes apparent that, despite the countless personal tragedies and the awesome destruction, the disaster in fact has accelerated processes of social change in the area. While, initially, many people felt that "revolution" had come to Yungay through an accident of nature, it was soon evident that such was not the case. Society and traditional social structural arrangements were not turned upside-down by the disaster. Rather, the old system reasserted itself almost immediately, albeit with the help of the national government. While the disaster did little to alter patterns based on national institutions such as the formal governmental, administrative, or economic organization of the country on the local level, the impact and aftermath constituted a disruption of such magnitude that change was either initiated or accelerated in a number of important institutions. The disaster was disruptive of local organization and structure; and adjustment to this disruption had to be met by individuals and institutions alike, usually through improvisational, social organizational means which did the least violence to local structural principles.

The major effects of the disaster — the destruction of the

city and the demise of the vast majority of the traditional elite — became, in the aftermath, catalysts for further change in the local society. Indeed, the weakening of traditional elites in Third World countries has often been considered a key element in the process of social change (Eisenstadt 1973:24). While the disaster far from removed all distinctions between people, a certain social balancing occurred in Yungay. In contrast to the predisaster era, there are far fewer truly powerful people in the new city. We have seen how disruption and mortality contributed to greater flexibility of the social fabric and have led to an increase of social mobility, particularly through economic channels.

The disruption of traditional patterns of work and production as well as the rise in the value of labor also increased the social mobility of the lower sectors of traditional Yungay society. Indian peasants were more able to dispose of their own labor as they saw fit, due to the economic input in the form of rehabilitative aid toward the construction of the new community. The increased wage labor resulting from rehabilitation programs which are subsequently transformed into development projects in the late 1970s also led to a diversification and differentiation of economic roles. People, who prior to the disaster had spent their whole lives in agriculture, began learning new skills, resulting in a growing specialization of economic activities.

This increased flexibility and the partial easing of rigidly defined social inequality were manifested also in the developments seen in the *compadrazgo* institution. However, peasant and lower-class Yungainos did not perceive the disaster in revolutionary terms. They did not celebrate the demise of Yungay, but rather mourned the deaths of those people significant to them as well as that of the city. However, after the disaster they did not seek out new “masters,” but rather formed new more nearly horizontal *compadrazgo* relationships along traditional institutional lines, and integrated alterations in the character of the relationship, choosing not to subvert what was perceived as a valuable institution. These are essentially what Raymond Firth has described as organizational changes which do not do major violence to structural principle, but which may eventually bring about structural change (1964:61).

From a political standpoint, the alterations in the traditional structure as well as those minor changes in the formal system on the community level, demonstrate the incipient spread of potential

political expression and power to broader sectors of the population. The peasants seized the opportunity created by the disaster to opt out of a system from which they perceived little advantage. Indeed, this refusal to link themselves to the city of Yungay again is characteristic of the importance of independent community identity which is becoming increasingly common in Peru today. The peasants of Mitma, particularly those whose communities enjoy road access, are, since independent from Yungay, establishing links to the national economic and political scene. Many communities in Mitma now bypass all regional markets in favor of larger coastal markets. Perhaps one of the most far-reaching effects of the disaster is in this context — the fact that numerous upward ties and points of communication have been established by peasants with national institutions through numerous aid agencies and programs which converged upon the disaster area in the year following the tragedy. Peasants of the entire valley have been exposed to and consequently integrated partially into the institutional network of social and economic services of the national system.⁷ Ultimately, we have seen the massive urbanization of Yungay, the growth of a ragged group of survivors to a community of over 4,000 people in less than ten years, as an intensification of a broad pattern of urbanizing which has been taking place in Peru for several generations. This is perhaps the most profound and far-reaching change in which the disaster has been instrumental. It is important to emphasize, however, that urbanizing peasants in the main are not Indians, but rather cholos and lower-class mestizos. This increasing integration and participation of these heretofore marginal people into the national social, political and economic institutions of Peru has been termed the process of “cholification.” While Yungay Norte, like the old city which preceded it, is still a center for the few remaining traditional elites, and even some who might aspire to that status, they are becoming increasingly insistent and defensive of their prerogatives as they witness the increasing “cholification” of Yungay Norte. The disaster and the construction of the camp in the aftermath provided a unique opportunity for numerous actors who had been waiting patiently in the wings to finally perform on the local version of the modern urban stage.

The disaster has allowed and, in some cases, impelled many

⁷ For further material on this issue see Oliver-Smith 1977.

people to break with their traditional past. People left the impoverished but relative stability of traditional agriculture to endure the insecurity of employment in the fluctuating economy built around disaster rehabilitation project construction. The disaster has also helped to create an environment of growing complexity for those who have chosen to urbanize. This complexity is perhaps best exemplified by the greater fluidity within the local social structure.

While we have seen that few of the formal institutions have been structurally altered by the disaster, the processes at work on a social organizational level to cope with conditions in the aftermath indicate that forms of change are occurring which have important implications for structural alteration of the society. In general, this conclusion is consistent with Sjoberg's generalization that disasters tend to accentuate or bring to the surface any process of phenomenon of change in existence at the time of impact (1962:373). While the disaster destroyed many of the infrastructural elements of the area, these were all replaced and, in fact, largely improved upon within five years. Indeed, Sjoberg may well have been correct in the early sixties when he wrote that disasters do not seem to alter major structural arrangements of traditional societies (1962:361-2), but different historical circumstances may point in other directions today in the mid-eighties. There are today many more pressures on traditional societies for change. It may well be that one of the inevitable results of severe natural disaster in the Third World today is the increasing integration of traditional local societies into national systems, with all the structural alterations, both positive and negative for individual and community welfare, that this transition implies.

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THE BOLIVIAN DISASTER SURVEILLANCE DATA SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

The term "surveillance," originally derived from the epidemiology of infectious disease, has been applied to various facets of public health. Nutritional surveillance programs, for instance, attempt to provide timely collection and interpretation of data for decision-making with the purpose of improving nutrition in communities (1). In the same manner, the concept of a surveillance program for disaster relief has been proposed and developed by the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO/WHO) (2). The aim of such programs is to obtain information so as to plan and mobilize appropriate assistance for stricken communities. The current literature *vis-a-vis* disaster epidemiology points to the use of such data systems during the aftermath of the disaster (2,3,4). While many natural disasters such as earthquakes are not precisely predictable, others such as droughts and floods can be anticipated more readily. Given an "early warning" system, the prediction of the effects of impending disaster can be made and appropriate measures taken to ameliorate possible mortality and morbidity.

Although the development of such systems to aid in the improvement of relief programs was recommended in the early 1960s, little has been done to implement the suggestions (5). Where operational programs do exist, as in the cases of Botswana, Indonesia, and Ethiopia, information is limited by incomplete documentation or by the newness of the program (6). This paper examines an early warning system for droughts and floods in the context of Latin America.

The purpose of this paper is to describe a surveillance system that was developed in 1984 under the auspices of the United

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States Agency for International Development (USAID) for monitoring conditions related to drought and severe weather conditions in six departments of Bolivia.

BACKGROUND

The reversal of normal oceanic currents off the west coast of South America, known as the El Niño phenomenon, in 1981-1982 led to a pattern of severe flooding and prolonged drought in Santa Cruz, a southern tropical area, and in the northern Andean region known as the Altiplano, respectively, in 1983 (7). As a consequence, widespread shortages of food, seed, and livestock accompanied the drought, while migration to less stricken areas exceeded usual migratory patterns. Damages to rice crops and livestock in non-drought areas occurred as a result of flooding, which in addition, severely affected communications and transportation infrastructures.

In light of the above events and with the current political and economic instability of the country, the USAID Mission and other international organizations have provided assistance to Bolivia. Effective aid by the Mission, however, has been hampered by the lack of essential information on the status of health, economic, and agricultural conditions. A review of existing sources of data in government and non-government institutions had indicated that a permanent system allowing for the rapid and efficient collection of data for immediate use was virtually non-existent. For example, according to data as of mid-1984 from the Ministry of Meteorology and Hydrology, the drought that occurred in 1983 would not have been observed until 1986 (8). Hence, the necessity for a data system at the national level that can address immediate needs related to droughts and severe weather conditions was recognized.

Given the dearth of current and reliable information, the proposed system attempts to anticipate problems regarding health, economic, meteorologic, and agricultural conditions particularly in the rural sector, to determine priorities in times of emergency, to facilitate evaluation of the impact of certain programs in critical regions, and to observe the rehabilitation and recuperation of affected areas.

THE DATA COLLECTION SYSTEM

Central to the surveillance system is the use of appropriate

indicators that can signal the impact of drought and can provide information regarding the effects of flooding on health, agriculture, meteorology, economics, transportation, and migration. The selected topics are thought to be valid variables that would be most sensitive to changes in existing conditions in the affected regions. The indicators include rates of infant mortality, morbidity in children less than 5 years of age (with particular emphasis on respiratory diseases and gastrointestinal disorders), rainfall, market prices (for rice, potatoes, wheat flour, and noodles), daily wages, livestock depletion, migration, crop program development, seed survival, and water supply in terms of daily consumption and depth of wells.

Data are collected approximately every twenty-eight days by six field agents from randomly stratified samples of communities in each of six targeted departments of the country, namely La Paz, Druro, Potosí, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, and Tarija. Selection of the communities is based mainly on the identification of the community by the National Institute of Statistics (INE) and on the accessibility of the community to main thoroughfares and existing roads.

In such communities, visits are made to key leaders within the community and/or to institutions that may have information of interest to the purposes of the surveillance system. The town mayor, for one, is interviewed for his perception of the physical and geographical size of his community. Vital statistics are obtained by querying other community leaders, such as the nurse and the civil registrar, for their estimations as to the population, boundaries, and jurisdiction of their respective communities.

One institution that appears to be found in almost all communities is the office of the civil registry. Vital statistics, specifically natality and mortality, are recorded continuously and are sent to the National Institute of Statistics on a quarterly basis. Registration fees, however nominal, are charged of residents within the jurisdiction of the civil registry.

Health data, or information concerning morbidity, are obtained from community health centers or posts in remote areas, or *centros o puestos de salud*. In most cases, tabulation of a range of diseases by age and sex is maintained on a monthly basis by the clinic nurse or by a newly graduated physician at work during his *año de provincia*. In health centers that served larger or several communities, data specific for nutritional status and childhood im-

munization are available. In remote health posts where a single nurse and her assistant administer to the needs of the community. Information about the availability and distribution of oral rehydration therapy packets for diarrheal disease at the community level can be obtained.

Agriculture and credit/market systems are monitored periodically by the Bolivian Institute for Agricultural Technology (IBTA). Branches of the institute, usually found in large communities, initiate projects related to farming and animal husbandry and perform periodic surveys of harvest and livestock ownership within a particular area. The availability of produce and livestock and their corresponding prices in the market are reviewed as well for any fluctuations in the type of produce available by season and on the stability of prices in the market.

Another source of secondary data within the existing system is the experimental station whose activities primarily revolve around the raising of livestock, including llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas, and the monitoring of weather conditions for a specific zone of influence. Meteorological information, particularly with respect to temperature, precipitation, and barometric pressure, is collected on a daily basis and is readily available at such stations.

Field visits by the data collectors include an initial assessment of the community in terms of the availability of existing data, the establishment of contacts between local leaders of the community and other persons who can provide information regarding the generation, the recording, and the verification of the data. In addition, a directory of routine and special projects and services for community development is made. In the process, an understanding of the operation of the community under study is developed from the collection of both qualitative and quantitative information.

The data are then transmitted on a periodic basis from the field to the central office in La Paz, where analysis is executed with use of the IBM-XT microcomputer, LOTUS 123 spreadsheets, Wordstar for word processing, Knowledgeman for data entry and record management, and SPSS for statistical packaging to generate rapid results for efficient interpretation. Results of the system are directed to potential users of the data, including other components of USAID's Disaster Assistance Program, the Ministry of Planning of the government of Bolivia, and other international relief organizations so that appropriate action may be

taken. After a two-year operation under the direction of USAID, the surveillance system will be incorporated into the activities of the Ministry of Planning.

SYSTEM PERFORMANCE

Visits to the communities of Batalles, Achacachi, Viach, Comanche, Coro Coro, Cutty, and Luribay in the department of La Paz for pretesting the survey instrument indicated that the quality of the existing data was below the level of what had been anticipated during earlier planning stages. Although civil registries, health posts, agriculture institutions, and meteorological stations were found in most communities, other data sources clearly were needed.

Subsequent revision of the questionnaires following the pretest entailed contact with such institutions as the Ministry of Agriculture (MACA), IBTA, and Office of Meteorology of the Ministry of Transportation, and the Office of Epidemiology of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Public Health for the purpose of obtaining existing data and for acquainting one with communication channels for those data. Where the information of interest already existed, the survey instruments were adapted to accommodate the reporting schedule of the report forms in those institutions.

Didactic training of the data collectors, most of whom were agricultural engineers, included a two-week series of lectures on vital statistics, epidemiology, meteorology, transport, agriculture and credit systems, census, migration, and oral rehydration therapy from USAID personnel and from various representatives from such institutions as INE, CARITAS, the Office of Epidemiology of the Ministry of Social Welfare and Public Health, and the Ministry of Agriculture. Practical training was conducted in various Altiplano communities including Patacamaya, Ayo Ayo, Huarina, and Copacabana, where visits were made to the civil registry, IBTA, and the health post of each town.

Following the field visits, problem areas and other possible sources of data were identified. For one, the manner of introducing the project to representatives of the communities required clarification. In order for the project to be accepted by the local people, data collectors introduced the project as an activity of the Ministry of Planning of the Government of Bolivia and of

USAID, rather than of one or the other. This was attributed to the lack of confidence on the part of the community in its national organizations and to its suspicion of foreign interests. A dual representation, it was thought, would alleviate hesitation on the part of the community to participate in the project, as it would emphasize the credibility of the project.

A definition for the area of influence of a community raised considerable confusion. In most instances, geographical boundaries could not be delineated, although the project had access to government maps. Data, particularly those from the civil registries and from health posts, included *procedencias* and *domicilios*, the definitions of which differed from place to place. In the same manner, teachers in certain communities kept a census of their students based on the *area de primario*. The area of influence of the school, however, differed from the area of influence of the civil registry and/or the health post of the same "community". In the department of Tarija, communities are dispersed so that a standard definition may be difficult. In epidemiologic terms, any comparison of the effects of the indicators in question would require the use of different denominators.

The quality of incoming data raised questions with respect to reliability and validity. When asked separately about the estimated population of their community, the mayor and nurse of one community responded within a range of several thousand. To validate responses may prove difficult, particularly in situations where a wide range for an estimated single summary figure is given. Moreover, the recording of natality and mortality from civil registers was at best sketchy. Many births were registered several years later, once the child was ready to begin school in which birth certificates were required upon registration. Also, the fees required by the civil registry may have deterred prompt registration of birth or death.

Selection of the 180 communities for the study was not randomly stratified. These communities were selected by their respective data collector for their easy identification on maps provided by the National Institute of Statistics and for their proximity to main thoroughfares. Since complete maps of all communities do not exist, a random stratification of the communities for study was not possible.

Thus, it appears that the thrust of the surveillance system is to generalize from weak data given a myriad of sources of varying

degrees of confidence and reliability. Rather than focusing on the notion of probabilistic samples, emphasis for data analysis is placed on the relationship between representativeness and exceptions. The existence of outliers, blips in curves, problems and inconsistencies, quick changes, which statistics tend to obscure, presents issues for consideration in the operation of the surveillance system.

Survey instruments for agriculture and market/credit systems are in the process of development. Initial field visits indicated a lack of a uniform weighing scale throughout the markets. In addition, responses for harvest yields and losses and for the quantity of livestock per farmer were at best educated guesses. These and others were similar problems that were faced by local agricultural organizations (MACA and IBTA) in their surveys.

Because the project was tested initially in the Altiplano where drought was a major problem, indicators for the effects of the former rather than for flood, a phenomenon more common in the valleys, were emphasized. Appropriate indicators for the latter will be added upon full operation of the surveillance system.

Possible data sources that were identified were the programs of the *clubes de madres*, a women's organization found in almost all communities with feeding programs for children, and the *Plan de Padrinos*, an international organization with multisectorial development programs that encompassed health and agriculture. A possible source for transport data were police records from road blocks in certain towns where vehicles were inspected for contraband. Lastly, priests and other ministers were able to provide some mortality information.

Can such surveillance data system predict the effects of drought and severe weather conditions? In a country beset with spiralling inflation and numerous daily strikes (9), it appears that the success or failure of a surveillance system in its attempt to detect any normal or non-normal changes is largely affected by the spectrum of socioeconomic events outside the system itself. Hence, any attributable changes as evidenced by a measure of the indicators cannot be due simply to the surveillance system per se, but must be viewed as the possible result of competing causes as well. Moreover, criteria for the particular surveillance system, or of any disaster surveillance system for that matter, have yet to be developed. Whether or not the system can in fact predict the impacts of drought and other severe weather conditions remains to be seen.

In any event, the system is an attempt to provide early warning and intervention to prevent epidemic inadequacies with respect to the effects of drought and flood. Through the timely, rapid, and short-term exchange of information, the operation is essentially a methodology for addressing needs given an imminent deterioration in health, economic, meteorological, and agricultural conditions. The system, in addition, creates an infrastructure by which sensitive and specific data are collected to reflect prevailing conditions. In light of the impacts of competing causes on the system, perhaps in time a similar methodology also may be developed for addressing such causes (e.g., spiralling inflation).

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WEATHER-BASED HAZARDS IN COLONIAL GUATEMALA

Robert H. Claxton**

The history of colonial Guatemala provides many examples of natural hazards having significant impacts upon the inhabitants.¹ Between the arrival of the Spanish and independence in 1821, the area which comprises the modern nation of Guatemala experienced *at least* seventeen volcanic eruptions, thirty earthquakes, seventeen locust infestations, numerous epidemics, a half-dozen frosts, and droughts as well as floods.² Environmental hazards prompted the Spanish to move their capital on three occasions: 1527, from Iximché to Almolonga, or Ciudad Vieja, (partly for its warmer climate); 1541, from Almolonga (due to floods), to Antigua; 1773, from Antigua (due to a devastating earthquake) to its present site.

This essay identifies times of drought and flood, the two most important weather-based natural hazards in colonial Guatemala. By undertaking this type of research, historians can make contributions to two other fields. (1) Historians can expand the understanding physical scientists have of "normal" weather by extending the record to centuries rather than conventional thirty-year averages.³ (2) In addition, by examining the impact of variability upon human institutions in the past, historians can assist crisis managers to form policy regarding emergency relief and

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¹ For a general introduction to the literature of hazard impacts, see Dennis S. Mileti and others, *Human Systems in Extreme Environments: A Sociological Perspective* (Boulder, 1975). For an introduction to such studies regarding the Third World, William I. Torry, "Natural Disasters, Social Structure, and Change in Traditional Societies," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (July-October, 1978), 13: 167-183. For Latin America, César Caviedes, "Natural Hazards in Latin America: A survey and Discussion," in Tom Martinson and Gary Elbow (eds.), *Geographic Research on Latin America* (Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers, 1981), pp. 280-294.

² This enumeration comes from the author's copies of index cards from the Archivo General in Guatemala City and from Lawrence Feldman's essay elsewhere in this volume.

³ For details of methodology, see Theodore K. Rabb, "Climate and Society in History: A Research Agenda," in Robert Chen and other (eds.), *Social Science Research and Climate Change: An Interdisciplinary Appraisal* (Dordrecht, 1983), pp. 62-76 and Robert H. Claxton, "Climate and History: From Speculation to Systematic Study," *The Historian* (February, 1983), 45(2): 220-236.

long term hazard mitigation.⁴ Among the centers devoted to this sort of investigation are the Center for Technology, Environment, and Development at Clark University, and the Natural Hazards Research and Applications Information Center at the University of Colorado/Boulder.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT PAST WEATHER IN GUATEMALA

A variety of documentary sources reveal information about drought and precipitation patterns from the mid-1500s.⁵ These data considerably extend the instrument-based record which the Guatemalan Meteorological Observatory has kept since 1925. Of course, there are problems associated with each type of earlier source.

Chroniclers, for example, drew together oral traditions and written information for both religious and secular purposes. In Guatemala, Francisco Vásquez, wrote in the 17th century; Francisco Ximénez, in the 18th, and Domingo Juarros, in the 19th. While they did cite memorable weather-based emergencies, they did not include year-by-year time series.

One category of official source, certainly not originally designed to be a weather record, nevertheless provided somewhat of a checklist for years from 1641 to 1808. This is a collection of *exoneración* petitions from Indian communities for temporary exemption from paying tribute because of hardships. There is no assurance, however, that all of these documents have survived. Like many other aspects of the colonial era, existing documents may be incomplete. Since droughts or floods were not a habitual com-

⁴ Nature alone cannot be blamed for hazard impacts reaching disaster proportions — Anders Wijkman and Lloyd Timberlake, *Natural Disasters: Acts of God or Acts of Man?* (Earthscan, 1984).

⁵ This writer does not wish to convey an entirely Europe-centered prejudice. There has been variability in weather and climate throughout geologic time. Indians experienced such variability before the Spanish arrived.

Archaeologists are beginning to recognize long-term climatic trends. Their evidence includes: limnological studies of rising and falling shorelines, modern water levels in relation to the age of dikes or location of monuments known to have been constructed in a certain past era, and the changing amounts of particular mollusks or fish in midden. See William Folan, "The Importance of Coba in Maya History," in Folan and others (eds.), *Coba: The Classic Maya Metropolis* (New York, 1983), pp. 17-18; Joel Gunn and Richard E. W. Adams, "Climatic Change, Culture and Civilization in North America," *World Archaeology* (June, 1981), 13: 87-100, especially pp. 94-96; Bruce Dahlin, "Climate and Prehistory on the Yucatan Peninsula," *Climatic Change* (1983), 5: 245-263; Payson Sheets, *Archaeological Studies of Disaster: Their Range and Value* (Boulder: University of Colorado Natural Hazard Working Paper No. 38, 1980), pp. 19 and 25-29.

plaint, one may conclude that the disasters reported in this manner were not contrived.

One possible way to verify the exoneration series is to examine what remains of yearly tax payment records that Indian communities were required to keep. The Indians' payment in kind depended upon weather-sensitive crop yields. A number of village records have survived, some extending for over a hundred years.

Modern investigators also have insight into past, pre-instrumentation weather conditions through reports sent in from regional administrators. In the 1570s and 1740s, the Spanish Crown ordered the collection of crude estimates of temperature, humidity, rainfall, and wind characteristics for each administrative unit. These *relaciones geográficas* indicate an early interest in accumulating scientific data for policy-making, but these particular reports simply reflected perceived normal conditions and not variability. When changing conditions warranted, however, the central authorities asked for hazard impact reports.⁶

The records of the capital city government are another source of weather information over long periods of time. The minutes of the city council meetings (*Actas de Cabildo*) reveal the situation within the capital itself. Correspondence and directives regarding food supplies (*abastos*) contain evidence about other places which provided the city with foodstuffs.

Two secondary sources offer assistance in locating primary documents and in making the sequence of events more unified. These are histories of the colonial capital. Joaquín Pardo was the organizer of the Archivo General de Centro-América. His comprehensive chronological outline history of Antigua refers to unusual meteorological phenomena. Likewise, Christopher Lutz mentions weather-based hazards in his demographic history of the colonial capital.

The present body of knowledge regarding pre-twentieth century weather in Guatemala is incomplete. Apparently increasing numbers of droughts or floods over a half-century might demonstrate a long term trend in a meteorological sense. On the other hand, this could also be, in reality, testimony that more people,

⁶ A similar source which this writer did not explore is the collection of biannual reports the Audiencia (highest court) of Guatemala required for about a decade in the eighteenth century. The reports included annual charts. These compare all the provinces of Central America with regard to the relative abundance of both commercial and subsistence crops, rainfall, and health of inhabitants. Impressionistic words like "abundant" or "scanty" substitute for statistics.

who were less able to cope with hazards, were living in arid regions or flood plains. It is also possible that documents indicative of one particular weather phenomenon were better preserved than others for some non-weather-related reason. Confirmation of present evidence with additional data from more localities and from non-documentary sources such as analyses of sediments will relieve doubt.

Conclusions about the nature of weather in colonial Guatemala are tentative. Nevertheless, weather-based hazards did exist. Conclusions about their impact have greater certainty.

“NORMAL” WEATHER IN GUATEMALA

Any attempt to reconstruct the past climatic patterns for a given place must begin with an understanding of the usual annual weather and agriculture cycle. Ordinarily, *invierno* (or winter) around Guatemala City runs from May until October. The May rains often begin with hail storms. Normally, two dry periods interrupt this rainy season — one at the June solstice (*veranito de San Juan*) and the other during the late July/early August “dog days” (*canicula*). The *invierno* concludes after the equinoctial storms of September/October. Traditionally, subsistence planting occurred in February or March (called *candelaria*, after Candle Mass, 2 February) and in the dry periods of winter (identified as *apantes*, *tunalmiles* or *tanalmiles* sowings).

In Guatemala, as anywhere else, words indicating relative degrees of precipitation intensity have developed over generations. These have comparable English equivalents: dew (*rocío*), mist or sprinkle (*llovizna* or *lloviznita*), drizzle (*garúa*), shower (*lluvia*), and intense downpour or cloudburst (*aguacero*, *temporal*, *tempestad*, or *culebrina*). If winds accompanied the last in this series, terms like *vendaval*, *tormenta*, or *huracán* would be used although *huracán* does not necessarily translate as “hurricane”. The adjective *recio* (severe or rigorous) or *torrencial* (abundant) often accompany the designations *aguarcerero* or *vendaval*. Such storms occasionally produced flooding, described as: *creciente* (freshet or sudden rise in stream level), *desabordamiento* or *anegación* (stream overflowing its banks), *avenida* or *corriente* (force of water cutting a new channel), or simply *inundación* or *diluvio*.

Colonial Guatemalans, likewise, had several words or phrases to describe drought. These included *seca*, *sequía*, *se-*

quedad, escasez de lluvias, falta de lluvias, la falta de invierno, ausencia del invierno, and sometimes esterilidad or carestia which indicated resulting crop loss or shortages. One classification attempt differentiates among three types of situations with little rainfall: climatological drought (normally low precipitation), meteorological drought (abnormally low precipitation), and socio-political drought (shortages resulting from poor management or unrealistic expectations).⁷

This paper identifies those episodes in which rainfall was significantly less, or more, than the usual annual cycle. The significance of the indefinite quantity of precipitation, of course, depended upon the level of preparedness, technology, and scientific sophistication of the people of Guatemala in colonial times. The documentary record does not give us the precision instruments could have, but it does reveal weather as variable and having an impact upon human lives.

DROUGHT IN COLONIAL GUATEMALA

There were at least nineteen drought years in Guatemala after the Spanish Conquest and before Independence. (See Table 1.) Less is known about the occurrence of this phenomenon before 1650. Demographer Christopher Lutz, however, has concluded: "A series of epidemics, described as pests, intermittently struck the city [of Antigua] and the surrounding region between 1585 and 1632 but their impact appears to have been somewhat softened by the absence of accompanying severe droughts and serious grain shortages."⁸ Data for the second half of the eighteenth century may be incomplete. Even so, the available documentation indicates at least one drought year during most other decades. Three decades were especially "dry": the 1690s, the 1730s, and the early 1800s. The droughts of those times also affected extensive amounts of territory.

FLOODS IN COLONIAL GUATEMALA

At least twenty-four rain-based emergencies are documented for the colonial period in Guatemala. In eight instances (See Ta-

⁷ Ray Linsley, "Social and Political Aspects of Drought," *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society* (June, 1982), 63 (6): 586-591.

⁸ Christopher Hayden Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: The Socio-demographic History of a Spanish American Colonial City," (2 vols.; Ph.D. dissertation, History, University of Wisconsin, 1976), I, 256.

ble IIA), the year is known but not the precise day(s). In four cases (See Table IIB), severe storms occurred early in the *invierno*. More commonly, the heaviest rains came in late September and early October, the *tapayaguas* or the *cordónazo* of St. Francis. (October 4 is the feast day of St. Francis.) In at least ten documented episodes (See Table IIIC) serious flooding occurred late in the rainy season.

It is possible to make other general observations from what is known about each flooding. Half were reported in or near Antigua, which fact no doubt reflects the origin of the documents more than weather patterns; half the flood disasters occurred elsewhere. One-third of the floods resulted from storms which lasted for more than one day. High winds accompanied at least five of the storms. In three years — 1652, 1691, and 1736 — both flooding and droughts are recorded.

IMPACT OF DROUGHT UPON COLONIAL GUATEMALA

Initial Evidence of Disaster

Food Shortages. This was the most obvious impact of drought. A famine in Antigua resulted, for example, when the 1563 drought and wind damage destroyed crops of wheat and corn and even plantains and roots.⁹ Later, in 1746, Chiquimula residents were left with only sugar cane and wild roots due to “the absence of winter.”¹⁰

Migration. There is no record of any planned evacuation due to drought in colonial Guatemala. Nevertheless, desperate people did flee from dry areas to search for food. This population movement was especially evident in eastern Guatemala. Because of the 1652 drought, Indians left Jocotán when the Chiquimula River failed to rise sufficiently to irrigate their cacao. The migrating Indians went to other towns to find a substitute means to pay their tribute.¹¹ A similar situation existed 68 years later. Some 230 families fled towns on the eastern frontier in a desperate search for food during the 1720 drought.¹²

⁹ Francisco Vásquez, *Crónica de la provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala* (4 vols.; Guatemala, 1937-1944), I, 154.

¹⁰ Archivo General de Centro-América. Tributos: exoneraciones. A 3.16 expediente 42269 legajo 2887. Also, A 3.16 expediente 31617 legajo 2076 and A. 3.16 expediente 17630 legajo 944.

¹¹ Correspondence from Lawrence Feldman to the author.

¹² Tributos: exoneraciones. A. 3.16 expediente 40860 legajo 2817. A map of adminis-

Mitigation Efforts

Rogations. Residents of colonial Guatemala regarded the Virgin Mary, in the form of *Nuestra Señora del Socorro*, as their special patroness of rain. Her image was venerated at the start of the growing season and also carried in outdoor processions if adequate rains were not later forthcoming. The minutes of a 1746 session of the city council explain that, according to Leviticus, Chapter 26, rains came to those who kept the commandments of Jehovah who made the "heavens as iron and the earth as brass" for those who disobeyed.¹³ It seemed logical for the people of Antigua Guatemala and other towns to emulate the children of Israel in an act of penance to bring rains. This brought apparent results often enough so as to confirm belief. Chronicler, Vásquez, for example, describes 1686 worshippers as having to discontinue their procession in Almolonga due to a cloudburst.¹⁴

Actions Against Speculators. One municipal government document from a dry 18th century year complained that speculators were often as much a cause of higher wheat prices in Antigua as were poor harvests. Would-be speculators even bribed those who had grain to sell in order to corner the market. In response, the Church threatened to excommunicate engrossers who were accumulating scarce stocks while the price rose.¹⁵

The civil authorities took additional steps. In 1748 and 1753, the chief judicial officer in Antigua issued injunctions against profiteers leaving the city.¹⁶ The judiciary carefully investigated the nature of grain sales. Anyone who had intimidated Indians into selling meager surpluses cheaply was subject to specified punishments: for a Spaniard, a fine of 200 *pesos* and two months in jail; for a mestizo or mulatto, a flogging and twelve hours in the pillory before the imprisonment. The court investigators offered rewards to informants.

Emergency Food Distribution. Due to shortages in 1746, the capital city administration acquired 10,000 *fanegas* (about 10,500

trative subdivisions of eighteenth century Guatemala is found in Francisco Solano, *Los Mayas del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1974).

¹³ Libros de Cabildos 32 (September 9, 1746), folios 138, 138 vuelto, 139, 139 vuelto, and 140. A 1.22 expediente 11788 legajo 1794.

¹⁴ Vásquez, *Crónica*, IV, 252.

¹⁵ Ayuntamiento: Abastos. A1.2 expediente 575 legajo 29.

¹⁶ Ayuntamiento: Abastos. A1.2 expediente 24975 legajo 2820 and A 3.3 expediente 34790 legajo 2360. José Joaquín Pardo Gallardo, *Efemérides para escribir la historia de la . . . ciudad de . . . Guatemala* (Guatemala, 1944), p. 207-208.

bushels) of corn from large landowners. The municipality distributed this food "to the poor people of the city and towns of the Valley of Guatemala."¹⁷ Slowness of travel, poor harbors, and inadequate roads prevented this mitigation device from being very common in the colonial period.

Second Sowings. Generally, the colonial population depended upon a local food supply. In mid-winter (August), 1736, the president of the *audiencia* ordered all the towns of the "province of Guatemala" to plant new corn and bean crops, the first sowing having been lost." That the highest official took action implies an extensive concern over the matter. Subsequently, during the following September, the Antigua authorities experimented with maize plantings in the humid lands around Lake Amatitlán.¹⁸ (Other locales regularly planted twice each year.)

Tax Exemptions. By reason of royal decree in 1549, officials could grant Indians exemptions from annual tribute in the event of a harvest failure. Documents reveal that Indians petitioned to take advantage of this relief in 1694, 1720, 1736, 1746, and 1803, due to drought.

Although most of the extant evidence reflects 18th century practices, the mitigation efforts were probably similar in colonial Guatemala in earlier times. In the 19th century, when a more complex infrastructure began to develop, alternative means of drought mitigation were available. These included emergency food purchases abroad to sell at cost in Guatemala, temporary suspension of tariffs on imported foodstuffs, national statistical inventories of resources available, exemptions from road service or military service to provide workers for second sowings, and fines for not complying with central directives to replant food crops.

Longer Term Effects of Drought

Disease. In his extensive demographic study of Antigua (Santiago de Guatemala), Lutz identified 51 references to epidemic disease. Of these, thirty occur between 1650 and 1769, a time segment which includes the period for which colonial weather documentation is most complete. In eight cases, an epidemic occurred in or near the colonial capital during a drought year which this

¹⁷ Pardo, *Efemérides* p. 198.

¹⁸ Libros de Cabildos 31 (August 23, 25, 27, and September 4, 1736), folios 50, 50 v, 51, 52, 52 v, 53 53 v, and 54. A 1.2.2 expediente 11787 legajo 1793. Lutz, "Santaigo de Guatemala," II, 591 (Note 35).

author has identified, or in the year immediately following a drought year. Those eight cases correspond to fifty percent of the documented dry years. They include 1660 (*calenturas*), 1669 ("much sickness"), 1686-1687 (typhus and/or pneumonic plague), 1694 (smallpox), 1746 (typhus), 1748 (measles), 1749 (*calenturas*), and 1752 (smallpox).¹⁹

In a manner similar to that of Lutz, Veblen documented twelve epidemics in highland Totonicapán between 1650 and the end of the colonial period. Four of these also correspond to known drought episodes: 1804 (typhus), 1694-1696 (smallpox), 1746 (typhus), 1804 (typhus and measles), and 1811-1812 (typhus).²⁰ In addition, both researchers found that an epidemic accompanied the 1563 drought. This author also found descriptions in Guatemalan sources of disease and drought in 1677 ("sharp and mortal fevers") and 1803 (typhus).

There is, therefore, a direct correlation between the condition of drought and widespread illness in twelve out of nineteen documented colonial era drought situations. Food shortages and migration were the initial evidence of drought's impact. Food shortages undoubtedly resulted in malnutrition, leaving large numbers of people more susceptible to disease. Likewise, people migrating in search of food inadvertently carried microbes with them.

Revenue Irregularity. Severe drought could disrupt revenue collection directly and indirectly. Drought lowered agricultural production. Indirectly, death and debilitation due to malnutrition or epidemics also impacted upon the productivity of the labor force. Drought was a factor in about half the recorded instances of revenue falls where time series are available for study.

Wortman offers data regarding the annual income from the church tithe in the diocese and archdiocese of Guatemala.²¹ He has annual data, for example, for 1650-1700. During that half century, there were sixteen years when the tithe revenue is known to have been less than the year before. During the same half century, there were seven drought years. The tithe fell subsequent to the 1652-3 and 1660 episodes and fell during dry 1686. Revenue remained constant in 1669, 1677, and 1691 when compared to the

¹⁹ Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," II, 743-752.

²⁰ Thomas Veblen, "Native Population Decline in Totonicapan, Guatemala," in Robert Carmack and others (eds.) *Historical Demography of Highland Guatemala* (Albany, 1982), p. 97.

²¹ Miles Wortman, *Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840* (New York, 1982), p. 280.

year immediately preceding each case. Only in the 1694 drought did the tithe collections register an increase. Tithe data for drought years after 1700 are missing or inconclusive.

Feldman collected tribute payment data from Camotán (See Table III), including the 1730s and 1740s. There, tribute totals fell subsequent to the 1724, 1746, and (apparently) 1752 droughts. The 1735-36 record indicates a decline. Only in the 1748 instance was there a steady revenue increase during and after the drought year. The tribute declines in 1731 and 1742 were not directly related to drought. Drought documentation is notably absent between 1753 and 1802. Consequently, no further meaningful correlation is possible at this point.

There is an explanation for the 1748 exception in the Feldman data. As Wortman explains, Spanish legislation in 1747 required that tribute be paid in coin rather than in goods. Since Indians could work for wages paid in coin, the government presumed that drought would no longer disrupt the revenue flow. Such a provision probably brought more Indians into the money economy.²² Even so, tribute did fall again following the 1803 drought and during dry 1822 in Camotán.

RAINSTORMS AND IMPACT OF FLOODING UPON COLONIAL GUATEMALA

Initial Evidence of Disaster

Flood disasters occurred much more rapidly than those caused by drought. Floods resulted in destruction of dwellings, loss of foodstuffs, death, and the disruption of transportation. (See Table II for locations.)

Destruction of Dwellings. The most commonly reported initial evidence of flood disaster were descriptions of housing loss. Homes were damaged by wind or rain during severe storms (1652, 1736, 1765, 1796), toppled by mudslides (1541 and 1749), or submerged or swept away by rising water (1762, 1773, 1796, and 1807).

Loss of Foodstuffs. Disastrous impact upon crops was equally common. Sometimes wind or rain destroyed crops immediately (1632, 1641, 1741, 1762, 1773). Another related problem was the saturation of the soil with so much moisture that a second plant-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

ing would not germinate (1652, 1762, and 1796). Still another disaster related to agriculture was damage to mills; reports of un-serviceable mills and a reference to relief activity in 1762 suggests that this was a more common concern. Finally, flooding sometimes claimed the lives of farm animals: 1541 (oxen and cattle), 1641 (hens, mules, and horses), 1762 (mules, horses) and 1796 (“beasts” and 200 head of cattle).

Death. Human life was lost in floods as well. The 1541 destruction of an early capital site for example killed an undetermined number of blacks, 600 Indians, and 100 Spanish settlers. “Several persons” perished in the 1736 flood. The June, 1765 storm left “many dead”.

Transport Disruption. Heavy rains and flooding also disrupted transportation, either by carrying bridges away or washing out unpaved roads. In October 1762, the swollen Motagua removed the stone bridge at San Martín. (Ironically, the force of flood waters that year also damaged the San Juan Gascón and Pampatic aqueducts.) The 1796 *cordonazo* took the de los Esclavos and Río Tigre at Atiquipaque bridges. Likewise, the July storm of 1807 disposed of two bridges near Quezaltenango.

The rainy season of 1756 resulted in no flood catastrophe in any one particular locale. It did, however, produce the first general directive (this writer found) to local administrators throughout the “Kingdom” of Guatemala to repair the roads where the rains had left gulleys or flooding had carried in debris. Perhaps, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the volume of inter-regional or international commerce the sufficient to merit the concern of the central authorities. The recomposition of roads may have been a local matter earlier, but it became a frequent order from the capital by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Mitigation Efforts

Recourse to Religion. Following the 1541 mudslides, the Bishop led processions for four days and recommended fasting. He also removed mourning symbols lest Indians think the Spanish were helpless. The early settlers attributed this first recorded disaster to divine judgment. In a similar manner, Archbishop Pedro Córtes y Larraz commented that the 1765 Zacapa flood had its source in a “flood of sins,” citing Joel, Chapter 1.²³ Records for

²³ Félix Gutiérrez and Ernesto Ballesteros, “The 1541 Earthquake [sic]: Dawn of

other floods are silent on this theme. Unlike severe drought, public prayers to stop excessive rain were rare.

Surveys. Following the October 1652 storm, the Antigua City Council resolved to investigate other adjacent towns to see if heavy winds and rain has resulted in damage elsewhere.²⁴ The record shows that the late-season storm of 1749 produced a similar survey.²⁵ In 1762, the Chimaltenango authorities ordered militia captains to send them estimates of loss of human life, homes, mills, crops, cattle, and other damage.²⁶

Emergency Food Acquisitions. The 1762 rains ruined so much of the expected crops that, on December 1, the City Council authorized purchase of wheat from Los Altos. Historians usually recall 1773 as the year of the earthquakes which brought still another relocation of the capital. In so doing, they overlook the intense rainstorms of June which produced flooding. This factor, along with a locust infestation, meant food shortages even before the disastrous earthquake struck. In August 1773, the municipal authorities collected what food there was locally and rationed it. (In June, there had been a request *from* Los Altos for corn to replace what locusts and rain had destroyed there earlier.)²⁷

Public Works. As a result of the 1749 flood, the capital authorities made plans for a drainage canal to the Magdalena, a river on the opposite side of the city from the Pensativa.²⁸ When flooding occurred again thirteen years later, the City Council commissioned an engineer, Luis Díaz de Navarro, and public works administrator Francisco de Estrada to formulate a more comprehensive plan to avoid future disasters.²⁹ (Of course, the earthquake of 1773 resulted in the relocation of the capital to its present site.) In 1798, authorities in Quezaltenango were making plans for a drainage canal because the rainy season had left a lake in their city each year since the flood of 1789.³⁰

Latin American Journalism," *Journalism History* (Autumn, 1979), 6: 79-83; Pedro Córtes y Larraz, *Descripción geográfico-moral de la diócesis de Goathemala* (2 vols.; Guatemala, 1958), I, 47-48.

²⁴ Libros de Cabildos 16 (October 13, 1652), folio 193. A. 1.22 expediente 11772 legajo 1778.

²⁵ Real provisión sobre la inundación de 1749. A. 1.24 expediente 28865 legajo 2817.

²⁶ Informe sobre un temporal en Chimaltenango. A. 1.21 expediente 15249 legajo 2141.

²⁷ Pardo, *Efemérides*, pp. 245-247.

²⁸ See Note 25.

²⁹ Pardo, *Efemérides*, p. 223.

³⁰ A. 1.21 expediente 8105, legajo 389.

Tax Exemptions. Drought was, by far, the most frequent reason that Indians petitioned for tax relief. There are, however, two documented examples of flood-based requests. In 1641, Soconusco residents complained that wind-driven rains had destroyed their cacao trees. In 1808, the people of Santa Cruz de Laguna, on the shore of Lake Atitlán, petitioned for exemption from tribute because a flood had destroyed their homes and church the previous year.³¹

Cabildos Abiertos. The Spanish-American equivalent of a New England town meeting is usually associated with the emergency the disruption of royal authority brought which led to declarations of independence. Disasters stemming from natural hazards also occasioned cabildos abiertos. In 1541, mudslides after three days of rainfall inundated the Ciudad Vieja or Almolonga site of Guatemala City. Survivors met, voted to relocate, and chose a committee to examine alternative sites. When a second meeting failed to achieve unanimity, the co-governors selected the Antigua site.³² This event also produced the first "newspaper" in the New World.³³

Longer Term Effects of Heavy Rains and Flooding

Social Stratification/Relocation of Settlements. The 1541 storm and flood decimated the Spanish district of the Almolonga site but the Mexican Indian barrio remained intact. When the surviving residents moved to the Antigua site, the authorities gave greater attention to awarding the best property to the most important people.³⁴ Two centuries later, Archbishop Córtes reported other disaster-induced social schisms. When the residents of Petapa rebuilt following the 1762 flood, Indians chose to live in "Nuevo Petapa" and the *Ladinos* established the separate village of La Concepción. Similarly, in 1765, he found the poorest stayed and tried to rebuild on the original site of Chiquimula while others started anew an hour's journey away.³⁵

Disease. Both Lutz and Veblen, reporting on Antigua and Totonicapán respectively, list three epidemics in years in which

³¹ Tributos: exoneraciones. A. 1.24 expediente 10203 legajo 1559; A 3.16 expediente 4988 legajo 248.

³² Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," I, 64-65, 81-81, and 90-94.

³³ Gutiérrez and Ballesteros, see Note 23.

³⁴ Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," I. 64 and 94.

³⁵ Córtes y Larraz, *Descripción*, I, 47 and 276-277.

flooding occurred or else in the year immediately following: 1631-1632, 1686-1687, and 1741. In addition, Veblen found Totonicapán post-flood year epidemics in 1541-1545 and 1795-1797; Lutz mentions a 1749 epidemic. In virtually every case *tabardillo* is the cited disease. This is usually translated "typhus." Spots or rash are symptomatic of both typhus and typhoid, but typhoid, rather than typhus, thrives in contaminated water as flooding may have left. In any case, the majority of epidemics which Lutz and Veblen identify did not occur during or immediately after years with documented heavy rains or floods.³⁶

Revenue Irregularity. Wortman's compilation of annual income from the church tithe in the diocese and archdioceses of Guatemala covers the years 1626 to 1820, but his tabulation is incomplete. His longest continuous annual series is for the 1645 to 1713 period. During that time, there were 29 years in which tithe income was less than the year immediately preceding. There are four documented rain or flood episodes during this time. Two of these (1685 and 1688) came in years preceding revenue falls. Two other (1652 and 1691) do not correlate with a decline in the tribute. The subsequent record does, however, show both heavier rains and revenue declines in 1756, 1762, and 1807.³⁷

The Feldman data (See Table III) are more sensitive. His data suggest a fall in tribute subsequent to 1741, 1749, 1756, and 1796, as well as during 1773. There was a leveling off of tribute revenues after 1736 and 1762. There was an apparent increase only after 1765. The possible consequences of events in 1789 and 1807, years with documented episodes of heavier rain remain uncertain. In some ways, conclusions from the Feldman data are more impressionistic than precise.

Soil Erosion. MacLeod traces the manner in which Spanish practices, combined with heavy rains, produced an enormous erosion problem. Urban markets demanded wood for charcoal and furniture. Cacao and sugar planters cleared some woods to grow their commercial crops. The Spanish also introduced sheep-grazing and deep ploughing for wheat fields. Not only did these new modes of agriculture tax the soil, Spanish expansion on flatlands drove the Indian cultivators to steeper slopes where the soil was thinner. As time passed, diminished ground cover and increased

³⁶ See Note 20.

³⁷ See Note 21.

hardpan exposure meant that rainwater could not be absorbed as easily as it once had been. Flood water filled city streets with silt which Indians were forced to clean out. Beginning in 1699, the capital city authorities ordered Indians to cease cultivation of erosion-prone slopes.³⁸ Such proclamations did not end the problem. In 1762, the successors to those officials were still complaining about landslides due to Indians' trying to grow crops on hillsides.³⁹

GENERAL SUMMARY

Tentative Conclusions. Toward the end of the colonial period, the Archbishop of Guatemala wrote of "deadly circumstances never far away, through which a poor family can see itself reduced in a single year of calamity and shortage — in the case of epidemic — and in a single moment, in which a frost or a severe rainstorm wipes out its tiny plantings." He therefore endorsed diversification of the economy through small scale cattle breeding.⁴⁰ Any Guatemalan who had survived to old age in colonial times would have been confronted several weather-based emergencies, with attendant difficulties, in his or her lifetime.

The twin hazards of drought and flooding sometimes had similar impacts; in some ways, their consequences were quite different. Evidence for drought came gradually, while flooding was sudden. The immediate impact of drought was a food shortage, followed by malnutrition. The impact of flooding was more diverse; loss of foodstuffs, destruction of homes, and disruption of transport, and often drownings. Even the means of food loss varied: soil saturation, death of animals, and wrecking of mills. Droughts could stimulate migration; floods sometimes led to voluntary resettlement. Although authorities found evidence of divine judgment in both kinds of disaster, there was much more frequent recourse to prayer during droughts. In both types of emergencies, it was rare for the government to distribute food. Central authorities awaited local reports during a drought but they were more likely to order immediate damage surveys following a severe storm. Petitions for tax exemptions were much more common af-

³⁸ Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 305-307. Erosion (p. 95) contributed to the decline of the Soconusco cacao industry.

³⁹ Pardo, *Efemérides*, p. 222.

⁴⁰ Archbishop Ramón Casaús y Torres, Pastoral Letter, September 9, 1811, *Gaceta de Guatemala* (October 12, 1811), p. 269.

ter drought than after flooding. Indeed, their frequency may have led to legislation forcing Indians into a money economy. No public works (like reservoirs) eased drought impacts, but drainage canals were meant to control flooding. Droughts forced local authorities to make certain decisions, while storm disasters opened the decision-making to all Spanish citizens. Diverse epidemics accompanied or followed over two-thirds of the dry, hungry years, but there was less of a correlation between heavy rains and disease. Likewise, flooding was less of a factor in revenue declines than was drought. The colonial documents refer to soil erosion due to water, but they never speak of wind erosion in times of drought. In comparative perspective, Lutz concludes that since the colonial capital had a smaller population than did Mexico City and because the Guatemalan droughts were rarely as severe, Santiago de Guatemala did not experience the food riots that 17th century Mexico had.⁴¹

Unanswered Questions. This paper suggests numerous subjects for further investigation. Droughts apparently had a stronger impact than rainstorms or floods. Additional study could reveal even greater consequences of drought by way of "ripple effects." If drought contributed to human malnutrition it may also have affected the animals upon which people depended. Future historians may want to reconstruct the sizes of past animal populations. Nothing is known about the impact of drought on fish, forests, small-scale beekeeping, and wildlife in colonial days. Efforts to increase the food supply during one particular drought year may have created a surplus with consequent lower prices the following year. In times of higher food costs, people may have consumed less of something else. Hard times delayed marriages and increased indebtedness.

We need more local history studies to verify weather, revenue, and epidemic time series and to determine how widespread drought or rainstorm impacts were. Such data are especially needed for the 1500s and 1600s. Proxy data such as evidence of fluctuating lake levels should verify document-based conclusions. Aside from weather history, there are historical possibilities in changes in diet, the nature of local officialdom, the development of milling, and the growth of internal communication networks.

Relationship to Modern Theory. The historic examples from

⁴¹ Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," II, 563.

colonial Guatemala offer case studies which support contemporary theories about social organizations confronting natural hazards. Some impacts produced minor stress while others were catastrophic, along the continuum Foster plotted.⁴² Some of the examples in this paper contain sufficient detail to identify "stages" of impact from precipitating event to readjustment, as Turner recommended.⁴³ According to Whittow, there are fundamentally three approaches to the problem of drought anywhere: scientific, behavioral, and technological. The Guatemalans relied on the behavioral method.⁴⁴ Smith and Tobin describe "structural" and "non-structural" adjustments to the flood hazard. Colonial Guatemalans used only the simplest forms of both: engineering schemes and devices to sustain loss-bearing.⁴⁵ Predictably, the colonial Guatemalan response to disaster was "Latin" in Roth's scheme rather than "Western" or "Eastern."⁴⁶ Colonial Guatemala was probably a "Type II" society in Russell Dynes' analytic model.⁴⁷

⁴² Harold Foster, "Assessing Disaster Magnitude: A Social Science Approach," *The Professional Geographer* (August, 1976), 28 (3): 241-247.

⁴³ Barry A. Turner, "The Development of Disasters — a sequence model for the analysis of the origins of disasters," *Sociological Review* (1976), 24: 753-774.

⁴⁴ John Whittow, *Disasters: The Anatomy of Environmental Hazards* (Athens, Georgia, 1979), especially pp. 300-309.

⁴⁵ Keith Smith and Graham Tobin, *Human Adjustment to the Flood Hazard* (London, 1979). See also: Harold Cochrane, *Natural Hazards and Their Distributive Effects* (University of Colorado Institute of Behavioral Science, 1975).

⁴⁶ Robert Roth, "Cross Cultural Perspectives on Disaster Response," *American Behavioral Scientist* (January-February, 1970), 13(3): 440-451.

⁴⁷ Russell R. Dynes, "The Comparative Study of Disaster: A Social Organizational Approach," *Mass Emergencies* (1975), 1: 21-31.

Table I

*TIME SERIES OF DROUGHTS IN THE
HISTORY OF COLONIAL GUATEMALA*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Description: Extent in Time and Space</u>	<u>Documentation</u>
1563	No rain in vicinity of Antigua between March and mid-August, except for June 30 (not certain if correction made for 1582 calendar change)	Vásquez, <i>Crónica</i> , I, 154
1623	Drought in Jocotán parish (Chiquimala)	Correspondence from Dr. Lawrence Feldman
1660	"Gran seca" evident by mid-August around Antigua	Libros de Cabildos, 17, folio 271 <i>vuelto</i>
1669	Antigua records reveal much sickness due to a lack of rainfall, causing dry maize fields, especially at the start of Guatemalan winter	Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," II, 747
1677	"Gran seca"; extreme dryness	Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," II, 226 Vásquez, <i>Crónica</i> , IV, 252
1686	Extremely dry and extended <i>canícula</i>	Vásquez, <i>Crónica</i> , IV, 252
1691	Alarming lack of rain in Antigua and in areas which supplied the capital	Libros de Cabildos, 22, folio 152 <i>vuelto</i>
1694	"la falta de invierno" in the Valley of Guatemala	Tributos: exoneraciones, A 3.16 expediente 40723 legajo 2811
1720	Chiquimula province reported "grandísima esterilidad de frutos por la ninguna lluvia"	Tributos: exoneraciones, A 3.16 expediente 40860 legajo 2817; Feldman correspondence
1721	Various towns in Guatemala	Feldman correspondence
1734	". . .drought. . .struck throughout Central America. . ."	Wortman, <i>Government and Society</i> , p. 93

- 1736 No rain in Antigua area at least between July 12 and mid-August; crop lost due to drought near Zacapa *Ibid.*; Libros de Cabildos, 31, folios 50-54; Tributos: exoneraciones, A 3.16 expediente 17575 legajo 942 folio 35
- 1739 “. . .drought. . .struck throughout Central America. . . .” Wortman, *Government and Society*, p. 93
- 1746 Low rainfall in Antigua area; “ausencia del invierno” in Chiquimula; reports of drought in Chiquimula de la Sierra, Santa Elena, San Estebán, and San Joseph Libros de Cabildos, 32, folios 130-141; Tributos: exoneraciones, A 3.16 expediente 42269 legajo 2887; Feldman correspondence
- 1748 Drought in Jocotán parish (Chiquimula) Feldman correspondence
- 1752 Drought in Antigua area Pardo, *Efemérides*, pp. 207-208
- 1765 Chiquimula de la Sierra (Drought followed earthquake) Legajo 543 Archivo de Sevilla (Feldman)
- 1803 Culmination of rainfall noticeably below expectations for five years in three places (Jocotán, San Juan Hermita, and Camotán) in Chiquimula; rain late in coming in Totonicapán in 1804 Feldman correspondence; Tributos: exoneraciones, A 3.16 expediente 4881 legajo 244; *Gaceta de Guatemala* (October 1, 1804), p. 455 (reads 355)
- 1810 Culmination of three years of inadequate rainfall in Jalapa Ayuntamiento: Abastos A. 1.2.11 expediente 30881 legajo 4015

1822 "Escasez de las lluvias" in Verapaz, Chiquimula,
and towns which supplied Guatemala city with
food

Ayuntamiento:
Abastos
B 5.7
expediente
1816 legajo
66 folios 6, 7, and
8; Wortman
*Government and
Society*, p. 245

Table II

DOCUMENTED FLOODS IN COLONIAL GUATEMALA

Table IIA

YEARS KNOWN TO HAVE HAD FLOODS, WITHOUT THE PRECISE
DAYS IDENTIFIED

Year	Brief Description	Source
1566	Pensativa floods Antigua	Ximénez, <i>Historia Natural</i> , p. 163
1632	Flood swept away houses and crops in Mixco	Gage, <i>New Survey</i> , p. 292
1685	Major flood in Antigua	Pardo, <i>Efemérides</i> , p. 100
1688	Comparable to 1566	Ximénez, <i>Historia Natural</i> , p. 163
1691	Major flood in Antigua	Pardo, <i>Efemérides</i> , p. 110
1749	Flooding in Chiquimula de la Sierra, Camotán, and Jocotán	Feldman correspondence
1756	Heavy rains throughout "kingdom" all season	Archivo General A 1.22 legajo 1508 folio 313
1789	Rains produce a new lake in Quezaltenango	Archivo General A 1.21.9 expediente 8105 legajo 389

Table IIB

EARLY SEASON, PRINCIPALLY MAY OR JUNE, RAIN STORMS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Locale</u>	<u>Source</u>
1736	June	recio temporal	Antigua	Juarros, <i>Compendio</i> , I, p. 164
1765	2 & 4 June	huracán (2) & gran tempestad (4)	Chiquimula and Zacapa	Córtes y Larraz, <i>Descripción geo- gráficomoral</i> , I, 276-7
1773	6-9 June & 30 July	intenso temporal	Antigua	Actas de Cabildo, libro 49, folios 81 and 84
1789	27-28 May	huracán	Sololá	A1.21.9 expediente 8105 legajo 389
1807	2-3 July	14 hour wind and rain storm	Quezalte- nango	A1.21.9 expediente 4981 legajo 200

Table IIC

NOTABLE LATE-SEASON GUATEMALAN RAIN STORMS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Locale</u>	<u>Source</u>
1541	8-10 (i.e. 19-21) Sept.	rains, mudslides, floods	slopes of Mt. Agua	Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala" II, 64-65 & 81-2; Gutiérrez and Ballesteros
1598	Post-Michaelmas (29 Sept.)	lluvia espesa; gran aguacero	between Antigua and L. Atitlán	<i>Anales de los Cakchiqueles</i> , p. 188
1641	5 October	huracán con abundancia de aguas	Chiapas	A 1.24 expediente 10203 legajo 1559
1652	7-12 Oct.	vendaval; extraordinaria abundancia de lluvias	Antigua; Chiapas	José Milla <i>Historia</i> , II, 314
1718	late Sept./early Oct.	avenida	slopes of Mt. Agua	Ximénez, <i>Historia Natural</i>
1741	late season	6 day storm	Escuintla	Lutz, "Santiago de Guatemala," II, 591 note 35
1749	21-22 Sept.	recio temporal and pensativa flood; flood	Antigua & nearby Chiquimula	Actas de Cabildo; libro 33, folio 95 A 1.24 legajo 2817 expediente 28865; Feldman correspondence

1762	7-11 Oct. 22 Oct.	temporal and flood; temporal and Motagua flood	Antigua Chimaltenango	Actas de Cabildo, libro 38, folios 87- 91 A 1.21.3 legajo 2141 expediente 15249
	10-11 Oct.	Petapa flood	Canales	Córtes y Larraz, <i>Descripción geográfico- moral</i> , I 47-8 & 96
1765	24 Oct.	intenso temporal	Antigua and Zacapa	Actas de Cabildo libro 41; Córtes y Larraz, <i>Descripción</i> , I, 276-7
1796	29 Sept.	temporal	Escuintla; Chiquimula	A 1.21.4 expediente 3417 legajo 169

Table III
TRIBUTE PAYMENTS FROM CAMOTÁN

Año	Cacao (granos)	Tostones	Año	Tostones
1683-97	331,885		1750-53	2.632
1698	300,400		1754	1.579
1699	—		1754-56	2.749
1700	450,600		1757-58	1.535
1701-22	—		1759-62	1.827
1723	439,200		1763	1.803
1724-25	878,000		1764-65	1.827
1726	439,200		1766	1.900
1727	878,000		1767-68	1.803
1728	360,000		1769-71	1.937
1729	1,002,200	378	1772	1.963
1730	2,004,200	520	1773	1.937
1731	2,004,200	430	1774	1.964
1732	—		1775	1.210
1733	2,004,200	520	1776	1.408
1734	3,006,600	780	1777	675
1735-36	2,004,200	520	1778	1.641
1737	2,010,200	520	1779	733
1738-40	2,004,200	520	1780	675
1741	1,002,200	2.000	1781-82	1.408
			1783	675
			1784-90	1.408
			1791	1.757
			1792-96	1.040
			1797	954
			1798-01	936
			1802-03	1.176
			1804	602
			1805-15	0
			1816	281
			1817	313
			1818-19	—
			1820	304
			1821	305
			1822	252

Año	Tostones
1742	1689
1743-45	3230
1746	3183
1747	1642
1748	2874
1749	3284

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF A
MARSH ISLAND: THE CULTURAL
OCCUPATION OF COLONEL'S
ISLAND, GEORGIA

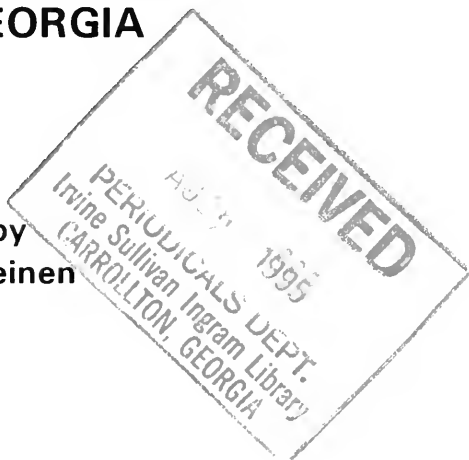


Edited by

Karl T. Steinen

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF A
MARSH ISLAND: THE CULTURAL
OCCUPATION OF COLONEL'S
ISLAND, GEORGIA**

**Edited by
Karl T. Steinen**



**Contributions by
Elizabeth Reitz, Elisabeth S. Sheldon,
Theresa A. Singleton and Karl T. Steinen**

**Carrollton, Georgia
1987**

Frontispiece

Aerial Photograph of Colonel's Island Showing the Location
of Tested Archaeological Sites.



WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
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Volume XXVI

1987

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF A MARSH
ISLAND: THE CULTURAL OCCUPATION OF
COLONEL'S ISLAND, GEORGIA

Karl T. Steinen
Volume Editor

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FOREWORD

West Georgia College is the headquarters of the State Archaeologist of Georgia. Dr. Lewis H. Larson, Professor of Anthropology, has served as State Archaeologist since 1972. Under Dr. Larson's leadership, West Georgia College personnel have conducted numerous archaeological studies over the years.

Studies in the Social Sciences devoted a volume to archaeology in 1980 when anthropologist Daniel P. Juengst edited *Sapelo Papers*, a collection of reports prepared by several West Georgia researchers. With this 1987 issue, we move away from the archaeology of a barrier island to that of a marsh island, near the Georgia coast, in Glynn County.

Archaeologists, like Karl Steinen, who directed the Colonel's Island study, are "detectives" of sorts. They attempt to explain how past cultures functioned in light of "clues" those cultures left behind. The "clues" on Colonel's Island represent an historical microcosm of coastal peoples: native Americans, slaves, freedmen trying to build a new life for themselves, and subsequent industrial entrepreneurs. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Colonel's Island project is its contribution to understanding post-Emancipation black life.

Robert Claxton
Series Editor

PREFACE

The field excavations and analysis which formed the basis for this report were generously supported by a contract from the Georgia Ports Authority and were conducted during the summer of 1978. The excavations were performed as part of a program to manage the cultural resources of this small island and to meet federal environmental requirements. Mr. Wesley Allen, Director of Engineering, Planning, and Maintenance, served as liaison between the Georgia Ports Authority and the research party during the course of the project.

Dr. Craig T. Sheldon, currently of Auburn University at Montgomery served as co-Principal Investigator during the field season. Mr. Sheldon helped to formulate the overall research design, and directed the excavation of the historic sites on the island. Mr. Sheldon also served as a consultant during the analysis phase of the project and report preparation.

Mr. George W. Shannon, then a graduate student at Florida Atlantic University, served as Assistant Director for the prehistoric excavations. Mr. Shannon's knowledge of excavation techniques and surveying contributed immensely to the productivity of the project.

Dr. Theresa A. Singleton, then a graduate student at the University of Florida, served as Assistant Director of the historic excavations. In addition, Ms. Singleton was responsible for the analysis of the historic materials and preparation of that section of the report that deals with the historic occupation of the island.

Dr. Elizabeth Reitz, then a graduate student at the University of Florida, was responsible for the analysis of the faunal material and interpretation of the results. Dr. Elizabeth Wing of the Florida State Museum had overall responsibility for the zooarchaeological analysis.

Dr. Elisabeth S. Sheldon, then of Georgia State University, served as the botanist for the project. Ms. Sheldon analyzed the recovered botanical materials which served as the base data for the environmental reconstruction.

Mr. Stanley Solamillo served as draftsman for this project and was responsible for the preparation of all line drawings. Mr. Steven Westmoreland served as laboratory photographer.

Nancy Sears-Steinen typed the original Colonel's Island report in 1978. Gena Herring and Jennifer Gill typed the manuscript for this publication. All three performed extremely well and beyond their normal duties and are thanked for their efforts. Special thanks are given to Adam Selene who provided guidance and inspiration throughout this project.

Some of the results of these excavations have been reported in various journals by Steinen, Reitz and Singleton. This monograph is a shortened version of a full report submitted to the Georgia Ports Authority in 1978 and has received no substantial revisions. We felt that the ideas presented in 1978 are valid today and should be presented in their original form. Reitz wishes to note that the formulas in her paper are now obsolete and should not be used by other researchers.

Karl T. Steinen
Associate Professor of Anthropology
West Georgia College

RESEARCH DESIGN: HYPOTHESES AND FIELD METHODS

Karl T. Steinen**

The first intensive evaluations of the aboriginal sites disclosed that the content and nature of the sites were not as originally expected. These sites were not productive in terms of amounts of technological items or floral and faunal materials. This lack of data and the discovery that the aerial extent of the sites was much greater than originally estimated forced a major revision in the research design.

The first excavations of the historic Parland Plantation site revealed that 1880's industrial development of the northern portions of the island had caused an extensive amount of damage to this area. This caused the re-evaluation of the research design and a shift in emphasis from the earlier stated goals to one of discovering the extent of the disturbance as well as recovering data pertinent to the problem of man-land relationships.

Original Research Design

Problem: The problem to be investigated on Colonel's Island was concerned with the nature of the adaptive patterns of the inhabitants in both historic and prehistoric times. Instead of dealing with prehistoric and historic populations separately, we intended to treat the inhabitants of the island as one developing line with variable environments and technologies.

Hypotheses: The research hypotheses and test implications were divided into two groups reflecting the basic divisions between the historic and prehistoric sites.

Prehistoric: Hypotheses:

(1) The nature of the aboriginal occupation of Colonel's Island will vary directly with changes in the environment and available food sources.

(2) The cultural development, reflected in ceramic assem-

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blages, will be similar to that known for the adjacent barrier islands.

(3) The nature of the sites and adaptation will be similar to that of the adjacent barrier islands.

Historic: Hypotheses:

(1) The social structure of the Parland Plantation was stratified.

(2) The social stratification of the Parland Plantation consisted of three definable social classes.

- a. Planter/Overseer
- b. House Slaves
- c. Field Slaves

Test implications developed for the hypotheses were based on expected recovery of specific types of data. These data range from ceramics to zooarchaeological and ethnobotanical materials and represent the standard forms of information employed in archaeological interpretations. Due to restrictions in available labor, some of the more detailed form of data recovery were not employed. Such informative but laborious methods as flotation and random sampling were not used. Forms of judgmental sampling were used in areas felt to be most productive of data needed to test the research hypotheses. While it is recognized that this may not necessarily produce data that is representative of the sites, it was felt to be the most economical and only practical approach to use at the time.

Test implications for the prehistoric sites included:

(1) Permanent year-round habitation shown by the presence of subterranean storage facilities, post mold patterns, tools, abundant faunal remains, and extensive deposits of midden;

(2) The cultural development of the island is reflected in the presence of the known ceramic continuum for the Georgia Coast; and

(3) Faunal, floral and artifactual remains will be similar to those recovered from the barrier islands. This would indicate similar occupational patterns.

Test implications for the historic sites included:

(1) Differential distribution of artifact types (i.e. ceramics, agricultural implements) and observable clusters will reflect the differential status within the plantation system. These clusters

would be:

a. Planter/Overseer having the newer, better items.

b. The house slaves, being the favored segment of the slave society, and being closest to the Planter/Overseer physically, will receive the first "generation" of cast-off goods; (These would be the better and more complete of the used material culture.)

c. Field slaves, being spatially separate from the Planter/Overseer segment, consequently possessing poor, less complete items as well as having implements adapted to their roles as agricultural workers.

(2) Differential distribution of subsistence goods would reflect stratification within the plantation culture.

Data Recovery Techniques

Data recovery techniques were determined by Sheldon in his original assessment of the island. Techniques outlined ranged from facing the banks of coastal sites to the use of stratified sampling techniques. Their intent was to recover data pertinent to the development of a model of occupation of the island. The recovery of data concerning environment, diet, cultural affiliation, chronology and adaptation were considered important to the proper understanding of the island's prehistory and history. The exact data recovery techniques and placement of test units were to be determined after preliminary inspection of sites.

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COLONEL'S ISLAND ENVIRONMENT

Elisabeth Shepard Sheldon**

Geology, Climate, Soils

Colonel's Island lies approximately 15 miles southwest of Brunswick, Georgia, within the part of that state classified as the Coastal Plain. The northern edge of this geophysical province is marked by the Fall Line Hills, an old shoreline formed by the greatest sea advance during the Late Mesozoic. It is overlain by many sedimentary strata, including the Pliocene age Lafayette and Pleistocene Columbia formations (Cameron 1976).

Landforms along Georgia's coast are the results of barrier island formation during the Pleistocene when sea levels were higher. The oldest series of islands (the Wicomico shoreline) formed when sea level was nearly 100 feet higher than at present. After that there were six other periods of ice formation and melting and sequences of barrier islands developed at lower altitudes (Johnson *et al.* 1974). Colonel's Island is a remnant of one formed by the Princess Anne shoreline (elevation 15 feet).

Soils on the coastal islands from Charleston, South Carolina to Miami, Florida are of two types: 1. fine, white quartz sands and 2. dark mineral sands (Cameron 1976). Moist salt and pepper sands formed of heavy mineral content, are characteristic of the well-drained higher areas and windward waterfront on Colonel's Island. Black sands are found, however, in the muddy bottoms of low, wet depressions, on leeward banks, and compose the black, mucky soils of the tidal flats.

The climate of Glynn County may be classed as relatively moderate, with hot summers, cold winters, and high humidity year round.

Vegetation

Pollen profiles from Lowndes County, Georgia (Watts 1971) indicate that the vegetation on the Coastal Plain of Georgia began

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to assume its present appearance by 3000 BC, with the pine-dominated associations of today's forest replacing a dry, oak woodland-prairie mosaic (8500-5000 BP). This major vegetational replacement was apparently caused by rising sea levels which raised the water table 12 meters, creating lakes and flooding previously dry areas. In coastal counties, therefore, the Pine Barrens have been displaced by angiospermous evergreen forest, bayhead associations, cypress swamps, and salt marsh.

Little is known about southeastern United States Coastal plain maritime forests, or about successional processes in island forests. Except for compilation of yet unpublished species lists, I am aware of only one study (Cameron 1976) of forest vegetation and useful plants on Georgia islands.

Three distinct vegetational associations were observed during three weeks of field work in 1976 and 1977 on Colonel's Island: live oak forest, pine woods, and salt marsh. These are clearly defined and usually lack ecotones where adjacent.

Live Oak Forest

This maritime forest is characteristic of sandy beaches from southeast Virginia to Florida, to Texas. Its conspicuous features are sclerophyllous evergreen angiosperms among which *Quercus virginiana* (live oak) dominates, with vines, epiphytes and little herbaceous growth. Because of its tolerance to salt spray, zeric conditions and infertile soils, the live oak is commonly the first forest species to develop on sand dunes. Once established, it is quite stable and resists change because of the long life span of the tree, its ability to sprout, and its adaptation to the site (Johnson et al. 1974).

Live oaks form dense canopies over most of Colonel's Island above the 10 foot contour. Shade and cooler temperatures under the canopy restrict herbaceous growth, but small trees and shrubs can be common. Small stands of *Carya glabra* (pignut hickory) occur within this association at the Long Midden and Little Sattilla sites. Their origin is not known, but it may be the result of secondary succession.

Serenoa repens (saw palmetto) occurs in the understory, particularly at the southwest end of the island where the canopy is less dense. *Magnolia virginiana* (sweet bay), *Prunus serotina* (black cherry), *Morus rubra* (mulberry) and *Castanea pumila*

(chiquapin) were seen only once. *Nyssa biflora* (tupelo), *Ilex glabra* (gall berry), *I. Opaca* (American holly), *I. vomitoria* (Yaupon, cassine), and *Juniperus silicicoa* (red cedar) appear regularly, as do *Vaccinium corymbosum* and *V. myrsinites* (blueberries). *Myrica cerifera* (was myrtle) is common. Vine species are numerous and abundant. Most are of the low climbing type, including *Ampelopsis arborea* (pepper vine) *Parthenocissus Quinquefolia* (Virginia creeper), *Smilax bona-nox* (greenbrier), *Berchemia scandens*, as well as *Vitis vulpina* (frost grape). *Vitis rotunifolia* (muscadine) is the only high climber. *Clitoria mariana* (butterfly pea) and *Galactia elliottii* (milkpea) are spread over the litter, but patches of bare ground are common. However, in sunny spots *Lepidium virginicum* (poor man's pepper), *Opuntia compressa* (prickly pear), *Verbascum Thapsus* (mullein) *Cnidocolus stimulosus* (stinging nettle), *Pyrropappus carolinianus* (false dandelion), *Salvia coccinea* (sage), *Commelina erecta* (day flower) and *Ruellia caroliensis* may be encountered.

Pine Forest

Pine woods occur on well-drained sites (generally between 5-10 feet in elevation) where the live oaks have been cleared and secondary succession is taking place as on the mainland—from herbaceous pioneers to pine forest to mixed hardwood forest. On Colonel's Island, the dominant pine is *P. elliottii* (slash pine); south of U.S. Highway 17, the natural distribution of this forest type is obscured by the presence of a pine plantation over much of the island's interior. Absence of burning or grazing has permitted growth of a tangled, dense understory of *Serenoa repens* (saw palmetto), *Myrica cerifera* (wax myrtle), *Ilex glabra* (gall berry), *I. opace* (American holly), *I. vomitoria* (yaupon, cassine), *Vacciniumcorymbosum* and *V.myrsinites* (blueberries) and *Befaria racemosa* (tar flower).

Dichromena colorata (star rush), *Gratiola ramosa* (hedge-hysop), *Pluchea camphorata* (camphor weed), *Pterocaulon pychostachym* (black root) *Rhexia alifanus* (meadow beauty), and *Xyris ambigue* (yellow-eyed grass) are common along the roadside ditches.

Salt Marsh

Except where the South Brunswick River, Little Satilla

River, Fancy Bluff Creek, and Jointer Creek border the land, Colonel's Island is surrounded by *Spartina alterniflora* (cord grass) marshes. These pure stands become mixed only on the banks where *Distichlis spicata* (saltgrass), *Salicornia virginica* (glasswort), *Borrchia frutescens* (sea ox-eye), *Baccharis halimifolia* (merkle), and *Hydrocotyle bonariensis* (water pennywort) occur at the upper tidal limits.

Conclusion

Although species which appear in the first one to ten years following a major habitat disturbance may not be representative of the primary climax forest, during later successional stages the vegetation becomes more and more similar to that of the primary forest.

Secondary climax forests are usually composed of the same species as the primary forest although the ratio of dominant species to one another may differ. Consequently, it is likely that today's vegetational associations closely resemble those of the forests which were present on Colonel's Island during prehistoric periods and probably persisted until British settlement in the late 18th. century.

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THE PREHISTORIC EXCAVATIONS OF COLONEL'S ISLAND

Karl T. Steinen**

Criteria for the selection of sites to be tested were developed after a thorough field inspection of the known prehistoric middens on the island. These included factors of geographical placement on the island, access, potential for data production, and observable variables such as vegetation and ground cover. Five sites were selected for testing. They represent a sample of sites from all geographical areas of the island as well as coastal and inland locations.

Excavation techniques, described in the individual site reports, were designed to produce the maximum amount of information for the available time in the field. In some cases, this meant abandoning the traditional dimensions of excavation units and adopting rather unorthodox sizes. When the type of information desired required the exposure of a long profile, narrower trenches were usually excavated. A 3 x 20 foot trench will expose as much profile as one 5 x 20 feet, with a tremendous savings of time and energy. In turn, recovery techniques were designed to maximize the recovery of data for the allowed time. Informative but labor-intensive techniques such as flotation were not used. The careful inspection of all exposed surfaces, screening and spot checking of back dirt by water screening insured that few small items such as fish vertebrae were lost. Indeed, the normal recovery techniques that were used proved to be sensitive to the recovery of small items.

WGC 918, Long Midden

Long Midden is located on the western edge of Colonel's Island and borders on the marsh which separates the island from Fancy Bluff Creek. Sheldon (1976) originally identified two middens in this general area. WGC 917, the Cove Site, was reported to be directly south of Long Midden. A careful inspection of the

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bank and island showed that there was one continuous deposit of shell, rather than two discrete units. Therefore, the two sites were combined for the purposes of excavation.

Long Midden was chosen to be the control site for the development of field methods for the prehistoric excavations. It is typical of the shore/marsh oriented sites on the island. The site proper is located within the pine-oak-palmetto zone of the island.

The site is roughly kidney-shaped and extends along the shore line of the island where it protrudes into the marsh. Visual inspection of the site, coupled with random augering, disclosed that scattered shell deposits exist for perhaps 500 feet into the interior of the island. Dense ground cover prevented the exact determination of this aspect of the site. Surface deposits of midden shell extend only for 50 feet inland. The total length of the midden was approximately 1200 feet. Depth of the deposits was found to be approximately 6-7 inches.

It was originally planned to excavate a series of 5 x 10 foot units along the central axis of the site to recover the required material. These formal units would be supplemented by data recovered from the selected use of the power auger. However, after the excavations were begun, it was found that the original set of five test units would be too time consuming. Therefore, the size and number of units were reduced and more reliance placed upon the use of the auger, and the detailed inspection of eroded surfaces and banks.

A total of three units were excavated. All units were staked out and a three-inch margin was left along each wall. The first, a 5 x 10 foot unit, arbitrarily designated 1000L1000, was placed on the inland side of the midden toward the center of the site and was excavated in six-inch arbitrary units to a depth of 12 inches. At 6 inches there was a definite break between shell midden and the sub-midden layer. The excavations were continued to 12 inches to determine the nature of the sub-midden deposit. At 12 inches, an exploratory shovel hole was dug in the northwest corner of the square to a depth of 44 inches below ground level to determine if any midden deposits or cultural materials could be discerned. The results were negative. The second unit, designated 1000L1010 was a 5 x 5 foot extension of 1000L1000. It was placed to elicit stratigraphic, artifactual and ecofactual information from the front part of the midden. The shell midden was removed as a single six inch layer. The sub-midden was also exca-

vated to a depth of 12 inches. The third unit, designated 1103L1054.4 was 103 feet north and 54.4 feet west of the first unit. Also 5 x 5 feet in size, it was excavated in 6 inch layers.

The three test units were placed to determine aspects of the midden. Inspections of the non-shell areas did not indicate the presence of cultural materials to any extent. Augering and random grubbing did not disclose any cultural materials off of the shell deposit. It was decided to concentrate all further excavations on the shell areas as they proved to be the most productive in terms of the data needed to test the stated hypotheses. In all cases, shell was saved and weighed. This was done to determine possible differential utilization of various parts of the site and allow a comparison of one site and area to another. This gross use of shell analysis can provide a supplement to the zooarchaeological analysis of recovered faunal material. No attempt was made to actually type or measure the shell due to the limitation of manpower. An attempt was made to monitor the nature of the recovered shell which was, with few exceptions, was the common oyster so often encountered on archaeological sites.

Few artifacts were recovered and no culturally related features were observed. In addition, the flora and faunal remains were very low. This lack of the type of data needed to test the original hypotheses forced the modification of the overall research design at this point. The shift in design was made from developing a model of environmental exploitation to compare to the barrier islands to explaining the differences between the observed patterns of Colonel's Island to the barrier islands.

WGC 907 Little Satilla

The Little Satilla site was described by Sheldon as follows:

The site. . .takes up most of the extreme southwest point of Colonel's Island. An extensive oyster midden, eroding into the Little Satilla River in places, it also extends inland in places about 50 meters. In addition to the collection made, busycon shells, both worked and unaltered were seen. The site today is in desirable oak-hickory-sweet bay hammock with extensive palmetto understory. The caretaker of Colonel's Island, a long-time local resident, stated that 'a long time ago' there were houses on the southern end of the island, but no traces of these

were seen. The midden is intermittent in places, never exceeding 30 cm. in depth. (Sheldon 1976:44).

Sheldon (1976:6) classifies Little Satilla as a midden field.

These are sites with a shore location, but also extending to considerable distances inland. They are characterized by the presence of numerous small distinct mounds of oyster shells. The individual middens range from three to eight meters in diameter from 10 to 50 cms. high. They are separated by five to twenty meters of level surface with low shell density.

Little Satilla and the adjacent WGC 923 (South End) presented a unique problem for the prehistoric investigations on the island. Beyond the originally stated goals of the research design, it was determined that there was a need to define the nature of the site. This midden field represented an aberrant situation on the island and needed to be explained. A series of methods were developed to supply the desired information. These consisted of: 1) development of a detailed topographic map of the site, 2) location of each midden rise, 3) controlled augering of the site to determine and record the stratigraphy of the site, 4) detailed examination of eroded banks to determine the stratigraphy, and 5) excavation of at least one controlled test unit in an undisturbed area of the site.

The thick understory of the site prevented the making of a complete topographic map of the site in the available time. Instead, only one quarter of the site was mapped. This map detailed the distribution, size and form of the midden rises. Further, the surface inspection of the interior portions of the site revealed that sites WGC 907 and 923 were continuous and not discrete.

In excess of 40 auger holes were sunk to determine the nature of the sub-surface deposits of the site. A series of 15 holes were sunk into two separate midden rises to test their content. The results of these augerings were extremely varied. The holes revealed that there was no uniformity to the midden deposit. Indeed, in one case where three holes were sunk in an area smaller than 1 square yard, three completely different profiles were recorded. The two midden rises that were augered also displayed different strata.

A visual inspection of the site coupled with the completed topographic map gave the distinct impression that the site had

been dug over in an unsystematic manner. The distribution of the midden rises, adjacent depressions, uneven surfaces, and unsystematic dispersal of the rises is reminiscent of several sites I have seen that have been destroyed by collectors.

The extreme southern end of the site was found to be undisturbed and was visually similar to other sites on the island. Here, an eroded bank was faced and recorded. In addition, a single 5 x 5 foot unit, designated "Square A" was excavated in 6 inch levels. The eroded bank area was closely inspected at low tide, and several sherds were recovered.

Square A was located adjacent to the bank near the Little Satilla River in an undisturbed area. The first 6 inches consisted of a shell/soil matrix which contained no artifacts. The 6-12 inch level had shell for the first inch and was sterile sand after that. The square was excavated to 17 inches without recovering any cultural material. No faunal materials were recovered, and only a few indeterminate seeds were found.

The 12 sherds that were recovered represent an extremely meager inventory for such a large site. Of the materials recovered, 8 sherds were recovered from the surface or along the shore edge at low tide. Three were undecorated sand and grit tempered sherds, two were Savannah Fine Cord Marked, one was an unidentifiable punctated, one an historic White Ware, and one is what appears to be an eroded Filfot Cross. The auger tests produced four sherds. Two were Savannah Fine Cord Marked and two were plain, sand and grit tempered sherds. No other artifacts were recovered or observed.

The recovered material, as well as the materials recovered during the original survey by Kohler in 1975 (these materials are no longer available for study) indicate that the site was occupied and utilized during the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods. The scarcity of cultural materials, especially faunal remains, suggest that the site was not a permanent habitation area, but was probably used intermittently over a period of time. The stratigraphic evidence recovered through the controlled augering suggests that the midden rises are the results of post-aboriginal activities.

WGC 906/926 Empty Bottle

Located on the eastern shore of Colonel's Island, this site is a

combination of sites WGC 906 (Rich) and 925 (Hidden Midden). The situation encountered by Empty Bottle was much the same as the situations with Little Satilla and Long Midden. A thorough surface inspection showed that the two sites were continuous. In keeping with the new status of the two sites, it was renamed Empty Bottle.

The site description fits a combination of both 906 and 926. Described by Kohler as being 40 meters long, 20 centimeters deep and narrow, the site is in fact over 100 yards long. The width of the site is in excess of 100 yards, with the major concentration of materials being close to the shore. The inland materials are discontinuous and very thin.

Surface inspections of the area supported Kohler's conclusions about the productivity of the site. Ceramics were seen eroding along the marsh/creek bank in greater quantities than at any other prehistoric site on the island. In addition, at least one midden rise was encountered in an inland area that had a heavy palmetto cover.

Test units, designated squares "B", "C", and "D" were placed to determine aspects of vertical and horizontal stratigraphy as well as recover the needed floral and faunal material. Square B was situated on the extreme southern end of the site in the vicinity of what was termed the Rich site. Square C was placed on the northern end of the site approximately 50 feet from the marsh edge and 20 feet from the edge of an abandoned agricultural canal. Square D was situated between these two and was designed to determine the nature of the observed midden rise.

Square B had stratigraphy similar to that of the Long Midden site and Little Satilla. The identifiable midden was composed of oyster shell and dark brown sand. One important difference that was exhibited by the square was that the cultural materials were encountered to a much greater depth. Of note is an intrusive piece of glass encountered in the 12-18 inch level. This indicates that there was a greater amount of disturbance than was observable at the other site.

Square C was excavated on the northern end of the site in proximity to an abandoned Plantation Period agricultural ditch. The shell deposit was very thin in this area, with a parallel difference in the nature and composition of the sand. Materials were represented in the first 12 inches of the unit, and the remainder was sterile. Cultural materials were primarily sand and grit tem-

pered plain with one curvilinear complicated stamped sherd which can be classified as Swift Creek II.

Square D, a 3 x 10 foot trench, was excavated from the identifiable midden rise toward the shore to identify the nature of this rise. The unit was excavated and recorded in two sections. The west end corresponded to the midden rise, while the east end was on the level area of the midden.

The recorded profiles show that the midden rise was the result of cultural activity and was not accidental. The increased thickness of the shell midden in the west end of the test unit was probably the result of a more intensive utilization of this specific point of the site. Recovered materials were primarily plain sand and grit tempered shreds. One instance of a smoothed over simple stamp was recovered from the first 6 inches of the east end of the unit. Surface materials accounted for 11 undecorated sand and grit tempered sherds and a single highly eroded complicated stamped sherd.

In summary, this site does not appear to be radically different from either Little Satilla or Long Midden. However, the increased frequency of occurrence of ceramics indicates a greater intensity of use. The materials suggest that the site was utilized from early through late Deptford times.

WGC 905 Jointer Creek

Located approximately 1,100 feet north of WGC 906/926, this site is situated on a high bluff overlooking Jointer Creek. It is a series of five oyster middens which were numbered 1 through 5 from north to south. Kohler (Sheldon 1976:40) mentions noticing tabby bricks and mortar in the northern end of the site. My inspection of the site disclosed that these bricks were historic structures represented by fallen chimneys, 50 to 75 yards inland from the creek bank. These structures, however, were not part of the shell midden. Probing, grubbing and surface inspection disclosed that this site was similar in size and extent to the other sites that had been excavated. Maximum observed depth was approximately 6 inches. Inland deposits were thin and scattered. Surface indications of materials were limited to three undecorated aboriginal sherds and a broken modern bottle.

Two units were excavated on the site. Square E, a 5 x 5 foot unit, was excavated in Midden #2 in the northern area of the site.

Square F, a 5 x 5 foot unit was excavated in Midden #4. In addition, a 4.5 x 1 foot extension was made from the northern edge of Square E toward a Historic Period ditch.

Square E was excavated to a depth of 20 inches. The amount of materials recovered was relatively large. In the first 6 inches, 6 sherds were recovered. From 6-12 inches a total of 46 sherds, one piece of tabby, and a conch columella were recovered. The 12-18 inch level contained 14 sherds. Of interest are two complicated stamped sherds which were too small to type, but the lands and grooves were very wide and reminiscent of the later stages in the development of the complicated stamped tradition in the southeast.

A 4.5 x 1 foot, 18 inch deep extension of the northeastern corner of this trench was excavated to determine the slope of the midden toward the bank of the agricultural canal. The first 6 inches of this extension did not reveal any cultural materials. The 6-12 inch level, however, contained 6 grit and sand tempered plain sherds and a single stemmed projectile point.

Square F, excavated in the standard 6 inch levels, contained no cultural materials. The first two or three inches of the unit did not contain any shell. At 3 inches a concentration of shell which contained no cultural material was encountered and was labelled Feature 5. The unit was excavated to a depth of 18 inches and filled.

The proximity of this site to the historic structures and the extremely mixed nature of the midden, particularly the middle layers of Square E, indicate that this site has been highly disturbed. The aboriginal materials indicate an occupation or utilization intermittently from the first known occupation of the Georgia Coast up to and including the Historic Period. Until further evidence can be gathered, I would suggest that this site was disturbed by the people who lived in the nearby cabins.

WGC 913 Inlet Site

Located on the southwestern shore of Colonel's Island in proximity to Sam Creek, this site consists of a scattered shell midden in an old agricultural field. Sheldon (1976:56) describes the site as being 2400 square meters in extent with a maximum thickness of fifty centimeters. Surface collections consisted of three sand and grit tempered plain sherds. No other materials were observed or collected.

Three 5 x 5 foot test units were excavated at this site. Square G was situated approximately 30 feet from the western bank of the site and on the highest elevation of the site. Recovered materials included extensive amounts of tabby mortar intermixed with aboriginal ceramics in the first 6 inches. The 6-12 inch layer contained more tabby and aboriginal materials. Here, there were two sherds of Deptford Simple and Cross Simple Stamped. From the 12-18 inch level, two small sand tempered plain sherds were recovered.

Square H was situated inland from the marsh and was placed to determine the nature of a site near the shore. The first 6 inches of the unit contained 18 plain sherds and no historic artifacts. The second 6 inches of the unit contained 6 sherds, one of which was Deptford Cross Simple Stamped.

At approximately 15 inches, there appeared what was first thought to be bone in a poor state of preservation. This area was designated a feature and excavated as such. Careful excavations revealed that the deposit was roots in a state of decay. During the excavation of this feature, a 2-foot extension of this unit was excavated to the west that was found to contain 11 sand tempered plain sherds.

Square I, a 3 x 5 foot unit, was excavated to determine the nature of a shallow trench that was discernible on the surface of the site. It was hypothesized that this trench was a remnant of the Plantation Period utilization of the island. The unit was placed to intersect the trench and provide the necessary stratigraphic information to determine use.

Square I had very few artifacts in it. The first 6 inches produced three sand tempered plain sherds and a single fragment of a green glass bottle from the eastern wall. The 6-12 inch level produced three small, unmarked sand tempered sherds, and the 12-18 inch level produced one sand and fiber tempered sherd.

A small extension of the unit was excavated to the east in the area of the historic bottle fragment. Designated Feature 6, this unit produced a single heavily patinated bottle bottom which matched the fragment recovered from the main test unit.

The mixture of historic and prehistoric materials at this site indicates that it was used during both the Aboriginal and Plantation Periods. Physically, with the exception of the historic materials, it does not vary significantly from any other observed aboriginal site. The sparse recovered remains, specifically the few

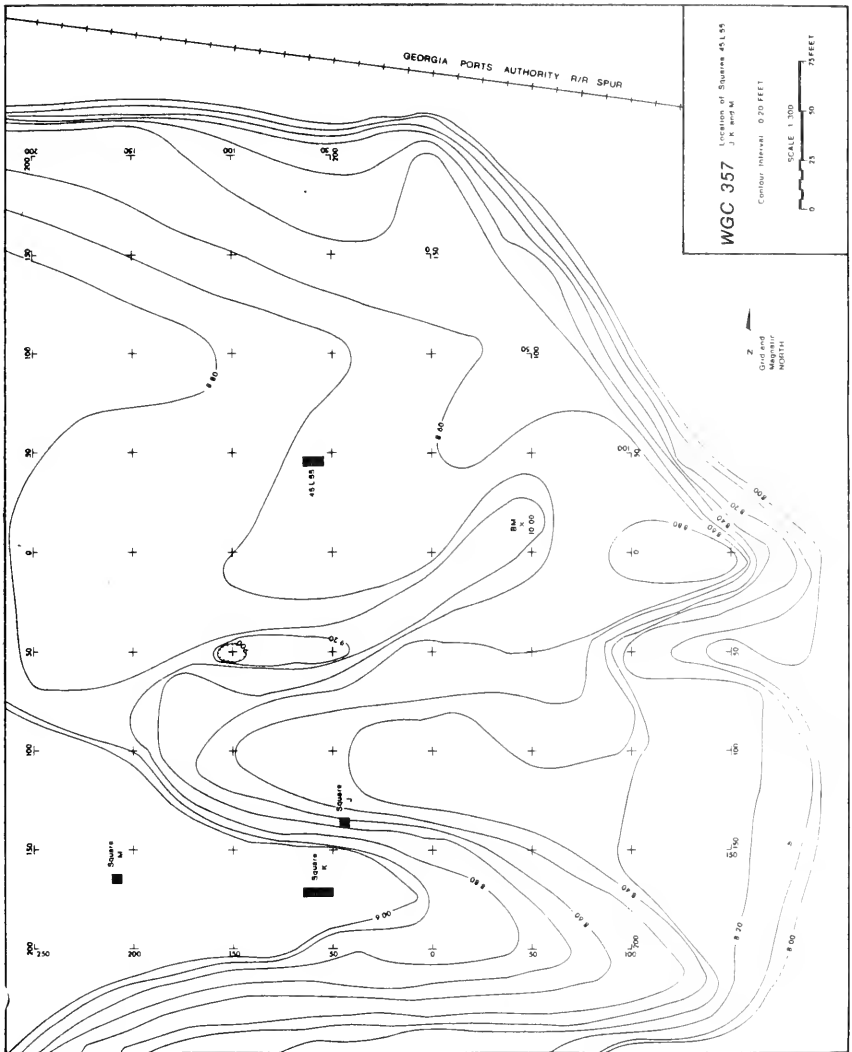
decorated and fiber tempered sherds, indicate an early use of this point on the island.

WGC 357 Railroad

This, the final prehistoric site tested, is situated inland from the island edge. It is, at the shortest, 1500 feet from the South Brunswick River. Kohler (Sheldon 1976:31) describes the site as follows:

A large ceramic and flint site in clear field on north end of Colonel's Island Railroad spur. . .site is visible on road and continuing for at least 100 meters more along the RR cut where it is visible as oyster shell. It is apparently a midden, although it is inland, unlike other middens seen on the island. The main part of the midden is south of the tracks, where it is in places at least 50 meters wide. . .the sherds collected were quite small and apparently fragmented by plowing.

This site presented a special problem in the excavations. Its inland placement required that the question of why it was not adjacent to the marsh or a source of flowing water be investigated. Also, the extremely thin nature of the deposit, in most areas less than one inch of fragmented shell, suggested that the site was a relic of Plantation Period agriculture. The known use of marsh muck and shell as a fertilizer during the Plantation Period occupation of the coast suggested that the observed shell may have been transported in as a response to the need to fertilize the agricultural field. A third problem that was investigated was that the thickest shell deposit observable at the site was in an abandoned road. This indicated that the shell, at least in this area, was the product of road fill, and not aboriginally deposited.



Topographic Map of WGC 357, The Rail Road Site, Showing the Location of Test Units.

Unit 45L55, a 5 x 10 foot square, was excavated in a low artifact/shell density area. The first 6 inches of this unit produced an iron fragment, probably from a plow, at two inches, and several glass sherds. The soil was a fine brown loam. The 6-12 inch level contained several small aboriginal sherds at the 6 inch level, and a scattering of shell where the soil changed to a mottled gray/light brown. Since the productivity of the unit was low, the unit was reduced to 5 x 5 feet at this point. From 12-18 inches, a black mottling appeared which continued to 18 inches, but decreased in size. The unit was excavated to 30 inches below the surface without encountering any more artifacts.

Square J was placed to intersect the shell materials that were exposed by the abandoned field road. It was 5 x 5 feet in size and was excavated in arbitrary 6 inch levels. The top layer contained 21 undecorated sand tempered sherds and a single sand tempered complicated stamped sherd of undeterminable type. The width of the lands and grooves, however, suggest that it is a late example of the complicated stamped tradition. The second 6 inches, which were below the area disturbed by the field road, contained 46 undecorated sand tempered sherds and two sherds with the line block complicates stamp. The excavations continued to 30 inches but produced no further cultural materials.

The distribution of cultural materials and the profiles suggest that this area of WGC 357 is a part of an aboriginal site that has been at least partially disturbed by erosion and vehicle traffic.

Square K, a 3 x 10 foot unit, was excavated to the south and west of Square J in an attempt to determine aspects of the inner part of the midden. The first 6 inches of the unit contained broken shell which changed to whole shell in the 6-12 inch layer, which probably indicates the transition to the sub-plow zone. The shell ceases at the bottom of this level and the excavations which continued to 18 inches produced no more indications of aboriginal or historic materials.

The cultural material from this unit was confined to the top 6 inches. It consisted of 30 undecorated sand tempered sherds and 11 undecorated St. John's Plain body sherds. This was the first, and only, time that St. John's sherds were recovered from the island.

The final test unit, Square M, a 5 x 5 foot unit was located 80 feet to the west of Square K. This area, while in an old field, is currently covered by an extensive growth of pine and hardwood

and is least likely to have been disturbed by recent agricultural practices.

The top 6 inches of this unit contained 10 sand and grit tempered undecorated sherds, some barbed wire, and an iron nail. The 6 - 12 inch layer contained 17 sand tempered plain body sherds and three unworked flint flakes. The final 6 inches from 12-18 inches below the surface contained a total of four unworked flint flakes.

The excavations at this site were inconclusive. They did demonstrate however, that the area of the site was much smaller than originally thought. The bulk of the area, principally in the vicinity of Grid 00, Unit 45L45 and to the north, may represent the remains of past attempts to increase the fertility of the field. The general absence of both cultural material and shell coupled with the lack of any depth to the deposit in this area indicate that the observed materials were not deposited by aboriginal activity. In the area where there is identifiable midden, the site presents several problems. The line block complicated stamped sherds indicate a late protohistoric or historic utilization for the site. The St. John's materials are significant in that they represent one of the few documented instances of the recovery of this material from north of the St. Mary's River. This brings into question the dynamics of culture contact and exchange in this area.

Summary

The excavations conducted in five of the prehistoric sites on Colonel's Island give some insight into the occupation of the Georgia marsh from approximately 2000 BC to AD 1500. However, due to their limited nature, only preliminary conclusions can be made concerning the nature of the occupation.

The overall placement of the sites in conjunction with the marsh and river/creeks indicates that site placement was determined by the need to have ready access to these ecosystems. The abundance of shell further indicates that placement of sites in proximity to oyster resources was also an important consideration. While oysters are generally considered a less than important source of food, this pattern of site placement in regard to oyster exploitation has been suggested for other areas (Steinen 1975). While there are no observable large deposits of oyster in the immediate vicinity of Colonel's Island today, this variable must not

be overlooked when considering settlement placement.

The lack of any observable cultural features, the relative scarcity of artifacts and the low density of faunal remains serve as evidence to support the hypothesis developed during the excavation of WGC 917. This is that the site was a non-permanent habitation. The extensive aboriginal sites known for the barrier islands show a different pattern. While they express a similar low concentration of tools they have the tendency to be larger in size and contain many more ceramics. The number of sherds recovered from similar aboriginal sites on St. Simons Island tested by Martinez far exceeded the number recovered from any of the Colonel's Island excavations (Martinez 1975). If this higher concentration of ceramics is interpreted as representing a permanent, or at least semi-permanent occupation of the site, then the corresponding lack of these ceramics indicates a non-permanent pattern.

One aspect of the prehistoric sites that was not expected was the consistent modification of the sites by the historic activities. From the patterns observed in the tree growth coupled with the impact on the archaeological sites, it is evident that virtually all of the sites have been disturbed to some extent by Plantation Period agricultural practices. Field clearing, planting and shell robbing have greatly disrupted the already meager archaeological record.

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APPENDIX

Artifacts and Shell Weights from Prehistoric Sites

*Ceramics Recovered During Excavations (sherd count by six-inch excavation level).**

Site	Filfor Cross	Irene Inc.	Savannah Check	Savannah Fine Cord	Wilmington Plain	Deptford Check	Deptford Bold	Deptford Simple	Deptford Cross	St. Johns Plain	Fiber and Sand Plain	Fiber Plan	Unidentified Fabric Marked	Unidentified Comp. Stamp	Unidentified Punctuated	Sand and Grit Plan
Long Midden																
0-6	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
6-12	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Little Satilla																
Surface	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Auger Tests	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Empty Bottle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Surface	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	11
0-6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	55
6-12	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	65
12-18	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	33
Jointer Creek																
Surface	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
0-6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8
6-12	1	-	-	-	-	16	1	-	-	-	-	4	1	2	-	29
12-18	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
18-25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inlet	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
0-6	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
6-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	23
12-18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
18-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Railroad																
0-6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-	-	1	-	43
6-12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67
12-18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

* From Southeastern Archaeology 3(2):167

*Shell Weights by Six-Inch Level from Excavated Units (Pounds Per Cubic Foot of Midden).**

Levels(combined)	Long Midden	Little Satilla	Empty Bottle	Jointer Creek ^a	Inlet ^b	Railroad
0-6	21.89	24.21	20.05	12.49	5.49	9.94
6-12	8.04	11.31	11.34	8.29	1.38	12.39
12-18	1.00	1.00	1.00	-	-	-
18-24	-	-	1.00	1.00	-	-

^aProbably not representative because excavations were conducted away from shell concentrations.

^bProbably not representative because some of the test units were placed a way from shell concentrations.

* From Southeastern Archaeology 3(2):169

THE HISTORY AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF COLONEL'S ISLAND

Theresa Singleton**

A Retrospective Look at the Colonel's Island Historic Sites

The archaeological investigations undertaken at the historical sites of Colonel's Island in 1977 predate the emergence of plantation archaeology as the well-established research interest it has become today. Since 1977, the systematic study of plantation archaeological resources which first began at sites along coastal Georgia has spread to other areas throughout the American South and the Caribbean (see Singleton 1985). Within a decade, plantation archaeology has evolved from being largely descriptive to being much more problem-oriented and analytical. The following study of Colonel's Island, though characteristic of the early descriptive studies in plantation archaeology, continues to be significant because of the recovery of archaeological resources presumably associated with recently emancipated slaves. At that time and now, few sites have provided discernible features associated with the early years of emancipation. Thus, unlike the archaeological record of slavery, archaeologists are just at the beginning stages of understanding the archaeological record of emancipation.

Recent investigations of well-documented freedmen sites located on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina, have shed new light to the understanding of the archaeological resources of Colonel's Island. This freedmen settlement known as Mitchelville was established in 1862 by the Union Army during its occupation of the South Carolina coast and continued to be occupied until the early 1880's (Tarinkley 1986). Mitchelville was part of the "Port Royal Experiment", a program in the South Carolina sea islands intended to keep black laborers working for white planters. Black laborers were placed on contracts with white landowners and the Northerners established the work routines, the wages to be paid, and time required to complete the job.

Both the archaeological and historical descriptions of Mitch-

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elville indicate that it was indeed a very different kind of freedmen settlement than that at Colonel's Island. Mitchelville was a substantial freedmen settlement with dwellings and other structures comparable to those recovered on plantations. On the other hand, Colonel's Island had makeshift, impermanent structures which strongly suggested that it was a temporary site occupied by freedmen who, perhaps, attempted to settle lands that became part of "Sherman's Reservation" (a 40 mile-wide belt extending south from Charleston, South Carolina to around Jacksonville, Florida) established to resettle ex-slaves. Although this resettlement effort lasted less than two years, because of it, many freedmen continued to squat on these lands until driven off by owners.

Historical descriptions suggest that the quality of freedmen settlement varied widely. Those like Mitchelville were intended to be permanent and archaeological resources reflect this. Other freedmen settlements, like those on Colonel's Island, may have functioned as squatters camps or other kinds of temporary occupations. After ten years, it is still not certain that the archaeological resources at Colonel's Island are those left by freedmen, but this interpretation has been strengthened by additional archaeological and historical research.

Introduction

Investigations of the socio-cultural milieu of antebellum plantation sites have received increasing attention by archaeologists in recent years. In the southeastern United States, the coastal region of Georgia has been a focal area for much of this research. (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; MacFarlane 1975; Otto 1975). These exploratory studies have been extremely useful in supplementing the historical record of the Old South. It was hoped that archaeological investigations of the Parland Plantation sites at Colonel's Island would contribute additional findings to the data base of Plantation Phase archaeology. Unfortunately, the sites of both the planter's and the slaves' habitats were greatly disturbed by post-Civil War occupations. At the Parland site, WGC 356, the major disturbance occurred during the well-documented 1888 industrial development of Colonel's Island. The post 1865 temporal placement of the slave site, WGC 903, was based primarily upon the occurrence of an 1867 nickel near one of the structures. The nature of the material assemblage and the nickel are sug-

gested here to be evidence of a post-Civil War occupation of black freedmen. To my knowledge, this is the first archaeological evidence of postbellum black freedmen on the Georgia coast. The suggestion that this site was inhabited by freedmen and not by slaves gave rise to an examination of the similarities and differences in the material culture between slaves and freedmen.

Although the investigations of the Parland Plantation sites did not meet the expectations of the researchers, this study offers two major contributions. First, it adds to the historical record of the antebellum period. The documentary account of the Parland Plantation at Colonel's Island provides some insights into the operation of small, unfamiliar plantations. Plantations of this type have been, for the most part, neglected in the historical record. Second, in the archaeological record, the interpretation of black freedmen on the Georgia coast will add another dimension to the study of black settlements, an emerging concern in historical archaeology, and to the archaeological record of status differences.

Documentary Sources For Colonel's Island

Documentary sources for Colonel's Island can be loosely classified into three time periods: Antebellum, Civil War, and Postbellum. Of the three, the antebellum period records were the most extensive archival sources uncovered. These describe in considerable detail the operation of the Parland plantations. The Civil War source consists of one document describing Union occupation of the island during the war. Postbellum records are of two kinds, first, annual inventories of property still in possession by Parland heirs; second, records of the industrial developments that had taken place at Colonel's Island after the Parland heirs finally sold the island in the late 1880's.

Colonel's Island was first owned by James Forrester, who acquired the island through several royal grants in 1765 and 1766 (Candler 1907). It is not known in what ways Forrester developed Colonel's Island or even if he resided there, but he evidently did not keep the island very long, and in 1769, he sold the island to Andrew Cunningham (McVeigh ms). After Cunningham's purchase Colonel's Island passed through several hands until John Parland's purchase in the early 1830's.

Parland, a native Scotsman, served as a justice of the inferior court, and he was also a member of the grand jury in Georgia, in

Glynn County (The Georgia Genealogical Magazine 1962). Besides Colonel's Island, he owned at least three other plantations, Longwood, the Dyke, and Gowrie. In 1833, Parland was married to Mary Ann Scarlett, and they had two daughters, Jean Adams Parland and Frances Ann Scarlett Parland. Parland was killed in a fall from a horse in 1836, and his grave is located at the main settlement of the plantation, WGC 356. Because Parland died intestate, his property had to be appraised and disbursed, and these records are the documents which have provided the details of the operation of the Parland Plantations. The estate was divided equally between Parland's daughters, and from 1837 to 1857, Francis M. Scarlett, Mary Ann Parland's father, was appointed guardian for the management of the estate (The Georgia Genealogical Magazine 1962:269). After Scarlett's death, Jean Parland's husband, Henry C. King, assumed responsibilities for Jean's share of the estate, and Francis D. Scarlett, Francis M. Parland's son, assumed responsibilities for Frances Ann Parland's share, for she was confined to the mental hospital in Milledgeville, Georgia.

Beginning in 1867, Frances D. Scarlett began selling and leasing portions of the land on Colonel's Island and Longwood plantations. Between 1874 and 1886, Scarlett made several petitions to the court to sell the remainder of Longwood and Colonel's Island in order to pay for Frances Ann's expenses at the mental hospital. Finally, in 1886, all of the land at Colonel's Island and Longwood was sold, and this marked an end to the Parland/Scarlett ownership of Colonel's Island, which had lasted over fifty years (Glynn County Court House Records).

The Parland/Scarlett ownership was succeeded by a number of entrepreneurs who sought a massive industrial development of the island. These men envisioned the establishment of a port city, South Brunswick, which would compete with the one on the mainland. The idea for industrial development of the island began with W.T. Penniman, a Brunswick surveyor, who, with financiers from Atlanta and New York, formed the Brunswick Harbor and Land Company in 1888 (McVeigh ms). Within a year, the company built a railroad to the island, docks and warehouses for the export of cotton, cotton seed oil, meal, and naval stores (South Brunswick Terminal Railroad Company). The industrial development of the island failed for several reasons. First it was not commercially viable, for there was not enough cotton produced in the Brunswick

area to export and second, natural disasters, including a yellow fever epidemic and a hurricane in 1898 contributed to the failure of the development (Sheldon 1977). Colonel's Island was abandoned by the developers in 1900 and for the next thirty years it was leased at \$300 a year for pasture land (McVeigh ms.).

In 1934, Raymond Massey bought Colonel's Island and built a cabin of logs and tabby at the northwest end of the island. The Masseys resided there until Mr. Massey's death in 1954, and Mrs. Massey sold the property to the state of Georgia (Glynn County Courthouse Records).

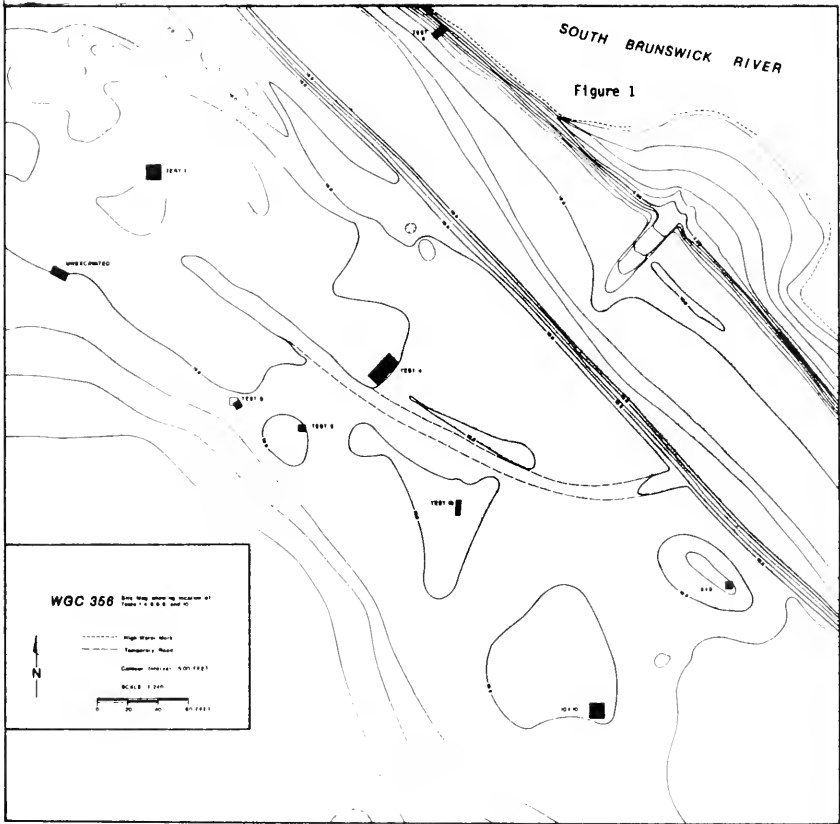
During the antebellum period, Colonel's Island appears to have been a fairly successful plantation, but its post-war industrial development was very short lived. The one period of which there is no clear understanding of the economic conditions present on the island is during the postbellum period from immediately after the war up to 1888. There is a suggestion from the documents that the land was farmed by tenant farmers, undoubtedly ex-slaves, for there are receipts for the rental of land during this time.

Description of Sites

Field activities for the historic component of the project included mapping of the sites, excavations, and a systematic surface collection of the tidal flats below WGC 356. As with the prehistoric phase of the program, the excavations were designed to determine the nature of the different components of the site and to recover floral and faunal data. Particular attention was paid to the problem of defining aspects of the social stratification of the Parland Plantation.

WGC 356

At WGC 356, 5 cultural features were defined at the time of excavation. These included: Feature 1, a large mound; Feature 2, a concentration of clay brick immediately to the south of the large mound; Feature 3, a large rectangular mound with a brick concentration on the surface; Feature 4, the brick lined well; and Feature 5, the burial of John Parland. Excavation units were placed in or near these defined features or in other areas of cultural debris.



Topographic Map of WGC 356, The Parland Plantation Site, Showing the Location of Test Units.

Test 1. Test 1 was established on an oyster shell midden that contained historic artifacts. This test was originally a 10 x 10 foot unit which was later reduced to 5 x 5 feet because of the low artifact concentration within the test. The test was excavated using natural stratigraphy, and 4 strata were recognized. These were: Stratum I, black humus; Stratum II, consolidated oyster shell and black humus; Stratum III, dark brown sand; and Stratum IV, brown and yellow mottled sand. Stratum I contained artifacts to late pre-Civil War times (circa 1850), while Stratum IV was a prehistoric occupation.

Test 2. Test 2, a 10 x 10 foot unit, was placed directly to the south of Feature 2. Because no *in situ* bricks were found in Feature 2, it was hoped that this test would aid in the identification of the structure. Like Test 1, Test 2 was excavated in natural stratigraphic zones and it was reduced in size (to 5 x 5 feet) after the removal of Stratum I. Three strata were defined and these were characteristic of the undisturbed portion of the site. They include: Stratum I, black humus with crushed shell; Stratum II, brown and grey mottled soil with shell flecks; and Stratum III, yellow and brown mottled sand. A large number of antebellum materials were recovered from Stratum I. The occurrence of a few modern artifacts prevented the assignment of the provenience to the antebellum period. This was unfortunate, since this provenience contained the best stratigraphic evidence of a plantation midden from any of the tests at WGC 356. Stratum II was temporarily antebellum, but contained virtually no cultural material.

Test 3. A 5 x 5 foot excavation unit was placed in Feature 1 for the purpose of identifying this structure. Excavation of Test 3 revealed that Feature 1 was not a structural mound, but a mound of construction fill that was evidently formed when the main access road to the site was built. Test 3 and all subsequent units at the site were excavated in order to segregate modern occupational levels from plantation period levels. The stratigraphy of Test 3 consisted of 2 strata: Stratum I, grey and brown sandy fill and Stratum II, black sandy soil. Stratum II appeared to have been the original humus zone, but it contained so few artifacts that excavation of it was discontinued.

Test 4. a 5 x 20 foot unit was placed at the eastern most edge of Feature 3. In probing Feature 3, in-place bricks were uncovered at the southeastern edge of the feature and of the Test 4. Excavations unearthed a leaning, clay brick chimney designated as Fea-

ture 3a. No construction trench could be determined, but late 19th century artifacts were found all around it, which suggests that the structure dates from the 1888 development. Besides the chimney, a small rectangular pit filled with clay brick rubble was designated as Feature 3b. This feature may have been a building pier for the structure, which had been robbed of its brick. A large mound of construction debris, especially plaster fragments with lathing marks, were found throughout the test. Evidently, the structure had plaster walls. Unfortunately, reasons for the leaning appearance of the chimney as well as the orientation and function of the structure could not be determined.

Test 5. A 5 x 10 foot unit was located on the bluff overlooking the river. The test was excavated to determine the stratigraphy associated with the seawall construction. The stratigraphy was found to be quite complex, and the strata defined are all layers of construction fill. Artifacts from this test ranged from prehistoric to modern. Notable among the artifacts recovered were a number of 18th century materials, possibly associated with the Forrester occupation.

Test 6. Test 6 was the excavation of well fill from Feature 4. Feature 4 was apparently constructed during the antebellum period, since this type of well construction is typical of coastal plantations (Wrightman and Cate 1955:55). In addition, the plantation records for the Parland Plantation indicate the purchase of 3000 well bricks in the late 1830's. A total of 1438 bricks in thirty-six courses were used in the construction of the well at WGC 356. Perhaps the remaining well bricks were used at one of the other plantations in the Parland complex. The construction of the well was a ring rather than a pit well, for it was lined with wedge-shaped brick.

The well was exposed at the time of excavation and it was apparently cleaned out periodically and used until modern times. Most of the cultural material from the well was very modern, and a *terminus post quem* of 1960 was derived for the well fill.

Test 7. This test was not an excavation unit, but a vertical facing 5 feet deep taken of the bluff to determine the stratigraphy of the seawall. The stratigraphy was very similar to Test 5.

Test 8. A 5 x 5 foot unit was located approximately 30 feet south of Feature 4. Placement of a unit in this location was based upon the presence of historic artifacts scattered on the ground surface. Few historic artifacts were recovered from the test, but a consid-

erable number of aboriginal ceramics and chert flakes were present.

Test 9. A 6 x 9 foot unit was placed near the main access road, where an abundance of historic artifacts and scattered brick fragments were found on the ground surface. The stratigraphy of the test indicated that the test was simply road fill and was totally disturbed.

Test 10. A 10 x 10 foot unit was placed through a low-lying depression. Excavations uncovered a circular dark area apparent at the base of the first stratum. Further excavation of this feature revealed that it was simply a burned out tree root. Little cultural material came from this test.

Test 11. A 5 x 5 foot unit was placed adjacent to the well (Feature 4), and was excavated for the purpose of defining the well casing. Apparently, the materials in the test were part of the construction fill of the 1888 development, and at one of the lowest levels of the test, an 1888 penny was found. Despite this disturbance, the test was successful in exposing the profile of the north side of the well's upper casing.

Despite the fact that the excavation of WGC 356 yielded a number of antebellum period contexts, the stratigraphy of the site suggests that most of the site was disturbed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Association of the midden areas with plantation period structures was impossible, therefore, no statement regarding the plantation period occupation could be made. Similarly, no substantial description could be made concerning the one structure (Feature 3) associated with the 1888 development. Artifacts were in general very scarce. This occurrence is easily explained, for the plantation period refuse was evidently disposed of in the tidal flats, below the site. The infrequency of artifacts for the 1888 development is also understandable, since the settlement survived for only a few years. Sampling error should not be ruled out as a cause for the small amount of artifacts recovered. It is doubtful however that more excavations would have turned up anything else regarding to the behavioral aspects of the site. The disturbed nature of WGC 356 precluded the formulation of a substantive statement of behavioral activities that had taken place during either the antebellum or postbellum periods.

Tidal Zone

Along the beach of the tidal river to the north of WGC 356,

five 100 foot length units were designated for the surface collection. These units were assigned consecutive letters A to E, and all of the cultural materials present on the ground surface within the boundaries of the grid were collected. Units, A and E, contained very little cultural material, while the units between them, contained a large quantity of artifacts. Materials dated from the earliest prehistoric occupation to modern, but the majority of historic artifacts were from the antebellum period. A number of late 18th century artifacts, perhaps remnants of the Forrester occupation, were recovered, but most artifacts were of the period between 1800 and 1850. Of all the historic sites at Colonel's Island, the tidal flats contained the highest number and greatest varieties of 19th century antebellum remains. Large industrial artifacts such as spikes and pulleys were probably evidence of the 1888 development. Further out in the river, the piers for a dock approximately 500 feet in length were identified. This was most likely the remains of the 500 foot cotton dock from the 1888 development.

The high concentration of plantation period artifacts along the tidal flats suggest that the river was the site for much of refuse disposal. A similar trend has been recognized at the Rayfield Plantation on Cumberland Island, Georgia. Such disposal practices are fairly common on the Georgia Coast (Larson 1977) and in other areas where a ravine or gully is present (Sheldon 1977). While such observations may be obvious, the implications for historic archaeology are important. This may very well be a behavioral pattern that has not been recognized: that for domestic sites located on a bluff, the river front or gully is a likely site for the major refuse disposal.

WGC 903

Eight features were designated at WGC 903. These included Features 1, 2, and 3, which were all structural mounds with tabby brick chimneys; Feature 4, a large depression in which a barrel well was uncovered; and Feature 5, a large oyster shell midden with evidence of historic artifacts on the surface. Features 6 and 8 were apparently structures at one time, but they had been disturbed. Feature 7 was a disturbed midden area associated with Feature 6. A total of sixteen units were placed in and around these features and were excavated. Like WGC 356, the tests are referred to by numbers assigned according to the order in which

they were excavated. With the exception of Tests 3 and 8 (Features 4 and 8), the stratigraphy of WGC 903 was composed of three strata: Stratum I, black humus; Stratum II, brown sand and Stratum III, tan/yellow/mottled sand. Most of the historic material came from Stratum I. Since several tests were often placed on one feature, the discussion of the excavation is presented in terms of cultural features and not according to excavation units.

Feature 1. (Includes Tests 9, 10, 11). Clearing of Feature 1 unearthed a tabby brick chimney designated as Feature 1d. Around Feature 1d an excavation unit of 15 x 10 feet was placed. This unit was divided into two smaller ones: a 10 x 10 foot unit, Test 10, and a 10 x 5 foot unit, Test 9. The unit was divided to facilitate separation of the area west of the hearth, which would be inside the structure (Test 9) and the area to the east of the chimney, which would be outside the structure (Test 10). Another test, Test 11, was also established adjacent to Test 10, to define further the area outside the structure. Within Test 11, a large section of consolidated chimney rubble was uncovered, and it consisted of seven courses of tabby brick. This consolidated rubble was designated as Feature 1a, and it was composed of both whole bricks and fragments. Besides Features 1a and 1d, three other features were recognized: Feature 1b, a slight depression in the upper surface of Stratum II, which was filled with brick rubble; and Feature 1c, an area of coarse, light sand. The function of Feature 1c could not be determined. Feature 1e was an area of dark fill associated with aboriginal pottery.

Most of the excavation of Feature 1 was centered on the chimney, Feature 1d. The profile consisted of four strata: Stratum I, bricks laid in place with humus or mud; Stratum II, immediately below the bricks, a deposit of light brown/grey sand and whole oyster shell, which had been carefully flattened as a bed for the bricks in the hearth; and Stratum III, a layer of burned oyster shells with small fragments of charcoal. It appears that this may have been an attempt at making tabby. Stratum IV was similar to Stratum II of the entire site.

Mortar was completely absent from the horizontal surfaces of the tabby bricks. Some bricks did have mortar on them, but this mortar appears to have been used to fill in or square off chips, spoils and missing corners. The use of mortar for this purpose strongly suggests that the bricks were re-used. In addition, dried mortar from former use was present on most of the clay-fired

bricks. Indications are that reused clay and tabby bricks were employed in the construction of the chimneys. Approximately seventy bricks or parts of bricks were uncovered from Feature 1d. This number seems grossly insufficient for a chimney and indicates that the chimney was not only small but was also short. Evidently the remainder of the structure was log or frame. No wall trenches, fitting ditches, building piers or other structural features were identified with the structure.

A number of artifacts were found in and around the chimney and significant artifacts were mapped to document their horizontal distribution. Several artifacts appeared to have been broken before the chimney collapsed, which suggests that refuse was disposed of under the house. This pattern of trash disposal was also characteristic of Feature 2, therefore, it may be tentatively concluded that daily trash was disposed of very near the house.

Feature 2. Feature 2 was divided into two areas: Feature 2 structural area (Tests 1, 2, 4, 5, 15) and Feature 2 midden area, directly to the east of the structure (Tests 12, 13, 14, 16). The structural details of Feature 2 were in many ways identical to Feature 1 and these will not be repeated. Despite the similarities between the two, the relationship of Feature 1 to Feature 2 was never determined. It is important to remember that the size and type of structures which were characterized by these features are not known. Two interesting structural features did appear in the Feature 2 area. The first was thought to be a possible building pier and it was designated as Feature 2a. This was one course of laid brick. Further considerations suggested that these bricks were not part of a building pier, but were most likely part of the chimney fall. In test 1, two post holes, Features 2b and 2c were found at the northern edge of the test. Unfortunately, no material came out of these and they are impossible to date. Their proximity to the chimney suggests that either the chimney was centrally located or that these are the remains of an earlier structure, perhaps the structure from which the re-used brick had been taken. It is doubtful that the first possibility is true, since no evidence of a duplex structure was uncovered. In either case, the relationship of the post holes with Feature 2d could not be determined.

Numerous artifacts were found in Feature 2 and a simple pattern of disposing of trash under the house appears evident. Apparently old construction wood was used for fuel, as a large number of burned nails were recovered from the hearth area. Burned

nails were also present in the hearths of Features 1 and 3. The midden area east of the structure contained a number of both organic and inorganic items including bone, nut shells, peach pits, ceramics and other artifacts. In Test 13, a refuse pit was designated as Feature 13a. The pit was very close to the ground surface and it was fairly shallow. The feature appears to have been an area where trash accumulated, and over time, the deposit was buried. A post mold within Test 12 and designated as 12a was present within an enormous post hole. The association of this post mold with the two in Test 1 could not be determined, for again, no cultural material was present.

Feature 3. This area was not excavated, but the area was cleared so that the chimney could be examined and it appeared to have been identical to Features 1d and 2d. The hearth was excavated and a few nail and iron fragments were recovered.

Feature 4. (The Barrel Well). Before the excavation of Feature 4, a post hole digger was driven in and around the depression in order to determine the stratigraphy of the feature and to see if there was any evidence for a well or privy structure. From the post hole test placed in the center of Feature 4 a sherd of Shell-edged Pearlware was recovered, and the stratigraphy indicated that there was indeed a deep deposition of cultural material within the feature. An excavation unit measuring 8 x 8 feet was placed around Feature 4. Only half of the test was excavated, thereby exposing a vertical profile of the well's interior. A barrel well within a square shaped casing made of upright two by four foot boards was uncovered. Besides the primary well casing, there was also evidence of a secondary well casing, the reasons for which are unknown. The southern portion of the well slightly was leaning to the southern wall of the unit and it had buckled inwards. Similarly, upright boards of the casing were also leaning, but to the north. The leaning of the casing walls suggests that an attempt was made to remove the casing but for unknown reasons this action was abruptly stopped. The well was approximately 13 feet deep and eight strata were identified. Stratum I was grey-black sandy humus, and Stratum II, light grey/brown soil. Few artifacts were recovered from these strata. Stratum III was mottled light brown sand sloping to the edges of the unit and was virtually sterile soil with exception of a few small fragments of glass and oyster shell. Stratum IV, a bright yellow sterile sand, consisted of construction fill between the walls of the excavation and the actual

well shaft. Stratum V was sterile white sand encountered between Stratum III and the mottled sterile sand of Stratum IIIa. Stratum VI was the casing fill and Stratum VII was a white sand that occurred with alternating thin layers of black casing fill. These layers were alluvially deposited, and this indicates that when the well was opened sand and soil were working into the well. Stratum VII, a layer of white sand mottled with grey, was found at the base of the barrel. At approximately five feet below ground level, the water table was reached, and excavation of the well was terminated.

Surprisingly few artifacts were present in either the well shaft fill or in the well fill. The few artifacts found do suggest that both the construction and filling of the well could have occurred during the antebellum period. If the well is an antebellum feature, then its association with Features 1 and 2 is dubious. The occurrence of one artifact does suggest that there is an association between the two, and that was the occurrence of a blue faceted tube bead from the well construction fill (Stratum III). An identical bead was also found in the midden area around Feature 2. It is assumed here that these three features are of a comparable time period.

Feature 5. (The Oyster Shell Midden, Test 3). A 5 x 20 foot trench, Test 3, was placed through the center of the oyster shell midden bisecting the interior. Three strata were recognized: Stratum I, humus and unconsolidated oyster shell; Stratum II, brown soil with oyster shell; and Stratum III, mottled tan to yellow sand. Several features were defined below the oyster shell. These included a number of areas thought to have been post holes, but which were later demonstrated to be tree roots, and two presumed fire pits. The presumed fire pits contained heavy concentrations of charcoal and the soil and the artifacts within the features were burned. These features tapered into deep root holes, which suggests that they were either fire pits superimposed over root holes, or that the entire features are burned root holes. A number of artifacts were uncovered in Strata I and II and these evidently represent deposits of oyster shell and refuse. Like Feature 4, the contents of oyster shell midden also date to the plantation period. The presence of oyster shell middens at slave settlements were fairly common in antebellum times. At Butler Point Plantation on St. Simon's Island, Fanny Kemble commented on their common occurrence.

. . . I hardly saw where I was going, for I as nearly as possible fell over a great heap of oyster shells left in the middle of the path. This is a horrid nuisance, which results from an indulgence which the people here have and value highly; the waters around the island are prolific in shellfish, oysters, and the most magnificent prawns I saw. The former are considerable articles of the people's diet and the shells are allowed to accumulate, as they are used in the composition of which their huts are built, and which is a sort of combination of mud and broken oyster shells, which forms an agglomeration of a kind very solid and durable for such building purposes (tabby); but instead of being carried to a specific place out of the way, these great heaps of oyster shells are allowed to be piled up anywhere and everywhere, forming the most unsightly obstructions in every direction. (Kemble [1863] 1961:257)

Oyster shell middens were also present at Cannon's Point Plantation (MacFarland 1975). The presence of oyster shell middens at slave settlements before the Civil War does not mean that they were not at the settlements of ex-slaves after the Civil War. Although no particular artifacts within the oyster shell midden point to an association with other features, the location of the midden approximately halfway between Features 1 and 2 and Feature 3 suggests that they are of a comparable time period. *Features 6, 7, 8.* Only one unit was excavated in the disturbed portion of the site, and that was placed over the disturbed midden (Feature 7). Feature 8, the possible tabby structure, was apparently disturbed by the construction of the main access road to the site. The disturbance of Features 6 and 8 occurred as the result of an unreported excavation by an untrained digger. A test was placed on the previously excavated midden area in the hopes that the disturbance might be isolated and some data on the structure in this portion of the site could be obtained. Unfortunately, the stratigraphy of the test revealed that this area was too disturbed to provide any information on either the structures or the midden deposit. Examination of the bricks from the structure does indicate that these were put in place with mortar. Since the artifacts from the midden area date to the antebellum period, it may be that these structures are the only remnants of the plantation pe-

riod at WGC 903.

Test 7. A very small oyster shell midden was located some distance to the southeast of Feature 4. This midden was not designated as a feature, but a small 5 x 5 foot test unit, was excavated. Very little material came out of the test, and it was accidentally mixed with a provenience from another site during the preliminary processing of the artifacts. As a result, no significant data was obtained from the test.

To summarize, the major emphasis of the excavations at WGC 903 was placed upon the excavation of the two structures, Features 1 and 2. The only construction feature remaining from these are the chimneys which were evidently constructed from reused materials. Although many of the artifacts date to the antebellum period, the occurrence of a U.S. 1867 nickel and the nature of the artifacts are suggestive of the scarcity rampant in the South in postbellum times. Besides the structures, a barrel well and an oyster shell midden were also excavated and these are undoubtedly artifacts of postbellum times. The only features that are possibly of the antebellum period are the structures that have been disturbed by very modern intervention.

WGC 905

WGC 905 is located in an environmental situation similar to WGC 903 except that it is closer to water. No excavations of the historic component of WGC 905 were undertaken, but two tabby structures were designated as Features 1 and 2, and the distance between the two was approximately 101 feet. Feature 2 has been robbed of most of its brick and has no walls, corners, or in-place bricks. On the other hand, Feature 1 had a number of in-place bricks and the orientation of the hearth area was easily recognized. From the available indications the chimney structures appear to have been similar to WGC 903, but the bricks were somewhat thicker and have more mortar on them than the ones at WGC 903. A depression was designated as Feature 3, and was approximately 57 feet from Feature 2 and about 84 feet from Feature 1. WGC 905 was most likely one of the slave settlement, and it was possibly occupied after the Civil War by ex-slaves.

A large irregular shaped canal running perpendicular to the marsh was also identified at WGC 905. At the widest point of the canal, where it runs into the marsh, several hewn timber piles

with wrought iron spikes were present, and these appeared to have been part of a dock or bridge. The presumed function of the ditch was for agriculture purposes, possibly for draining a low area.

Slave and Ex-Slave: WGC 903 and Cannon's Point.

A recent historical study of black Americans suggested that the behavior of blacks during the post-emancipation period (circa 1861 to 1867) is the best evidence for making an assessment of the long-term impact of slavery upon black culture and personality (Gutman 1976). An examination of the material conditions of black Americans during and after slavery should provide some indices for the similarities and differences in black American behavior during and after slavery. Historical sources indicate that as a consequence of the Civil War, severe material suffering characterized the life of most ex-slaves immediately following emancipation, making their material condition worse in freedom than it was in slavery. The comparison of the material culture from an antebellum slave site and from a post-war ex-slave site should reflect these conditions. Using two sites on the Georgia Coast, a slave site, Cannon's Point, and a freedman site, WGC 903, these similarities and differences were examined. Cannon's Point was selected because, to date, it has provided the most complete archaeological data on slave settlements on the Georgia Coast. Although confirmation of a postbellum date for WGC 903 is needed, it was felt that comparison of WGC 903 with a slave settlement would point to some distinct elements of WGC 903 that would aid in its identification as either a slave or an ex-slave site. Analysis and interpretations of the artifactual materials are treated in this section. The artifact categories were taken from MacFarlane (1975) in order to facilitate a comparison between the two sites.

Cabin Construction

Both the slave cabins and the ex-slave cabins were frame or log structures with tabby chimneys. Although the structures at both sites had brick chimneys, the ex-slave chimneys were made of reused tabby and clay bricks, and were laid in place with mud instead of mortar. On the other hand, the slave chimneys were well built and made from substantial materials. One of the slave cabins was a duplex or two-family compartment (MacFarlane 1975:62-70), while the ex-slave cabins were apparently one-family

units. Glass windows were virtually absent at both sites, for few windowpane fragments were recovered from either site. Evidence of a wooden floor was present at the slave site, but was completely lacking at the ex-slave site, where the cabins appeared to have been built directly on the ground surface. From all the available indications the slave cabin was well built, whereas the ex-slave cabin was made from re-used materials and was haphazardly constructed.

Household Equipment

Quantities of ceramics from the slave and freedmen sites were considerably different. At the slave site a total of 509 sherds were recovered, and only 248 sherds were recovered for the ex-slave site. At first this discrepancy was thought to be sampling error, but the sherds from the ex-slave site were composed of only a few ceramic types and vessel forms. At the slave site, the ceramics represent a variety of types and vessel forms (MacFarlane 1975:8-102). Eating and cooking utensils were absent at the freedman's site with the exception of two iron spoon fragments and possibly some parts of an iron kettle. At the slave site, the utensils included iron tongs, numerous kettle and pot fragments, and several spoons and forks for eating. There was no evidence of drinking vessels at the freedman's site with the exception of a few glass decanter fragments. At the slave site both decanter and tumbler fragments were evident.

Several brass upholstery tacks and iron bail pulls suggested that furniture was present at the slave site. The tacks were apparently from very fine quality furnishings, quite likely cast-off pieces from the planter (MacFarlane 1975:114). The only evidence of furniture at the freedman's site was a glass drawer pull.

The ex-slave appears to have had little in the way of household equipment, and furnishings of the slave were varied and were probably obtained through purchase as well as through the planter.



Agricultural and Household Artifacts from Historic Sites.

Personal Items

The quantity of bottles and other glass items was another artifact category of considerable difference between the two sites. A total of 809 bottle glass sherds were recovered from the slave site, while only 303 sherds were found from the ex-slave site. The contents of the bottles were similar for both sites, exclusively liquor and pharmaceutical products. This suggests that similar products were selected for both during and after slavery.

No differences could be inferred from the remains of wearing apparel. Buttons were the predominant artifact within this category. In addition to buttons, buckles and overall hitches were recovered from both sites, and at the ex-slave site, leather shoe sole fragments were also found. The similarity in wearing apparel suggests that similar clothing was worn by both the slave and ex-slave.

Tobacco pipes occurred frequently throughout the slave site, but these occurred in very small quantities at the ex-slave site. Small frequencies at the ex-slave site may be an indicator that tobacco was a difficult commodity to come by during the early post-war years.

Included among the personal items were a few artifacts, which are referred to here as "luxury items", because they appear to be somewhat elaborate possessions for either a slave or an ex-slave. At the slave site, those items included a jewel, a clear glass bead, a dangle for a woman's earring, and two knives with hand-carved bone handles. The ex-slave site had a few "luxury items" including beads, a lady's brooch, a lady's locket, and a male's wedding ring made from a copper alloy. The occurrence of these items at either the slave or ex-slave site could have been through either theft or purchase, and these items are indications of another similarity between the two sites. In addition to these "luxury items", graphite pencils were recovered at both sites. The occurrence of pencils at the ex-slave site is understandable, since the freedmen did have access to schools. The presence of pencils at the slave site, however, is contrary to historical accounts and may indicate that slaves did have some opportunities provided for learning.

In general, selection for certain personal items indicated a marked degree of similarity. These items, however, occurred in greater numbers at the slave site than at the ex-slave site. Un-

doubtedly, these items would have been more scarce immediately after the war than before the war.

Tools

Three round-eye hoes were recovered from the slave site and only one was recovered from the ex-slave site. The hoe from the ex-slave site was worn very badly, and it appeared to have been used even after it had fallen apart. This artifact particularly indicates the degree of scarcity in post-war times.

Food Resources and Food Procurement

The faunal remains at the two slave sites were very similar. Domestic animal species included cattle and swine. Chicken was present in very small amounts at the slave cabin sites and was entirely absent at the ex-slave sites. A wide variety of wild animals were procured at both sites. At least seven deer were consumed at the freedman's site, where as deer were completely absent at the slave site. Of all the wild species remains present, deer is the only species that would require the use of firearms to be hunted. The presence of the deer at the ex-slave sites does suggest that they had access to guns, and the evidence of firearms at the ex-slave site confirms this supposition. In general, slaves were not allowed to have guns. The absence of deer at the slave site can therefore be explained. Evidence of firearms was present at the slave site, but the provenience of these artifacts was uncertain (MacFarlane 1975:170). As a result, it is unclear whether the slaves at Cannon's Point had guns or not. If it is assumed that they did not have guns, the absence of deer may be explained. On the other hand, if the slaves at Cannon's Point did in fact have guns, the absence of deer may reflect the absence of deer on the island, or may simply reflect personal tastes.

In conclusion, the archaeological evidence supports the historical accounts that the material conditions of the ex-slaves were the same, if not worse, than that of the slave. The occurrence of a war which left the entire South destitute on all socio-economic levels can account for the impoverished nature of the artifact materials at the ex-slave site. It can be tentatively concluded that the freedman site is not just an archaeological manifestation of black freedmen's material conditions, but also evidence of the effects of a war upon these conditions, and perhaps, of the effects of a war on material conditions in general. Excavation of comparable post-

Civil War period sites occupied by whites will greatly complete the picture of postbellum material conditions in the South. Moreover, a site of freedmen twenty or thirty years later may very well have taken completely different appearances. With the opportunities which became available to blacks, certainly their material condition improved as the economy of the South was restored.

These interpretations, together with documentary sources, has been offered here as support for the identification of WGC 903 as an ex-slave site. Archaeologically, this evidence was manifested in the scarcity of artifacts such as household items and certain personal items such as tobacco pipes and bottled goods, the impoverished nature of the artifacts (such as the utilization of reused bricks in the house construction), the substitution of mud for mortar, and the presence of wear marks on a hoe after it had fallen apart. Documentary sources included the receipts of land rentals from tenants in the postbellum plantation records, and the Union Navy letter which indicated that slaves were living on Colonel's Island during the Civil War. The second documentary source is especially important, for on the coast, Sherman proclaimed in 1865 that all islands south of Charleston and lands thirty miles inland were reserved for the settlement of blacks and no white person was allowed on these lands, except military officers detailed for duty (Webster 1916:83). Although the Navy letter was written a few years earlier, the fact that blacks were living there before the proclamation suggests that they possibly remained there until the Parland/Scarlett heirs reclaimed the property at Colonel's Island, and the chances are that these ex-slaves remained there for some time after that event. Although no conclusive evidences are available for the suggestion that WGC 903 was occupied by ex-slaves, there are both archaeological and documentary sources which support this position.

Summary and Conclusions

Archaeological evidence for the plantation phase occupation at Colonel's Island provided little data on the behavioral activities of the antebellum period. Documentary sources, however, were highly informative, and a fairly complete description of the social-economic management of the Parland Plantation has been offered.

Excavations at WGC 356 provided very little data on either the antebellum period or the postbellum period. The stratigraphy

of most of the site indicates that the site was highly disturbed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. No plantation structures were identified, which prevented the association of plantation period midden areas with plantation period structures. Similarly, no substantial statement could be made with regards to the one structure associated with the 1888 development. Artifact recovery was in general very small. This situation is explainable, since antebellum period refuse was discarded in the tidal flats below the site, and the 1888 development did not last long enough to leave a large amount of remains. The disturbance evident at the site prohibited the formulation of explanations for behavioral activities which had taken place at the site during antebellum or postbellum times, and it is doubtful that future excavations will provide any additional information.

A systematic collection of the materials from the tidal zone below WGC 356 revealed that this was the site for major refuse disposal during the antebellum period. The high frequencies of materials such as fine china, tablewares, and imported wine bottles strongly suggest that this refuse was from the planter's house. A similar pattern of trash disposal has been noted at the Rayfield Plantation of Cumberland Island, and at other sites along the coast. It has been suggested here that this method of refuse disposal may be indicative of a pattern found wherever a site is located on a bluff. The area below the site may very well be used for a garbage dump.

Two of the structures identified at WGC 903 were excavated, and their contents suggested that these may have been evidence of structures inhabited by ex-slaves after the Civil War. Although a firm date has not been established for the site, the archaeological sources, as well as documentary sources for the Colonel's Island site lend support to this thesis.

Despite the fact that the archaeological data provided by the historic sites did not meet the data requirements of our initial research objectives, an alternative objective was formulated. This was the comparison of the similarities and differences between the material conditions of ex-slaves at WGC 903 with slave settlements at Cannon's Point on St. Simons Island. In general the material conditions of the slave settlement were found to be considerably better than the conditions of the ex-slaves at WGC 903. This was the expected result, and it was concluded that the material conditions at WGC 903 were not just an archaeological manifes-

tation of ex-slaves' material conditions, but also reflected the effects of the Civil War upon those conditions.

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APPENDIX
 Artifacts from Historic Sites
 Artifact Counts Tidal Zone

Type	Number
<i>Ceramics</i>	
Whiteware	
Plain	150
Transfer Print	16
Painted	1
Pearlware	139
Painted Black/White	5
Painted Polychrome	15
Annular	31
Splatterware	3
Plain	47
Marbelized	7
Shell-edged	158
Dendritic	1
Yellowware	39
Rockingham	1
Redwares	
Blackglazed	22
Plain	8
Honey-colored Glaze	9
Salt glaze Stoneware	
Grey	43
Brown	83
White	7
Other Stoneware	
Ginger Beer Bottle	10
Blue/Grey	1
Brown	1
Alkaline Glazed	4
<i>Miscellaneous 18th Century Wares</i>	
Slipware	2
Basalt Ware	3
Delft B/B	1
Creamware	45
<i>Miscellaneous Ceramics</i>	
Unidentified Brown Lead Glazed	1

Turpentine cups	6
<u>Total Ceramics</u>	<u>850</u>

Type	Number
------	--------

Glassware

Dark Green	
Whole 2-hinged Mold Bottle	1
Whole 3-part Hinged Mold	1
Fragments	511
Clear	
Whole Medicine 2-part Hinged	1
Fragments	74
Light Green	42
Brown	38
Tablewares	
Pressed Glass	12
Depression Glass	3
Crystal Decanters	12
Blue	2

Total

3 whole bottles
694 fragments

Metal Artifacts

Iron	
Nails	9
Spikes	17
Hinges	2
Pulley-like Objects	3
Axeheads	1
File	1
Buckles	1
Spoonhandles	1
Fragments	48
Copper/Brass Cuprious Alloys	
Confederate Infantry Buttons	3
Flat Brass Button	1
Nails	3
Cast Metal	
Spoon Fragments	1

Stone

Chert Flakes	3
Limestone Fishweight	1

Pipes

Stems	
4/64"	10
5/64"	4
6/64"	2

Bowls

Stoneware Stub/Stem	1
White Clay Fragments	3

Artifact Count for WGC 356

Household Equipment

Ceramics

Whitewares	
Plain	272
Transfer Printed	12
Painted (Polychrome)	2

Pearlwares

Transfer Printed	62
Shell Edged	17
Plain	33
Painted Black/White (early)	14
Painted Polychrome	15
Annular	37
Marbelized	3
Splatterware	3

Creamware

Plain	16
-------	----

Yellowware	16
------------	----

Rockingham	5
------------	---

Redware

Plain	5
-------	---

Blackglazed	1
-------------	---

Salt Glazed Stonewares

Brown	7
-------	---

Grey	4
------	---

Other Stonewares

Ginger Beer Bottle	10
--------------------	----

Modern Stoneware	2
------------------	---

Unidentified	2
--------------	---

Aboriginal Ceramics	239
---------------------	-----

Total Ceramics	777
----------------	-----

Glassware

Black Glass	141
-------------	-----

Light Green	106
-------------	-----

Brown	23
-------	----

Clear	380
-------	-----

Windowpane	1843
------------	------

Lamp Globe	90
------------	----

Tableware

Pressed	15
---------	----

Miscellaneous	7
---------------	---

Total Glassware	2464
-----------------	------

Construction Materials

Nails

Cut	3105
Wire	2
Spikes	21
Screws	3

Plaster

326

Clay Brick

282

Tabby

54

Tools

Shovel Handle	1
Files	1
Axeheads	1
Chisel	1
Hinges	4

Clothing

Buttons

Number

Measurement

Type

Porcelain

6

8mm,9mm,10mm

South (1964)
Type 23

Pearl

4

3mm,8mm

Unclassified

Bone

4

18mm,15mm,18mm,17mm

South Type 9
Type 32,
Unclassified

Brass

4

18mm,15mm,18mm,17mm

South 1964
Type 9,
Type 32,
Unclass.

Iron

3

13mm,14mm,13mm

South (1964)
Type 21
Unclassified

Glass

1

13mm

Unclassified

Miscellaneous Clothing Items

Female's Undergarment Hooks 4

Ornamental Pins 2

Beads	1 wire wound, clear
<i>Firearms</i>	
Buckshot	9
Unfired 22 Bullet	1
Unfired 32 Shell	1
Unfired 32 Bullett	2
Unfired 38 Shell	1
Percussion Cap	1
Modern Shotgun Cartridge	1
Grapeshot	1
<i>Furnishings</i>	
Upholstery Tacks	3
Copper/Brass Nails	6
Drawer Pulls	2
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Castmetal Clip	1
Castmetal Gasket	1
Bottle Stopper (Hutchison Closure; Lorraine 1968)	1
Wine Bottle Seal	1
<i>Pipes</i>	
<i>Clay Pipes</i>	
Stems	
4/64"	1
5/64"	23
6/64"	18
7/64"	11
<i>Bowls</i>	
Unidentified	14
Oswald (1951) Type 25	4
<i>Coins</i>	
1888 Indian Head Penny	1
<i>Stone</i>	
Chert	47
Honey-colored Flint	1
Worked Quartzite	1

Artifact Counts WGC 903

Household Equipment

Ceramics

Type	Number
Whitewares	
Plain	109
Transfer-Print	2
Painted	7
Pearlware	
Transfer Print	6
Shell Edged	21
Painted Black/White	6
Painted Polychrome	7
Annular	25
Splatterware	6
Plain	6
Yellow Wares	42
Red Wares	
Black Glazed	1
<i>Stonewares</i>	
Gray Salt-glazed	5
Brown Salt-glazed	3
Alkaline Glazed (Green)	5
Ginger Beer Bottle	12
Unidentified	3
<i>Porcelain</i>	1
<i>Creamware</i>	1
<i>Aboriginal Ceramics</i>	94
Total	342

Glassware

Type	Number
Dark Green/Black Glass	87
Clear Bottle	180
Light Green	25
Windowpane	59
Light Blue (Modern)	1
Brown	111
Tableware (from a decanter)	13

Miscellaneous Household Utensils

Spoons	3
Thimble	1
Bucket Handle Brace	1
5-linked Chain	1

Construction Materials

Nails	3279
Spikes	2
Screws	2
Bolt	1
Door Hinges	6
Locks	1
Shutter Pintle	1
Iron Fragments	269

Clothing

Buttons

<i>Number</i>	<i>Measurement</i>	<i>Type</i>
---------------	--------------------	-------------

Porcelain

30	10mm,8mm,6mm, 12mm,17mm,13mm	South
----	---------------------------------	-------

Bone

5	16mm,18mm,15mm	South 19
2	13mm,15mm	South 20

Brass

2	28mm,18mm	Unclassified
2	13mm,15mm	South 32
3	12mm,10mm	South 7
1	5mm	Unclassified (Cuff Button)

Iron

3	16mm,15mm,12mm	South 21
---	----------------	----------

Pearl

2	4mm,8mm	Unclassified
---	---------	--------------

Glass

1	12mm	Unclassified
---	------	--------------

Miscellaneous Clothing Items

<i>Type</i>	<i>Number</i>
Garment Attachments	1
Overall Hitch	1
Shoe Leather Fragments	2
Buckle	1

Personal items

Beads

Black Wire Wound	1
Blue Faceted	2
Female Locket	1
Hair Comb (2 Hard Rubber Teeth)	2
Broach Fragments	2
Male's Wedding Ring	1

Toys

Marbles	2
Porcelain Doll Legs	2

White Clay Pipes

Stems

4/64"	1
5/64"	7
6/64"	2

Bowls

Unidentified Fragments ²	
Oswald 1961 Type 21	3
Oswald 1961 Type 25	1

Furnishings

Glass Drawer Pull	1
Copper Nails	6

Firearms

Buckshot	3
Percussion Caps	3

Coins

1867 U.S. Nickel	1
------------------	---

Tools

Hoe, Round Eye	1
----------------	---

Miscellaneous

Graphite Pencil	1
Cast Metal Ornamental Appliques	2
Chert Flakes	4
River Pebbles	3

REPORT ON THE FAUNAL MATERIAL EXCAVATED BY WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE FROM COLONEL'S ISLAND

Elizabeth J. Reitz**

Introduction

Faunal studies of bone from archaeological sites can provide information on the subsistence activities of the human occupants at the site. From such analysis it is possible to describe adaptations to specific environments. In this study faunal collections from seven sites on Colonel's Island excavated in 1977 by West Georgia College were examined. Comparison of the Colonel's Island faunal use with subsistence patterns identified from St. Simons Island suggests that a pattern of marsh and tidal creek resource use may have been widespread, even at historic sites. Concentration was placed upon a limited range of species, most of which could be caught at night using untended devices such as traps and trot lines. Where terrestrial mammals were exploited, these may indicate hunting as an adjunct to gardening rather than a discrete activity.

Materials and Methods

Seven faunal collections were studied from the Colonel's Island excavations. The collections come from two distinct time periods and from sites in slightly different ecological settings. All of the sites are found in live oak hammocks, with pine-oak-palmetto thickets nearby. Three of the aboriginal middens border salt marsh areas, but currently lack direct access to a tidal creek (WGC 906/926; WGC 907; WGC 918). One of the aboriginal middens is bordered by Jointer Creek as well as by a salt marsh (WGC 905). The fifth aboriginal midden is located in the interior of the island (WGC 357). WGC 356 is associated with the Parland Plantation on the Brunswick River. The second historic site is located several hundred feet away from the salt marsh biotope and today does not have direct access to a tidal creek (WGC

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903).

The faunal materials were studied at the Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. The archaeological bone was identified using the Zooarchaeology Laboratory's comparative skeletal collection. Specimens from each identified category were counted and later weighed using a metric scale. The Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) was determined using paired elements (White 1953). At each site the materials recovered from isolated, non-contiguous excavation units were analyzed separately to determine MNI. Contiguous units were considered as a single sample. The strata within each unit were lumped. This method perhaps over-estimates the number of individuals present when a species such as *Cheloniidae*s represented by a single element in each analytical sample.

An invertebrate collection was also identified at the Museum. Since the collection was not gathered in a methodical manner from the middens, no analysis was done. A list of the species identified is included in the appendix.

In order to determine the total biomass represented by the identified bones an allometric equation was employed. There appears to be a relationship between skeletal weight and body weight in vertebrate classes (Prange, et al., 1979). This relationship may be expressed in the formula $y = ax^b$, or transformed to $\log y = \log a + b \log x$; where x = body weight; b = slope of a log-log equation; $\log a$ the intercept of the log-log regression line, fitted by the method of least squares; and y = skeletal weight.

Values for a and b were taken from several sources (see Appendix III). For mammals the values were $a = 0.061$ and $b = 1.090$ (Prange, et al. 1979). Prange's value for birds were also used with $a = 0.065$ and $b = 1.071$. a and b values for Emydidae were derived by Arlene Fradkin using data from the Florida State Museum's Zooarchaeological Laboratory. For the Emydidae $a = 0.1278$ and $b = 1.1081$. Values for fish in general, as well as for Ariidae and Sciaenidae, have been derived by Sylvia Scudder using data from the Zooarchaeology Laboratory. Fish, including sharks and rays, were calculated with $a = 0.043$ and $b = 0.9842$. When calculating for Ariidae $a = 0.1274$ and $b = 0.825$. The Sciaenidae values are $a = 0.0326$ and $b = 1.0006$. The y value in all cases was the recovered bone weight in grams. When the $\log x$ value was determined, it was converted to the antilog. As such it represented total biomass for the skeletal mass

recovered.

Biomass for reptiles other than Emydidae was obtained from the literature, except for the snake. Identification of the snake vertebra to Colubridae is too general for this treatment so no biomass estimate was attempted. E.A. McIlhenny reports weights for ten 6-year old alligators (1935). An average of these weights, 23590 gms, was used. A biomass of 135 gms was estimated for each mud turtle (John Iverson, personal communication). Most of the sea turtles are probably loggerheads, these being the most common of the sea turtles found on the Georgia coast (Johnson, et al. 1974). Loggerheads weigh between 77-159 kilograms (Conant 1975) with a mean biomass of 118 kilos per individual. Where more than one individual was identified, the biomass was multiplied by the number of individuals.

Ideally the total biomass should be further refined into pounds of edible meat. To do so, however, first requires an evaluation of the use to which each species was put. For example, was the otter identified from WGC 903 consumed, or only butchered for its fur? What portions of the deer were consumed? There is not enough evidence upon which to base such interpretations for Colonel's Island. As a consequence the unadjusted biomass figure is used to calculate the percentage weight contribution for each taxon. These live weight figures estimate the maximum amount of biomass which the elements represent for each site.

The mammalian materials from the two historic sites were analyzed for skeletal completeness, testing the hypothesis that the two occupations could be slave refuse. Slaves presumably received the bulk of their meat from rations. Species used as supplemental rations would not be present in the slave cabin as complete skeletons, but as partial, fragmentary ones, possibly even allowing the identification of butchering units such as hams or shoulders. When itemization of identified elements did not prove conclusive, David H. Thomas' formula for Corrected Specimens per Individual (CSI) (1971) was used. Species with a high CSI and a low B value are relatively complete, and species with a low CSI and a high B value have been subjected to some form of post-mortem disruption. Since eight of the cow fragments from WGC 903 are probably from the same tibia, the specimen number was reduced to three for this test. Obviously the recovery screen size affects these results. The hispid cotton rat, interpreted here as an intrusive species, has a B value of 3.76 at both sites, suggesting post-

mortem dispersal, i.e. human use. This is probably a direct reflection of recovery technique.

Results

The results of the identification for all seven sites are tabulated in the appendix. The sites are listed in numerical order. The appendix also contains a summary of the sites, contrasting the historic with the prehistoric sites, and also provides common names for the taxa identified.

The species identified from Colonel's Island represent five different categories. The first category, found represented only at the two historic sites, is occupied by European domesticates, and the dog. The cattle and chickens presumably represent fully domestic animals. Pigs were clearly food items, but not necessarily domestic ones. They could represent feral individuals. The single dog's tooth recovered is interpreted as a non-economic inclusion rather than dietary refuse.

Wild game includes both widely dispersed mammals and aquatic or strictly marsh species. Deer, opossum, raccoons, and feral pigs are found in marshes, live oak hammocks, and in gardens (Johnson, et. al. 1974). Neither bobcat nor skunk are found on the coastal islands today, but presumably would have ranged widely over the island also. Otter are exclusively aquatic and are common in the brackish waters (Johnson, et. al. 1974). Rabbit and the common muskrat were probably taken from the marsh area. The identification of the muskrat (from a lower first molar) is a southeastern extension of this species' range into the coastal region. In Louisiana the common muskrat is found in the marsh environment (Lowery 1974:272). All of the above species have nocturnal habits except for the otter. They could be captured using untended traps. Only the deer would require weaponry.

One of the wild mammals is not thought to represent an economic element. The hispid cotton rat is a common inhabitant of the coastal islands, living in thickets, grassy ditches, and pine forests underbrush (Golley 1962). Since none of the four elements identified are marked by human activity, they are interpreted as natural inclusions rather than economic fauna. The small sample size can be attributed to the recovery technique.

Non-domestic birds are a third, underrepresented, category. Both the Ardeidae and Strigiformes are juveniles. They, as well as

the song birds, could be natural inclusions. The single duck probably does represent a food item. Such migratory water fowl seldom are found except on streams and open water ways (Johnson, et. al. 1974) and the bird's presence on land probably is the result of human activity.

All of the reptiles are common brackish water residents, except the yellow-bellied turtle and possibly the snake (Conant 1975). Since the snake vertebra could not be identified to species it is not possible to discuss its habitat. It is not included as a food item. *Chrysemys scripta* sometimes is found along the coast (Johnson, et. al. 1974). For this reason alone the specimens are tentatively identified as *scripta*. The diamondback terrapin and mud turtles are common inhabitants of brackish streams, usually captured by untended basket traps. The sea turtles may represent trips to the Jekyll Island nesting beaches (Caldwell, et. al. 1959). However the loggerhead is known to come far inland seeking crabs in the brackish streams (Carr, personal communication) and could have been captured in the tidal creeks around the island.

The fifth category of species identified includes the sharks, rays, and bony fish. All species identified from the sites are found in the vicinity of the island, including the gar and white catfish. These two are freshwater species, but they are occasionally found in brackish water (Johnson, et. al. 1974). Most of the species become gregarious surface feeders at night. Such species include gar, ladyfish, sea catfishes, and drum (McLane 1955). The sea catfishes feed on the bottom during the day. Spots and atlantic croaker usually occupy deep open water, but at night move in to the shore vegetation to feed (McLane 1955). Mullet normally school on the surface of large open waterways, and are not commonly caught except in daytime and seldom in the small streams (McLane 1955). Flounder are carnivorous bottom feeders. Mullet and sturgeon are commonly caught with nets (Johnson, et. al. 1974). The other species could be taken with hooks and lines, either hand held or as set lines.

When the faunal materials were examined for evidence of seasonality, the pattern is unclear. Except for the muskrat, skunk, otter, and bobcat, all of the economic species contained at least one unfused element. The two juvenile birds indicate a warm month occupation, but they have been interpreted as accidental inclusions. All of the reptiles are year-round residents except the sea turtles. These frequent the Georgia coast only during the

warm months (Caldwell, et. al. 1959). Most of the fish can be found in the area throughout the year also, except for the Ariidae. The sea catfishes are commonly found in the in-shore environment between March and November (Dahlbert 1975). In other words, those sites from which sea catfish and sea turtles were recovered represent summer occupations, but may have been inhabited at other times as well.

Analysis of skeletal completeness from the two historic sites suggests that most of the major species were locally butchered and subjected to only moderate disruption. Only the cow from WGC 903 demonstrates a dispersal pattern to be expected of rationed meat. In this case it appears that the cow is present in the diet as an imported cut of meat, perhaps a hind quarter of some sort. The degree of skeletal completeness for the wild species at WGC 903 indicates that hunting was a common activity with the entire carcass returned to the site except in the case of otters and bobcat, which were highly dispersed. WGC 356 relied more heavily upon locally raised domestic species, with some hunting of species only a short distance from the site.

Discussion of Significance

Two factors mitigate against drawing major conclusions from these collections. The first of these is the small size of the collections and the representativeness of the sample. The second reservation is that the historic sites may have been occupied by slaves, runaways, or free men at any time before, during, or after the Civil War. The status of the residents would influence the economic activity at the sites.

The prehistoric sites can be summarized as representing a marsh oriented subsistence strategy where raccoon, deer, and possibly muskrat were the only mammals contributing to the diet. All other food species came from the tidal creeks, with emphasis upon night feeding, schooling fish. The evidence suggest that trapping and hook and line fishing were used.

These sites may be compared with the sites excavated by Rochelle Marrinan at Cannon's Point on nearby St. Simon's Island (1975). Studying the fauna from several Cannon's Point sites, Marrinan concluded that the tidal creek biotope was more heavily exploited than either the marsh or forest zones. This conclusion was drawn from a sample that lacks deer. Since the Colo-

nel's Island sites do contain deer, more emphasis was placed upon terrestrial species. Since deer are found in the marsh, exploitation of deer does not indicate that the Colonel's Island aboriginals were more land than aquatic oriented. The deer could have been hunted in conjunction with trips to the tidal creeks via the marsh.

WGC 903 is difficult to interpret without knowing if the occupants were slaves. As mentioned earlier the method by which MNI was calculated may be misleading, especially at a single, short-term occupation site. If the entire site is considered as a single unit only 29 individuals are present. Of these only three species are prominent: opossum at 6.9%; pig at 10.3%; and raccoon at 17.2%. All other species constitute 3.4% of the fauna, being represented by a single individual each. Perhaps the site is a temporary hunting camp or refuge occupied between June and October.

A more likely explanation can be offered using the model of garden patch hunting suggested by Olga Linares (1976). Linares observed that many wild species commonly found at sites where gardening was practiced are attracted to the fields as scavengers. Among these species opossum, rabbit, raccoon, feral pigs, and deer are prominent. These species could be killed by farmers visiting their fields. Hunting as a special activity may not have been practiced. The remains at WGC 903 suggest that the human occupants were subsistence farmers who captured game when these were found raiding the gardens, who fished at night or used trot lines, and who may also have set traps for some animals. The cow could have been slaughtered elsewhere, as the otter and bobcat surely were.

WGC 356 possibly represents a similar adaptation, with the addition of livestock raising. Fish could have been caught using set lines in the river, and some wild game may have been hunted in addition to those captured as an adjunct to gardening.

At both of the historic sites the faunal inventory suggests that the occupants may have been engaged elsewhere during the day. The emphasis on species which could be caught either by untended devices or with a minimum of effort suggests that these were exploited in spare time, probably at night.

The only study of faunal remains from a similar economic stratum is provided by John S. Otto (1975) who analyzed a slave cabin sample from Couper Plantation on nearby St. Simons Island. He found that the slave diet was dominated by domestic foods. Otto suggests that the slaves had little time for hunting and

fishing due to their work on the plantation. Although most of the small mammals found at Colonel's Island were also identified at Couper's Plantation, the use of wild foods such as deer and sea turtle indicates more exploitation of wild foods at Colonel's Island. Possibly this difference can be explained by suggesting that the Parland Plantation 1) supplied deer and sea turtle along with domestic rations; 2) allowed the slaves sufficient time to hunt and fish; or 3) allotted garden patches and weaponry to their slaves.

The absence of mullet at Colonel's Island is a further point of difference between the two sites. Mullet comprised 10% of the faunal sample at the slave cabin on Couper's Plantation, yet are absent from Colonel's Island. Mullet are an ideal fish for mass capture techniques since they are found in the day time in large schools near the surface (McLane 1955). Their absence at Colonel's Island could be significant. If Otto's findings can be generalized as a model of slave subsistence it seems likely that neither WGC 356 or WGC 903 represents slave economies.

Considering the two studies from St. Simons Island and the seven sites from Colonel's Island together, one additional point of interest is indicated. There appears to be relative specialization upon a rather narrow range of fauna at all the sites. The faunal inventories are remarkably similar regardless of the status of the occupants, or the time of occupation. When the reported variety of species from the estuarine environment is taken into account, this limited and consistent range of species warrents further investigation. One also wonders if there are any deer on St. Simons Island.

Summary

Although the conclusions which can be drawn from the Colonel's Island faunal study are tentative, when Colonel's Island is compared with the faunal studies from neighboring St. Simons Island it appears that a regular subsistence pattern is operative in the area regardless of temporal or status differences. The exploitation of marsh mammals and such tidal creek species as sea catfish and drum are common elements of all the sites, modified in the historic sites only by the addition to the faunal inventory of domestic animals. As more work is done along the Georgia coast it will be possible to see if this pattern is maintained on other islands. It will be of particular interest to explore slave diet more

extensively. Using Otto's model as a guide neither of the Colonel's Island historic collections appear to be slave refuse. Further work in this area at locations known positively as slave occupations is needed.

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APPENDIX

Tables Relating to Faunal Analysis of Materials Recovered From Prehistoric and Historic Sites.
Fauna from WGC 905 — Prehistoric.

	Specimens		MNI		Skeletal Weight gms (y)	Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
	#	%	#	%			
Unid. Mammal	13	3.8	x	1	4.4	89.68	12.28
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	0.3	1	14.3	13.0	242.30	33.17
Unid. Turtle	17	5.0	x	x	1.8	10.99	1.50
cf. Emydidae	1	0.3	x	x	0.3	2.16	0.30
Emydidae	204	59.6	x	x	40.6	181.67	24.87
cf. <i>Chysemys</i> cf. <i>scripta</i>	1	0.3	1	14.3	0.5	3.43	0.47
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	8	2.3	1	14.3	6.7	35.92	4.91
Unid. Osteichthyes	4	1.2	x	x	1.5	37.16	5.08
Ariidae	1	0.3	x	x	0.5	5.26	0.72
<i>Arius felis</i>	26	7.6	2	28.6	4.7	78.88	10.80
<i>Bagre marinus</i>	8	2.3	1	14.3	1.1	13.59	1.86
Perciformes	1	0.3	1	14.3	1.2	29.41	4.03
Unid. Bone	57	16.7	x	x		x	
TOTALS	342	100	7	100.1	89.5	730.45	99.9

Fauna from WGC 906/926 — Prehistoric.

	Specimens		MNI		Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
	#	%	#	%		
Unid. Mammal	36	85.7	x	10.8	204.40	68.04
cf. <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	2.4	x	1.4	31.37	10.44
<i>Odocoileum virginianus</i>	3	7.1	1	2.2	47.48	15.80
<i>Acipenser</i> sp.	2	4.8	1	0.7	17.17	5.72
TOTALS	42	100.0	2	15.1	300.42	100.0

Fauna from WGC 918 — Prehistoric.

	Specimens		MNI		Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
	#	%	#	%		
Unid. Mammalia	8	25.8	x	1.6	35.45	29.46
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	1	3.2	1	20.0	2.79	2.3
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	3.2	1	20.0	39.50	32.80
Unid. Bird	12	38.7	1	20.0	4.51	3.7
Emydidae	7	22.6	x	3.0	17.36	14.42
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	1	3.2	1	20.0	18.47	15.34
Unid. Osteichthyes	1	3.2	1	20.0	2.35	1.95
TOTALS	31	99.9	5	100.0	120.43	100.0

Fauna from WGC 913 — Prehistoric.

	Specimens		MNI		Skeletal Weight gms (y)	Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
	#	%	#	%			
Unid. Mammal	31	44.9	x	x	26.3	462.48	47.50
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	2	2.9	2	33.3	1.0	23.03	2.35
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	5	7.2	2	33.3	20.8	372.92	38.30
Unid. Turtle	1	1.5	x	x	0.2	1.49	0.15
Emydidae	17	24.6	x	x	5.4	29.18	3.00
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	3	4.4	1	1	2.5	14.70	1.5
Unid. Osteichthyes	3	4.4	1	1	2.8	69.89	7.18
Unid. Bone	7	10.1	x	x	1.4	x	x
TOTALS	69	100	6	100	60.4	973.69	100

Fauna from WGC 357 — Prehistoric.

	Specimens #	%	MNI #	%	Skeletal Weight gms (y)	Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
Unid. Mammal	45	2.5	x	x	28.6	499.46	10.53
Unid Rodent	1	0.05	x	x	0.4	9.94	0.21
<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i>	1	0.05	1	2.1	0.4	9.94	0.21
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	3	0.2	1	2.1	1.0	23.03	0.49
cf. <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	0.05	x	x	0.4	9.94	0.21
Unid. Turtle	174	9.5	x	x	28.0	130.28	2.75
<i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	37	2.0	2	4.2	6.6	135.00	2.85
Emydidae	159	8.7	x	x	50.2	219.02	4.62
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	74	4.0	6	12.5	39.0	174.27	3.67
<i>Chrysemys cf. scripta</i>	1	0.05	1	2.1	1.2	7.56	0.16
<i>Sphyrna tiburo</i>	1	0.05	1	0.1	0.1	2.35	0.05
<i>Dasyatis</i> sp.	4	0.2	1	2.1	1.5	37.16	0.78
Unid. Osteichthyes	515	28.1	x	x	31.8	815.26	17.19
<i>Lepisosteus cf. osseus</i>	1	0.05	1	2.1	0.6	14.58	0.31
Ariidae	7	0.4	x	x	1.3	16.53	0.35
<i>Arius felis</i>	3	0.2	1	2.1	0.5	5.26	0.11
<i>Bagre marinus</i>	6	0.3	2	4.2	1.0	12.16	0.35
<i>Archosargus probato cepholus</i>	2	0.1	1	2.1	0.6	14.58	0.31
<i>Cynoscion</i> sp.	2	0.1	1	2.1	0.3	9.14	0.19
<i>Leiostomus xanthurus</i>	1	0.05	1	2.1	0.1	3.05	0.06
cf. <i>Micropogonius undulatus</i>	301	16.4	x	x	42.9	1253.46	26.43
<i>Micropogonius undulatus</i>	150	8.2	23	47.9	16.1	479.31	10.11
<i>Mugil</i> sp.	2	0.1	1	2.1	0.1	2.35	0.05
<i>Prionotus</i> sp.	51	2.8	1	2.1	16.4	413.66	8.7
<i>Paralichthys</i> sp.	2	0.1	1	2.1	0.3	7.23	0.2
Unid. Bone	284	15.5	x	x	32.0	x	x
TOTALS	1832	100.5	48	100.3	326.2	4742.75	100

Comparing Specimens from Historic and Prehistoric Sites — Colonel's Island
1977.

Species	Common Names	Historic		Prehistoric	
		#	MNI	#	MNI
Unid. Mammal	Mammal	1393	-	133	-
<i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	Opposum	40	7	-	-
<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	Rabbit	10	5	-	-
<i>Sylvilagus palustris</i>	Marsh Rabbit	1	1	-	-
*Rodent	Rodents	-	-	1	-
* <i>Sigmodon hispidus</i>	Cotton Rat	4	4	-	-
<i>Ondatra zibethicstat</i>	Common Muskrat	-	-	1	1
Carnivora	Carnivores	1	-	-	-
* <i>Danis familiaris</i>	Dog	1	1	-	-
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	Raccoon	32	12	6	4
<i>Mephitis mephitis</i>	Striped Skunk	1	1	-	-
<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	River Otter	1	1	-	-
<i>Felix rufus</i>	Bobcat	1	1	-	-
Artiodactyl		4	-	-	-
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Swine	84	20	-	-
cf. <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	Deer	2	-	2	-
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed Deer	26	11	14	7
cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	Cow	1	-	-	-
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cow	101	12	-	-
<i>Alligator mississippiensis</i>	Alligator	1	1	-	-
Unid. Turtle	Turtles	30	-	192	-
cf. <i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	Mud Turtle	6	1	-	-
<i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	Mud Turtle	-	-	37	2
cf. Emydidae		-	-	1	-
Emydidae	Box and Water Turtles	28	1	387	-
<i>Malaclemys terrapin</i>	Diamondback	75	5	86	9
cf. <i>Chrysemys</i> cf. <i>scripta</i>	Cooter	-	-	1	1
<i>Chrysemys</i> cf. <i>scripta</i>	Cooter	-	-	1	1
Cheloniidae	Sea Turtles	42	3	-	-
<i>Caretta caretta</i>	Loggerhead	6	1	-	-
<i>Lepidochelys kempi</i>	Ridley	1	1	-	-
*Colubridae	Snake	2	1	-	-
Unid. Birds	Bird	20	-	12	1
*Ardeidae	Hérons and Bitterns	1	1	-	-
<i>Anas</i> sp.	Blue-winged Teal	1	1	-	-
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Chicken	6	4	-	-
*Strigiformes	Owls	5	1	-	-
*Passeriformes	Songbirds	2	2	-	-
<i>Caracharhinus</i> sp.	Requiem Shark	2	1	-	-
<i>Sphyrna tiburo</i>	Bonnethead	-	-	1	1
<i>Dasyatis</i> sp.	Stingray	-	-	4	1
Unid. Osteichthyes	Bony Fish	32	-	523	2
<i>Acipenser</i> sp.	Sturgeon	-	-	2	1
<i>Lepisosteus</i> cf. <i>osseus</i>	Gar	1	1	1	1
<i>Elops saurus</i>	Ladyfish	1	1	-	-
<i>Ictalurus</i> cf. <i>catus</i>	White catfish	1	1	-	-
Ariidae	Sea Catfishes	4	-	8	-

continued

Species	Common Names	Historic		Prehistoric	
		#	MNI	#	MNI
<i>Arius felis</i>	Sea Catfish	8	4	29	3
<i>Bagre marinus</i>	Gafftopsail catfish	3	1	14	3
Perciformes		1	-	1	1
<i>Archosargus probatocephalus</i>	Sheepshead	5	4	2	1
<i>Cynoscion</i> sp.	Sea Trout	-	-	2	1
<i>Leiostmus xanthurus</i>	Spot	-	-	1	1
cf. <i>Micropogonias undulatus</i>	Atlantic croaker	-	-	301	-
<i>Micropogonias undulatus</i>	Atlantic croaker	-	-	150	23
<i>Pogonias cromis</i>	Black Drum	12	3	-	-
<i>Scianops ocellatus</i>	Red Drum	1	1	-	-
<i>Mugil</i> sp.	Mullet	-	-	2	1
<i>Prionotus</i> sp.	Sea Robin	-	-	51	1
<i>Paralichthys</i> sp.	Flounder	-	-	2	1
Unid. Bone		237	-	348	-
TOTALS		2237	116	2316	68

*not thought to be a food item.

Fauna from WGC 903 — Historic.

	Specimens #	%	MNI #	%	Skeletal Weight gms (y)	Biomass gms (x)	%
Unid. Mammal	394	50.6	x	x	296.3	4266.08	1.17
<i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	11	1.4	5	10.9	8.9	171.15	0.05
<i>Sylvilagus</i> sp.	7	0.9	2	4.3	3.5	72.70	0.02
<i>Sylvilagus palustris</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.3	7.63	0.002
<i>Sigmodon hispidus</i>	2	0.3	2	4.3	0.4	9.94	0.003
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.5	12.20	0.003
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	26	3.3	8	17.4	41.8	707.46	0.19
<i>Lutra canadensis</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	1.3	29.30	0.008
<i>Felis rufus</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	2.0	43.51	0.01
Artiodactyl	1	0.1	x	x	0.6	14.42	0.004
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	30	3.9	7	15.2	85.8	1368.44	0.38
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	6	0.8	2	4.3	44.4	747.73	0.21
cf. <i>Bos taurus</i>	1	0.1	x	x	1.0	23.03	0.006
<i>Bos taurus</i>	10	1.3	2	4.3	125.1	1934.08	0.53
Unid. Turtle	7	0.9	x	x	2.5	14.20	0.004
Emydidae	2	0.3	1	2.2	3.9	21.82	0.006
Cheloniidae	28	3.6	3	6.5	68.6	354000.00	97.33
Unid. Bird	1	0.1	x	x	0.2	4.51	0.001
<i>Anas</i> sp.	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.1	2.36	0.0006
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	0.3	1	2.2	1.4	27.77	0.008
Passeriformes	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.2	4.51	0.001
Unid. Osteichthyes	6	0.8	x	x	3.7	92.55	0.03
<i>Lepisosteus</i> cf. <i>osseus</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.7	17.17	0.005
<i>Ictalurus catus</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.3	7.23	0.002
Ariidae	3	0.4	x	x	1.5	20.09	0.006
<i>Arius felis</i>	2	0.3	2	4.3	0.7	8.00	0.002
<i>Bagre marinus</i>	3	0.4	1	2.2	0.3	2.85	0.0009
Perciformes	1	0.1	x	x	0.3	7.23	0.002
<i>Archosargus probatocepholus</i>	1	0.1	1	2.2	0.2	4.74	0.001
<i>Pogonias cromis</i>	2	0.3	1	2.2	1.9	57.03	0.02
Unid. Bone	225	28.9	x	x	9.5	x	x
TOTALS	779	100.0	46	100.1	707.9	363700.23	99.9

— continued

	Specimens #	%	MNI #	%	Skeletal Weight gms (y)	Biomass gms (x)	Biomass %
Unid. Osteichthyes	26	1.8	x	x	13.3	335.12	0.11
<i>Elops saurus</i>	1	0.06	1	1.4	0.2	4.74	0.002
Ariidae	1	0.06	x	x	0.2	1.72	0.0006
<i>Arius felis</i>	6	0.4	2	2.9	1.7	23.10	0.008
<i>Archosargus probato cephalus</i>	4	0.3	3	4.3	6.5	162.26	0.05
<i>Pogonias cromis</i>	10	0.7	2	2.9	3.1	92.24	0.03
<i>Sciaenops ocellatus</i>	1	0.06	1	1.4	0.2	6.05	0.002
Unid. Bone	12	0.8	x	x	4.4	x	x
TOTALS	1458	99.7	70	99.9	3952.6	306444.93	100

THE CULTURAL OCCUPATION OF COLONEL'S ISLAND, GEORGIA: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Karl T. Steinen**

The archaeological investigation of Colonel's Island proved, in many ways, to be quite disappointing. The prehistoric sites that were tested all produced ample evidence of having been disturbed by farming or industrial activity during the 19th and 20th centuries. A brief examination of the artifact tables bears this out. The historic excavations, while more fruitful, were also disappointing. The abortive 1880's development of the northern end of the island destroyed most of the Parland Plantation. The historic sites on the south side of the island did, however, disclose important information concerning the post-Civil War freedman occupation of the Georgia coast.

This volume does not present the results of landmark excavations. The disturbed nature of the sites and limited excavation techniques prevent them from being such. However, the data that are presented and the conclusions reached from them should not be discounted.

They should be viewed as preliminary models to be tested through more substantial excavation programs in similar environmental and historical settings.

An integration of the archaeological, zooarchaeological and ethnobotanical analysis presented in this volume allows a picture of the lifeways on the island, and subsequently, the marsh to be developed. One of the more interesting aspects of coastal life that was defined from the excavations was the apparent uniformity of the economic resources of the marsh through time. Both the zooarchaeological and ethnobotanical reports, prepared independently, indicate that the economic resources that were exploited were primarily from the marsh and changed little through time.

The prehistoric sites that were tested showed remarkable similarity of structure and content. Although the cultural component of each varied, the overall composition of the sites was the same.

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Generally speaking, each of the sites, with the exception of WGC 357, was oriented specifically toward the marsh/island ecotone. While the sites were observed to spread inland for some distance, the bulk of the cultural deposits were found on the marsh/island ecotone. The reliance placed on exploitation of the marsh habitat for hunting and fishing as well as oyster gathering seems to be the reason for this pattern of site placement.

The midden content of both cultural and non-cultural materials was consistent. The bulk of the middens consists of oyster shell with a minimal admixture of dark sand. The shell weights made for each test unit were intended to be used to detect horizontal stratification within the site. It was hypothesized that differential intensity of occupation of the sites would be reflected in greater or lesser concentration of shell in different areas. While the limited amount of digging conducted on each site prevented the testing of this hypothesis, the generated weight data combined with the knowledge of the aerial extent of the different sites suggests that there was a fairly even utilization of the different sites.

The two prehistoric sites which do not fit into this generalization are WGC 907 and WGC 357. WGC 907 is difficult to characterize. Due to the extensive disturbance of the site and the limited number of artifacts recovered from the formal tests, surface inspection and the auger holes, little can be said. This site is larger than the others, and the depth of the midden is the standard six inches, but the concentration of cultural materials is much lower. More extensive testing of this site is needed to determine its exact place within the cultural and historic developmental scheme for the island.

WGC 357, the Railroad site, presents a different problem altogether. Its inland placement and more extensive midden suggests that it may have been a permanently inhabited site. The sherds with the filfoot cross stamp that were recovered give this site a very late prehistoric to historic date. It is entirely possible that the people who lived there were attempting to remain unobserved. All the other aboriginal sites were placed in close proximity to the marsh or salt creeks where they are easily observable from off the island. The inland location of WGC 357 masks it from observation from any portion of the shore. Indeed, assuming that there was a heavy growth of oak on the island before it was modified by the historic occupation, the village would be difficult to see from any distance on the island itself. Intentional placement of a village

area in an unobservable area could suggest that they were a fugitive population. An alternate explanation is that the site was situated here to allow for efficient horticulture to be conducted. A similar shift in settlement pattern (from compact shell middens to thin/sand middens) has been documented by Larson for the Guale at the time of European contact (Larson 1978; 1980).

In recent years archaeologists have found that soil types are useful factors in the determination of the variables of site placement. The excavated prehistoric sites are located on four different soil types. WGC 357 is located on Lakeland Sand, a type considered relatively unsuitable for agriculture. WGC 907, 905 and 906/926 are situated on Chipley Sand, while WGC 913 is located on Rutledge Sand. WGC 918 is located on Leon Sand.

I believe that all of the indications present support a conclusion that the prehistoric sites on Colonel's Island were occupied on a limited basis. Their small size, apparent lack of features, small range of resources present and lack of artifacts all point to this conclusion.

The historic excavations proved to be disappointing. The futile attempt to develop the island during the 1880's disturbed almost completely the main area of the Parland Plantation (WGC 356). Our efforts to determine aspects of social stratification were thwarted by the disturbance of the plantation structures and refuse area. However, the faunal analysis of this site suggests that there may have been no significant change in subsistence patterns from the prehistoric period. WGC 903, the post-Civil War freedman settlement, exhibited the same subsistence pattern as the Parland Plantation site.

In summary, it can be stated that the inhabitants of Colonel's Island, both historically and prehistorically, practiced a subsistence economy that was closely tied to the marsh and tidal creeks. Not unlike the occupants of the barrier islands, these people recognized and exploited the rich resources that are present in the Georgia coastal marsh ecosystem. The richness of this environment with its great variety of exploitable game and fishes precluded the need to rely heavily upon imported foods. The addition of domesticated foods in the form of swine and cattle further added to the productivity of the marsh area.

The question remains as to why the island was inhabited only intermittently before European occupation. The basic pattern of small sites seems to be prevalent in the areas of the coast south of

St. Simons Island, Jekyll Island, Cumberland Island and the mainland and other marsh islands south of St. Simon's do not possess sites as large or as complex as those found on, for instance, St. Catherines and Sapelo Island. This has led to the speculation that the area below St. Simons and above the St. Mary's River served as a buffer zone between the distinctly different cultures of the Georgia coast and the St. Johns region of Florida (Larson 1958).

Larson (1958:12-13) has discussed the concept of a cultural buffer in this area to some extent. He has characterized the two different areas as having possessed, during the historic period, two distinct cultures. Larson writes:

In the proto-historic and historic periods, the Guale Indians (of Georgia) were located on the coast in McIntosh and Liberty Counties, some twenty-five miles north of Camden County. To the south of Camden County on the Northern St. Johns area of Florida were a Timucuan group. . . In general, the Guale were culturally related to central Georgia and the close linguistic kin, the Creeks (Larson Msa), while the eastern Timucuan relationships lay primarily in Florida (Goggin 1952:68-70).

Larson continues his article with a fairly detailed discussion of the ceramic and ethnohistorical evidence for this area being a buffer zone between these two distinct culture areas. This discussion cannot be furthered by the data generated from Colonel's Island.

The dynamics of culture contact would dictate that if two different cultures exploiting the same environment and niche came into contact, there would be competition for the natural resources. Prehistorically, the patterns of population replacement caused by this form of competition have been documented for many areas (Prufer 1970; Sears 1968). If, however, two geographically adjacent cultures who exploited the same or similar environments did not come into contact, the competition for the resources would not develop. The development of a buffer zone, an area not intensely exploited by either group, to reduce or eliminate the competition between populations, would be a logical cultural adjustment of the problem.

The aboriginal patterns shown on the island, when compared to the barrier islands, suggest that the marsh corridor was only a

single segment in a complex pattern of exploitation of the natural environment. Cleland (1976) has developed the Diffuse Model for this general pattern of environmental adaptation. This pattern of adaptation places a reliance on multiple resources in an area and not on a single resource (Focal Model). The heavy reliance on the marsh/tidal creek environments and the indications of non-permanent habitations are evidence to support the application of the Diffuse Model to the prehistoric component of Colonel's Island. I suggest that the island, and correspondingly the marsh corridor, were exploited for the available oysters, marsh fauna and salt creek fish. No long term occupation was practiced, however, the areas of the island were re-utilized periodically over long periods of time.

The historic occupation of the island is known primarily through documents. The Parland Plantation, while productive, never reached the economic or social heights of the nearby barrier island plantations on St. Simons, or of the mainland rice plantations. The exact reasons for this inability to match the economic output of the better known plantations are not known at this time. The factors involved in productivity transcend the normally measurable variables of soil productivity, world market and size of workforce. The individualistic variables of incentive, ability of managers and overall structure of the supervisory mechanisms, items that cannot be measured by archaeological methods, are all important in the understanding of economic success when dealing with agricultural production for use in a world market.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that the results of these excavations can be used only as the basis for more extensive archaeological research in the marsh corridor. The concept of a Diffuse Model of settlement pattern and restricted availability of land coupled with the cultural variable of a buffer zone between the St. John's region of Florida and the Georgia Coast need to be tested through the development of an extensive survey and the excavation program. The results of this program coupled with the preliminary data generated by the Colonel's Island excavations will serve to add to our knowledge of the prehistoric and historic lifeways of the Georgia Coast.

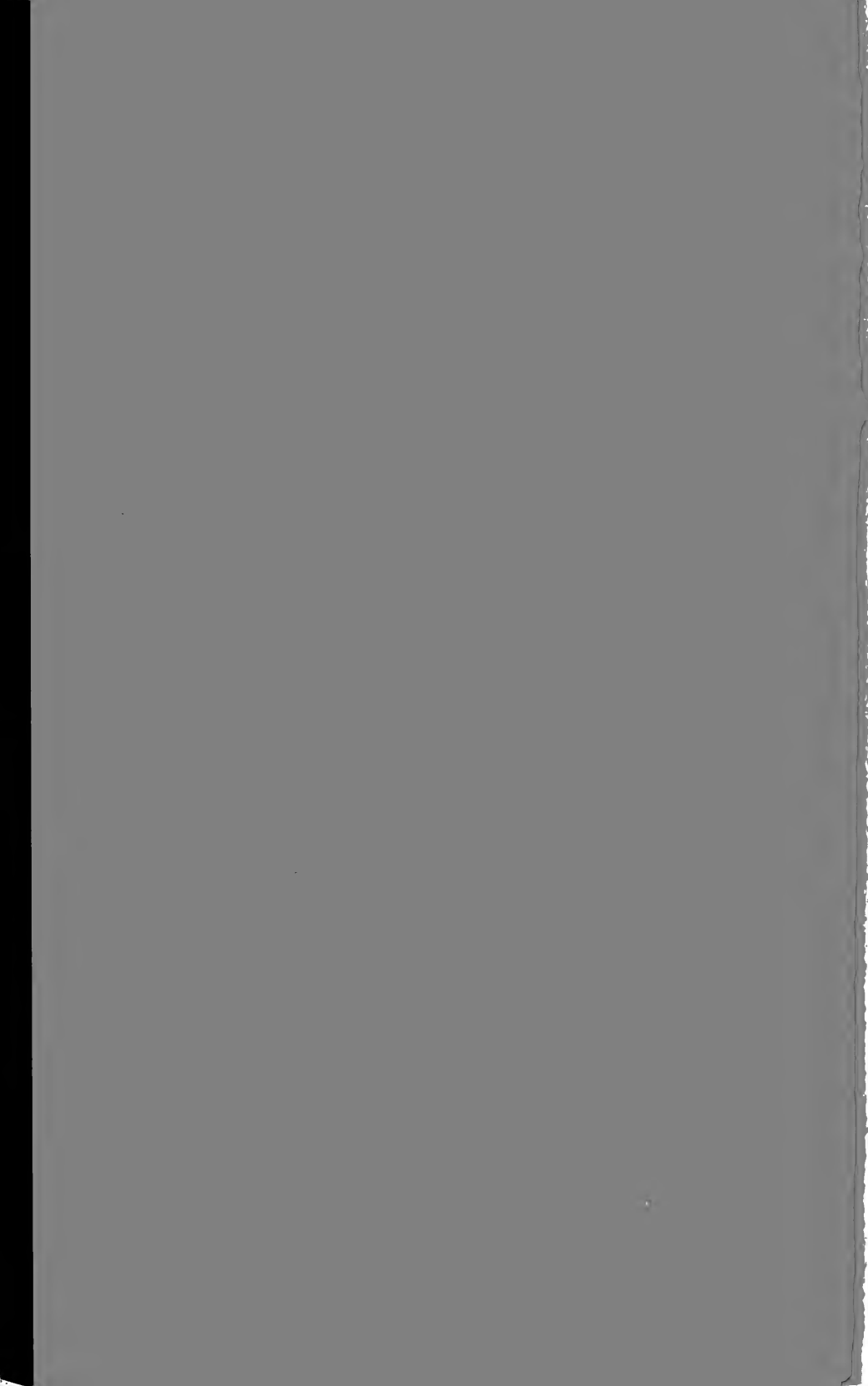
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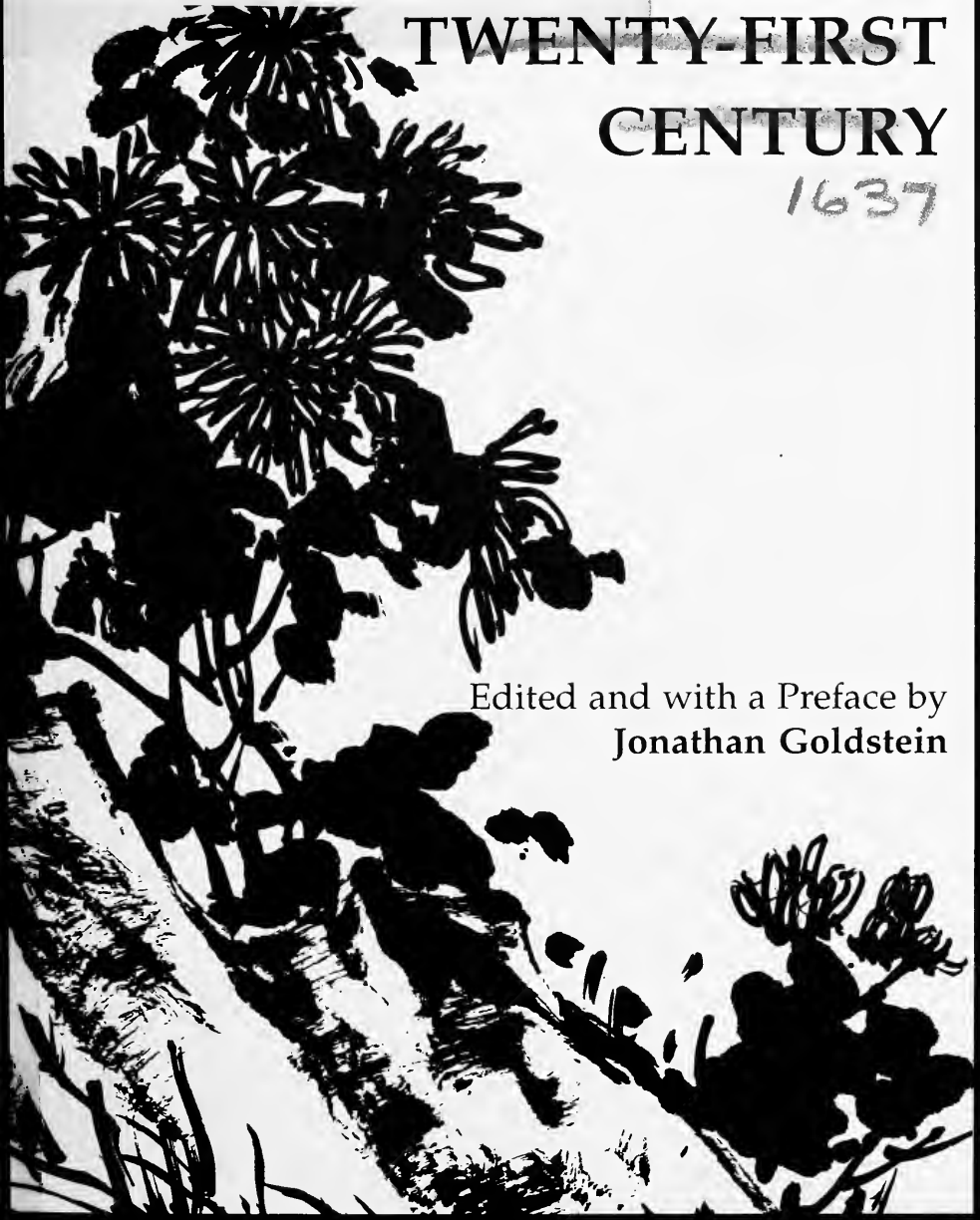
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WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE
STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

GEORGIA'S
EAST ASIAN
CONNECTION:
FROM THE
TWENTY-FIRST
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Edited and with a Preface by
Jonathan Goldstein



**GEORGIA'S EAST ASIAN
CONNECTION: INTO THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN

Volume Editor

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FOREWORD

Since the publication of *Georgia's East Asian Connection 1733-1983* (*West Georgia College Studies in Social Sciences*, Vol. XXII) in 1983, which detailed a number of ways in which Georgians were involved with the countries and peoples of East Asia, both historically and currently, those connections have increased and expanded. This volume, also edited by Dr. Goldstein, updates and expands the previous work.

Continued economic competition with Japan, the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, and especially recent events in China, reveal to us once again that the world is much smaller than we imagine it to be. The increased number of new citizens from Korea and from Southeast Asia, as well as the presence of Japanese businesses in even our smallest communities, makes us aware of the need for learning more about these people who are sometimes our partners, sometimes our competitors, but always our neighbors on this planet. This volume attempts to help us understand these global neighbors by focusing on historical events in which individuals and groups from our different cultures have interacted. Sometimes the immediate result was tragic, sometimes inspiring, sometimes simply pragmatic.

The Chinese have a saying, "The only thing constant is change." If we are to be prepared for the change occurring in our midst and in the homelands of our East Asian neighbors, we must learn more about them. It is hoped that this volume will help us to do that for the general reader as well as for serious social scientists.

Francis P. Conner
Series Editor

Preface By Jonathan Goldstein,
West Georgia College;

Volume Editor of

**Georgia's East Asian Connection
Into the Twenty-First Century**

**Preface to the Issue,
“Georgia’s East Asian Connection:
Into the Twenty-first Century”**

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN

In 1983 Georgia celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary not only of its founding, but also of its contact with East Asia. With America’s transpacific trade exceeding the dollar value of our traditional transatlantic trade and with two hundred and fifty years of Georgian-East Asian interaction behind us, the time seemed right to raise the questions: What has been the nature of the historical ties between Georgia and East Asia, and what are the prospects for future ties?

In 1983, in an attempt to answer those questions, West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences published *Georgia’s East Asian Connection, 1733-1983*. The principal changes in this 1990 issue, which addresses itself to those enduring questions, are the addition of an article to the historical section and the updating and expansion of the section on the contemporary experience with six new articles. The 1983 issue, which sold out almost immediately, examined Georgia’s East Asian relations on multiple levels:

1. Direct people-to-people contacts as Georgians and East Asians have travelled, migrated to, and in some cases settled in each others’ territories.
2. Newspaper and other media accounts that contributed to Georgia’s awareness of East Asian cultures.
3. Commerce between Georgia and East Asia.
4. Diplomatic relations between the United States and East Asia in which Georgians played a part.

The 1990 volume reexamines these levels of interaction and discusses new ones. One article focuses specifically on Georgia's Koreans, now the largest Asian immigrant population in the state. Two 1983 articles concerned civic organizations involved with Georgia-East Asian ties. The 1990 volume includes revised and updated profiles of those two organizations, the Japan-America Society of Georgia and the United States-China People's Friendship Association of Atlanta, plus new histories of the Japan Education Network in Georgia, the Asian Studies Consortium of Georgia, and the Atlanta basha of the China-Burma-India Veterans Association. The new issue includes one more profile of a Georgian active in nineteenth century China, Southern Baptist missionary Cicero Washington Pruitt. Professor Marjorie King's 1990 biography of Pruitt provides a contrast with Professor Linda Papageorge's 1983 profile of Southern Methodist Laura Haygood. Lastly, because of the increasing importance of Japanese investment in our state, an article by George M. Lancaster of The Portman Companies compares Japanese investment in Massachusetts with that in Georgia. This article complements his brother Day's in the 1983 volume. Day's updated piece gives an overall profile of both Japanese investment in Georgia and Georgia investment in Japan.

Like its 1983 predecessor, the 1990 publication is a multi-disciplinary effort to describe and analyze Georgia's East Asian connections. Because of the varied nature of these ties, the volume editor has enlisted a variety of experts to evaluate them. Contributors to the 1990 issue include six professors of East Asian history, one graduate student in East Asian history, one geographer, one anthropologist, one journalist, three professors of American history, an economist who is also a professor of international business, a United States Government archivist in the State of Georgia, a State of Georgia international trade official, three citizen-officials of civic organizations with Georgia-East Asia ties, and a Georgia businessman with expertise in bureaus of international trade in two states.

These experts focus on three specific aspects of Georgia-East Asia ties. Hence the three sections of this volume. Section one deals with the historical experiences and difficulties faced by the Chinese, the earliest East Asian immigrants to Georgia, in Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro. Section two offers analyses of the experi-

ence of Georgia pioneers in nineteenth and early twentieth century China: an ex-Savannah mayor who served as the first United States diplomatic representative to Beijing (Peking); a low-level career diplomat from Atlanta who served as a United States consul in China; a female educator from Atlanta who helped establish Southern Methodist missionary programs in Shanghai; and a Barrettsville, Georgia, native who served for decades as a Southern Baptist missionary in Shantung province, North China. Section three leaps to the post-World War II period. It concerns Georgia's recent ties not only with China, but also with Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Taiwan. Prospects for the future are examined in terms of people-to-people contacts through individual travel and immigration, through activities of immigration civic organizations, through East Asian investment in Georgia and Georgian investment in East Asia; and through official federal, state, and municipal government relationships.

The first article in section one is a bibliographical survey of documents in Atlanta's Federal Government records depository that might shed light on Georgia's East Asian connection. The National Archives Southeast Region is the largest repository in Georgia of East Asia-related records. A survey of its archival holdings has been made through the joint efforts of its resident archivist, who is also a specialist on American history and international relations; a professor of East Asian history; and a West Georgia College graduate student interning at the Atlanta branch to assist in the survey of Asian-related documents. The article suggests what types of records are available for specific types of research on East Asia-related topics. Brief descriptions are given of the Regional Archives' United States census records; naturalization records and other federal court documents; Customs Service passenger lists; Selective Service System documents; and State, War, and Navy Department papers. The histories of the Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro Chinese in this volume are examples of the type of demographic history of Asian-Americans that can be written using United States census data and federal court records along with other sources. The two articles on Georgia diplomats are examples of what can be discovered using National Archives diplomatic documents.

Professor George B. Pruden is a specialist in East Asian history. His article on Savannah establishes the origins of Georgia's East

Asian connection, tracing the interaction back to Oglethorpe and the earliest Georgians' awareness of China. Pruden asks how the experiences of Chinese immigrants in nineteenth-century Savannah compared with previously established race relationships. Did the Chinese assimilate or remain distinctive within a Chinatown? Why? What was the role of the Christian Church in the Chinese community? How were the Chinese accepted as citizens by the Caucasian and black Savannahians? Pruden has used local newspaper accounts, interviews, and city directories, along with federal census data to reconstruct the history of the Savannah Chinese. He discusses their reasons for emigration, areas of settlement, education, and economic mobility. His data is tabulated in an appendix.

Pruden then deals with the twentieth century, with vivid anecdotes, and even a poem, to provide a picture of the Chinese settlement in Savannah. He offers minibiographies of some typical and atypical Savannah Chinese: Robert Chung Chan, the first Chinese to establish a family in Savannah; his poet-daughter Gerald (née Geraldine) Sieg; the entrepreneur T.S. Chu; and the scholar-politician K.C. Wu. Mingling anecdotes with demographic data, Pruden presents a scholarly and lucid history of an American settlement, in the manner of Librarian of Congress Daniel Boorstin in his classic history, *Americans: The National Experience*.

Catherine Brown and Thomas Ganschow, like Pruden, also have utilized census data, city directories, and media accounts to reconstruct a profile of a Chinese settlement. Brown, drawing upon a background in geography, and Ganschow, in Chinese history, have attempted to isolate historical and socio-economic development patterns of Augusta Chinese. They are concerned with the questions: Why did the Chinese come to the South after the Civil War? Was it an accidental or a planned migration? What was the response of Southerners to Chinese, and vice versa? Were the patterns of discrimination against blacks transferred to the Chinese? What were the increases or decreases in the Chinese population? What were the scholastic achievements and the shifts in residential and occupational patterns? To what degree were Chinese socially accepted? In particular, were they allowed to move into white neighborhoods? How did patterns within Augusta's Chinese community compare with patterns elsewhere in the nation? This data is tabulated in five ap-

pendixes to the article. Like Pruden, Brown and Ganschow live their demographic data with anecdotal material such as the account of the murder of Chinese grocer Yip Sing in Augusta in 1896 and his Baptist burial service in Augusta's "whites-only" cemetery.

Bess Beatty, an American historian with a strong background in black and labor history, deals with the origins and significance of the "Ku Kluxing," or forcible expulsion, of Loo Chang, Waynesboro's first Chinese resident. Beatty attempts to place the Waynesboro experience within the broader context of early American sinophobia and prejudice and compares her findings with those of Luther Spoehr, Stuart Miller, Gunter Barth, Mary Coolidge, Carey McWilliams, and other historians of sinophobia and prejudice. Beatty's interest is largely in Loo Chang's legal status, and she has drawn on federal and county court records, as well as census data, to conclude that an "interchangeability of prejudice" may have gravitated in Georgia from blacks to Chinese. She examines the economic threat Chinese merchants may have posed to Caucasian businessmen in Georgia. Beatty postulates that demonstrations of southern racism and sinophobia such as occurred in Waynesboro in 1883 may explain why so few Chinese immigrants came south.

As Chinese began to settle in Georgia in the mid-nineteenth century, Georgians began to visit, and occasionally settle, in East Asia. In describing the careers of three nineteenth century Georgia pioneers in China, Professors William M. Gabard, Dale Peeples, Linda Madson Papageorge, and Marjorie King evaluate the success of these pioneers in terms of the background and goals of each individual and the broad context of American-East Asian relations in which each of the individuals operated.

Gabard, a professor of East Asian history with a sub-specialty in Georgia history, evaluates the career of Savannah Mayor John Elliott Ward, the United States' diplomatic representative in China from 1858 through 1860. Ward held close ties with the Episcopal church in Savannah, with the Episcopal bishop in Georgia, and indirectly with that bishop's brother-in-law, the Episcopal bishop in China. Gabard details religious, economic, and political influences of a Georgia background on the conscience and conduct of this diplomat. Once in China, Ward continued his associations with clerics, especially with the Reverend S. Wells Williams, who served as interim United States

chargé d'affaires until Ward arrived, and with the Reverends W.A.P. Martin and William Aitchinson, who served as interpreters for Ward's legation. Beyond religious influences, Gabard discusses how the international trade, travel, and naval contacts of Savannah familiarized Ward with East Asia. Gabard examines how the decorum of Southern gentlemanly conduct affected Ward's behavior in his official duties in the alien environment of China.

Ward was an ex-mayor sent on a high-level pioneering mission by President Buchanan in 1858. Professor Peeples, an American diplomatic historian, describes the career of a low-level Foreign Service Officer, Atlantan William Scruggs. Scruggs served in China two decades after Ward, at a time when official Sino-American relations had evolved from an exploratory and experimental level to a more routine level of contact. Scruggs apparently enjoyed little personal satisfaction while working diligently to improve the consulates to which he was assigned. He is sympathetically portrayed as a hard working civil servant who endured physical illness, disappointment, and homesicknesses during a two year consulship in Zhenjiang and Guangzhou.

Professor Papageorge, a specialist in American history, focuses on Atlanta's pioneer feminist missionary-educator Laura Haygood, whom she sees as anything but a plodding bureaucrat. Papageorge asks: What type of missionary work was open to Victorian women? What kinds of women entered the field and why? What was the nature of a missionary woman's spiritual consciousness? On what terms did she participate with men in the movement? To what degree did her participation affect the East Asian society she hoped to convert? Although Haygood's ultimate ambition of Christianizing China was unfulfilled, she emerges as an originator, a zealot, and a pioneer.

The last word in Professor Beatty's article on the nineteenth century is *sinophobia*. Professors Gabard, Peeples, and Papageorge all focused on the efforts of Georgians to expand American influence and ideas in East Asia—an expansion advanced through vigorous commercial, diplomatic, missionary, and military effort. In the nineteenth century, American values were clearly being imposed on East Asians, both stateside and overseas. Professor King, a specialist in both Asian and United States history, asks how the career of Georgia

evangelist C.W. Pruitt fits the expansionist, imperialist stereotype. How did Pruitt's attitude and behavior compare with his American contemporaries' in East Asia? How did he differ from other Southern Baptist missionaries in North China, such as Lottie Moon, T.P. Crawford, and J.B. Hartwell, and from Presbyterian Calvin Mateer?

King utilized Pruitt's personal papers to probe his commitment and religiosity. She concludes that Pruitt was not the typical imperialist missionary. In letters to personal friends and family, as well as in missionary publications, he emphasized the need to "respect and love" the good in the Chinese. Furthermore, Pruitt was one of few missionaries to retain a balanced view of American Christians, likening Americans who were enslaved by their passion for money to Chinese who were enslaved by fears of demons. In presenting China and the Chinese to American Church audiences, he avoided the "we-they" framework through which many Americans viewed missions in their host countries. He encouraged Americans to abandon their view of the Chinese as a psychological "other," as opposites of American national character traits. King concludes that Pruitt and Lottie Moon approached the Chinese with humility instead of pride, as equals rather than as betters. Both acknowledged the positive in Chinese institutions, values, and people. They were ready to be changed by their encounter with China, even while offering something of American institutions, values, and themselves.

In the third section of this volume, economist Ernest Ogram establishes an overall transition from the pre-World War II era of Georgia's East Asia connection, often characterized by sinophobia and imperialism, to new and changing dimensions of the connection in the postwar era. Ogram's specialty is international business relations. He sees trade as a dominant, enduring theme in the Georgia-East Asia interaction. Ogram describes new types of business relationships which have been cultivated by Georgians not only with China but also with Japan, Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea. How did those World War II-ravaged but now rebuilt societies come to have dealings with Georgia, and we with them? What is the nature of our recent commercial ties? Ogram begins his article on the macro-economic level, discussing overall post-World War II United States-East Asian trade. He then proceeds micro-economically to a discussion of trade relations between East Asia and the Southeastern

United States, Georgia, and the metropolitan Atlanta area. He compares Georgia's and Atlanta's East Asian trade with that of other regions of the United States. He documents East Asian commitments in Georgia generally and in the Atlanta area specifically with stores, restaurants, factories, trading companies, banks, airlines, honorary consulates, career consulates, and government trade and travel offices. These enterprises have brought Georgia an East Asian population which now numbers in the tens of thousands in the Atlanta area alone, with significant presences of Koreans and Japanese, plus Chinese from the People's Republic, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Ogram is optimistic about post-nineteenth century trade relations and about people-to-people contacts between Georgia and East Asia.

Ogram's transitional piece is followed by George M. Lancaster's historical one comparing Massachusetts and Georgia as locations for potential Japanese investment. Mr. Lancaster is well qualified to make this comparison. From 1982 to 1985 he was an international representative for the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade, responsible for recruiting foreign manufacturers into Georgia. From 1985 through 1986 he was Japan Program Director of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Office of International Trade and Industry. In that capacity he initiated a Japan investment program for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and developed strategy to facilitate Japanese company investment in that state. In 1989 he became Director of International Sales for INFORUM/Atlanta, a division of the Portman Companies, where he is responsible for sales in Japan and Europe. Lancaster asks: What basic economic and social conditions are conducive to Japanese investment? What role does "quality of life" play in an upper-level Japanese managerial decision to locate a plant? What role do cultural factors such as "Southern hospitality" play in corporate decision-making? How do labor conditions in Massachusetts compare with those of Georgia? He contrasts Massachusetts' history of labor unrest with the relatively calmer labor/ management relationship in the Peach State and concludes that Georgia provides a more attractive market for Japanese investors than does the Bay State. Lancaster's comparative historical perspective on Japanese investment in Georgia is followed by his brother Day's survey of the Japan-Georgia relationship, its current

status and future prospects. Day Lancaster is qualified to discuss Georgia-Japan ties. He served as head of the Tokyo office of the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade. In 1990 he is Atlanta-based, serving that Department as its Senior Project Manager. He cites particulars in the new post-World War II Japan-Georgia relationship that both Ogram and George M. Lancaster alluded to. He asks to what degree Georgia firms have invested in Japan and why. What types of Japanese businesses are locating in Georgia? And what are some of the cultural spin-offs of the commercial contact, such as sister-city relations between Japanese and Georgian metropolises and the sister-state relationship between Georgia and Kagoshima Prefecture? He also warns of potential imbalances and dangers in the overall Japan-Georgia relationship.

The general overviews of Ogram and the Lancasters are followed by individual histories of an Asian immigrant group in Georgia and of civic organizations in Georgia with East Asian ties. Georgia's Koreans are the largest Asian immigrant group in the state. Author Gerdeen Dyer of *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* served three tours of duty with the United States Army in Korea. He subsequently published a guide to Georgia for South Koreans and has also written about Koreans in Georgia for the *Journal-Constitution*. Dyer's account is both historical and present- and future-oriented. He explains why Koreans are leaving their homeland to settle permanently in Georgia and how Koreans organize themselves economically, religiously, and socially here. He compares Korean and Japanese investment in Georgia. How may Korean immigration and investment in Georgia develop in the future? What effect did the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games have on the Georgia-Korean relationship and on Atlanta's prospects for hosting the next Olympiad? How does the political instability of the Republic of Korea affect current and prospective Georgia-Korea ties?

Professors Donald O. Schneider, a professor of education, and Don Chang Lee, an anthropologist, analyze the role of educational organizations which have tried to promote an awareness of East Asia among Georgians. Lee's Asian Studies Consortium of Georgia (ASCOG) began work in January, 1986, just as Schneider's Japan Education Network in Georgia (JENGA) became inactive. ASCOG in certain respects picked up the Japan-oriented activities of JENGA.

although ASCOG has yet to implement the JENGA-type program of developing primary and secondary school Asian studies curricula.

Elmer E. Felecki describes the Asia-related activities of a Georgia association of veterans of World War II. Jack E. Buttram, executive director of the Friends of Free China, discusses the political and social activities of his Georgia membership.

Finally, George Waldner, formerly Executive Director of the Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG), and Chinese historian Edward Krebs, of the United States-China People's Friendship Organization (USCPFA), separately analyze the history of an internationally-oriented people-to-people friendship group in Atlanta. Both the Japan-America Society of Georgia and the Atlanta chapter of the United States-China People's Friendship Association are by-products of diplomatic and commercial ties between Georgia and East Asia. Both organizations provide hospitality for East Asians in Atlanta on temporary or long term assignments. Both groups seek to promote native Georgians' friendship toward, and understanding of, the two largest, but sometimes misunderstood East Asian nations. JASG and USCPFA today represent a new level of international cooperation and friendship but they contrast markedly with each other. The Japan Society, with close ties to the Coca-Cola Company, operates from an impressive financial base, with paid staff and rented offices in the Colony Square high-rise office tower. USCPFA, as its name may suggest, is more of a low profile organization which lacks corporate support. Krebs describes how Georgians interested in China at a key historical juncture were able to establish an organization through grass roots recruiting. The resources of the new organization frequently amounted to little more than the organizers' own personal enthusiasm, that had in some cases been generated by eye-opening visits to the People's Republic of China. Krebs describes an organization that has evolved largely independent of the goals and interests which many Georgians have traditionally had in East Asia: the pursuit of money, strategic power, and/or converts to Christianity. Krebs' account prompts the reader to consider the possibility that the China Friendship Association may be the most successful institutional example of close personal ties between Georgians and East Asians in over two hundred and fifty years of interaction. What would Loo Chang say if he could attend a Friendship Association reception in

Atlanta for scholars from a proud and independent China?

Georgia's East Asian Connection: Into the Twenty-first Century emphasizes the progress achieved in establishing international relations. It notes the impassioned ideas with which Georgians have come to view East Asia and with which East Asians have come to view us. At a time when these relations have escalated to critical levels in terms of competition for technological leadership and markets, these topics deserve to be explored with the candor provided by serious scholarship. Hopefully, this volume will inspire an ongoing dialogue on the nature of Georgia's past and present East Asian connection.

With both an interest in past relationships between Georgia and East Asia and an awareness of the potential for stronger ties in the future, West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences devotes this issue to *Georgia's East Asia Connection: Into the Twenty-first Century*. The Series Editor and the Volume Editor of this issue wish to express their gratitude to the following people without whose assistance the issue could not have come about: Richard Matthews, *The Atlanta Journal*; W. Allyn Rickett, University of Pennsylvania emeritus; Kenneth Berger, Duke University Library; John D. Welsh, formerly of the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade; and James Dan Minish, Vedat Gunay, and Jerome T. Mock, West Georgia College. Special words of appreciation also must be extended to Frank Joseph Shulman of the University of Maryland and Father John W. Witek of Georgetown University who, at a break between sessions at a 1987 Association for Asian Studies meeting, urged the production of a second volume on Georgia's East Asian connection to amplify the original volume. Albert S. Hanser, chairman of the West Georgia College history department, generously provided teaching schedules that facilitated the completion of this volume. Both Dr. Hanser and West Georgia College Vice-President for Academic Affairs John T. Lewis III generously provided financial assistance over and beyond the substantial contribution of West Georgia College Arts and Sciences Dean Richard Dangle that made this publication possible. The Series Editor and Volume Editor wish to thank West Georgia College's Lori Morgan, Beth Beggs, Darlene Bearden, Sheila Smith, Lisa Daniels, and Peggy Coleman for typing and printing assistance. Even here one finds a Georgia East-Asia

connection, since Mrs. Coleman grew up in the Republic of Korea. Lastly, special words of appreciation must be extended to West Georgia College Sociology Professor Lee-jan Jan, whose art work adorns both the 1983 and 1990 volumes. The 1990 cover contains Dr. Jan's calligraphic dedication to the Chinese youth "who died for their country in Tien An Men Square." This volume as a whole is dedicated to their memory.

JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN
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West Georgia College
Volume Editor

**The Historical Experience:
East Asians in Georgia**

Historical Documents Relating to Asian-Americans and to East Asia in the National Archives – Southeast Region

GAYLE PETERS, JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN, and MERLIN KIRK

The National Archives-Southeast Region, in Atlanta, Georgia, is one of eleven regional branches of the National Archives of the United States. A system of regional branches was established in 1969, when the National Archives created a network of archival repositories to enhance access to historically valuable records created by regional and field offices of the federal government. Regional branches were established in Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City, Fort Worth, Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. The records deposited in the Atlanta branch come from federal agencies in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The holdings of the Atlanta branch consist of approximately

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45,000 cubic feet of identified archives dating from 1716 through 1983, most of which are available to researchers.

In an effort to make additional important documents in the National Archives more accessible to researchers, the agency has engaged in a program of depositing in each of the regional archives branches collections of microfilm copies of significant records in National Archives custody. These microfilmed records contain basic documentation for ethnic, political, and economic history, international relations, political science, law, and genealogy. The additional documents comprise an important part of the Atlanta branch's holdings. Some 45,000 microfilm rolls of such records are available for inspection in the research room at the Atlanta Federal Archives and Records Center, 1557 St. Joseph Avenue, East Point, Georgia, 30344. Information about hours and services can be obtained by writing the National Archives- Southeast Region or calling (404) 763-7477.

United States Census Records

The articles in this volume by Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, and Beatty on the Chinese settlements in Savannah, Augusta, and Waynesboro, Georgia, are examples of the type of historical research on Asian-Americans which can be performed using United States census data such as is available in the Atlanta branch. A census of the United States population has been required by law every ten years since 1790. The Atlanta branch has microfilm copies of the 1790 through 1880 censuses; the 1900 and 1910 censuses; and fragments of the 1890 census, which was largely destroyed by a 1921 fire. The 1790-1840 censuses included the name, age, and state, territory, or country of birth of each free person in a household. The censuses of 1850-80 included a list of those persons who died between June of the previous year and June of the census year.

Some information from the 1920-80 censuses must legally be withheld from public access for seventy years, in the interest of individual privacy. Nevertheless, there is an abundance of available information for historians wishing to reconstruct residential, occupational, and other social patterns within Asian-American communities in Georgia as Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, and Beatty have done.

Federal Court Records

Federal court records are a second type of document useful for reconstructing the history of immigrants to Georgia from East Asia.

Court records contain notice of naturalization, or the process whereby an alien became a United States citizen. In the 1700s and 1800s a naturalization oath could be administered in a federal, state, or local court. Therefore, these records are often difficult to locate. The Atlanta branch has federal circuit and district court records for Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, and North and South Carolina generally covering the years 1789-1955. The branch also stores indexes for 1790-1906 South Carolina federal courts and for the Savannah, Georgia, federal courts from 1790-1860. If a researcher knows the court and the approximate date, federal court records of an immigrant's naturalization can be readily checked. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service also has naturalization records from 1906 to the present and can be contacted directly.

The Atlanta branch's judicial records can also be a source of information for scholars interested in the constitutional status of Asian-Americans in Georgia. One example of this type of research is Professor Beatty's account in this volume of litigation concerning the expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro in 1883.

United States Customs' Passenger Lists

Ship passenger lists are a third source useful for reconstructing immigration patterns from Asia and elsewhere. The Atlanta branch has microfilm copies of some ship passenger lists for Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports for 1820-73, including Charleston (1820-28), Mobile (1832-52), and Savannah (1820-31 and 1847-68). The National Archives has other passenger list records on microfilm which may be purchased or viewed in Washington.

Selective Service System Records

World War I draft registration cards are a fourth type of document which may be useful for the professional historian of Asian-American communities, as well as for the genealogist. Registration cards corroborate address and age information for individuals in Georgia and elsewhere in the United States. The Atlanta branch has cards

for most of the 24 million men who registered for the draft in 1917-18. The drafts were held as follows: (1) June 5, 1917, registered all men between the ages of 21 and 31; (2) June 5, 1918, registered all men who had become 21 since June 5, 1917; and (3) September 12, 1918, registered all men between the ages of 18 and 21 and 31 to 45.

These records are filed by draft board. In order to search them, the full name of the person and his address at the time of registration are necessary. For large cities a street address is necessary. For other areas the name of the county is usually sufficient. A photocopy of both sides of the draft card can be furnished for a fee.

The draft cards for some states (not Georgia) have been sent to other Archives branches for microfilming. The Atlanta branch presently stores cards for all states except Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wyoming, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

State Department Records on East Asia

In addition to census, federal court, ship passenger, and Selective Service System records on Asian-Americans, the Atlanta branch has a wealth of State Department information on state-to-state relations between the United States and nations and dependencies in East Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The places for which the Atlanta branch has information include: China and foreign colonies within China; Japan; Korea; Asiatic Russia, including Alaska before its purchase by the United States; Burma; Thailand; Indochina; Malaysia; Singapore; Brunei; Indonesia; the Philippines; the Hawaiian Islands; Tonga; Samoa; Tahiti; Fiji; New Britain Island; and the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific.

State Department documents in the Atlanta branch, like the four other types of records already described, contain an abundance of information on Asian and Pacific immigration to Georgia and to the United States. Additionally, the diplomatic documents are treasure troves of information on political and economic relations between Georgia and East Asia and the United States and East Asia from the time of the Continental Congress (1774) to the present. Diplomatic documents concern some of the most significant events in American-East Asian relations between 1774 and 1929: the first Sino-American Treaty (1844); Commodore Matthew Perry's 1853-54 opening of

Japan for the United States, and subsequent U.S.-Japanese treaties; the United States purchase of Russian America; changes in ownership of Taiwan; the Russo-Japanese War; the Bolshevik Revolution; and U.S. armed intervention in Asiatic Russia. Letters, notes, and diaries which are included in these records reflect the involvement of both U.S. government officials and of private citizens in East Asia since 1774. Diplomats, explorers, soldiers, sailors, journalists, businessmen, missionaries, "special agents", and Presidents are mentioned in these records, along with their hopes, fears, and plans.

These microfilms also contain information about Asian governments and individuals, European colonial powers with real or desired empires in Asia, and American viewpoints of those European desires.

These records can be used to study diplomatic history: the opening of relations with Japan; the treatment of China by the United States and European powers; and American perceptions of its role as an "Imperial Power." Territorial expansion of the American nation into the Pacific can be traced: Manifest Destiny; the purchase of Alaska; and the acquisition of Samoa, Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, Wake, and other Pacific Islands.

The development of Japan from a medieval to a modern state may be seen in records dating from Perry's trip, through Japan's late nineteenth century controversy with the United States over Japanese immigration.

Military adventures and activities are presented in reports on the Opium War, the Boxer Rebellion, Japan's wresting of Taiwan from China, the Spanish-American War in the Philippines, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Asian campaigns of World War I, especially the Allied armed intervention in Asiatic Russia in 1918. Foreign trade of individual nations is reported in United States consular, ministerial, and ambassadorial despatches.

The articles by Gabard and Peeples in this volume are but two examples of the type of historical research on American-East Asian relations that can be done using the National Archives' diplomatic records. These professional historians have been able to reconstruct the lives and careers of two Georgia diplomats active in China, and to ascribe some historical significance to their government service. Apart from the articles of Gabard and Peeples, it is unfortunate that

the type of diplomatic document pertaining to East Asia which is available in Atlanta has been under-utilized by Georgia college students and scholars. Researchers can use the underutilized documents in the Atlanta branch for writing undergraduate and graduate research papers, monographs, and scholarly books in East Asian history.

To encourage more scholars to use East Asian diplomatic documents, the Atlanta branch has made a conscious and costly effort to acquire even more microfilmed records pertaining to East Asia than are owned by its ten sister branches. Some fifteen microfilmed publications on China, Japan, and Korea exist in Atlanta and in no other Archives branch.¹

War Department Records Relating to East Asia

The Atlanta branch stores an abundance of United States War Department and War Department-related records about East Asia. These include: Records of the American Section of the Supreme War Council, 1917-19; Historical files of the American Expeditionary Forces in Siberia, 1918-20; Historical information relating to military posts, 1700-1900; Documents of the War Department's Bureau of Insular Affairs relating to the Philippines and other insular possessions of the United States, 1876-1906; and Records pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East 1933-45.²

Navy Department Records Relating to East Asia

The Navy Department records in the Atlanta branch are an especially varied and useful source of information for the researcher on Asian and Pacific history. The first collection of records deals with official exploration of the Pacific Ocean, especially the expedition around the perimeter of the Pacific Ocean by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes in 1832-42.³ A second collection of records contains correspondence from commanders of the United States' Asiatic Squadron, reorganized variously as the Pacific and as the East India Squadron between 1841 and 1886. The letters from the Squadrons' commanding officers concern such key events in modern East Asian history as Commodore Matthew C. Perry's successful 1853-54 mission to open Japan to United States trade.⁴

In summary, the Atlanta branch is a storehouse of untapped resources for the Georgia researcher interested either in the Asian-American experience within his/her own state, or in the historical, economic, and political ties between Georgia and East Asia and the United States and East Asia. In this volume articles by Pruden, Brown, Ganschow, Beatty, Gabard and Peebles are examples of the type of history which can be written using the archival resources which the Federal Government has made available to every Georgian free of charge.

NOTES

¹ The catalog *National Archives Microfilm Publications* (Washington, D.C.; National Archives and Records Service, 1974— with supplements) describes the total collection available in Washington. Many public and campus libraries have purchased microfilms from the National Archives and should be contacted concerning the extent and availability of their collection.

The microfilm publications are divided into two series identified by "M" numbers and "T" numbers. In general, records selected for filming as an "M" publication have high research value for a variety of studies, and the ratio of research value to volume is high. They are arranged so that scholars can glean information from the film copy easily. Usually each publication reproduces an entire series of records.

Most "M" publications have an introduction describing origin, content, and arrangement of the records filmed and listing related records. Some introductions include special aids, such as indexes or registers. Descriptive pamphlets are available for most "M" publications. The pamphlet contains the publications introduction (including special lists or indexes prepared to simplify the use of the microfilm publication) and the table of contents. These pamphlets are furnished to film purchasers and are available on request to prospective purchasers.

"T" publications supplement "M" publications. Unlike "M" publications they are not usually a reproduction of a complete series of records; that is, they may be a segment, by date or subject, of a larger series. In many cases "T" publications were produced in response to a special reference request. Also, over the years the National Archives has received microfilm produced by other Federal agencies. Some of this film, when it is not defense classified and is deemed of sufficient research value, is made available for sale as "T" publications. These publications contain no introductions nor are descriptive pamphlets available for them.

Fifteen microfilm publications unavailable in other Regional Archive branches have been acquired by the Atlanta branch to support East Asian research in the Southeast. These publications include both State Department and War Department records:

Consular Despatches: Amoy, China 1844-1906, M 100, 15 rolls; Chungking (Chongqing), China, 1896-1906, M 104, 1 roll; Kanagawa, Japan, 1861-1897, M 135, 2 rolls; Seoul, Korea 1888-1906, M 167, 2 rolls; Yokohama, Japan, 1897-1906, M 136, 5 rolls.

Decimal File 1910-1929: China Internal Affairs, M 239, 227 rolls; China-U.S. Relations, M 339, 2 rolls; China-Other States, M 241, 34 rolls; Japan-Internal Affairs, M 422, 43 rolls; Japan-U.S. Relations, M 423, 9 rolls; Japan-Other States, M 424, 1 roll.

Other State Department Records: Relating to World War I and its termination, 1914-1929, M 367, 159 rolls; General Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1918-1931, M 820, 160 rolls;

War Department Records: Historical Files of the Allied Expeditionary Forces, Siberia, M 917, 11 rolls; and Records of the American Section, Supreme War Council, M 923, 21 rolls.

The scope of the East Asian diplomatic documents available in Atlanta is vast chronologically and topically. The papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-89, contain occasional reference to East Asia, especially after 1783, when the first United States ship to China inaugurated extensive commerce between the two nations.

Papers of the Continental Congress are available as: 1774-1789, M 247, 204 rolls; miscellaneous papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, M 332, 8 rolls; and foreign letters of the Continental Congress and the State Department, 1774-1789, M 61, 1 roll. A descriptive pamphlet is available. These papers make reference to the earliest contacts between the United States and East Asia following the first voyage of a United States vessel to China and back in 1783-84. The index to the papers of the Continental Congress reveals the following entries concerning East Asia: Canton-47 entries; China-41 entries; Cochin China-1 entry; East Indies-102 entries; East India companies-48 entries; Sea of Japan-2 entries.

M 28, 5 rolls, continues the "foreign letters" (M 61) of the papers of the Continental Congress and contains record copies of communications addressed by the State Department to Diplomatic and Consular representatives abroad. Notices of appointments, approval or disapproval of proposals or actions, inquiries and information, transmittal letters conveying enclosures, or actual instructions, are included. While letters to representatives of European colonial powers constitute the vast majority of the correspondence, communications addressed to them may concern colonial East Asian activities and subjects. Only one East Asian post is listed: Canton (Guangzhou), 1793-1800. The earliest substantial body of documents in Atlanta concerning East Asia is the official correspondence between the State Department in Washington and its ambassadors in East Asia from 1789 to 1906. Copies of diplomatic instructions sent by the State Department to American representatives abroad give notices of appointments, convey information or inquiries, express approval or disapproval of proposals and actions, transmit enclosures, or present instructions. The Atlanta branch owns U.S. diplomatic instructions to ambassadors in China, Japan, Korea, Russia, Siam, and Hawaii. The branch also owns documents relating to special U.S. Diplomatic missions between 1833-1906 to Borneo, China, Cochin China, Hawaii, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Siam, and Tonga.

Most of the ambassadorial documents reflect economic or diplomatic relations of specific events in the area such as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) or the Spanish American War (1898). Both diplomatic instructions from the State Department to ambassadors abroad, as well as diplomatic despatches sent by ministers and representatives back to the department, are stored in the Archives branch. Diplomatic despatches from each country have been kept separate and it is thus possible to quickly locate the flow of information each diplomat furnished the State Department. When the instructions are juxtaposed to the despatches, a researcher can gain insight into discussion and resolution of issues by ambassadors and by the Secretary of State. Despatches from United States diplomatic representatives in East Asian nations in the Archives branch include:

Despatches from United States Ministers to China, 1843-1906, M 92, 131 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications concern China Proper, Manchuria, Tibet, Taiwan, Korea, the Spanish and U.S. Philippines, French Indochina and Asiatic Russia. The communications discuss the opening of treaty ports and extra-territorial rights of American citizens, the Opium War, Taiping Rebellion, Sino-Japanese

Wars, Boxer Rebellion, and requests for more U.S. Naval vessels in Chinese waters. Despatches also describe the problems of piracy, treatment of shipwrecked American seamen, protection of missionaries, Chinese emigration to and exclusion from the United States, claims of American citizens in China against the Chinese government, prohibition of the opium trade, the coolie trade, floods, famines, epidemics, shipping, trade, natural resources, agriculture, education, roads, river transport, mail service, the Trans-Siberian and other railroads, telephone and telegraph services. Enclosures consist of: notes to and from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, consular reports on commerce, pamphlets, newspapers, and confidential communications on sensitive events.

Despatches from United States ministers to Japan, 1855-1906, M 133, 82 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications cover the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars and changes in Japan's system of government. Enclosures include notes to and from the Japanese foreign ministry, reports from American consuls in Japan, letters from private U.S. citizens, newspapers, pamphlets, and confidential despatches.

Despatches from United States ministers to Korea, 1883-1905, M 134, 22 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications contain notes to American representatives from the Korean foreign ministry and from private American citizens, letters from American representatives to Korean officials, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings.

Despatches from United States ministers to Russia, 1808-1905, M 134, 22 rolls. A roll list can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These despatches concern fishing disputes in the North Pacific, territorial disputes over Alaska and the northwest part of North America, the Russo-Japanese War, and the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905. Correspondence from the American consulate in Vladivostok, Asiatic Russia, is included.

Despatches from United States ministers to Siam, 1882-1906, M 172, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These communications contain notes from the Siamese Foreign Office with royal orders; announcements of court ceremonies; complaints against citizens and officials of the United States; pamphlets; newspapers; and confidential despatches. From 1882 to 1903, the posts of minister resident and consul general were combined. Only diplomatic, rather than consular communication, is reproduced.

References to East Asia can also be found in the Archives branch in correspondence between the State Department in Washington and U.S. ambassadors stationed in European nations with Asiatic colonies: Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, and Spain.

The Atlanta branch also owns correspondence between the State Department and its consular representatives abroad. These papers are arranged by the name of the city or post, and describe economic, political, and social conditions. Many despatches are accompanied by copies of correspondence between consuls and local government officials, U.S. diplomatic representatives, non-U.S. consuls, U.S. Navy officers commanding vessels stationed in foreign waters, and American citizens abroad. The Archives branch owns copies of U.S. consular correspondence with the following East Asian cities:

Despatches from United States consuls in Amoy (Xiamen), China, 1844-1906, M 100, 15 rolls. An introduction can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These despatches contain reports from consular agencies at Tamsui (Tanshui), Keelung, (Jilong), Takao (Gaoxiong) and Taiwanfoo (Tainan, 1875-86; Taizhong, 1887-95), all on the island of Taiwan; as well as, for a brief period in the late 1870s, Swatow (Shantou), China. Many despatches enclose tables of consular fees received, arrivals

and departures of American vessels, and trade statistics. Some despatches describe mutinies aboard American vessels, anti-foreign and anti-missionary disturbances, including the Boxer Rebellion, an anti-American boycott of 1905, shipment of Chinese contract laborers, epidemics, and the Xiamen tea trade. The papers are rich in materials concerning Taiwan, which was under Chinese control until 1895, when it became a dependency of Japan. In addition to reports of journeys made to the island by various American consuls, there is material on an abortive punitive expedition of 1867, led by Rear Admiral Henry Bell, commanding the U.S. Asiatic Squadron. Also included is material on: Consul Charles Le Gendre's 1867 agreement with aboriginal tribes for the protection of shipwrecked sailors; an 1874 Japanese punitive expedition; and Japan's 1895 occupation of the island.

Despatches from United States consuls in Chungking (Chongqing) China, 1896-1906, m 104, 1 roll. Papers are arranged chronologically, with an introduction and register. This collection contains despatches from Chongqing, from 1896 to 1901, when the consulate closed; and from 1905-06.

Despatches from United States consuls in Kanagawa, Japan, 1861-1897, M 135, 22 rolls. A roll list can be found in the catalog: *National Archives Microfilm Publications*, p. 38.

Despatches from United States consuls in Yokohama, Japan, 1897-1906, M 136, 5 rolls. An introduction can be found at the beginning of the first roll. These records contain the Kanagawa post records (Kanagawa is a present-day suburb of Yokohama) found on M 135. The documents contain communications sent from Yokohama during the period when that post was classified as a consulate general. The consular despatches cover trade statistics, arrivals and departures of American vessels, social and political conditions, and agricultural and industrial processes.

Despatches from United States consuls in Medan-Padang, Sumatra, 1853-1898, T 106, 2 rolls. A roll list can be found in the 1974 *National Archives Microfilm Publications* catalog, p. 42.

Despatches from United States consuls in Seoul, Korea, 1886-1906, M 167, 2 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. During the period covered by these despatches Seoul was a combined diplomatic and consular post of the Department of State. The ranking U.S. official held the title of Minister Resident and Consul General.

The above records contain only consular material. Notes from foreign embassies in Washington to the State Department include communications from foreign ministries, heads of state, and private citizens. They also include copies of proclamations and newspapers. The Atlanta branch owns copies of notes to the State Department from the embassies of the following Asian and Pacific nations:

Notes from the Chinese legation, 1868-1906, M 98, 6 rolls descriptive pamphlet available.

Notes from the Japanese legation, 1858-1906, M 163, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These notes include communications from Japanese rulers or officials of the Japanese foreign office to Presidents of the United States or to Secretaries of State.

Notes from the Korean legation, 1858-1906, M 166, 1 roll. The first roll contains an introduction and includes letters and telegrams from Korean rulers and officials to the President of the United States or to Secretaries of State as well as drafts of communications from American officials to Korean officials; memoranda of conversations; and drafts of proposed agreements between Korea and the United States.

Notes from Russian legation, 1809-1906, M 39, 12 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These volumes contain letters of complaint against United States officials and citizens, pamphlets, and newspapers. The communications are in French; many are accompanied by English translations prepared by the Department of State. In-

cluded are some communications from Russian consular officials in the United States and from the Russian Chancellor; memoranda by the State Department officials commenting on the notes; and drafts and texts of agreements between Russia and the United States. The notes and their enclosures concern difficulties between the two countries over Russian America; the position of the Greek Orthodox and Moravian Churches in Alaska, the purchase of Alaska in 1867; the Fur Seal Arbitration; the 'Open Sea' question; the cession of the Kurile Islands by Russia to Japan in exchange for the northern half of Sakhalin Island; the attitude of Russia toward the 1893 Hawaiian revolution; possible participation by Russia in the Chinese coolie trade; the leasing of Dalian to Russia by China in 1898; the Boxer Rebellion; Sino-Japanese differences over Korea; the Russo-Japanese War, including the matter of Chinese neutrality; tariffs; extradition; international exposition; exchange of scientific and technical information; and transportation.

Notes from the Siamese legation, 1876-1906, T 161, 1 roll. Papers are arranged chronologically.

In 1910 the State Department adopted a decimal classification system which combined diplomatic and consular communications. Records were divided into several subject classes, including internal affairs of a country and political relations between countries. The decimal file consists of nine primary classes numbered 0-8, each covering a broad subject area. Under class 7 'Political Relations of States', the documents are arranged according to the countries concerned. Each country has been assigned a two-digit number. For example, the State Department has grouped the records relating to World War I on the file classification for political relations between Austria (63) and Serbia (72), the initial belligerents in that war. The subjects covered include the conduct of the war and neutrality, the Russian Revolution in Asia, and Allied intervention. The total microfilm consists of 518 rolls, but the Atlanta branch possesses only the first 159 rolls. While the 159 rolls include a complete list of documents in the microfilm publication, the documents themselves relating to certain facets of neutrality, neutral commerce, prisoners of war and the termination of the war are not available from the Atlanta office.

Political relations may be with the United States or with other states. Abstracts of documents are filmed on the first roll or rolls of each microfilm publication. The Atlanta branch has the following decimal files on microfilm for China and Japan between 1910 and 1929:

Records of the Department of State relating to internal affairs of China, 1910-1929, M 329, 227 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The records are chiefly instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials, diplomatic notes exchanged, pamphlets, pictures, newspaper clippings, memoranda prepared by officials and correspondence between officials and government departments with private firms and persons. The subjects include: the Chinese Revolution of October 1911; the ascendancy of Chiang K'ai-shek; biographical sketches of political and military leaders and summaries of the political, military, social, and economic development in the provinces since 1911; the movement for restoration of the Manchus; political and military conflict between southern and northern China; Civil War and Revolution in north China, 1922-1928; the relationship between the Communists and the Guomintang; Chiang's break with the Communists in 1928; involvement of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe in China; public order and safety; and railway licensing and construction.

Records of the State Department relating to political relations between the United States and China, 1910-1929, M 339, 2 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These records include instructions to and despatches from diplomatic and consular officials concerned with extraterritoriality in China, treaties on tariffs, friendship, commerce, arbitration, navigation, and renunciation of war.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between China and

the United States 1910-1929, M 341, 34 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The records are mostly instructions to, and despatches from, diplomatic and consular officials. These records concern: readjustment of China's treaty relations with foreign powers to provide for tariff autonomy and the abolition of extraterritoriality; reaction by the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and Portugal to proposals of the Chinese government, plus a draft of the reply by the United States to the proposals, 1925; Chinese proposals for treaty revision, 1928; the question of extraterritoriality; the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament, 1921-22; and Sino-Japanese relations.

Records of the Department of State relating to internal affairs of Japan 1910-1929, M 422, 43 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The papers are arranged by subject in a decimal filing system, with a list of documents on rolls one through three. The system gives brief abstracts of the documents and serves as a finding aid to them. Some of the documents on the list do not appear in the records because of national security restrictions. These records concern Japanese military activities abroad; the Tokyo-Yokohama Earthquake of 1923; proposed loans to Japanese cities and commercial enterprises; visits of Japanese vessels to other nations; patents; trademarks; copyrights; immigration; emigration; Taiwan; and Sakhalin Island.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between the United States and Japan 1910-1929, M 423, 9 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These records concern Japanese immigration to mainland United States: the Immigration Act of 1924; anti-American feelings in Japan; anti-Japanese feelings in the United States; the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1908; picture brides; adopted children; rumors of war between the United States and Japan; and relations between Hawaii and Japan and between the Philippine Islands and Japan.

Records of the Department of State relating to political relations between Japan and other states, 1910-1929, M 424, 1 roll, descriptive pamphlet available. These records are mostly instructions to and despatches from our diplomatic and consular officials in Japan and in other countries. Also included are memoranda prepared by officials of the department, and correspondence with officials of other government departments, and with private firms and individuals. These records relate to the foreign policy of Japan, treaties and agreements between Japan and other states, and relations between Japan and Korea.

The Atlanta branch also owns microfilm copies of the following miscellaneous records of the State Department:

List of United States diplomatic officers, 1798-1939, M 586, 3 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by nation and post, thereafter chronologically. This list presents the names of the officers, their titles or grades, nationalities, places of birth, residences when appointed, and dates of appointments for each post. Countries of East Asia that are listed include: China, Cochin-China, Japan, Korea, Russia, and Siam.

List of United States consular officers, 1789-1939, M 587, 21 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by post (usually city or town), thereafter chronologically. This list contains the names of the consular officers with their titles or grades, nationalities, places of birth, residences when appointed, and dates of appointment. Consular posts in the following East Asian/Pacific nations are included: Celebes, China, Cochin-China, Fiji, Formosa (Taiwan), Guam, Japan, Java, Korea, Marshall Islands, New Britain Islands, Philippines, Russia, Samoa, Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), Siam (Thailand), Sumatra, and Tahiti.

Papers relating to the cession of Alaska, 1856-1867, T 495, 1 roll, is arranged chronologically, and records the negotiations between Russia and the United States

over the cession of Alaska. Included is correspondence between both parties as well as the official documents of the transaction.

"The Alaska Treaty" by David Hunter Miller, 1867, T 1024, 1 roll, contains the proceedings and records of the treaty that transferred Alaska to the United States from Russia. This document was prepared by David Hunter Miller, who was editor for the Department of State in 1867.

Records of the Russian-American Company, 1802, 1817-1867, M 11, 77 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These Russian-language records consist of the history and activities of the Russian-American Company, established by Tsar Paul I in 1799 and granted a monopoly of trade in Russia's North American possessions for twenty years. This monopoly was renewed in 1821 and 1842 and was in effect when the United States purchased the territory in 1867. Their records concern the business of the company, colonization, and relations with other countries having interest in the area.

Minutes of treaty conferences between United States and Japanese representatives, and treaty drafts, March 11-July 22, 1872, T 119, 1 roll. These minutes contain the notes, drafts, minutes and list of personnel participating in Japanese-American treaty talks. The eventual treaty called for American aid in scientific, educational, and agricultural endeavors.

Records of the Department of State relating to the Paris Peace Commission, 1898, T 954, 3 rolls. These records contain the transactions of the commission that reached a settlement to the Spanish-American War. The documents include official correspondence, notes, memos, and the final terms for ending the war.

Personal and confidential letters from Secretary of State Lansing to President Wilson, 1915-1918, M 743, 1 roll, descriptive pamphlet available. This collection of press copies of personal and confidential letters from Secretary of State Robert Lansing to President Wilson between August 1915 and July 1918 concern diplomatic relations with Russia and Japan, despatches received from United States diplomatic and consular officers in Asia, and notes to Japan, China, Russia, Col. Edward House, and cabinet members.

Records of the Department of State relating to World War I and its termination, 1914-1929, M 367, 159 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available.

General records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (ACTNP), 1918-31, M 820, 160 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These papers contain: the correspondence of the commission; minutes and reports of the various committees, councils, commissions, field missions, and plenary sessions; minutes of the meetings of the Conference of Ambassadors, 1920-31; and memoranda, publications, pamphlets, maps, and personal records. This microfilm publication contains 563 rolls; the Atlanta branch possesses only the first 160. These 160 rolls include an explanatory key; the complete list of documents, and records relating to general commission activities; minutes of meetings of the Conference of Ambassadors, 1920-31; and matters discussed by the Supreme War Council, by the Supreme Economic Council, and by committees and commissions subordinated to the ACTNP. The 160 rolls do not include other questions considered by the Peace Conference, or political affairs world-wide, especially Asia.

²War Department records relating to East Asia in the Atlanta branch include *Records of the American section of the Supreme War Council, 1917-19*, M 923, 21 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The Supreme War Council was created in late 1917 to coordinate prosecution of World War I. It considered important policy questions that only the heads of government could decide; it made policy, not plans. Subjects considered by the Council included the composition and employment of a general reserve, use of American troops, intervention in Asiatic Russia, and terms and implementations of the Armistice. The records of the American section of the Supreme War Council consist of letters, reports,

studies, minutes, telegrams, charts, maps, pamphlets, and books sent to and received from American, French, British, and Italian personnel. These documents reflect the role of the American section in collecting and analyzing data to support the Supreme War Council's work in coordinating the Allied war effort in 1918, in implementing the terms of the Armistice, and in drafting peace treaties in 1919. This series of records includes reports from American liaison officers at Marshall Ferdinand Foch's Headquarters; reports from military attachés and observers at Allied and neutral capitals on political and military conditions in Russia, Germany, and other countries; minutes of the meetings of permanent military representatives; and minutes of the meetings of the Supreme War Council. The records contain considerable information on the Allied intervention in Siberia, on the political and economic situation in northeast Asia (Siberia, Manchuria, Mongolia), and on the Czech Legion in Siberia. War Department records include the following record groups:

Historical files of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) in Siberia, 1918-20, M 917, 11 rolls, descriptive pamphlet is available. These historical files contain: important reports relating to the activities to the AEF in Vladivostok, Shkotovo, and the Suchan Mines during 1919; English translations of Russian, Japanese, and Chinese newspapers published in or near Asiatic Russia; accounts of strikes by railroad and mine workers and partisan guerrilla activity in Shkotovo and Suchan Mines districts during 1919; and reports of offices in the AEF.

Historical information relating to military posts and other installations, 1700-1900, M 661, 8 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Information derives from a 27-volume "Outline Index of Military Forts and Stations," of the U.S. Army's Adjutant General's office. There is reference to U.S. installations in the Philippines and the Pacific Ocean.

Official Published Documents to Insular Possessions of the United States including the Philippines, 1876-1906, M 24, 3 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. The documents cover the entire period of the American military governments in the Philippine Islands as well as the early years of civil government. The Bureau of Insular Affairs was created in the War Department in 1898 to administer the civil affairs of possessions acquired as a result of the Spanish-American War. During the early years of its existence the Bureau made a comprehensive collection of all reports, hearings, acts, and other relevant printed matter from governmental sources relating to the Philippine Islands in addition to some materials relating to Alaska and Hawaii. These documents were made part of the Bureau's library.

One final collection of War Department-Related records on East Asia in the Archives branch is: *Records of Nazi Cultural and Research Institutions, and Records Pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East 1933-45*, T 82, 550 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. There are files pertaining to economic, military, and cultural relations with Japan, the Pacific islands, and China, especially its Shandong Province. These records were captured at the end of World War II and microfilmed by American officials.

Records of the United States Exploring Expedition Under the Command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes 1832-42, M 75, 27 rolls. An introduction may be found at the beginning of the first roll. By an 1836 act of Congress, the President was authorized to "send out a surveying and exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas." The United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Lt. Charles Wilkes, left the United States in 1838 and returned in 1842 after exploring Pacific Islands and the northwest coast of America. The records include journals and logs kept by officers and men of the expedition. Preparations for the expedition, activities during the expedition itself, and courts-martial of certain officers during the expedition are documented.

Records relating to the United States surveying expeditions to the North Pacific, 1852-1863, M 88, 27 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. These volumes record the actions of exploring expeditions as they surveyed areas from the South China Sea to the Bering

Straits. The expedition made landings in Japan, China, and Pacific Islands and assisted Commodore Perry with his 1853-54 mission to Japan.

⁴ *Letters received by the Secretary of the Navy from commanding officers of squadrons, 1841-1886*, M 89, 300 rolls, descriptive pamphlet available. Papers are arranged by name of squadron, and thereafter chronologically.

Beginning in 1815 the American Navy was divided into six permanent squadrons: the Mediterranean Squadron, the West India Squadron, the Pacific Squadron, the Brazil Squadron, the East India Squadron, and the Home Squadron. All of these except the West India Squadron were still in existence in 1841, when the Navy first filed separately the letters received by the Secretary of the Navy from commanding officers of squadrons. In 1866 the Pacific Squadron was divided into the North Pacific and the South Pacific Squadrons, while the Asiatic Squadron had been established in 1865. The letters from commanding officers relate to operations in wartime, negotiations of treaties, observations of military institutions and affairs in foreign countries, and personnel matters. Significant events documented in these letters include Perry's 1853-54 mission to Japan. The squadrons concerned with Asia and the Pacific and the dates of the letters from their commanding officers are: East India Squadron, February 26, 1841-December 7, 1861; Pacific Squadron, December 30, 1841-June 19, 1866; North Pacific Squadron, May 26, 1866- June 25, 1869; South Pacific Squadron, June 31, 1866-May 27, 1869; Pacific Station, June 26, 1869-August 13, 1872; North Pacific Station, September 23, 1872-April 30, 1878; South Pacific Station, September 16, 1872-April 19, 1878; Pacific Station, July 9, 1878-November 11, 1886; and Asiatic Squadron, August 1, 1865-November 24, 1885.

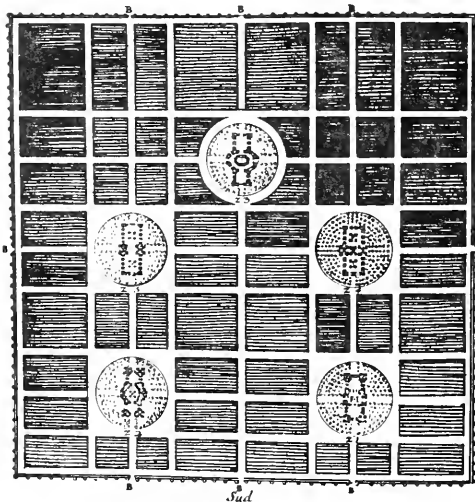
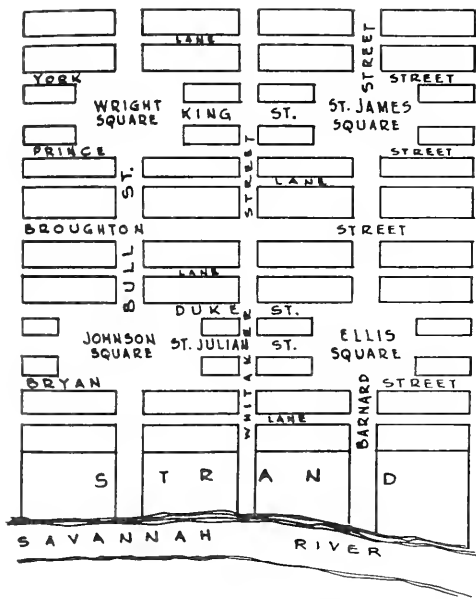
History of the Chinese in Savannah, Georgia

GEORGE B. PRUDEN, JR.*

Over two hundred and fifty years ago James Oglethorpe led more than a hundred people from England to establish Georgia. On February 12, 1733, they reached the Savannah River and shortly afterwards began clearing trees and building houses. Savannah, as well as Georgia, therefore celebrated its semiquincentennial anniversary in 1983. Savannah's numerous ethnic groups — Jewish, Afro-American, Native American, German, Greek, Irish, Italian and English — commemorated their considerable contributions to the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the city. Another ethnic group, the Chinese, have lived continuously in Georgia's first city for just over a century and have also contributed to its life and diversity, but they have done so quietly. In order to provide a more complete picture of Savannah's history, the purpose of this article is to examine the Chinese community in one of the nation's most historical cities. Doing so will provide a more complete picture of Savannah's ethnic mosaic.

Savannah's reputation for beauty may in part be due to Chinese influence. Oglethorpe, who personally laid out the original plan for Savannah, may have been trying to pattern it after Beijing (Peking), the capital of China.¹ In both cities a series of parks and squares were placed in a regular pattern to interrupt the boring repetition of rectangular blocks formed by straight streets intersecting at right angles.

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These maps appeared in Laura Palmer Bell's "A New Theory on the Plan of Savannah," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 48 (June 1964), pp. 159-60, with these captions: "A tracing by Stephen P. Bond of the first four squares laid out by Oglethorpe in 1733. Shown in the Deputy Surveyor General Thomas Shruder's *Resurvey of the Town of Savannah*, 5th day of February 1770. Plan of the *New City of Peking* by Father Gabriel Malgalhes S.J. from the *Novelle Relations de la Chine*, published in Paris in 1688 by C. Barbin." Used with the permission of Stephen P. Bond and The Georgia Historical Society.

Laura Plamer Bell has amassed a body of circumstantial evidence to support this thesis, and a comparison of the maps of the two cities will show the similarity. (See maps accompanying this article.)² Moreover, chinoiserie was becoming fashionable in Europe in the early eighteenth century; so it is possible that Oglethorpe, who was known to consort with the literary figures of his time, brought with him to Georgia an admiration for Beijing, and laid out a similar city plan for Savannah.³ Thus, the first Chinese contribution to this city may have arrived with the earliest settlers and may be one of the historic features which visitors and residents most admire about Savannah.

Chinese people did not arrive until substantially after Savannah's establishment in 1733. Although a few Chinese seamen may have visited Savannah aboard ships, the first documented Chinese visitor arrived in 1847, just three years after Caleb Cushing negotiated the first Sino-American treaty. On November 20, 1847, Lin Keng Chiu (Lin Jingzhou) arrived in Savannah from Xiamen (Amoy) in the company of a Dr. Cumming.⁴ Neither the reason for Lin's visit nor how long he stayed is known. A week after his arrival he was taken by Dr. Cumming to visit some friends in the home of J.B. Reid, where Lin commemorated the event with an inscription in Chinese and English. "I saw those kind friends," he wrote, "and was very much pleased with them, especially the nice ladies."⁵ For the remainder of the nineteenth century, connections between China and Savannah were more incidental than substantive. John Elliott Ward, a mayor of Savannah during the 1850s, became United States Minister to China. He was appointed by President James Buchanan in 1858 to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin. (See Gabard's article on Ward in this volume.) Ward had never been to China, nor had he any previous diplomatic experience, yet he was aware of that East Asian nation and conditions there. One of his good friends was the Episcopal bishop of Savannah, whose sister was married to the bishop of the American Episcopal Church in China. Ward also knew ships' captains and American naval officers who had been active in Western Pacific and Chinese ports. Ward travelled for part of his journey aboard the flagship of the United States Asiatic squadron, commanded by his friend and Savannah native Commodore Josiah Tattnall, who broke American neutrality to give aid to the beleaguered British force at the Dagu forts. Tattnall coined the phrase:

"Blood is thicker than water."⁶ Ward returned to Washington shortly before the U.S. Civil War in 1861. When war broke out, Ward sided with the Confederacy and returned to Savannah. He brought with him some Chinese fireworks, which he gave to a friend, who set them off on his plantation to the delight of his guests.⁷

The foregoing establish the fact that prior to any Chinese coming to Savannah to live, the city had some, albeit tenuous, links to China. The elite of Savannah appear to have kept up with current events through churchmen and through kinsmen like Ward and Tattnall. Upper class Savannahians thought themselves cosmopolitan as a result. Savannah was moreover already becoming an ethnically diverse city. Jews had lived in Savannah since the 1730s and a synagogue has been in continuous operation there since 1735. Large numbers of Irish and smaller numbers of immigrants from other European countries made up about half the population of Savannah by 1860. Yet no clearly defined anti-foreign prejudice was discernible. Know-Nothingism had appeared in the 1850s, but had little impact on local politics.⁸ When the first Chinese arrived in Savannah, they were met with tolerance and curiosity, not hostility.

From 1785, when three stranded seamen inadvertently became the first Chinese residents of the east coast of the United States, until the late 1840s, the total number of Chinese in this country never amounted to more than a few dozen.⁹ Being an east coast port, Savannah did not experience the waves of Chinese immigration that followed the discovery of gold in California and which brought over 41,000 Chinese by 1854. Prejudice against them arose quickly in San Francisco and other west coast areas where they were concentrated.¹⁰

Right after the Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, some Southerners contemplated bringing in Chinese laborers as a cheap source of labor to replace freed slaves. (See Brown and Ganschow's and Beatty's articles in this volume on Georgia Chinese outside Savannah. Brown and Ganschow indicated that a number of Chinese were brought to Augusta to dig a canal, and they became the first Chinese to live in Georgia.) The 1870 U.S. Census is the first one that places any Chinese in the state.¹¹ (See Appendix for Census data on Chinese residents).

Savannah's first Chinese resident was William Ah Sang, who arrived in September 1872. He visited the newspaper office in native dress to announce his arrival as a tea merchant and impressed a reporter as much by his novelty as by his dignified manner and fluent English. Although he was described as "converted to the faith and a member of Christ Church," the headline read "The Heathen Chinese."¹² He evidently did not remain in Savannah, for no further reference to him appears, and the 1880 census did not enumerate any Chinese in Savannah or Chatham County.

It was during the late 1870s that prejudice against Chinese in California reached a fever pitch, and many of them moved to other parts of the United States to find a more hospitable environment.¹³ This internal migration probably accounts for the arrival of the first permanent Chinese settlers in Savannah. According to the daughter of one of these early Chinese residents, among the reasons for them to choose Savannah, was that "some were reminded of their beloved Guangzhou (Canton) by the Savannah harbor and the green landscape and wonderful climate."¹⁴

The first Chinese to make Savannah his permanent home arrived about 1881 and opened the Sing Wing hand laundry on one of the major downtown streets. He followed the pattern set by other Chinese in the United States who found a ready clientele for hand laundries. These self-contained businesses did not compete with white labor, as laundry had traditionally been done in the home by slaves, servants, or female members of the family. Most of the Chinese who set up these laundries were from the rural areas of southeastern China. They knew little English, were uneducated, and lacked the skills needed to engage in the kinds of businesses already established by the existing population. By long hours of hard work these foreign entrepreneurs carved out a niche for themselves in the business life of Savannah. Other Chinese who came during the 1880s also opened laundries, and by 1890 there were eight of them listed in the *Savannah City Directory*. One Chinese opened a curio shop in 1890 but soon went out of business and moved away.¹⁵

Almost all of the Chinese who came to Savannah during the latter half of the nineteenth century were male and either single or separated from their families. Very few Chinese women left their homeland for the United States. Between 1848 and 1868 only three per

cent of the Chinese arriving in San Francisco were female, and this percentage barely increased after the initial period of immigration. At least two Chinese females were in Savannah during the 1880s, but neither stayed very long. One of them worked in a Chinese laundry, was prosecuted for vagrancy by her employer, and despite being a woman was sentenced to three months on the chain gang.¹⁶

The bachelor Chinese laundrymen understandably were homesick for their native country and families. One of them reminisced to his family that they stuck together and would walk down to the harbor in the evening and watch the ships plying the river by moonlight.¹⁷ The pathos of their situation has been captured in a poem by Gerald Chan Sieg, a daughter of one of these early Chinese laundrymen in Savannah:

LAUNDRYMAN

If I could hear once more
The call of dark winged birds across the fields
Of rice and slim young bamboo,

If I could see once more
A crane with yellow legs so straight
Among cool water grasses,

If I could touch again
Her hands whose fingers in their sleeve of scarlet
Are softly curled and gentle,

My soul would be content,
O gods,
To iron away eternity.¹⁸

The only record that exists for some of them are newspaper accounts of their brushes with the law. Under the headline: "ARREST OF THE HEATHEN CHINEE," the *Savannah Morning News* reported the apprehension of two laundrymen for possession of stolen goods. One of them, Lu Chung (Loo Chang), was "the man who married a white woman at Waynesboro some time ago, and afterwards was run out of that city."¹⁹ (See Beatty's article in this journal on the Way-

nesboro incident). Another incident involving Chinese was reported with a touch of amusement. Hung Lee brought charges against Charlie Lee for failing to repay \$100. The preliminary trial produced an interesting culture clash. Hung Lee refused to take the Christian oath, and Charlie Lee, claiming to be a "Sunday School boy," refused to participate in a Chinese-style oath. This required that a chicken's head be cut off in the presence of both parties, whereupon they would agree to suffer the same fate if they did not tell the truth. The impasse was not resolved, and the judge dismissed the charge for lack of evidence. It was clear from the account that the newspaper reporter believed Charlie Lee was taking advantage of the situation. Charlie, he noted, was known as a sharp dealer and was probably hiding behind his Christian affiliation to avoid being found guilty.²⁰

Yet not all the references to the Chinese in the local newspaper were derogatory either in tone or substance. The *Morning News* reported the naturalization of three Chinese in August 1888 and noted that Savannah now had four Chinese citizens.²¹ A Chinese laundryman claimed to have been assaulted by two white men. Sang Lung positively identified one of his white attackers, who was arrested and put in jail despite an alibi and the police chief's belief in his innocence.²¹

How deep or widespread anti-Chinese prejudice was in Savannah around the turn of the century is hard to determine from United States Census data. Although the number of Chinese in Savannah had almost tripled between 1890 and 1900, as shown in the Appendix, even then there were fewer than four dozen in all. A clearer indication may be the city ordinance prohibiting the operation of opium dens in 1895. Aldermen voted unanimously to allow its second reading at the same meeting in which it was introduced and passed. About a decade later, when the first Chinese children born in Savannah reached school age, they were not allowed to attend the white schools. Local education officials may have strictly interpreted the 1877 Georgia constitution: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races." Only in the mid-1920s were Chinese children allowed to attend white schools in Savannah.²³

Toward the end of the 1890s the character of the small Chinese community in Savannah began to change. Chung Ta-p'eng, who also used his boyhood nickname, Chan, had arrived on April 6, 1889.



The first Chinese family of Savannah: father, Robert Chung Chan; mother, Cecelia Ann Lee, holding Robert Earl; behind her right shoulder is Ah'ge (Archie); at extreme left is Gerald (néé Geraldine); to her left is Sin-fah; and in the right foreground is Sandor. A sixth child was born later. Used by permission of Gerald Chan Sieg.

That night the Independent Presbyterian church, a prominent Savannah landmark, burned in a spectacular fire. Seeing the blaze from the Sing Wing Laundry, he interpreted this event as a sign that he should join that church. He began attending it once it was rebuilt and became a member. Upon baptism he was given the Christian name Robert and entered on the church roll as Robert Chung Chan because the clerk did not realize that his Chinese surname was Chung. Rather than cause any embarrassment, he accepted Chan as the surname for himself and his family.²⁴

Few Savannahians were aware that this dignified and unassuming young Chinese was an ardent anti-Qing dynasty patriot and had left China to escape punishment as a revolutionary. He had received a classical Chinese education and supported the Chinese republican revolutionary movement then led by Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen). He traveled around the southeastern United States soliciting funds for the Chinese revolution from his fellow countrymen and forwarded the money to China's republican revolutionaries. After his marriage in 1897, and especially once the first of his six children was born, he was not able to travel so widely for the cause he cherished. (See photo of Chan family accompanying this article.) After trying without success to operate a farm and a restaurant he was taken in as a partner of Willie Chin & Co., a Chinese laundry.²⁵

By 1900 the number of hand laundries, of which there had been eight in 1890, totaled fifteen.²⁶ Among the new arrivals by 1900 were two clansmen of Robert Chung Chan from his native village in Kwangtung Province who spelled their surname "Jung." When they also brought wives about 1900 and started their families, the Chinese community took on a different character. Robert Chung Chan advised his kinsmen and the other newly arrived Chinese to live apart from each other. He understood the distrust of Chinatowns that Caucasians felt in San Francisco and New York. "Too many hatchet men out west," he told them. "Too many tongs [secret, frequently warlike societies] in New York. If we live apart, they will like us better and not be afraid."²⁷ Robert Chung Chan, probably more than anyone else, prevented a Chinatown from developing in Savannah.

He also did what he could to improve the reputation of Chinese in Savannah. Always dressed impeccably in up-to-date western-style clothes, as he was when photographed with his family, he carried

himself with quiet dignity and treated everyone with courtesy. He was one of the original members of the Chinese Sunday School class begun in 1897 at the Independent Presbyterian Church, but he did not like being set apart from the rest of the members. After years of faithful attendance and service to the regular Men's Bible Class of that church, he was elected honorary president and retained that office until his death in 1953.²⁸

Robert Chung Chan did not try to enhance his own reputation apart from, or at the expense of, his countrymen. He was, in fact, their acknowledged leader. By 1920 he helped organize and held high office in the Savannah branch of Chinese Freemasons or "Chee Kong Tong," and attended its 1921 National Convention in New York City. He also helped establish Savannah's Chinese Benevolent Association in 1945. Newly arriving Chinese sought his advice and counsel, and some he helped financially to get started in business.²⁹ These activities were quietly done; he never sought publicity for himself or for Chinese. He wanted all of them to be accepted as an integral part of Savannah life without drawing attention to themselves. When news of the successful Chinese revolution came in October 1911, the three families, now including three children, celebrated quietly. In later years, as older Chinese died, dignified funeral processions out to Laurel Grove Cemetery would bear their remains to be buried temporarily until their bones could be shipped back to China for interment in ancestral graves. After church on Sundays they usually gathered for a big meal and a game of mah-jongg.

Occasionally the noise would cause neighbors to wonder what was going on, especially when they sang Chinese songs and had someone to play the *erhu*, a shrill, two-stringed violin which harmonizes well with falsetto male voices. Celebrations of Chinese New Year called for joyous unrestraint. After a lavish meal, fireworks lit up the sky and firecrackers echoed through the streets and alleys.³⁰

These gatherings continued as long as the number of Chinese in Savannah remained low enough so that they could all meet together in one home and the bachelors could join the few families as surrogate uncles of the small children. Having declined in number to 34 in 1910—perhaps due to natural attrition by the deaths of the older bachelors—there were only 38 Chinese in Savannah by 1920. In the following decade a sharper increase occurred as the oldest ones of

the second generation reached maturity, married, and had children of their own. Not all of the second generation learned to speak Chinese. Robert Chung Chan and his wife did not speak Chinese within their home. And the second generation began to develop interests, friends, and concerns that made the earlier closely knit Chinese community less cohesive. During the 1930s the number of Savannah's U.S.-born Chinese surpassed the foreign-born total for the first time, and by 1940 the ratio of U.S.-born to foreign-born Chinese was almost two to one.³¹

International events in East Asia during the early 1930s made Savannahians more aware of China. When C.C. Wang, First Secretary of the Chinese Legation in Washington, visited Savannah in January 1933 just for a vacation, reporters went to his hotel to gain an interview from him, but without success. The account of his arrival in Savannah and seclusion from the press also noted that the Chinese community in Savannah had contributed liberally to a fund for the defense of Shanghai, which Japan had attacked in 1932.³² In February 1933 the League of Women Voters had as its speaker Chin Meng, Associate Director of the China Institute in America, at a public meeting concerned with Sino-Japanese conflict.³³

The Chinese in Savannah may have become more diverse in outlook by this time, but they never denied their ethnic heritage. Some of the Chinese wives began meeting informally in the mid 1930s in a group they called the Hen Club. Recognizing the need for a more structured organization to keep the Chinese together, they persuaded their husbands to see what could be done. In 1945, shortly before the end of World War II, the Chinese Benevolent Association was formed. Lat Woo, a businessman, was elected president, and the seventy-five-year-old Robert Chung Chan its first vice president. Two children of the latter also were elected as charter officers. The long-range purpose of this association was "to bring Chinese in Savannah into closer cultural relationship not only with one another but with the other peoples of this city."³⁴

The number of Chinese in Savannah declined after 1930, presumably due to the demise of the elderly among the first generation. The fact that U.S.-born Chinese in the United States surpassed the number of foreign born Chinese in Savannah tends to support this assumption. New Chinese immigrants came to Savannah during this

decade and an even greater increase occurred during the 1950s, but they were not the bachelor laborers who had come from farming villages. China had changed a great deal, and the new immigrants in Savannah reflected those changes. They came from the bustling port cities, where education was no longer considered the preserve of the wealthy classes. Many of them went into various kinds of businesses. Chinese restaurants and gift shops predominated. And because Robert Chung Chan had established the pattern that Chinese should be dispersed throughout the city, still no Chinatown developed in Savannah. According to one Savannah-born member of the Chinese community, only two Chinese lived on adjoining property. Two members of the same family bought lots that shared a common rear property line, but each one faced onto a different street. The fifty-year presence of Chinese in Savannah also facilitated the entry of new families and the establishment of new businesses. Some new immigrants married into established Chinese families and thus were able to build upon the standing in the community that their in-laws already enjoyed.³⁵

A recently deceased citizen of the Savannah area, T.S. Chu, served as an example of a Chinese immigrant to Savannah who may be considered typical in terms of his career pattern and upward mobility. Chu first came to this country to represent his native province at the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. Instead of returning to China, he stayed to see more of the United States and opened a gift shop in Coral Gables, Florida. One evening a stranger appeared at his shop. Casual conversation revealed that he had no place to sleep because he had forgotten to make hotel reservations. Mr. Chu let him sleep on his bed while he took the chair on the porch. The stranger repaid Chu's great kindness by inviting him to come to Savannah Beach, Georgia, where he lived, and open a gift shop in a building he owned. Chu did so, and began the thriving business that bears his name. Shortly afterwards he married Mae Jung, a daughter of one of the first Chinese families in Savannah. His shop remained open long hours every day and stocked anything customers wanted to buy. He developed a loyal clientele that included many celebrities. He liked to boast that Dwight Eisenhower was a regular customer whenever he visited Savannah Beach. Because business was so good, he had to enlarge his shop and later built and moved into a larger store. It is

how the anchor of a small shopping center he helped develop as part of a plan to revitalize the commercial life of the resort. He considered but rejected a campaign for mayor of the town, but was called "Mr. Savannah Beach." His business interests grew to include two other gift shops in Savannah, and members of his family own several convenience stores. He was quick to credit the friendliness of people for his success but also liked to point out the opportunities that exist in the United States for a poor immigrant to do well.³⁶

A less-typical Chinese who also made a name for himself in Savannah was Dr. K.C. Wu. After a Chinese classical education he came to the United States and earned an undergraduate degree and went to Yale for a doctorate, which he received in 1926. Upon returning to China he embarked upon a twenty-five-year career as an official in the Nationalist government. He served as Mayor of Chongqing (Chungking) during World War II, when it was China's capital, and of Shanghai from 1945 to 1949. (See Krebs' article in this volume about the intricacies of modern Chinese politics). Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) named him Governor of Taiwan, and his reform-minded stewardship in that position gained international recognition. *Time* featured him on its cover of August 7, 1950, and perceptively described him as "a little too successful for his own good. [He] may arouse the jealousy of old-line officials."³⁷ The *Time* reporter did not foresee that Wu would arouse the jealousy both of Jiang and of Jiang's son, the subsequent leader of the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan. "If I had stayed there," Wu told an American reporter in 1972, "there would have been no chance for [Jiang's son] to succeed his father."³⁸ Wu decided to leave Taiwan after an attempt was made on his life that he believes Jiang ordered.³⁹ He moved to the United States and began a second career as a writer and lecturer in Chicago. In 1965 he accepted an invitation to teach at Armstrong State College in Savannah, where his courses were so popular that students and alumni raised money to pay his salary so he could teach for three additional years after he reached the mandatory retirement age.⁴⁰ He wrote several books. *The Lane of Eternal Stability* is a fictionalized account of the Chinese revolutionary movement in the early twentieth century.⁴¹ His last work was *The Chinese Heritage: A New and Provocative View of the Origins of Chinese Society*.⁴² Until his death in 1984, he engaged in research, and his wife is an

accomplished painter in traditional Chinese style. Both became known to Savannahians through periodic feature articles in the local newspapers.⁴³

Probably the best-known member of Savannah's Chinese community is a native daughter, Gerald Chan Sieg. She was born to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Chung Chan in 1911 and christened Geraldine. She "simply hated" that name. She shortened it to Gerald, she explained, because "I knew early on that boys were considered better than girls, so if I couldn't be a boy, I'd at least have a boy's name."⁴⁴ Chinese children were still not allowed to attend the white public schools, so her early education was provided by private teachers or in private schools. When she reached junior high school age, the local school board changed its ruling and she attended white public schools until her graduation.⁴⁵ Her father wrote poetry and she also developed an interest in this form of expression at an early age. Her high school English teacher urged her to submit one of her poems to the Poetry Society of Georgia, and it won a prize. She was invited to join the society and has been a member ever since 1928.

Her poems have won numerous awards in the Poetry Society. She has been published in *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald-Tribune*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Asia*, as well in children's magazines such as *Child Life*, *Jack and Jill*, and *Playmates*. In recognition of her "lifetime service" to the Poetry Society, her fellow members established an annual prize in her name. Only one other member was so honored during his lifetime, and that was Conrad Aiken.⁴⁶

In addition to "Laundryman," quoted earlier, many of her poems reflect her Chinese heritage. She has also written several articles and short books about her early life in Savannah as the daughter of a Chinese family. Her *Chinese Christmas Box* captures the seasonal spirit of generosity and the cultural heritage of China that Robert Chung Chan passed on to his six children.⁴⁷ The story has been adapted into a children's Christmas play—as yet unpublished—that has been performed twice in Savannah.⁴⁸ Through her poetry and prose, Gerald Chan Sieg, a daughter of Chinese immigrants, has written about the first and second generations of her people in Savannah. Those who read her works are less likely to think of Chinese-Americans as stereotypes—either positive or negative—but as a people whose lives are intimately linked with their own.

As of the 1980 census there are more than two hundred citizens of Chinese descent living in Savannah—a small but significant part of the population. None of the hand laundries still operates, but Chinese are nevertheless represented in other traditional trades, such as thirteen restaurants, seven grocery stores, and at least three gift shops. In addition, Savannah's Chinese citizens are represented in the professions as physicians, engineers and teachers, one of whom was selected as "Teacher of the Year" in 1975 by the public school system. There are a career Army officer, a chemist-photographer, a postal clerk, writers, musicians, actors, and playwrights. Many Savannah Chinese are housewives and students.⁴⁹

During the semiquincentenary year of Savannah and Georgia in 1983, much was made of the hardships endured by the earliest settlers. Yet not all of them arrived without some idea of what they would face. A contemporary of Oglethorpe recorded what the Trustees told prospective English settlers:

They must expect to go through great hardships in the beginning, and use great industry and labor, in order to acquire afterwards a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families. The country was hot in summer, and there were flies in abundance, and thunderstorms were frequent in that season. Sickneses were dangerous. If they were temperate and industrious, they might establish themselves and families in a comfortable way upon lands of their own.⁵⁰

The Chinese who began arriving in Savannah a century and a half later came without any foreknowledge of what to expect and they faced additional obstacles. Few of them could speak English when they arrived and the prevailing culture was far different from their native way of life. Most of the bachelor laundrymen kept to themselves as long as they lived there; but the ones who brought or established families put down roots and, with the frequent assistance of Robert Chung Chan, joined in the life of the city. Their descendants and the later arrivals are now respected members of the Savannah community. They were unaware that they were fulfilling Oglethorpe's hopes for the kind of settlers he expected to make Savannah and Georgia thrive: "What various misfortunes may reduce the rich, the industrious, to the danger of a prison, to a moral certainty of starving! These are the people that may relieve themselves and strengthen Georgia, by reporting thither."⁵¹

Oglethorpe did not envision Georgia as a haven for debtors, but as a place where potentially productive people buffeted by circumstances beyond their control could engage their energies and skills and contribute to its success.⁵² He did not foresee that his hopes would apply equally to the Chinese of the next two centuries. Yet by their industry and perseverance, they have indeed established "themselves and families in a comfortable way upon lands of their own."

APPENDIX

Census Data on Chinese Residents of Savannah¹

Year	number	per cent			County	Chatham Georgia
		change	males(a)	female(a)		
1870	0				0	1
1880	0				0	17
1890	15(b)				15	108
1900	44	193		28 (of voting age)	51	204
1910	34	-23			35	233
1920	38	12			38	211
1930	50	32			50	253
1940	40(b)	-20	24	16	40	326
1950	46	15	31	15	69	511
1960	118	157	59	59	128(c)	636
1970	147	25	72	75	189(c)	1584
1980	220	50			340	4324

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1870-1980 Censuses.

a. Listed if breakdown by sex was provided in Census Reports.

b. Separate figures not given for Savannah in 1890 Census; number given for Chatham County also used for Savannah.

c. Reported by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area rather than by county. Savannah's SMSA includes but is larger than Chatham County. Data has been gathered or derived from decennial Census Reports of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, specifically those volumes subtitled "Population" or "Characteristics of the Population."

NOTES

¹ James Edward Oglethorpe to the Trustees from the Camp near Savannah, February 10, 1733, in [Benjamin Martyn], *An Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America, From Its First Establishment*, reprinted in *Collections of the Georgia Historical*

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- ² Laura Palmer Bell, "A New Theory on the Plan of Savannah," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 48 (June 1964), pp. 147-165.
- ³ Richard C. Boys, "Oglethorpe and the Muses," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 31 (March 1947), pp. 19-29.
- ⁴ *Georgian* (Savannah), November 20, 1847.
- ⁵ Lin's original inscription is in the possession of Gerald Chan Sieg, with whose permission it is used.
- ⁶ William M. Gabard, "John Elliott Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin," *West Georgia Studies in the Social Sciences* 11 (1972), pp. 28-29, 33-34.
- ⁷ *Morning News* (Savannah), March 18, 1929.
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- ⁹ Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *An Illustrated History of the Chinese in America* (San Francisco: Design Enterprises, 1979), pp. 10, 24; William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States...September 30, 1819 to December 31, 1855* (New York: Radfield, 1856), passim.
- ¹⁰ Daniel Cleveland to J. Ross Brown, U.S. Minister to China, San Francisco, July 27, 1868, in *American Diplomatic and Public Papers: The United States and China*, Series II, *The United States, China, and Imperial Rivalries, 1861-1893*, (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1979), pp. 1-2.
- ¹¹ Catherine Brown, "Chinese in the South: 1865-1980," paper presented to the Southeastern Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Boone, North Carolina, January 21, 1983; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census: The Statistics of the Population of the United States, I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 22.
- ¹² *Morning News*, October 1, 1872.
- ¹³ McCunn, p. 82.
- ¹⁴ *Morning News*, January 15, 1950.
- ¹⁵ *Savannah City Directory*, 1882; McCunn, p. 63; *Morning News*, July 9, 1891.
- ¹⁶ *Morning News*, June 4, 1884, January 15, 1950; Cleveland, p. 1; References to other Chinese women in *Morning News*, February 21 and July 17, 1891.
- ¹⁷ *Morning News*, January 15, 1950.
- ¹⁸ *Yearbook of the Poetry Society of Georgia, 1933-1934*, used with the permission of the author.
- ¹⁹ *Morning News*, October 22, 1884.
- ²⁰ *Morning News*, February 21, 1891.
- ²¹ *Morning News*, September 1, 1888.
- ²² *Morning News*, July 14, 15, and 16, 1895.
- ²³ Minutes of the City Council of Savannah, Georgia, April 24, 1895, p. 151; Statement of Gerald Chan Sieg to the author, February 3, 1983.
- ²⁴ Lowry Axley, *Holding Aloft the Torch: A History of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia* (Savannah: Pigeonhole Press, 1958), p. 45; Interview with Gerald Chan Sieg, December 29, 1982.
- ²⁵ Sieg interview, February 3, 1983; Gerald Chan Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, March 7, 1965, p. 20.
- ²⁶ *Savannah City Directory*, 1900.
- ²⁷ Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," p. 22.
- ²⁸ Axley, p. 136.
- ²⁹ *Morning News and Evening Press* (Savannah), June 11, 1953; Sieg interview, December

29, 1982.

³⁰ Sieg, "Georgia's Chinese Pioneers," p. 22.

³¹ *U.S. Census Report*, 1940.

³² *Morning News*, January 22, 1933.

³³ *Morning News*, February 10 and 16, 1933.

³⁴ *Evening Press*, January 2, 1945; Sieg interview, December 29, 1982.

³⁵ Sieg interview, February 3, 1983.

³⁶ *News-Press* (Savannah), October 31, 1971.

³⁷ *Time*, August 7, 1950, p. 25.

³⁸ *News-Press*, July 2, 1972.

³⁹ *News-Press*, May 2, 1971.

⁴⁰ *News-Press*, July 2, 1972.

⁴¹ (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1962).

⁴² (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1982).

⁴³ *News-Press*, July 28, 1974, and December 19, 1982, in addition to those already cited.

⁴⁴ *Morning News*, November 5, 1978.

⁴⁵ Sieg interview, February 3, 1983.

⁴⁶ *Morning News*, October 30, 1936; January 8, 1937; October 6, 1937; November 17, 1937; August 29, 1948; November 5, 1978.

⁴⁷ Second edition (n.p.: The August Press, 1970).

⁴⁸ Sieg interview February 3, 1983.

⁴⁹ Figures extracted from the Yellow pages of the *Savannah Telephone Directory*, March, 1982; *Morning News*, January 15, 1950; Sieg interview, February 3, 1983.

⁵⁰ Francis Moore, *A Voyage to Georgia Begun in the Year 1735* (London, 1744), reprinted in *Collections of The Georgia Historical Society* 1(1840), p. 84.

⁵¹ [James Edward Oglethorpe], *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1733), reprinted in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* 1: (1840), p. 56.

⁵² Albert B. Saye, "Was Georgia a Debtor Colony?" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 24 (December 1940), pp. 323-41.

The Augusta, Georgia, Chinese: 1865-1980

CATHERINE BROWN AND THOMAS GANSCHOW*

The purpose of this study is to examine the historical and socio-economic developmental patterns of the Augusta Chinese from their initial settlement in the late 1860s to 1980, the most recent year for which census data is available, and to explain the variations which have taken place over time. Strictly defined this is a study in historical urban social geography and involves the analysis of the changing patterns of a small urban ethnic group functioning as a social and economic unit within a larger biracial population.

A survey of the data and literature pertaining to the Chinese in the United States has suggested that the Chinese in Augusta share similar histories and characteristics with other Chinese groups south of the Mason-Dixon line and east of and including Texas. However, the southern groups of Chinese differ from Chinese in other regions of the United States. The literature also showed a strong bias toward interpreting the history and characteristics of Chinese and other ethnic minorities as largely the products of racial prejudice and economic forces operating inside and outside of the group. These

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common themes from the literature provide the direction and theoretical basis for this study.

Contrary to what one might believe about early American attitudes toward China and the Chinese, from the earliest available evidence, Americans rarely seemed impressed with traditional Chinese culture and government.¹ Prior to the advent of the first large scale immigration of Chinese into the U.S. in the mid-1850s, Americans had been educated by accounts of some travelers to China to believe that the Chinese were a morally debased, biologically inferior race. This largely negative stereotype surfaced quickly when Americans met Chinese face-to-face stateside. The stereotype was activated by the xenophobia of a growing nativist movement. It was reinforced by language barriers, cultural differences, and domestic economic problems, especially labor/management tensions in the American West.

Chinese began to immigrate to the United States in large numbers after the establishment of regular transpacific steamer service in 1848. At first, these settlers remained concentrated on the West Coast, where they were tolerated for a brief period as a source of cheap railroad, mining, and agricultural labor—much needed in a population-hungry frontier with a rapidly expanding economy. The boom-town era was short lived, however, and when the region plunged into a depression, the Chinese found themselves blamed for many economic and social ills. Racism was rampant and the presence of foreigners—especially foreigners so very different in customs and appearance as the Chinese—was considered divisive. Some Caucasians in the American West felt that if the West were to solve its problems it needed a homogenous population with common origins and goals. By the 1870s they had rallied under the slogan, “The Chinese must go,” a sentiment that was often violently expressed.²

The Chinese responded to the outbreak of violence in several ways. Some returned to China while others relocated in other countries. Those who stayed in the West clustered for safety in larger cities. The consensus among researchers is that the anonymity of the city, especially the large city, provided the Chinese an element of protection they did not have in small towns or work camps. Although the urban clusters which grew into Chinatowns lost their invisibility,

Chinatown itself became a fortress against outside aggression and it took on a political, social, and economic life of its own. Chinese who preferred to leave the West but remain in the U.S. began to migrate eastward. Southern migration was encouraged by a popular movement within the region to secure Chinese contract labor to supplement or replace free black labor. At approximately the time the West raised the cry, "The Chinese must go!" the South issued an invitation "Let the Chinamen come."³

Chinese in Georgia

One of the most pressing problems faced by Georgia in the aftermath of the Civil War was the adaptation of a slave labor economy to a free labor force. Like the rest of the South, Georgia initially resisted change, preferring to substitute cheap wage labor for slave labor and rejecting technological innovations which would have eased agriculture's labor dependency. Also, like the rest of the South, Georgia did not consider the state's reserves of free blacks as a potential labor force—or at least much of one. In fact, it was widely thought that "the institution of slavery provided the best system of labor devised for the negro race," and that blacks would never work without coercion.⁴ This opinion was reflected in an 1866 editorial in a Savannah paper which claimed that the state needed a legal code to force blacks to work since they had been freed "without the restraints of intelligence" and would otherwise pass their time in idleness and vice.⁵

Black labor had some supporters, but for the most part the general trend in the state between 1865 and 1880 was toward the promotion of foreign immigration as a solution to the labor problem. In 1868 a Columbus paper painted this grim scenario, "[to] crush out the negroes, refuse them employment. Once rid of this obstreperous element there will be a tide of immigration that will soon supply our demand for labor."⁶ As the state's newspapers encouraged Georgia to join the southern effort to attract immigrant labor, the blacks began a major exodus out of northern Georgia and the Piedmont to the coastal plain with many leaving the state for places offering higher wages.⁷ Though the initial labor problem in the state was more imaginary than real, the shift in the black population created a genuine labor shortage and many plantations lay idle for lack of help.

In Georgia the idea of importing Chinese coolies to supplement or

replace black labor predated the Civil War although no action seems to have taken place prior to 1865. Immediately after the war, however, brief items about Chinese labor began appearing in the news. For example, in November 1865 a Savannah paper ran a short article about Chinese labor in the West. The Chinese were said to work for \$5 a month and clothe themselves. "Their masters," the article concluded [not "their employers"], "were expected to supply other necessities."⁸ By 1866 the Georgia press was expressing a direct interest in the use of Chinese labor in the South; for it was generally concluded the Chinese were "faithful and laborous operatives, who [were] easily managed" and "admirably suited for the culture of cotton and other products of the South."⁹ (See Pruden's and Beatty's articles in this journal on the labor situation in the South in general, and on Georgia Chinese living outside of Augusta.)

The Chinese in Augusta

The *Augusta Chronicle* had its own opinion of using Chinese coolies as laborers. It was generally negative. Editorials described the Chinese as "joss worshiping, opium soaked coolies." Space was also given to print the text of a speech delivered in Ohio in which Chinese were called "an alien, and inferior and idolotrous race not fit to become citizens or to enjoy the right of suffrage."¹⁰ The *Chronicle's* readers responded in turn with their own feelings about the issue. The majority echoed the opinion of the writer who said, "I am for Georgians all the while, white or black, but white first all the time [not] Chinese coolies, half drunk all the time with opium, yellow immigrants too poor to live at home."¹¹

The failure of the proponents of foreign labor to entice large numbers of Chinese workers into the state rendered the issue largely academic in Augusta until 1873, when a construction company engaged to extend the city's canal system announced its intention to include 200 Chinese laborers in its work crew. It is hardly surprising, given the previously expressed opinions of the *Chronicle*, that its readership raised an immediate objection to the proposal. When it became clear, however, that the Chinese would be employed despite the city's objections, the *Chronicle* resigned itself to the idea. What a "novelty" to have such a large body of these people in the vicinity, observed the paper. The *Chronicle* expected the Chinese would succeed as in other places.¹² On November 4, 1873, when 35 Chi-

nese stepped off the train at the Augusta station, *Chronicle* reporters joined the crowd of onlookers and met them with what seemed to be, from the general tone of the ensuing news articles, friendly curiosity. (See Appendix One through Five on the Chinese population of Georgia).

The *Chronicle's* rival, the *Constitutionalist*, was not as optimistic about the addition of Chinese to the canal's work force. Along with a brief note about the arrival of the Chinese, the *Constitutionalist* chose to print a lengthy article extracted from a 1871 edition of a Louisiana paper which told a lurid tale of "unfaithful, sordid, slow, weak, and (sometimes) murderous" Chinese workers on Louisiana plantations who were a source of continual disappointment and worry to their employers. The *Constitutionalist* also reported that the first Chinese arrivals were from Kentucky, not Indiana as the *Chronicle* had mentioned, and that the remainder would be coming from Louisiana! The *Chronicle* seems to have had no response to this potentially inflammatory article and the *Constitutionalist* dropped the matter.¹³

For several months after the arrival of the Chinese, articles and news briefs appeared sporadically in the *Chronicle* about their progress on the canal, customs, and personal habits. Their work was found to be satisfactory. The Chinese were characterized as a sturdy agreeable lot of young men with a "sameness of appearance," with "childlike and bland expressions," and somewhat "effeminate" because of their lack of beards. The Chinese were paid \$35.00 a month, in gold, a salary comparable to the white and black canal workers', and were reported to have kept their living expenses at \$7.00 a month. "What a glorious thing it would be," hoped the *Chronicle*, "if some of us 'outside barbarians' could learn to subsist on that modest sum."¹⁴

But the novelty of the Chinese workers soon wore off; the paper turned to other topics. Nothing was found in the *Chronicle* or in any other source to indicate whether the other 165 Chinese intended for work on the project ever materialized and there is no evidence that any of those Chinese who did come actually stayed past the completion of the canal in 1875, although the assumption is most often made by other researchers that the Augusta community originated from a small group who remained when the work crew disbanded.¹⁵ City directories are missing for that period; so it is not known if any Chinese

took up a city residence or entered into any type of business prior to 1876, when the *Chronicle* reported that “a genuine Chinaman has established a tea store on the south side of Broad Street nearly opposite the Planters Hotel.” The tea shop which is indicated was located in the heart of the city’s downtown business district. The following year a Chinese-operated grocery opened without fanfare in another Broad Street location.

The Chinese as Small Grocers

By the 1880 census there were 17 Chinese men living in Georgia. Ten of these Chinese were located in Augusta and all were engaged in the grocery business. (See Appendix Two on Chinese-owned laundries and groceries in Augusta.) Those who did not own their businesses were in the employ of other Chinese. Of the eight Chinese groceries listed in the city directory, most were scattered along Broad Street in the central business district. Five of the city’s Chinese shared in the family name Loo and at least three of them were brothers. The Loos were the first Chinese known to enter the grocery business in the city and for a number of years comprised the Chinese community’s largest clan. The directory also listed one Chinese grocer as having a partner residing in Charleston, South Carolina. It would seem that the Chinese in Augusta, just as the Chinese elsewhere in the United States, were quick to establish a network of communications and mutual support systems with the various other Chinese communities in the surrounding states.¹⁶

In 1882 the *Chronicle* had a great deal to say about a Chinese Exclusion Bill being debated in Congress. “From present appearances,” observed the *Chronicle* on May 4, “this country has a yellow elephant on its hands only less portentous and menacing than the black one was.” The editorial then proceeded to relate the “good and bad features of the Mongolian pest.” The good reputation of Chinese businessmen on the West Coast was mentioned, but the Chinese practice of polygamy and other “monstrous vices” was highlighted along with the contempt the Chinese were “known” to have for the American system of government. “Chinese first, last and all the time,” said the paper, sneering at the newcomers’ national pride and reluctance to become American citizens, adding that “their politeness is on the surface, and [they] have [been] known to kill a man who owed them twenty-five cents.”¹⁷

Curiously enough, the *Chronicle* cheered the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Bill but reported the marriages of two Chinese men to white women that year with no adverse reaction. The weddings aroused some interest, but the couples received the paper's usual good wishes for newlyweds. The events which transpired in Waynesboro the following year also seem to have passed Augusta by without much effect. (See Beatty's article in this journal on the Waynesboro incident.) The Waynesboro episode involved the "Ku Kluxing" of the town's two Chinese citizens out of the fear they too would seduce white women into marriage. The incident prompted the introduction of a bill in the Georgia House of Representatives to prohibit Chinese/white marriages and only served to hurry the wedding plans of several more Chinese men and white women in Augusta. The *Chronicle* was silent. All in all it seemed as though the paper was hostile toward Chinese in general but tolerant of the local community.

In this period, the newspaper's attitude may not have been wholly indicative of the attitudes of the white community. In 1885 there was a movement among white merchants to petition the city council to deny the Chinese business licenses. "The Pig-tail is ordered to go periodically but he remains, just as the pig does," read one blurb in the *Chronicle* not exactly in keeping with its usual benevolent air. A few days later it reported that "the City Council stands up to the Celestials. John Chinaman need not go."¹⁸ The Council issued a statement that whoever conformed to the ordinances of the city and paid his licenses has as much right to do legitimate business in Augusta as [does] a representative of any other nation."¹⁹ Unfortunately for the Chinese, the Council's decision did not serve to close the issue.

Augusta's white merchants continued their protest and much to the distress of the Chinese, the newcomers became a popular topic of discussion in 1886. Augusta's antagonism toward its Chinese citizens corresponded with the mood of the country. The Northeast was becoming disturbed about its growing Chinatowns as numbers of the Chinese who had settled in the United States prior to the passage of the Exclusion Bill continued their movement out of the Western states. California held its first anti-Chinese "convention" in 1886, and in February of that year a mob of Seattle's white citizens attacked

that city's Chinese quarter, driving some Chinese away and killing those who failed to escape. Augusta's merchants renewed their petition to the City Council, complaining that there was no way they could compete with the Chinese and "if something [were] not done [they would] take up the idea suggested in Seattle and elsewhere West and force the pig-tails out of town."²⁰

Adding to the alarm of the white merchants was a rumor that dozens more Chinese were scheduled for arrival in the city. *The Atlanta Constitution*, expressing sympathy for the merchants' plight, erroneously reported "hundreds" of Chinese "thriving" in Augusta, and mentioned that Chinese immigration into the city had recently increased. Explicit in the article was fear that the city would be overrun by Chinese. The *Chronicle* responded by sending reporters to talk to the white merchants and engaged a Chinese correspondent in order to cover both sides of the story. The white shopkeepers accused the Chinese of dishonest trading and "unhallowed and cunning competition." Once praised for their frugality, the Chinese were now cursed for it. It would seem that the main competitive edge the Chinese had was living in their stores to reduce personal expenses to "one-tenth what it cost decent men to live." "For ways that are dark and tricks that are vain the Heathen Chinese is peculiar," quoted the white merchant's spokesman from Bret Harte's popular poem of the period. The Chinese in turn denied the allegation that they systematically swindled their customers and presented themselves as a settled group with a stake in the community. They reminded their accusers that the Chinese government protected American speculators in China and that they had a right to expect the United States government to extend them the same protection. The Chinese also stated that they knew of no large scale influx of Chinese planned for Augusta and their group numbered only 31, six of whom were visitors.²¹

All the publicity badly frightened the Chinese, who at one point locked themselves in one of their rooms and refused to come out. It took the joint efforts of the Mayor and several ladies from the newly organized Baptist Chinese Sunday School to convince them their property would not be confiscated and that no bodily harm would come to them. The *Chronicle* sympathized with the Chinese and was of the opinion that the crusade against them was a strike against free

enterprise. The issue of business permits faded from the news, but the *Chronicle* continued to examine its Chinese community. A series of articles appeared in 1886 about opium smoking among the Chinese shopkeepers, and one reporter made the rounds of the various “opium dens” in the city to see how this activity was conducted. The paper made it clear that they were making war on the drug and not the Chinese, but it was generally believed that the Chinese were responsible for introducing opium into the city and that the laundries were but fronts for its distribution and use. This was a popularly held notion throughout the country at the time and the initial investigation into the city’s opium parlors seems to have been prompted by some commentary by a visitor from Baltimore who attested to know this for a fact in his city and issued a friendly warning to Augustans to beware. The public response to this went unrecorded and it apparently did not precipitate any new movements to eliminate the Chinese community. The issue died after a month or so, and the Chinese were seemingly left alone, at least in print, until 1890.

Continued Growth and Resentment in the 1890s

By 1890, despite some agitation over the presence of Chinese in the city, the Chinese population had grown considerably. Of the 108 Chinese in the state, 29 were settled in Richmond County. Augusta City Directories for 1890 list about 20 Chinese operating grocery stores and several laundries. The stores were clustered mainly on opposite ends of Broad Street in the central business district and some were extended down Ninth Street into a growing black residential area. In 1891 an additional dozen groceries and another laundry appeared listed in the city directory with two of the laundries noted to serve dual purposes as restaurants. After the large increase, the numbers of stores stabilized for the decade.

The 1890s also saw a spate of articles in the *Chronicle* related to the Chinese. One of them described the Chinese orchestra formed by Augusta’s “moon-eyed merchants.” Apparently it had become the custom of the Chinese to meet in one of their Broad Street stores when “the departing sun on the western skies lit roseate hues.” The Chinese would “eat, gamble, police themselves according to their own code of behavior, play music, and perhaps indulge in a pipe of opium.” The orchestra was characterized as a “fearful and wonderful conglomeration of sounds, if one could take a moment to imagine the

harmonious strains of a boiler, a saw sharpener, and a vocally inclined piglet being trussed up." The reporter, however, was quick to admonish readers that taste in music was no doubt culturally acquired and that appreciation of Chinese music might well be gained by education in such matters. The reporter also expressed admiration for the strict rules of behavior exercised within the Chinese community saying that Caucasians should "blush with shame" over the comparatively lax laws of the city and state.²² The piece was written in a lighthearted vein and seems indicative of a turning point in community attitudes toward the Chinese. The antagonism seemed to be abating and there was an attempt, at least by some, to recognize and understand the Chinese.

In 1892 the Geary Act added to the stringency of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Under this law all Chinese laborers were forbidden entry into the United States, and the ones remaining had to be photographed for identity papers. Augusta's Chinese were all merchants and not required to register but chose to do so for protection. In 1894, a Mr. Cobb, the state's representative for this law, came to handle the applications and conduct the photography session. Fifty-two Chinese were counted in the city, including one woman and her baby. This is the first known written record of a Chinese woman or child in Augusta.²³ Mr. Cobb, who had traveled the state registering the Chinese said, "The Chinese are a shrewd set of people, and they are working a great trick upon the ladies of this and other cities in the state." When asked to what he was referring, he replied that the Chinese are the shrewdest and trickiest people on earth, were very ambitious and are eager to learn to read, write, and speak the English language, and are getting that education by attending church aid Sunday Schools that the Christian ladies conduct especially for them on the Sabbath Day.²⁴

He went on to complain that the Chinese did not lose a day's work because the law prohibited Sunday openings, and that once they were satisfied with their command of English they quit going to church and did not become Christianized. His was a common complaint of the time. The Chinese were slowly giving up their sojourner mentality and making efforts to acculturate. Church schools were the only access most had to a formal education and there were many such schools organized throughout the country, where the Chinese

first acquired the rudiments of English and knowledge of the western culture.

Perhaps the most disturbing event that occurred within Augusta's Chinese community in the 1890s was the murder of Yip Sing, a "respected and inoffensive" grocer who had lived in Augusta for about eight years. The murder was never solved, but it was thought to have been a ritual killing of the "Highbinders", a secret Chinese society, which, when transplanted in the United States, assumed the role of persecuting Chinese who had forsaken ancestor worship for Christianity and violated traditional rules of conduct.²⁵ The murder served to illustrate the tremendous pressure the Chinese were under to conform to two very different sets of cultural norms. The Chinese suffered violence from within and violence without. White society criticized and attacked them for being different but also pressured them by custom and law to acculturate and assimilate. Traditional Chinese social organizations criticized and attacked those who strayed from the strong internal controls of the Chinese community.

Apart from relating the tragedy of Yip Sing, the *Chronicle's* stories about the murder provided some valuable information about the customs and daily lives of the Augusta Chinese. For example, though Augusta Chinese, like most Chinese in America, were in the habit of sending their dead back to China for burial, Yip Sing was buried in Augusta's white cemetery. The service was not in accordance with the "weird and interesting" rites of the Chinese religion; it was a simple Baptist service conducted in English. The paper also reported that Yip Sing lived in a tiny garret over his store. His grocery had about \$500 worth of stock, which would have made it a modest-sized store with a limited number of items. He kept his cash divided into small amounts and secreted them in various parts of his living quarters, apparently preferring not to use a bank.²⁶ From accounts of other Chinese in the United States during this period, it would seem that this was representative of a typical Chinese bachelor's life style and behavior; so it may be assumed it was true of many of Augusta's Chinese bachelors as well.

Social Changes in the 20th Century

At the turn of the century the Chinese population of Augusta stood at 41, most of whom may be accounted for by the city directory. There were approximately 29 groceries in the city and 8 laundries.

Four Chinese are listed as clerks in Chinese stores and two married couples are noted. Most Chinese stores were in the central city, primarily in three small clusters located on Broad Street or directly off Broad on a major artery; other groceries were located in the adjacent growing black residential district. By most accounts, the Chinese markets from very early on had catered to blacks. As the black population expanded into the southeastern portion of the city, the Chinese followed their trade.²⁷ There is no indication from any source that the move was prompted in part by continuing efforts of white merchants to rid themselves of Chinese competition.

The United States Census records an increase in Augusta's Chinese population from 48 in 1910 to 74 in 1920. The City Directory, however, shows no substantial increase in the numbers of Chinese businesses. In fact, the numbers of groceries remained between 25 and 30 from the early 1880s through the early 1920s. By 1920 most Chinese-operated groceries had shifted to corner locations in the black residential section, leaving only a few Chinese markets in the downtown area. There was also a corresponding movement of white residential sections in the western portion of the city. Several whites operated markets located in the black section, and there were approximately 49 markets operated by blacks. The Chinese laundries maintained their downtown locations but began to decline slightly in numbers. This decline was part of the national trend, as the traditional Chinese hand laundry began to be replaced by commercial steam laundries and home laundry appliances.²⁸ Until the 1940s, when the coin-operated laundromat began appearing in the suburban shopping centers, most of Augusta's laundries remained in the central city, where the dwindling numbers of Chinese hand laundries shared an almost exclusively white clientele with the more successful white-owned steam laundries.

Although there were several families established in Augusta by 1920, the community was still predominately male, single or married with wives and families in China, and mostly foreign-born. The overwhelming majority of Chinese were self-employed. With the exception of one Chinese woman who was listed in the 1920 City Directory as a housekeeper, the few who were not self-employed were employed by other Chinese. Even with the addition of families to the community, it remained the custom for the Chinese to maintain living

quarters in their places of business. Employees usually boarded with employers.

The United States Census for 1930 showed that Augusta's Chinese population had risen to 153. There were approximately 48 Chinese-owned groceries in the city and 6 laundries. The business-residential pattern was similar to that of the previous decade with a few Chinese laundries in the central business district and a concentration of Chinese markets in the black residential district. In fact, by the 1930s the Chinese seem to have garnered most of the black trade. In the early 1920s Chinese and black grocers appeared to have shared equally—at least by numbers of stores—in food retailing in the black neighborhoods. But by 1930 the number of black-owned stores had dropped from 49 to 14, while the numbers of Chinese stores in the area had risen from 20 to 45. White-owned markets in the area remained insignificant in numbers.

It is difficult to account specifically for the proliferation of Chinese markets and the failure of blacks to compete for their own customers. One explanation for the phenomenon has been offered in Loewen's study of Chinese and black competition in food retailing in the Mississippi Delta. According to Loewen, blacks had difficulty making objective business decisions about matters of credit because "with so many families always on the edge of immediate want, personal ties meant personal claims." The Chinese grocer, on the other hand, maintained social distance from the black community and was not under any obligation to extend credit to those who could not or would not pay.²⁹

Residential Patterns

The earliest Chinese in Augusta were reported to have been housed in a "shed" by the canal they were hired to enlarge.³⁰ Presumably the Chinese workers shared this accommodation from 1873 to 1875, when the canal was completed and the work crew disbanded. By 1876 there was a Chinese residing in his tea shop on Broad Street. The shop-house business-residential pattern was traditional in South China, where most of the early immigrants came from, and it became the most common business-residential pattern for Chinese in this country.

Most of the Chinese in Augusta lived in their stores until the 1950s, when the shop-house pattern began to break down. At first they were

located primarily in the central city, scattered among a mixture of black and white enterprises. But by 1920 the majority had relocated in black neighborhoods, where the shop-house type corner Chinese grocery became the common form. By the 1940s a few Chinese had moved into private homes adjacent to, or within a few blocks of, their stores. U.S. Census tract data for 1940 shows residential patterns for "Asians" neatly conforming to Chinese business patterns.

City Directory and U.S. Census tract data for the 1950s and 1960s show a continuing trend toward separation of business and residence and a general movement out of the black districts. The most recent census tract data available for this study—1970—shows only 18 of the 282 Chinese in the city still residing in the old black neighborhoods. The majority of the Chinese were located in predominantly white neighborhoods and the Chinese business locations appear randomly dispersed. City Directory information for 1980 shows a persistence of the 1970 pattern.

Growing Acceptance

Another determinant of Chinese success may have been a change in relations with the white community. Although the Chinese lived in the black neighborhoods, increasing amounts of their social relations were with whites. Chinese children went to white schools and many Chinese were affiliated with the white First Baptist Church.³¹ Whites operated the wholesale houses which supplied Chinese retail outlets, and the Chinese had earned their respect as good businessmen and credit risks. The Chinese Benevolent Association, local chapter of a national Chinese organization, founded in Augusta in 1927, had among its goals to promote "friendly feeling" between the Chinese community and the community at large.³² There seems to have been no parallel organization in the black community to engender group cohesiveness and actively seek improved relations with the white community. So, although the Chinese were distinctive by their physical appearance, their goals, values, dress, and behavior reflected those of the white community. Their middleman position in the economic hierarchy also defined their social position in the community and allowed them social mobility denied the blacks.

In 1931 this position was briefly threatened by a bill introduced in the State Legislature to deny funding to white schools which enrolled Asian children. A flurry of anti-Asian sentiment had been prompted

by the Sino-Japanese War (1931-1945), but the bill seems not to have excited much press coverage and it was not passed. The Chinese community, however, was affected by the war in other ways. Many still had family ties with China and thousands of dollars were raised to help the Chinese government fight the Japanese. A number of young men in the community went to flight school to prepare themselves as pilots and were ready to enlist in the Chinese military if necessary. Although the census is not detailed enough to provide data on nativity for Georgia cities, it seems probable that the aspiring young pilots represented first or second generation Chinese-Americans.

The 1940s saw an increase in the Chinese population from 153 to 222. The pattern of Chinese groceries remained the same, but the numbers rose from approximately 48 to 63. The City Directory for 1941 listed only one Chinese laundry, in keeping with a steady decline in the number of laundries since 1900. In 1943 the United States Government finally granted the Chinese naturalization rights and relaxed immigration restrictions against them. The Government granted a quota of 105 in 1943, and several years later Congress made special provisions for the immigration of Chinese women and children under the War Brides Act. Augusta's Chinese were reported to be pleased with the changes, and citizenship no doubt improved their position in their community. The new immigration laws, however, seem to have had little effect on the total population. In 1950 the census reported 224 in Richmond County, the same figure given by the 1940 census.

From the turn of the century Georgia's newspaper references to the Chinese community had become increasingly routine. A note or an article here and there reported the involvement of a Chinese in community activity, scholastic achievements, and promotions. But reports were phrased in such a manner that the Chinese were portrayed as an integral part of the community, unlike blacks whose social activities were relegated to a separate page. Also with the advent of the civil rights movement and resurgence of ethnic pride among American minorities, the Chinese became more outspoken about themselves. In 1958 a *Chronicle* staff writer interviewed a C.H. Lam about the low incident of juvenile delinquency among Chinese and the strong traditional Chinese family structure which still charac-

terized the typical family unit in Augusta. He also noted the fine reputation of Chinese children in school and stated that "in the last decade, virtually every Chinese youth in Richmond County was graduated from high school and almost all of them went on to college."³⁴

By 1960 the Chinese population had risen to 270. The number of Chinese markets had been reduced almost by half of the 1950 total with the majority of the remaining stores still located in the black residential district. Many more Chinese were to be found in the professions, primarily medical and teaching. From the mid-1950s, because of the Anglicization of names, it becomes increasingly difficult to differentiate Chinese individuals and businesses in the city directories, but it seems reasonable to assume that the surveys of the directories from 1960-80 are representative samples of the distribution of people and enterprises, and of primary occupations. So, although the data derived from city directories for the latter period of this study is valuable, it is not directly comparable to the earlier figures. However, even if the decline in groceries seen between 1950 and 1960 was somewhat exaggerated by the problem of interpreting city directories, it is accurate to say that a general trend toward the decline of Chinese in the grocery business existed. In the mid-1950s the number of groceries peaked at around 65. In 1970 there were 50 Chinese markets according to Chinese sources and by 1980 there were only about a dozen left.

There are several factors which contributed to the decline in markets and occupational shifts among the Chinese. By the 1940s the overall level of education within the Chinese community was rising. Chinese families encouraged educational attainment by using income from the family business to help their children through school with expectations that they would enter professional positions. The large numbers of Chinese found in Augusta in the last two decades in the teaching and medical professions are in keeping with the national trend. At the same time the Chinese markets began losing their cheap family labor they also found themselves in competition with the growing numbers of chain markets which offered a wider selection of goods at lower prices. The Chinese were not the only victims of the change in the city's shopping patterns; black and white small retail groceries all lost business to the suburban shopping centers.

In the 1960s the city was beset by race problems and the Chinese became targets of blacks venting frustrations of a century of repression. Chinese informants say that many Chinese families became distressed over the conditions and left the city. In 1970 the situation exploded when a mob of black rioters destroyed many of the Chinese groceries in the black section of town. The riot was apparently well planned. No black-owned businesses were damaged, but Chinese and white businesses were looted and burned. The Chinese were hardest hit, collectively suffering losses in excess of \$250,000. A committee of black, white, and Chinese businessmen was formed to assess the problem and negotiate a solution.

The black community encouraged the Chinese to rebuild, saying "If we run them away, how in the world will we be able to get industry into the area?"³⁵ The Chinese had also provided jobs for blacks in their stores, the loss of which, blacks acknowledged, would be sorely felt. Before rebuilding, however, Chinese businessmen requested a guarantee of no more violence.³⁶

Many Chinese did remain and rebuild. In general, the Augusta Chinese are one of Georgia's most successful ethnic groups—a group that has "made it"—achieving the American dream of social, educational, and economic success.

NOTES

¹ See: Thomas W. Ganschow, "The Chinese in America: A Historical Perspective" in *Selected Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Conference on Minority Studies* (La Crosse, Wisc.: Institute For Minority Studies, 1976), pp. 235-238.

² Stuart Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), p. 189. Not all reports reaching early Americans from China were negative. For a contrast to Miller's conclusions, see: Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China Trade, 1682-1846. Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978).

³ Gunter Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 188-189.

⁴ Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), p. 2.

⁵ *Savannah Morning News*, January 3, 1866, p. 2.

⁶ *North Georgia Citizen* (Columbus), July 9, 1868, p. 2.

⁷ Willard Range, *A Century of Georgia Agriculture 1850-1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), pp. 70-71.

⁸ *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, November 10, 1865, p. 1.

⁹ *Savannah Daily News and Herald*, November 8, 1866, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 10, 1869, p. 1.

¹¹ *Augusta Chronicle*, September 21, 1869, p. 2.

¹² *Augusta Chronicle*, October 21, 1873, p. 2.

- ¹³ *The Constitutionalist* (Augusta), November 5, 1873, p. 1.
- ¹⁴ *Augusta Chronicle*, November 15, 1873, p. 4.
- ¹⁵ Edwin Cashin, in *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980), is the most recent researcher to assert that "Chinese workers were brought in, over two hundred in all." p. 150.
- ¹⁶ Miller, *Unwelcome Immigrant*, *passim*.
- ¹⁷ *Augusta Chronicle*, May 4, 1882. See also: *The Constitutionalist*, May 4, 1882.
- ¹⁸ *Augusta Chronicle*, December 3, 1885, p. 4; December 9, 1885, p.5.
- ¹⁹ *Savannah Morning News*, December 9, 1885, p. 5.
- ²⁰ *Atlanta Constitution*, March 9, 1886, p. 2.
- ²¹ *Augusta Chronicle*, March 13, 1886, p. 8.
- ²² *Augusta Chronicle*, July 15, 1890, p. 3.
- ²³ *Augusta Chronicle*, February 21, 1894, p. 5.
- ²⁴ *Augusta Chronicle*, March 29, 1894, p. 8.
- ²⁵ *Augusta Chronicle*, January 22, 1896, p. 2.
- ²⁶ *Augusta Chronicle*, January 23, 1896, p. 2.
- ²⁷ S.M. Chin, "The Chinese of Augusta, Georgia," *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America* 13 (February 1978).
- ²⁸ Rose Hum Lee, "The Decline of Chinatown in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 54 (March 1949).
- ²⁹ James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), *passim*. See also: Robert Seto Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias: The Mississippi Chinese* (Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), *passim*.
- ³⁰ *The Constitutionalist*, November 9, 1873, p. 5.
- ³¹ Saely Ken, "The Chinese Community of Augusta, Georgia from 1873 to 1971," *Richmond County History* 4 (1972), pp. 51-60.
- ³² Ken, "Chinese Community."
- ³³ *Augusta Chronicle*, February 23, 1932, p. 1.
- ³⁴ *Augusta Chronicle*, July 21, 1958, p. 8.
- ³⁵ *Augusta Chronicle*, May 21, 1970, p. 11.
- ³⁶ *Augusta Chronicle*, May 21, 1970, p. 11.

APPENDIX ONE

CHINESE POPULATION OF GEORGIA 1860-1980*

	Total	Male	Female	Male/Female
1860				
1870	1	1		
1880	17	17		
1890	108	105	3	35/1
1900	204	192	12	16/1
1910	233	218	15	14.5/1
1920	211	187	24	7.8/1
1930	253	181	72	2.5/1
1940	326	205	121	1.7/1
1950	511	302	209	1.4/1
1960	686	371	315	1.1/1
1970	1584	892	692	1.3/1
1980	4324	n/a	n/a	n/a

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1860-1980 Censuses.

APPENDIX TWO

NUMBERS OF CHINESE OWNED GROCERIES AND LAUNDRIES IN AUGUSTA, SAVANNAH, AND ATLANTA 1880-1890*

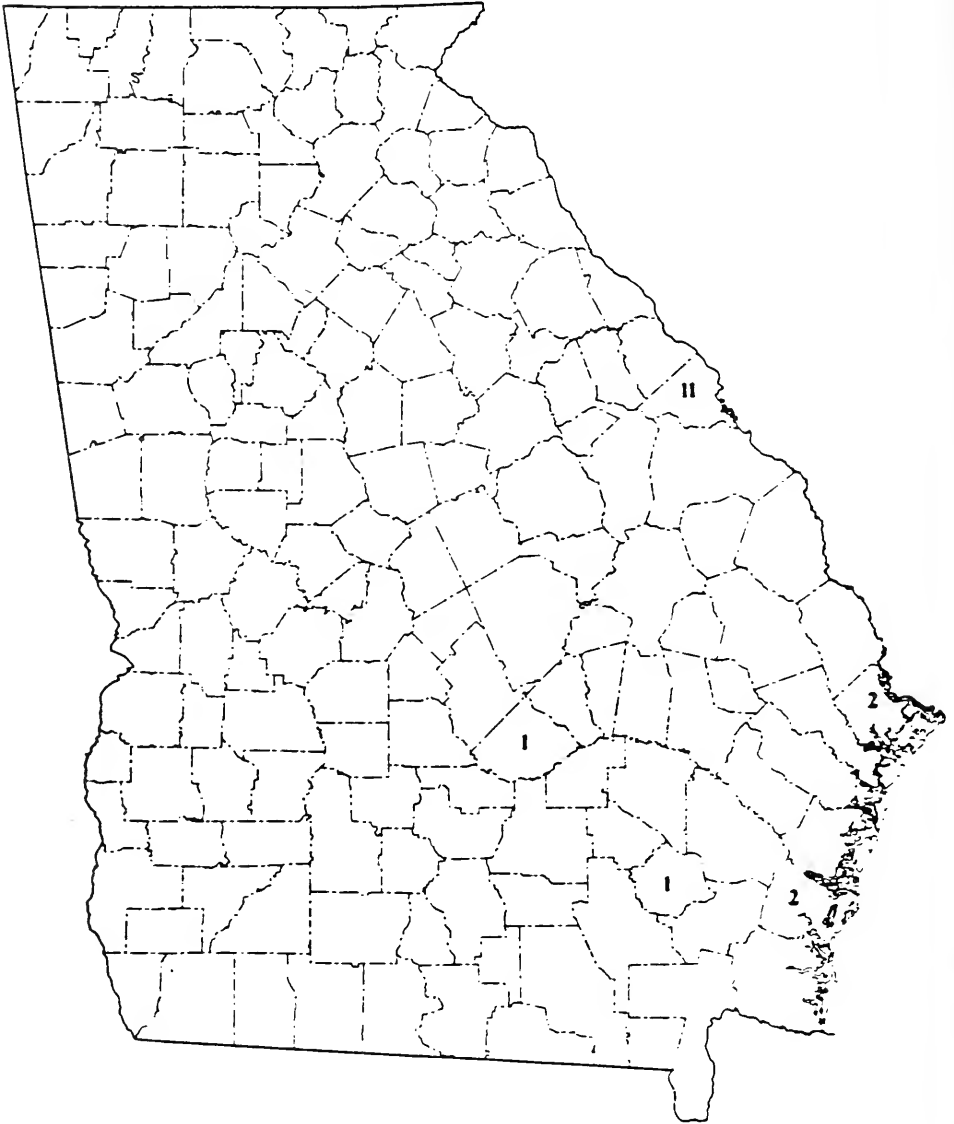
	Laundries			Groceries		
	Augusta	Savannah	Atlanta	Augusta	Savannah	Atlanta
1880	1	1	**	8	**	**
1890	2	11	6	20	**	**
1900	8	31	37	29	**	**
1910	12	23	40	25	**	**
1920	10	20	34	29	**	**
1930	6	7	17	48	4	1
1940	1	7	13	63	6	**
1950	2	**	10	65	**	**
1960	2	**	3	50	**	**
1970	2	**	**	18	**	**
1980	**	**	**	12	8	**

*Source: City Directories for Augusta, Savannah, and Atlanta, 1880-1980.

**Indicates information is not available or data sources incomplete or questionable.

APPENDIX THREE

CHINESE POPULATION OF GEORGIA BY COUNTY, 1880



*Source: United States Census Bureau, 1880 Census.

The Expulsion of Loo Chang from Waynesboro: A Case Study of Sinophobia in Georgia in 1883

BESS BEATTY*

When Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and prominent spokesman for the ideals of the New South, assured Southerners of the “truth” of white supremacy, he was primarily comparing whites with blacks but also including other non-whites in his racial hierarchy. Shortly after passage of the Chinese Exclusion Law in 1882, Grady rejoiced that a national sense of racial superiority “has just spoken in universally approved legislation in excluding the Chinaman from our gates.” Historian Dan Caldwell suggests that the Chinese underwent a process of “Negroization”—being likened to and treated as blacks—in the nineteenth century.¹ An analysis of the Loo Chang incident of 1883 as a case study of sinophobia in Georgia reinforces to some extent the racist inclusiveness Grady celebrated and Caldwell describes. However, it also points to variations of racial stereotyping and discrimination, depending on the group involved.

Southern whites’ responses to Chinese and blacks differed as a result particularly of the disproportionate numbers involved. “The flood tide of European immigration,” C. Vann Woodward observes, “swept past the South, leaving it almost untouched and further isolating it in its peculiarities from the rest of the country.”² Woodward’s observation is just as applicable to Chinese immigration. Compared

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with the steady stream of Europeans into the Northeast and Midwest and the thousands of Chinese seeking employment on the west coast, the South was “almost untouched.” The 1880 census, for example, lists only seventeen Chinese in Georgia (a count that was likely an under-enumeration, but the number was small).³

Large numbers of Chinese first began emigrating to the United States after the development of regular transpacific steamer service in approximately 1850. Initially almost all Chinese emigrated to California. Several authors have attempted to analyze the stereotypes of Chinese that existed in 1850 and the effect that the accelerated influx had on these attitudes. Gunter Barth suggests that intensive prejudice first developed in California only after large numbers of Orientals immigrated, and was due primarily to their sojourner status. Stuart Miller more convincingly argues the contrary view that prejudice and stereotypes extended back to the first commercial-diplomatic-missionary contacts with China and, therefore, were already deep-rooted in 1850. Negative images, he contends, always intermingled with the more positive concepts of ancient Chinese accomplishments.⁴

The ante-bellum South, far removed from the world of Chinese workers and preoccupied with defining relations between black and white, gave far less attention to the Chinese than did whites on the west coast. But Southerners were not entirely oblivious to Oriental immigration. Ironically, despite the Southern proclivity for racial demarcation, Richmond, Virginia’s *Southern Literary Messenger* appeared nationally in the 1830s and 40s as a major defender of the Chinese. An 1841 article, “China and The Chinese,” for example, claimed that while the Chinese had their faults, they also had many virtues—that they were a people “preservingly industrious, habitually temperate and devoted to peaceful pursuits.” The *Literary Messenger* was not, however, typical, as many Southerners included Orientals in their categorization of inferior races. Some Northerners, in fact, were fearful that the many Southerners settling in California in the 1850s would as readily enslave the coolie workers as they had the blacks.⁵

Although the vast majority of early Chinese immigrants remained in the West, some labored, particularly on railroad construction and mining, in other parts of the country. William Kelly brought the first known Chinese workers into the South in the 1850s to work in his

Kentucky iron refineries. But the Southern ante-bellum demand for labor was not extensive enough to warrant widespread importation of immigrant workers.

The aftermath of the Civil War, however, saw the South's tightly controlled labor supply in shambles. Plantation owners, hoping to recoup pre-Civil War profits but doubtful that free blacks would satisfactorily supply their labor demands, led the movement to import foreign labor, including Chinese coolies. They believed that the Chinese would be politically docile and they also hoped that, with an alternative racial group available, the freedman would be forced to economic terms.⁶ Frances Butler Leigh, a planter in Darien, Georgia, noted in her diary in 1869 that using "Chinese labour on plantations in the place of negro labour" which had become "hopelessly unmanageable...interested us all very much."⁷ Leaders in virtually every Southern state expressed interest, generally with an expectation of success. The planters were often joined in their efforts to lure in immigrant workers by "New South" industrialists who wished to build a labor supply. In July 1869, two hundred delegates from all over the South—primarily planters, landowners, and industrial financiers—met at the Chinese Labor Convention in Memphis to plan the promotion and importation of Chinese labor.⁸

The high point of Southern interest in Chinese labor came in 1869. The Sino-American Burlingame Treaty of 1868 guaranteed the unrestricted immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States. But even in 1869 Southerners were divided concerning this new labor scheme. DeBow's *Review*, a leading promoter of immigration into the South in the post-Civil War period, reflected this dichotomy of thought in its July 1869 issue. A.P. Merrill, a fervent supporter of importation, wrote that Europeans were physically unsuited to labor in the hot sun and blacks were "doomed to extermination," but insisted that God would not allow the region's fertile fields to go to waste. The Chinese, he concluded, were the solution. He stated that "for many years it has been a puzzle to determine the designs of providence in regard to these numberless people. It has been left for us, in this favored region, to unravel the great mystery, and to discover the wonderful adaptation of means to ends—here is the soil, there are the laborers and the power of steam has brought them together." Another author in the same issue, however, condemned bringing the Chinese work-

ers on the grounds that they would only exacerbate the South's racial dilemma.⁹ Frances Butler Leigh provides another example of this ambivalence. She "nervously" contracted for seventy Chinese workers because she feared that otherwise her property would go to ruin. Later she expressed relief that large numbers of an alien race had not come.¹⁰ Blacks, the lowest rung of the Southern economic scale, also had mixed reactions to the possible immigration of the Chinese. Some regarded them as potential economic rivals while others emphasized the similar plight of both groups.¹¹

Despite Southern recruiting efforts, few Chinese workers found sufficient inducement to relocate. Statistics are difficult to establish because many coolies did not remain long enough to be included in the censuses, but probably no more than a few thousand came South in this period. Some of them were employed in sugar, cotton, and rice fields with limited success. Others worked on various construction projects, particularly railroad building. About two hundred were brought into Augusta, Georgia, in 1871 to work on a canal extension project. (See Brown and Ganschow's article in this journal on the Augusta Chinese.) They formed the second largest block of Southern Chinese and were among the first contacts most people in the Augusta area ever had with Chinese people.¹²

As federal Reconstruction waned, native white Southerners re-established control over the black population and lost interest in replacing black labor with other groups. Some of the Chinese left after projects were completed—as the Augusta canal was in 1875—but others remained. Several in Augusta opened small grocery and drygoods stores, an occupation typical of the Chinese in the South. In this trade they carved for themselves a precarious niche in the Southern hierarchy.¹³

It was also in the 1870s that demands for a ban on the immigration of Chinese workers became common not only in the West but in the rest of the country as well. An 1870 poem by Bret Harte was reprinted nationwide and popularized the image of the "Heathen Chinee." Nine years later President Rutherford B. Hayes wrote that the influx of Chinese was "pernicious and should be discouraged."¹⁴ Mary Coolidge and Carey McWilliams have claimed that Southerners migrating to California played a key role in fostering white supremacist ideas and that a South-West alliance was at the core of exclusion senti-

ment. Stuart Miller has challenged both Coolidge and McWilliams by describing considerable sinophobia existing in New England. He does, however, agree that "southern contingents [Congressmen] voted unanimously for the various destructive and exclusionist measures," and implies that most Southern whites agreed.¹⁵

There is considerable evidence supporting claims that white Southerners were virtually unanimous for restriction. Georgia Representative Emory Speer's vitriolic harangues on the House floor concerning the "vicious," "less clean," "morally depraved" Chinese were echoed by his colleague James Blount, who condemned allowing the entry of a people "ignorant, pagan and polygamous." They and most other Southern Congressmen voted for exclusion.¹⁶ But historians have generally overlooked the fact that there was also some Southern opposition to exclusion. Senator Joseph E. Brown, the most prominent Georgian in Washington, was a critic of exclusion on the grounds that it violated an 1880 treaty with China, which allowed the regulation but not the prohibition of Chinese immigration. He also argued that such a policy might so offend China that missionary efforts would be stifled and that it could destroy a potentially valuable market for Southern textiles. "It would be foolishness on our part," he wrote, "to seek to wantonly offend these people, and destroy our influence and our commerce among them."¹⁷ Brown spoke for other New South merchants who were more concerned with expanding markets than with racial exclusion.

Georgia's newspapers also reflected divided opinion. Initially *The Atlanta Constitution* opposed the bill for the same reasons Brown did. Its Washington correspondent condemned supporters for ignoring the many positive contributions of the Orientals while focusing only on their negative characteristics. But midway through the exclusion debate, the paper began defending the country's right to keep out "the diseased, desolate, destitute, and prostitute."¹⁸ The *Augusta Chronicle*, representing the city with Georgia's largest Chinese population, consistently supported exclusion of the "pig-tailed Celestial" on the grounds that while "all dark races are obnoxious to white men," the Chinese are "more dangerous than the negro." That the bill was something of an embarrassment to some Republicans augmented the *Chronicle's* support. It was "one of the revenges of time," the paper claimed, that Pacific coast senators who helped impose the Four-

teenth and Fifteenth Amendments” upon the prostrate South” now wanted Southern aid.¹⁹ The Waynesboro *True-Citizen* was launched in late April 1882, after the fight for exclusion had waned. Ironically, in this small town, where less than a month later the entire Chinese population was threatened and expelled, this newspaper concluded that President Arthur’s veto of exclusion should be upheld “if one of the fundamental principles upon which this Republic was founded means anything.”²⁰

Arthur’s veto was upheld, but Congress then passed a ten-year exclusion act which he signed. For the first time in American history, one national group had been banned from entry. It was, according to Stuart Miller, a case of an “unfavorable image made official.”²¹

Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, where “pig-tailed Celestials” were condemned as “more dangerous than the negro,” was the home of approximately thirty Chinese in 1882, the year the Exclusion Act was passed. One of them, Willie Loo Chang, arrived about 1880 and prospered, selling dry goods and Chinese novelties. In July 1882, he married Dennie Fulcher, a young white woman from neighboring Burke County and moved to Waynesboro, the small county seat serving that county’s cotton farmers, to open a general store. The marriage aroused considerable interest in the two-county area with Caucasian-Oriental intermarriage both defended and condemned. A judge had questioned whether he could issue a marriage license in light of Georgia’s miscegenation laws, but finally concluded that Chinese were not “colored” and allowed the marriage. The Waynesboro *True-Citizen* defended the marriage, but only by rationalizing that the groom had been Americanized by discarding his queue and Chinese dress and going to church regularly. According to the newspaper, Chang had become in every respect a “Mellican Man,” the *True-Citizen*’s way of ridiculing the way in which a Chinese might pronounce the word “American.” When the criticism continued, the *True-Citizen* countered, “This is the progressive nineteenth century and if the contracting parties are satisfied, we don’t propose to lose much sleep about it.”²²

In January 1883, with some financial assistance from his American brother-in-law, Willie Loo Chang had formed a company including his brother Thomas Loo Chang and Ah Sing, a friend, rented a store, and began stocking it with goods. News of the impending opening had

arrived in Waynesboro well ahead for the merchants, and for weeks it was the center of the town's attention. To most it was a topic of curiosity, but among some of the town's retailers there was opposition, likely compounded by the recent opening of several other new stores, including one owned by J.L. Fulcher, a relative of Loo Chang's wife. One merchant expressed his pique when advertising that "although the Chinese have come," he carried first class stock. Others, headed by Major William Wilkins, the richest and most influential man in the county, planned to stymie the new rival to their economic monopolies. The county's financial dictators were especially angered by the rumored conversion of considerable black business to Loo Chang and Company.²³

On the day the Chinese opened for business, they were warned, "We the undersigned merchants of this city do hereby notify you to raise the price of your goods, or the consequences will be 'China or Death'". The note was signed "Respectfully, Oscar Wilde," with other fictitious names added. A few days later Loo Chang and his associates were warned "merchants here will do you like they did the Chinese in Harrisburg [a small town in neighboring Richmond County], only they will kill you tonight."²⁴

On February 1, more than twenty men broke into the store, drove out several black customers, and demanded that the Chinese merchants leave town. Ah Sing agreed to their demand "to go back to 'Gusta," but Thomas Loo Chang, who was in charge in Willie Loo Chang's absence, refused. He subsequently was cursed and pushed out of the store with his hands tied and a flour sack over his head. The gang then took him to the town cemetery, fired their pistols, and threatened to lynch Thomas Loo Chang until he also agreed to leave. They then robbed the store of merchandise of two hundred dollars and left. The two merchants fled Waynesboro that night and almost immediately reported the incident to the Chinese minister in Washington. When Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen received the minister's complaint, he informed Georgia Governor James S. Boynton, and a state investigation was launched. In addition, United States Attorney General Benjamin Harris Brewster ordered the U.S. District Attorney Sion A. Darnell to apprehend and convict those responsible. Willie Loo Chang and Company also hired a team of prominent Augusta and Atlanta lawyers and sued their assailants for

fifty thousand dollars.²⁵

The case attracted attention all over the eastern United States and even as far away as London. Both of the Waynesboro papers were initially sympathetic with the Chinese. The editor of the *Herald-Expositor*, not above sinophobia but believing that “good people” had “gone wrong,” wrote that “we have not heard that Loo Chang was charged with any wrong doing. The reason alleged is that he was not wanted here. That may all be true, and we are also of the opinion that his race are not desirable citizens. But that a self-constituted committee of regulators have the right to run him out and interfere with business legitimately followed is bad precedent and contrary to good order.” However, in the next few weeks the *Herald-Expositor* softened its condemnation of the defendants and indirectly enhanced their position by publishing several sinophobic articles.²⁶ The *True-Citizen* also switched its support to the defendants, ostensibly because the Chinese had sued for “outrageous” damages but probably because the editor came to realize that the town’s economic elite was involved.²⁷ Papers outside the city generally made light of the rough handling of the Chinese merchants. *The Atlanta Constitution* did not overtly pass judgment but in reporting the case treated the Chinese condescendingly. Articles included “Jim Chang’s Rough Experience in Waynesboro,” and “Kukluxing a Chinaman,” which reported that “a Celestial Merchant in Waynesboro was invited to leave suddenly.”²⁸

Georgia papers became more defensive when the case was publicized out of the state. *The New York Times* did not report the incident for over a month but then gave it considerable attention. The New York paper, by claiming that Lee Chang’s expulsion had occurred not because of labor competition but because of “local prejudice against miscegenation,” opened a bitter exchange with the Waynesboro papers. In support of its contention, the *Times* claimed that in several Georgia communities, where the Chinese ran businesses but were not intermarried, they were well-treated.²⁹ The *True-Citizen* vehemently denied the charges but at the same time became more blatantly racist in its treatment of the case. Georgia, the editor proclaimed, wanted emigrants but only “good citizens— French, German, Irish, English, or any nation of the Caucasian race.” As for the Chinese, he now insisted, “every place where these heathens have a lodgment the people writhe and groan under the affliction.”

The editor also indicated that “the horror of miscegenation” was not far from his thinking when he wrote that “our young ladies are cultivated and refined and would be horrified and disgusted at the very thought of miscegenating with these heathen.”³⁰

In May the case came to trial in Waynesboro. Although the original sitting grand jury was purged for consisting almost entirely of relatives of the accused, the subsequent court returned “no bill.” The grand jurors voted thanks to court officials for their “vigilance, energy and ability” in handling the case. The *True-Citizen* noted that in the case “which has made more noise in the whole world than perhaps any other on record” the Chinese “failed to show one farthing worth of damage to person or property.”³¹

District Attorney Darnell, however, concluded that there had been more sinophobia than vigilance. He wrote Attorney General Brewster that the “no bill” had been returned because of “local prejudice against the Chinaman and the influence of the parties accused.” Because of his concern that the Chinese merchants’ civil rights be upheld and because of international interest in the case, Darnell wanted to continue prosecution in federal court, but he got little support from the Justice Department. In June 1885 the plaintiffs withdrew their suit.³²

The Loo Chang case sheds light on several questions concerning the South’s response to non-Caucasian groups. A number of historians have argued that the negative response of whites to the Chinese grew largely from old established antiblack prejudices.³³ Ronald Takaki, one of the few historians to deal extensively with white attitudes toward all non-white groups, agrees that “what whites did to one racial group had direct consequences for others,” and that “whites did not artificially view each group in a vacuum.” But Takaki also proposes that while whites sometimes “lumped the different groups together,” they also “counterpointed them against each other.”³⁴ Luther Spoehr has also found the relationship between antiblack prejudice and anti-Chinese prejudice to be more complicated than simple transference. Although he agrees that “on a high level of generalization, all forms of racism may indeed be alike,” he denies that attitudes are easily or always transferable. Spoehr draws on John Higham’s work to divide racial thought into two categories: racial nationalism, emphasizing cultural attributes, and racial naturalism, emphasizing biological at-

tributes. He argues that “positive stereotypes of the Chinese were much more prevalent among whites than positive stereotypes of blacks”; that the Chinese tended to be classified primarily by racial, nationalist, or cultural criteria, while blacks were classified by linking nationalism with racial naturalist or biological criteria. Spoehr concludes that “views on the nature of the black men were so widely shared and so firmly held that they amounted to a consensus, while no stereotype of the Chinese was so nearly universal.”³⁵

The Loo Chang case supports theories that on the general level there is an interchangeability of prejudice. Among the commonalities of the white response to both blacks and Chinese were the ubiquitous identification of distinct races by the terms “colored” and “China-man;” the frequent use of demeaning epithets as “darky” or “dusky sons of the soil” for the blacks and “pig-tailed Celestial” or “heathen Chinese” for the Chinese; and consideration of both as a distinct, immoral and dangerous people who threatened Caucasian purity. But there is also evidence to support Spoehr’s theory of various types of stereotyping and Takaki’s theory of racial counterpointing. The Chinese were often identified as distinct from, and usually as racially superior to, blacks. Even assessments such as that of the Augusta paper that Chinese were “more dangerous” generally stemmed from an idea that the Chinese were culturally superior to blacks and therefore less malleable. Willie Loo Chang was deemed legally “not colored” and allowed to marry a white woman. Despite some hostility, he prospered in Richard County and apparently visited a few prominent whites in the county as a personal friend. By adapting to white customs he was marginally accepted in white society until he represented a viable threat. That biological inferiority was the white Georgian’s assessment of blacks is well-known. The Loo Chang case indicates that views toward the Chinese were more ambivalent; that such cultural considerations as heathen status and immorality were more commonly involved in assessment than racial limitation.

This case also sheds some light on what attributes of new groups most generated fear in the native population. Walter Nugent suggests that the majority response may be “innocence and ignorance if no outgroups were around” but that “ostracism or even violent assault” could occur “if the outgroups appeared to threaten tranquil order or community customs.”³⁶ Although there were only three Chinese in

Waynesboro, they did threaten order and custom in several fundamental ways. The non-Christian “heathen” stigma attached to any Chinese person, which was not altogether eradicated by Willie Loo Chang’s conversion to Christianity, was particularly untenable in the arch-Protestant South. His marriage to a white woman threatened the dogma of Caucasian racial superiority and purity.

But undoubtedly economic competition was an even more compelling threat. People are often pragmatic in their prejudices. When Southern whites perceived economic advantages from Chinese immigration, they supported it; when they felt threatened, they condemned it. In the Loo Chang case, it was those whites who were most directly threatened that led the assault. Major William Wilkins was typical of Southern merchants who established the “territorial monopolies” that Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch identify as dominating post-Civil War Southern mercantile relations. Such men, they point out, established a sphere where they not only stifled all competition but also influenced “those economic, political, and social affairs that interested” them. Outsiders coming in to open businesses that threatened reduced prices could not be tolerated. New stores were accepted only if they were founded “by local landowners or other men with local family or business connections.”³⁷ Although Willie Loo Chang did have some minimal help from a local in-law, he was most definitely an outsider and was not tolerated. Finally, the Chinese business relationship and apparent friendship with the town’s black population, who made up most of their clientele, threatened the most tenaciously held Southern white norm— control of the black population.

The Loo Chang case also presents evidence as to why so few Chinese immigrants came South despite extensive recruiting efforts. It is almost certain that Chinese in other parts of the country were aware of the Waynesboro incident. The Chinese minister to the United States was actively involved in prosecuting the case. It was reported or discussed on at least six occasions in *The New York Times* and was also picked up by the *London Times*. This was not the only example of violence perpetrated against the Chinese in the South. At least two other incidents, the murder of a Chinese laundryman in Rome and harassment that apparently led to a lynching in Harrisburg, also occurred in Georgia in the 1880s.³⁸ Such confronta-

tion was fairly common in Mississippi, the Southern state with the largest Chinese population, especially when coolie workers protested working conditions.³⁹ Such violence was far more common and frequently publicized in other parts of the country. But these incidents in the South gave Chinese workers little reason to relocate in an area already known as the most violent toward minorities in the country.

Late-nineteenth century Southern attitudes toward the Chinese were uncertain—often ambivalent. The section wanted to grow, diversify, industrialize; this demanded labor. The North fed its industries with immigrants, and many Southerners hoped to follow suit. In the 1880s the Atlanta, Augusta, and Waynesboro papers urged immigrants to come South. Planters joined industrialists in the campaign. The South also wanted to retain good relations with China, which was perceived as a major potential market for increased Southern productivity. But in the final analysis the section's racism outweighed its demand for labor and markets, and the Chinese were increasingly condemned as an alien group. The Loo Chang case serves as one example of this Southern Sinophobia.

NOTES

- ¹ Henry Grady and Dan Caldwell in Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1979), pp. 200-201, 216.
- ² C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 299.
- ³ *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, 1883), p. 56.
- ⁴ Gunter Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 1; Stuart C. Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882* (Berkeley, 1969), p. 15.
- ⁵ Miller, p. 92; "China and the Chinese", *Southern Literary Messenger* 7 (1841), pp. 137-155.
- ⁶ Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914," *The Journal of Southern History* 17 (1951), p. 328; Bert James Loewenberg, "Efforts of the South to Encourage Immigration, 1865-1900," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 33 (October 1934), p. 365; Barth pp. 188, 193-196; James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1977), p. 166.
- ⁷ Frances Butler Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War* (London, 1883), pp. 145-146.
- ⁸ Sylvia Krebs, "The Memphis Chinese Labor Convention of 1869," (unpublished paper), pp. 1-11.
- ⁹ *De Bow's Review* 6 (July, 1869), pp. 587-588. Steam power was gradually making the water power of Northern factory streams and rivers obsolete.
- ¹⁰ Leigh, p. 168.
- ¹¹ Arnold Shankman, "Black on Yellow: Afro-Americans View Chinese-Americans, 1850-1935," *Phylon* 39 (Spring 1978), pp. 6-9.
- ¹² Sally Ken, "The Chinese Community of Augusta, Georgia from 1873-1971," *Richmond County History* 4 (1972), p. 52.

- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 53; James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 2.
- ¹⁴ Takaki, pp. 220-229. Takaki points out that Harte bemoaned the racial hostility that his poem generated.
- ¹⁵ Mary Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909), pp. 15-25; Carey McWilliams, *Brothers Under the Skin* (Boston, 1951), pp. 97-104; Miller, p. 189.
- ¹⁶ *U.S. Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1882, pp. 1639-1642, 1984.
- ¹⁷ Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge, 1977), p. 548; *Atlanta Constitution*, March 10, 19, 21, 1882; Patrick J. Hearden, *Independence and Empire: The New South's Cotton Mill Campaign, 1865-1901* (Dekalb, Illinois, 1982), pp. 56-57.
- ¹⁸ *Atlanta Constitution*, February 1, April 5, 1882.
- ¹⁹ *Chronicle* (Augusta), February 12, March 15, 1882.
- ²⁰ *True-Citizen* (Waynesboro), April 12, 1882.
- ²¹ Miller, p. 202.
- ²² *Burke County, Georgia: Health, Happiness, Prosperity* (Waynesboro, 1921); *True-Citizen*, July 14, 21, 1882.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, July 28, August 18, September 8, 15, 1882, January 12, 26, 1883; (Waynesboro), January 31, 1883.
- ²⁴ S.A. Darnell to Benjamin Harris Brewster, February 14, 1883, Justice Department Records, Record Group 60, National Archives (hereafter cited as NA). Harrisburg is identified as a small town in Richmond County in Marion R. Hemperly, *Cities, Towns, and Communities of Georgia Between 1847-1862, 8,500 Places and the County in Which Located* (Easley, S.C., 1980), p. 66. The town no longer exists. I found no other reference to the Harrisburg Chinese incident.
- ²⁵ Darnell to Brewster, February 14, 1883, Justice Department Records; *Willie Loo Chang v. William A. Wilkins, Robert Neely, et al., Southern District of Georgia*, case 607, 1883, Justice Department Records, RG 60, NA.
- ²⁶ *Herald-Expositor*, February 7, June 20, July 4, August 15, 1883.
- ²⁷ *True-Citizen*, February 2, 9, March 23, 1883.
- ²⁸ *Atlanta Constitution*, February 3, 10, 1883.
- ²⁹ *The New York Times*, March 10, April 1, May 28, June 12, 21, 1883.
- ³⁰ *True-Citizen*, June 15, 1883.
- ³¹ *Minutes*, Superior Court, Burke County, Georgia, 1880-1884, p. 491; *True-Citizen*, May 25, 1883.
- ³² Darnell to Brewster, March 27, 1884, Justice Department Records; *Chang v. Wilkins*, Justice Department Records, RG 60, NA. The plaintiff's withdrawal of the suit was written on the original petition.
- ³³ Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1971); Robert F. Heizer and Alan J. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1970).
- ³⁴ Takaki, p. xiv.
- ³⁵ Luther A. Spoehr, "Sambo and the Heathen Chinese: California's Racial Stereotypes in the Late 1870's," *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (May, 1973), pp. 185-204.
- ³⁶ Walter T.K. Nugent, *From Centennial to World War: American Society, 1876-1917* (Indianapolis, 1977), p.46.
- ³⁷ Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 126-127, 140.
- ³⁸ Roger Aycock, *All Roads to Rome* (Roswell, Georgia, 1981), pp. 227-233. A black man was hanged for the murder of Joe Lee, the Chinese laundryman.
- ³⁹ Loewen, pp. 30-31.

**The Historical Experience:
Georgians in East Asia**

John Elliot Ward: A Georgia Elitist in the Celestial Empire, 1858-60

WILLIAM M. GABARD*

Nineteenth-century America's rich agricultural production, nascent industrial system, and flourishing commerce which took Yankee clippers to Asia encouraged the belief that Protestant Christianity was destined by God, like the nation, to expand to non-Christians, particularly in Asia. While twentieth century cynics may deprecate religious missionary motives, they cannot ignore what was a dynamic, sincere, albeit perhaps misguided, desire by Americans to take the message of Christianity—and "Progress"—to the "heathens" of the world. If domestic concern with slavery disturbed the American conscience, good works among non-Christians would salve it.

It is the purpose of this paper to ascertain the true objectives and behavior of John Elliot Ward, a Georgian who was his country's first official envoy to Peking (Beijing). John Elliot Ward was affected by the religious climate of the nation, the South, and especially Savannah's Bishop Stephen Elliott's Episcopal Church during the period 1840-60. The revival movements of the nineteenth century motivated Episcopalians with a passionate missionary zeal at home and abroad to assume the responsibility later popularized as "white man's burden." Endowed with wealth, class status, and superior

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educational and cultural advantages, Ward and his co-religionists felt an inevitability and permanence of the spread of "Western Civilization." The people in Ward's social group were as sincere as they were zealous in carrying Christianity, commerce, and civilization to the "heathen" in fulfillment of a moral responsibility. Committed individuals were willing to sacrifice riches, luxuries, ease, and even life, to attain their goals. Against this background, Ward, like his predecessor William B. Reed, the first United States envoy-extraordinary to China, who was never able to reach Peking, could feel a sense of the Divine in his diplomatic mission.

Nor could Ward escape the arguments of the advocates of an intensified, expanded American commerce with China. If commerce was king, as the Reverend William Stevens of Savannah observed, its expansion to Asia, and to China in particular, was highly desirable. The successful United States-China trade had been inaugurated in direct voyages from the Eastern Seaboard in 1783, was carried on principally by the sleek Yankee clippers, and rivalled the China trade of Great Britain. By 1859, *Hunt's*, a leading commercial journal, could report that Americans were importing annually from China twenty million pounds of tea, an abundance of silk, and other commodities for a total of slightly over \$82 million.¹ *Hunt's* could see the "alleged antipathy of the Chinese to intercourse with foreigners in a state of change." Possibilities for significant increase in the American trade with China seemed enormous.²

To the South, in particular, the prospect for commercial growth raised hopes of an emancipation from economic dependence upon the North. "In all civilized nations," a Southern newspaper observed, "political power has followed the sceptre of commerce." In order to release the South from its agriculturism and economic dependence upon the North, the South was urged to build up port cities as distributing centers for imported items and the general stimulation of trade to balance agriculturism.³ As a case in point, Savannah's trade for 1859 totaled \$16 million, with imports representing less than \$1 million.⁴ That trade with China could be significant was shown by the arrival in New York harbor in early 1861 of the ship *Phantom* from Shanghai. Described as carrying "one of the most valuable cargoes ever imported into this country from China," the ship's cargo approximated \$900,000, consisting mostly of silks.⁵

The admission of California as a state in 1850, her rapid growth of wealth and population because of the gold rush, the trans-isthmian railroad, the plans for transcontinental railroads, and the acquisition of Pacific islands, all offered Americans a chance to challenge the supremacy of England's trade with China. The opening of Japan in 1853-54, coupled with the China trade, offered Americans possibilities which staggered the imagination. After the United States negotiated its Treaty of Tientsin with China in 1858, which provided for the opening of additional treaty ports, the right of consuls to reside at Chinese ports, and other expanded commercial privileges, visions of an expanded trade as well as missionary activity seemed unlimited. Members of Congress, clerics, agriculturalists, manufacturers, and captains were enthusiastic at the prospects offered to Americans under their Tientsin Treaty. Britons and Frenchmen were equally enthusiastic about similar provisions included in their 1858 Tientsin treaties with China.⁶

John Elliott Ward's mission to China was chiefly to exchange ratifications of the Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin. The agreement had been negotiated by Reed in 1858 and had been ratified, with one dissenting vote, by the United States Senate on December 15, 1858, the same day on which Ward's ministerial appointment was approved.⁷ That the United States, unlike England and France, had not been at war with China, proved the efficacy, according to President Buchanan, of "peaceful negotiations and the wisdom of our neutrality" in respect to China.⁸

John Elliot Ward had been born October 2, 1814, near Savannah, into a family with strong roots in the Puritan and Presbyterian faiths, where duty, morality, industry, and religious devotion were stressed. After studying at Massachusetts' Amherst College, which was swept by revivalism in 1831, Ward returned to his rural plantation home and affiliated with the Midway Church, a bastion of Calvinistic strength in coastal Georgia. After he moved to Savannah, he became a member of St. John's Episcopal Church. Ward was an intimate friend of Stephen Elliott, rector of St. John's and Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Georgia. Ward's close association with Bishop Elliott added to Ward's awareness about China. Elliott's brother-in-law was William Boone, who served as first Missionary Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in China from 1844 until his death in 1864.⁹

Intelligent, tolerant, mild in disposition, a believer in moderation and compromise, a man of impeccable integrity who was able to play an important role as mediator in the Democratic Party's bitter fratricidal wars and yet earn the respect of all factions—these were the personal qualities which Ward possessed. Although he had not travelled abroad, his marriage alliance with a Bostonian, his prominent role in national politics and issues, his close relationships with Eastern commercial and shipping families, such as the Lows and Habershams of Savannah, his long-time associations with worldwide clerics like Elliott and Boone and with well-travelled naval officers such as John Kell and Josiah Tattnall—all of these experiences prepared Ward for his China mission.¹⁰

Ward's mission was to exchange ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin, to seek permanent residence for an American ambassador at Beijing, and to conclude consular agreements with the Celestial Empire. When William B. Reed prepared to return home from China, he wrote the President to send a "first-rate man" for the Beijing assignment, which he characterized as a "most delicate and interesting one."¹¹ Savannah, Georgia, Mayor John Elliott Ward in the late 1850s was named Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China by President James Buchanan in gratitude for Ward's help to him in securing the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1856. Although this appointment was a political favor, Ward's appointment earned hearty approbation and he promised to carry out the President's belief, as outlined in his annual message to Congress in 1858, that California's "peculiar geographical position, and the recent conclusion of treaties with China and Japan, two rich and populous empires," would attract American interest, enterprise, and capital which could lead to American wealth and power in East Asia.¹² *The New York Journal of Commerce* endorsed Ward and noted that he enjoyed a "reputation extending far beyond the borders of his own State."¹³ John Elliott Ward met the requirements; his appointment produced no criticism or opposition.

Ward's mission should be viewed in the context of mid-nineteenth century U.S. history. During the nineteenth century, the United States, flushed with the success of an expansionist territorial policy, had attained through war, treaty agreement, and purchase the fulfillment of her continental boundaries, reaching from the Atlantic to the

Pacific Oceans. Denied by her Monroe Doctrine from involvement in European affairs, and peopled by a fecund populace augmented with a steady stream of immigrants, the United States developed a dynamic expansionistic policy during the 1840s and 1850s which boldly proposed purchase or annexation of Cuba and other Latin American areas; commercial treaties with China, Japan, and Siam (Thailand); claims upon vital Pacific islands; and "opening" the "hermit kingdom" of Korea. This brash, imaginative foreign policy supported such auxiliary projects as trans-isthmian and transcontinental railroads, and coexisted with the suppression of Indians, ongoing argument over slavery, divisive political realignments, and major social and economic problems. Such a foreign policy could only occur, according to the beliefs of many Americans, in a nation favored by God, who had given her a Manifest Destiny to fulfill. Ebullient, supremely confident, vigorous, enthusiastic, and endowed beyond belief with Nature's resources, the American people, who had given the world a new concept of government, earnestly wanted to share, or impose, its richness of life upon less fortunate people.

John Elliott Ward left Savannah in January 1859.¹⁴ By mid-March Ward was in Paris, where he was presented to Emperor Napoleon III and conversed with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs about China. In Lyons, on March 25, 1859, Ward had a "satisfactory interview" with William B. Reed, who warned his successor that the latter might have "some difficulty" in reaching Beijing.¹⁵ The U.S. steam frigate *Powhatan*, commanded by Commodore Josiah Tattnall, Ward's close friend, was ordered to Singapore to meet Ward. Ward reached Hong Kong on May 10 and spent several days receiving and returning calls from foreign diplomats before proceeding to Shanghai.¹⁶ There Ward was a guest in the residence of Augustine Heard and Company, the second largest American mercantile-commission house in China. George W. Heard, Jr. and Ward's brother Wallace served as legation secretaries. When Ward went to present his official credentials to the Chinese commissioners who had negotiated the Tientsin treaty with Reed, Ward was accompanied by an escort of American marines in a long procession which was "well received, and entertained with refreshments and also by a salute from a four pounder." During the next few days, Ward visited American and British residents and naval officers and officials in Shanghai

and received many guests aboard the *Powhatan*.¹⁷

Ward's meeting with the Chinese commissioners also included the Reverend Samuel Wells Williams, who had been the acting U.S. chargé d'affaires since Reed's departure, and the Reverend W.A.P. Martin, who served as interpreter. Williams recorded that the Chinese representatives offered "no objections to our going to Peking. Nothing seemed further from their minds than the possibility of any trouble in our negotiations this year."¹⁸

The Chinese requested that Ward accompany British and French envoys going to Beijing to exchange ratifications of their treaties. However, details of the French and British treaties were still under negotiation. Ward therefore decided to unilaterally proceed to Beijing in order to try to comply with the instructions of the U.S. Secretary of State and with the proviso within the Sino-American treaty that ratifications be exchanged before June 18, 1859. Aboard the *Powhatan*, with the *Toeywan* in tow, Ward and his entourage sailed north to the mouth of the Bei Ho (Peiho) River, there hoping to land and proceed immediately to Beijing for the formal exchange of ratifications of the U.S. Treaty of Tientsin, as provided in the treaty itself.

On June 25, at the mouth of the Bei Ho, Ward and Tattnall witnessed the unsuccessful effort of an Anglo-French naval expedition to force its way up the Bei Ho past the heavily-fortified Dagu (Taku) forts. This effort resulted in the repulse of the British and French with heavy losses. Although Ward and Tattnall originally intended to remain neutral, Commodore Tattnall's towing of a helpless British flagship from the line of fire, his visit across the line of fire to the wounded British Admiral Hope, and his troop's shooting at the Chinese from a British gunboat at Dagu led to charges of violation of neutrality from some of Ward's mission and from the Chinese. Although the acts may have violated the letter of the law, Ward and Tattnall defended them as acts of humanity and as reciprocity for services Hope's forces had rendered to U.S. ships on June 24. Tattnall's alleged expression that "blood is thicker than water" gave rise among some writers to the notion that Ward and Tattnall, as Southerners, saw the Sino-Anglo-French conflict as a racial war and wished to help their white Anglo-Saxon brothers. Ward's violation of U.S. neutrality might well have jeopardized his mission. But he was determined to continue to Beijing as if nothing unusual had hap-

pened.

Because Ward had been instructed by President Buchanan and Secretary of State Lewis Cass to exchange the treaty ratifications as soon as possible and to maintain a strict neutrality, Ward decided to leave the Dagu war zone and go overland to Beijing from Beitang (Pei-t'ang), a port approximately ten miles north of Dagu. This specific overland routing had been suggested by Chinese commissioners whom Ward had met at Beitang on July 3. On July 20, 1859, Ward and his party left Beitang for Beijing. In conformity with an Imperial Edict of July 14, Ward's party entered Beijing in mule carts, a form of conveyance traditionally reserved for tribute bearers, rather than by the more respectable conveyance of sedan chairs. Ward, Lieutenant Trenchard, and several other *Powhatan* officers reached Beijing about July 27 and were sequestered while discussions were held concerning the possibility of an imperial audience. Although Ward received an autographed letter from the Emperor, Sino-American negotiations bogged down over Ward's refusal to kowtow, or prostrate himself, before the Emperor. After several days of haggling, the Americans left Beijing in disgust. Ratifications of the U.S. Tientsin Treaty were exchanged at Beitang in a brief ceremony before Ward reboarded the *Powhatan*.

Ward's routing, mode of travel, sequestration in Beijing, and failure to see the Emperor produced controversy among Chinese and westerners alike. To the Chinese, diplomatic residence in Beijing, insisted upon in the Treaties of Tientsin, had been a most humiliating concession. The fifth article of the American Treaty specified only that the American minister should be able to confer in Beijing with a Grand Secretary or any other designated official of equal rank. Ward, however, on instructions from the U.S. Secretary of State and President, desired to go to Beijing for the exchange of ratifications at the earliest time and to press for a permanent U.S. ministerial residence in that capital city. The Chinese limitation of his party to twenty; their insistence upon the use of mule-drawn carts customarily assigned to those carrying tribute to the Chinese emperor; their concern for Ward's refusal to kowtow; their fear of collusion among the "barbarians," thereby preventing the Americans from seeing the Russians in Beijing—all of these alleged "humiliations" to Ward and his party resulted from the importance Beijing attached to the nature of these

embassies, especially in view of the Bei Ho hostilities. Fears well-founded or imagined over possible military invasion, collusion between Russian and American barbarians, and the imposition of alien practices upon the Chinese provoked the Chinese response to America's initial diplomatic mission to Beijing. Given the fact that Ward and Tattnell had compromised U.S. neutrality at Dagu, Ward was fortunate to accomplish his purposes with no more discourtesy from the Chinese than he received.¹⁹

Ward's journey to Beijing involved, according to his Occidental critics, the acceptance of humiliating conditions imposed by the Chinese government officials to prevent fulfillment of a particularly onerous provision of the Treaties of Tientsin. One of Ward's interpreters, the Reverend W.A.P. Martin, believed that because Ward wished to do something "great and good" for China, he erred in accepting the mule carts. Martin wrote two sarcastic, critical letters to the London *Times* about the envoy and the mission's "quasi imprisonment" at Beijing.²⁰ The British and the French, who resented Ward's unilateral journey to Beijing, generally ridiculed the American minister. Lord Loch reported that Ward "thought he would gain by diplomacy what Mr. Bruce [the English minister] had failed to get by force [at Dagu]." *Blackwood's* ridiculed Ward's "triumphal entry into Peking in a cart, his close confinement, the attempt to make him worship the Emperor, [and] the insult of ordering him back to the seashore for a worthless ratification." Another European account referred to "the great American minister" being carried "in state" in a mule cart. The French minister also wrote disparagingly of the American mission; he believed that Ward had been subjected to numerous indignities which indicated little progress in China's relations with the Western powers. *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News* subjected Ward to merciless ridicule. The former published a malicious, satirical poem entitled "Jonathan's Ride to Peking," in which the Americans reportedly rode "like blacks in a nigger car, ready to eat humble pie" when seeking dollars. *L'illustration* called the expedition "a defeat no less disastrous than that of the allies before Tuku." The journal did commend Ward's refusal to kowtow before the Emperor, praising his "dignity of character."²¹

Many people considered grossly unjust the criticism heaped upon John Elliott Ward. His wife attributed it to a typical characteristic of

the English, whom she regarded as “the most arrogant people on the face of the earth.”²² Many American newspapers attributed the Anglo-French criticism to jealousy over American accomplishment of treaty ratification without resort to force and to Anglo-French humiliation over their defeat by China at Dagou. *The New York Times* applauded Ward’s behavior in accepting “the professions of good-will made to him by the Chinese authorities with frank and high bred equanimity.” It further remarked that the United States would “experience no more practical inconvenience from the sublime vanity of the Court of Peking than from the self-conceit of dozens of small German dukes and Central Asiatic shahs.” The newspaper observed that the United States could “honorably leave” the Anglo-French to force their way “over thousands of human bodies trampling under foot the most sacred convictions of a great people.” In brief, Ward’s peaceful accomplishment of his mission and his patient, tolerant consideration of cultural sensitivity proved to be more successful than that of the Anglo-French “arrogant and overbearing envoys in precipitating a most lamentable and superfluous catastrophe.” The American treaty, unlike the Anglo-French treaties, was “in full vigor and force” due to Ward’s action.²³

The London *Star* observed of Ward’s visit that it was “certainly humiliating to England to find the United States so successfully negotiating treaties with China, while she herself, in alliance with France, had failed.”²⁴ The Austrian *Gazette* endorsed Ward’s peaceful approaches to Beijing as opposed to the Anglo-French use of force. The *Gazette* wondered how England would feel if a Russian force appeared at the mouth of the Thames with an envoy backed by naval squadron. England and France respected nationalities in Europe but, in forcing trade and envoys upon China, used a policy of “Rascals, you must like us, you must trade with us.”²⁵ In deploring the use of British force in China, Lord Greville wrote that “it required no sagacity to perceive that the arrival at Peking of a victorious ambassador, who had forced his way to the capital at the head of an imposing force, would not serve to make his reception a friendly one, or to establish harmonious relationships” between China and England.²⁶ Ward’s accomplishment of his principal aim, then, far outweighed, many believed, any inconveniences or minor slights. Moreover, a proud man and a proud nation could afford to be tolerant.

The former American chargé d'affaires in China, the Reverend Samuel Wells Williams, who accompanied Ward from Shanghai to Beitang to Beijing as one of the legation's secretaries, believed that the Manchu (Qing) dynasty rulers feared that troops accompanying Western envoys into China might overthrow the Qings, as they themselves had overthrown the Chinese in 1644 when invited to Beijing to assist in the ouster of a usurper to the Ming dynasty throne. A longtime resident of China, Williams called the initial interview with Chinese officials friendly. "The officials have," he recorded, "exerted themselves more than I have ever known on a previous occasion to give éclat and parade to this reception." And he rebuked the Anglo-French for failure to avail themselves of a similar peaceful venture rather than resort to arms. The Chinese, he lamented, were "doomed never to be allowed to make their own plans or carry out their own views."

In contrast, John Elliot Ward did defer to the sensitivities of the Chinese in the delicate diplomacy concerning the route, modes of conveyance, and size of the official party, and showed respect for opposing views. The mission of twenty, in deference to Chinese wishes, included only three military officers and three marines. The small group, as Williams noted received "politeness and courtesy." Williams noted that, since Ward had never demanded an audience with the Emperor and was in Beijing upon invitation rather than by treaty right, he enjoyed a decided advantage upon the kowtow issue. In turn, the Chinese conducted their argument with "tact and patience." Williams commended Ward for his patience, tact, firmness of conviction, and willingness to compromise throughout the entire mission. The legation secretary defended the use of the mule carts. He believed that the Emperor's comment about Ward's mission published in Beijing's gazette marked the first time that a foreign nation was not designated i, signifying "barbarian," by the paper, and called it a "moderate" statement. Williams was genuinely disturbed that Hong Kong newspapers discredited Ward's visit to Beijing. "It is sad to see," he also wrote, "the bitterness of these papers against the Chinese," against whom the papers urged "a good thrashing." Williams especially lamented the severe judgement that the Chinese were "pagans" and could not be held to "Christian" practices. The secretary declared that he wrote the details of Ward's mission to

correct exaggerated and critical accounts given in England and France.²⁷

Another member of Ward's entourage, the Reverend William Aitchison, a China resident for many years who served as interpreter, was seriously concerned about the effect of Sinowestern hostilities at the mouth of the Bei Ho upon Christian missions in China. "Oh, when will the Prince of Peace extend his peaceful sway over the earth and the nations learn war no more!" he exclaimed. Pleased with what he saw as an American policy of peace, he felt that the "chariots" used were satisfactory, the Chinese military escort colorful and attentive, the food sumptuous, and the Chinese hosts "worthy of respect and affection." He also approved Ward's refusal to kowtow. Aitchison felt that "the kindness we have received could not be well surpassed. All the arrangements proved their desire to gratify our tastes in every particular." Moreover, Aitchison, the clergyman, rejoiced that on July 31, 1859, Christian services were conducted without interference in "this mighty capital, beneath the shadow of a throne, whose occupant rules over one-third of the human race!" With Ward and Williams he spent two hours in reading aloud and discussing the first epistle of Timothy. Then the group sang such missionary hymns as "From Greenland's Icy Mountains to India's Coral Sea." No doubt Ward could feel that he was carrying out the hymn's admonition to carry the Gospel to "the heathen."²⁸

Resident American merchants gave Ward their "cordial support and approval" for the "able and energetic manner in which you supported the dignity of our country, the successful ratification of our treaty and its speedy promulgation, events alike honorable to yourself and to us as your countrymen." The merchants, who often favored more aggressive policies toward China, strongly endorsed Ward's support of Tattnell's assistance to the Anglo-French and commended the Commodore's gallantry.²⁹ The favorable views of the Americans were even more significant when one considers the usual view of merchants that treaties with the Chinese needed to be backed up with military force.³⁰

In his official despatches to the State Department, Ward indicated that he was reasonably pleased with the outcome of his mission. After the signing of the official receipt for the ratification of the American treaty at Beitang on August 16, 1859, Ward reported that

he was received there "with every mark of respect."³¹ Privately, he believed that the aggressive Anglo-French methods used at the mouth of the Bei Ho complicated his mission. He acknowledged that Tattnall had perhaps violated "strict neutrality" there, but he observed that the Commodore's behavior did more "to illustrate the gallantry of the American Navy in the eyes of the world than twenty successful engagements would have done." Ward defended his unilateral decision to go to Beijing:

I frankly told the Admiral [Hope] that my position was different from that of the English and French Ministers; that their treaties were made at a time when they were at war with the Chinese; and that if their treaties were violated, they might consider themselves thrown back into the war which had been terminated or suspended by the treaty; that the American treaty, on the contrary, had been made with a nation with whom we had never been at war.³²

At home President Buchanan praised his appointee's behavior in China. Ward, a distinguished citizen of Georgia, he declared, was unable to present to the Emperor his letter of credence "in consequence of his very proper refusal to submit to the humiliating ceremonies required by this strange people in approaching their sovereign." Buchanan endorsed the exchange of ratifications of the treaty at Beitang and noted that, throughout the entire negotiations, the Chinese "appear to have acted in good faith and in a friendly spirit towards the United States. It is true that this has been done after their own fashion; but we ought to regard it with a lenient eye. The conduct of our minister has received my entire approbation."³³ So pleased was one Georgian with Ward's accomplishments in China that he seriously proposed the longtime Democratic Unionist as the Party's logical 1860 Presidential standard-bearer.³⁴

By late August 1859, Ward and his legation had returned aboard the *Powhatan* to Shanghai, where he received "with great pomp and ceremony" the Emperor's reply to President Buchanan's official letter which accompanied the American ratification documents.³⁵ After opening negotiations for the implementation of the treaty's provisions for the opening of two additional ports and for the revision of tonnage duties, Ward sailed on September 18 with Tattnall to Japan for a month's visit. Back in Shanghai, Ward issued a November 8, 1859

proclamation regarding the publication of the U.S. Treaty of Tientsin "for the general guidance of all to whom it may concern." He then went to Hong Kong, Guangzhou (Canton), and Macao, where he permitted Chinese authorities to remove 317 coolies from an American ship.³⁶ Ward advised Congressional action to suppress the "iniquitous" coolie traffic which "deeply grieved" him. In April 1860, when the Chinese ports of Fuzhou and Shantou were opened to U.S. commerce in accordance with the U.S. Tientsin Treaty, Ward and the Commodore of the U.S. East India Squadron paid an official visit to Shantou, met with newly-appointed U.S. consuls, and assured them of continued U.S. military protection and support.³⁷

As early as July 1859, Ward had expressed his desire to return to the United States in early 1860.³⁸ He actually departed in December 1860, after witnessing what he perceived as a shameful Anglo-French re-invasion of North China. In desperation, the Emperor had authorized his officials to urge Ward to mediate with France and England. In reply, Ward, sympathetic with the Chinese, wrote that because of the United States' neutrality, he was unable to discuss "the crooked and straight, right or wrong" issues between China and the Anglo-French.³⁹ When the Emperor's attempt at mediation failed, England and France marched into Beijing, sacked the summer Palace, and forced the flight of the Emperor to secure ratification of the Anglo-French 1858 Tientsin Treaties. They wrung additional privileges from China in the October 1860 Convention of Peking.

John Elliot Ward had spent two years as Minister to China during a critical period in that country's history. He returned to Washington in time to submit his report to the State Department before the outbreak of the American Civil War. Upon returning to Georgia he served the Confederacy on missions to Europe, and also sojourned in China for unclear reasons from late 1863 to the fall of 1865. He later moved with his family to New York, where he was a Wall Street lawyer until his death on November 29, 1902. In 1896, when Chinese Foreign Minister Li Hongzhang (Li Hung-chang) visited New York City, it was Ward, the senior American China diplomat, who sat to the right of the senior Chinese statesman at the official banquet and offered the principal toast.⁴⁰

John Elliott Ward's mission to China was brief but important. In an extremely critical period for China, he brought to Sino-American

relations those personal qualities and attitudes which were essential for amicable relations between the two nations. In large measure, his mission presaged the later American "Open Door Policy." Ward's mission laid the groundwork for his successor, Anson Burlingame, who successfully established an American legation in Beijing in July 1862. Faced with a difficult, sensitive diplomatic situation and diametrically opposing views for solution, Ward, as a representative of the peculiar elitist society of Georgia, had displayed firmness of purpose and dignity coupled with genuine concern and compassion for others.

NOTES

¹"China: Its Trade," *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* 41 (October 1859), p.444.

²*Ibid.*, p.439-40

³*Courier* (Charleston, S.C.), quoted in the Augusta, Georgia, *Daily Constitutionalist*, March 24, 1859 and April 1, 1860.

⁴Hunt's Merchant's Magazine 42 (November 1860), p.614.

⁵*The New York Times*, February 11, 1861.

⁶Wen-hwan Ma, *American Policy Toward China, as Revealed in the Debates of Congress* (New York, 1970), pp.18-31, *passim*.

⁷*The New York Tribune*, December 16, 1858; Richardson Dougall and Mary P. Chapman, *United States Chiefs of Mission, 1778-1973* (Washington, 1973), p. 28.

⁸*The New York Times*, December 7, 1858.

⁹For further information of Bishops Elliott and Boone, see: Hermon Batterson, *Sketch-Book of the American Episcopate* (Philadelphia, 1878), pp.130-31 and 146-47; Doris Kirk Collins, *The Episcopal Church in Georgia from the Revolutionary War to 1860* (Ann Arbor, 1961), pp. 17-31; James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1789-1931* (New York, 1951), pp. 150-51; and Albert Sydney Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957* (Columbia, S.C., 1957), pp. 24-29, 39, 438. For information on Ward's life, see "John Elliott Ward," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, XIX (New York, 1928-1958), pp. 426-27; *United States Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1939 I*, p. 1027; and William M. Gabard, "The Confederate Career of John Elliott Ward," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 55 (Summer 1971), pp.177-207. For more information regarding Georgia's elite of the mid-nineteenth century, the writer has drawn upon the following Georgia family manuscript collections: Bulloch Papers, Gordon Papers, W.R.B. Elliott Papers, Mackay-Stiles Collection, Arnold Appleton Papers, and Alexander H. Lawton Papers, Southern Historical Collections, University of North Carolina; the John McIntosh Kell Papers and Josiah Tattnall, Jr. Letters, Manuscript Department, Duke University; and The Charles Colcock Jones Papers in the Manuscript Collections at Duke and Tulane Universities and The University of Georgia, which provided the basis for Robert Manson Myers, *Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven, 1972). Manuscript collections at the University of Georgia, Georgia State Department of Archives, Emory University, and The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, provided additional information. In addition, the writer has talked with and interviewed numerous descendants of the families listed above, particularly in Savannah.

- ¹⁰Based upon a close examination of all information about Ward and correspondence and interviews with his descendants. See also John McIntosh Kell, *Recollections of a Naval Life* (Washington, 1900), p. 65, and Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The Life and Services of Commodore Josiah Tattnall* (Savannah, 1878), pp. 74-78.
- ¹¹W.B. Reed to President James Buchanan, September 2, 1858, in United States Department of State, Despatches from U.S. Ministers to China, 1843-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Despatches, China.)
- ¹²President Buchanan's 2nd Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1858, in *The Works of James Buchanan*, ed. by John Bassett Moore, I (Philadelphia, 1908-1912), p. 273.
- ¹³As quoted in the *Federal Union*, December 7, 1858.
- ¹⁴*Daily Morning News* (Savannah), January 17, 1859.
- ¹⁵J.E. Ward to Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, March 17, and 26, 1859, in Despatches, China.
- ¹⁶See James D. Johnson, *China and Japan* (Baltimore, 1861), pp. 208-11, and Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., *The Life and Services of Commodore Josiah Tattnall*, pp. 77-82.
- ¹⁷Stephen Chapman Lockwood, *Augustine Heard and Company, 1858-1862* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 71-72; William F. Graff, *A Cruise in the U.S. Steam-Frigate Mississippi* (Boston, 1860) pp. 60-65; and Johnston, *China and Japan*, pp. 224-27.
- ¹⁸Entry in Journal of S.W. Williams, May 31, 1859, in Frederic Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, L.L.D., Missionary, Diplomatist, Sinologue* (New York, 1889), p. 297, (hereafter cited as Williams, *Life*.)
- ¹⁹For a detailed account of the Bei Ho affair and the American mission to Beijing, see: William M. Gabard, "John Elliott Ward and the Treaty of Tientsin," *West Georgia College Studies in the Social Sciences* 11 (June 1972), pp. 26-44; "The Fight on the Peiho," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 86 (December 1859), 647-67; S. Wells Williams, "Visit of the American Embassy to Peking," *The Ecclectic Magazine* 51 (April 1861), 529-37, and 52 (May 1861), 53-63; Williams, *Life*, pp. 299-325; W.A.P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay* (New York, 1896), pp.190-203 and *The Awakening of China* (New York, 1907), pp. 166-69; Charles P. Bush, ed., *Five Years in China* (Philadelphia, 1865); J.W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston, 1914), pp 245-55; Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire: The Period of Conflict, 1834-1860* (Shanghai, 1910), pp. 471-87; Earl Swisher, *China's Management of the American Barbarians: A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841-1861, with Documents* (New Haven, Conn., 1951), pp. 571-623; Henri Cordier, *L'Expedition de China de 1860* (Paris, 1906), pp. 86-92, and 246-53; Masataka Banno, *China and the West, 1858-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 110-26; and J.E. Ward's official reports to the Secretary of State for June, July, and August, 1859, in *Despatches, China*. For more information on the various Chinese officials and their roles in the Bei Ho affair and Ward's mission, see biographical articles in *Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period, 1644-1912*, ed. by Arthur W. Hummel (Taipei, 1964), passim.
- ²⁰W.A.P. Martin, *The Awakening of China*, p. 168, and *A Cycle of Cathay*, pp. 196-201, and letters to *The Times* (London), August 10 and 30, 1859.
- ²¹Henry Brougham Loch, *Personal Narratives during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy* (London, 1903), pp. 16-17; "The Fight on the Peiho," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 86 (December 1859), p. 653; Robert Swinhoe, *Narrative of the North China Campaign of 1860* (London, 1861), pp. 163-64; Letter of M. DeBourboulon to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, September 1, 1859, in Henri Cordier, *L'Expedition de China de 1857-58* (Paris, 1905), pp. 87-92, *Punch* 27 (October 5, 1859), p.432, and (December 3, 1859), 520; *L'Illustration* 34 (November 12, 1859), 338.
- ²²Louisa B. Ward to Louisa Bulloch, October 13, 1859, in Bulloch Papers.

- ²³See *The New York Times*, October 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, and November 16, 18, 1859.
- ²⁴As quoted in *The Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), November 11, 1859.
- ²⁵As quoted in *The New York Times*, October 13, 1859.
- ²⁶Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford, eds. *The Greville Memoirs* (7 vols., London, 1938) VII, p.439.
- ²⁷See: S.W. Williams, *Life and Letters*, pp. 301, 314, 318, 323; the same writer's two articles on "The Visit to the American Embassy," in the April and May, 1861, issues of *Ecclectic Magazine*; and his "Narrative of the American Embassy to Peking in July, 1859," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1859), pp. 315-349.
- ²⁸Charles P. Bush, *Five Years in China* (Philadelphia, 1865), pp. 222, 223, 256-59.
- ²⁹Augustine Heard and Co., et al., to J.E. Ward, November 11, 1859, in *Daily Constitutionalist*, March 21, 1860.
- ³⁰Nathan Albert Pelcovitz, *Old Hands and the Foreign Office* (New York, 1948), Chap. 1, passim., and Stephen C. Lockwood, *Augustine Heard and Company*, p. 64.
- ³¹J. E. Ward to Lewis Cass, August 20, 1859, in China, Despatches.
- ³²J. E. Ward to M_____, June 30, 1859, in *The New York Times*, October 11, 1859.
- ³³Third Annual Message to Congress, December 19, 1859, in John Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan*, X, p.346-347.
- ³⁴*Telegraph* (Macon, Georgia), as reported in *The Constitutionalist*, February 28, 1860.
- ³⁵James D. Johnson, *China and Japan*, p. 297.
- ³⁶J. E. Ward to Lewis Cass, November 19, 1859, and February 24, 1860, in Despatches, China; Williams, *Life*, pp. 325-26.
- ³⁷On coolie trade, see also John Slidell's report from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, as quoted in the *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), January 1859.
- ³⁸J. E. Ward to Lewis Cass, July 4, 1859, in Despatches, China.
- ³⁹Imperial Edicts of July 30, 31, 1860, and J. E. Ward to Hengfu, August 4, 1860, in Earl Swisher, *China's Management*, pp. 662-68, 675.
- ⁴⁰See the writer's article on Ward's Civil War career cited above; *The New York Tribune*, August 30, 1896; and *Morning News* (Savannah), December 1, 1902.

William L. Scruggs: A Georgian As United States Consul in China, 1879-81

DALE H. PEEPLES*

When William L. Scruggs of Atlanta, Georgia, was selected by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1879 to go to China as American consul in Zhenjiang, he reluctantly accepted this appointment.¹

He had served President Grant as American minister to Colombia. But Zhenjiang was remote; he did not know the Chinese language; the climate was unhealthful and uncomfortable; and disagreements with his fellow diplomats, especially George Seward, American minister to China, only worsened the situation.²

Nevertheless, Scruggs was keenly aware of the importance of economic ties between between Zhenjiang and the United States. He had lost no time in familiarizing himself with the facts. Zhenjiang was one of the old cities of China, with a population over 500,000. The city's success was based on its geographical location at the point where the Grand Canal crossed the Chang Jiang (Yangtze River), approximately forty miles down river from Nanjing and one hundred miles from Shanghai. During The Taiping Rebellion the city was the site of much fighting and suffered substantial destruction. Since that time the Chinese had devoted considerable effort to the rebuilding of this strategically important city.³

Scruggs reported to the State Department that during the second quarter of 1879 the principal import was grey shirting, mostly from the

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United States, and that the trade had increased over the past year by 30,950 pieces. Scruggs noted the rising demand for American cotton goods had caused some concern among the British in China. British merchants charged that the Americans were selling at a loss to dump cotton goods which could not be sold on the domestic market. Scruggs rejected that view and observed that American goods were in demand because of "superior purity and quality." Both British and Chinese conceded that this was true. The American consul did express some concern about the poor quality of packaging of the cotton products and warned that if this was not remedied it might be detrimental to trade.⁴

In a despatch to the State Department on October 20, 1879 the Georgia diplomat reported that he had learned from a Chinese commercial report that the United States in 1878 was the fourth most important trade partner of China, behind Great Britain, India, and Russia. Chinese exports to the United States that year amounted to \$9,535,381.25 and imports from the United States were valued at \$3,267,064.60 for a total trade of \$12,802,445.85. The total trade between China and Great Britain was \$61,714,859,.10. Scruggs was disturbed by the decreased number of entrances and clearances by American vessels between 1873 and 1878 from 5,001 to 1,018, and decreased tonnage from 3,483,203 to 341,942 tons. Scruggs identified "perhaps the most serious difficulty at present besetting our trade with China" as a system of provincial customs barriers." Arbitrary "seizures" prevailed to the extent that it was "next to impossible either to get foreign goods into the interior, or native products to the treaty ports for exportation."⁵

In addition to his concern with trade, the American consul at Zhenjiang was also concerned with military affairs. Seward asked the consuls in China to report on military preparedness in each consular district. Scruggs responded that the Chinese had impressive fortifications at Silver Island, located a mile down the Chang Jiang from Zhenjiang. He stated that military experts had declared the position to be "impregnable." Both here and at Nanjing were heavy guns manufactured by Krupp of Germany. Scruggs called Zhenjiang a garrison city: some 2,000 soldiers and cavalry were stationed there. The troops were equipped with matchlock rifles. The key to the defense of the city was a large stockade located on a hill behind the

city. Here were some 600 men armed with 15 field pieces. He remarked that the soldiers were trained in the British manner and that orders were given in English. The reason for this, Scruggs revealed, was that the new troops could learn the English commands just as easily as Chinese and that by using English they would avoid confusion if the soldiers were ever placed under an English-speaking officer. Scruggs remarked that the powder used by the military was foreign made because the Chinese powder was considered less suitable. He noted that "the high provincial authorities take good care to have as little of this (or any other) powder in the hands of the people as possible. Indeed, they seem to be constantly on the watch for possible insurrections."⁶

Scruggs also had opportunities to observe Chinese religious life. His impression was that Chinese people were "singularly indifferent" to religious affairs. He found evidence of this in the disrepair of their temples, the ignorance of their clergy, and the clergy's lack of impact on the people. Scruggs was impressed by the deep conservatism of the Chinese government in religious matters. They were opposed to virtually any change, and Scruggs commented that in "perhaps no other country under the sun can it be so truly said that it is governed by dead men." He believed that Christianity had made virtually no progress in China. Scruggs wrote that "we occasionally see a Chinaman who is said to be a Christian; but his outer life reveals little, if any, evidences of his new faith. Whatever he may profess of Christianity seems well hidden in native superstition."⁷

One of the problems which confronted American diplomats in China in 1879 was the question of jurisdiction of the consular courts in China. Minister Seward was engaged in negotiations with the Chinese government to secure a treaty to define jurisdiction. He requested the opinions of the consuls on this topic. Scruggs responded with an elaborate analysis which he felt was of sufficient merit to be sent on to the State Department. He identified China as a "pagan state, and as such, has never fully acknowledged and observed those usages, maxims, and rules universally acknowledged and accepted as binding among Christian states." With this basic difference in approach to jurisdiction, it was necessary to define jurisdiction and procedure by treaty. He traced out the evolution of legal interaction as defined by diplomatic action. In cases involving Chi-

nese and foreigners, Scruggs thought "the difficulties of amicable adjustments are often very perplexing." With the Chinese and American legal concepts so foreign to each other, it was virtually assured that one party or the other would feel wronged by the legal process. Therefore it would be difficult to work out a system that would be fair to both parties.⁸

In a subsequent despatch Scruggs commented on the defects of the consular judicial system, and he pointed out that merchant consuls frequently were uninformed about the law. Another problem was the attitude of the Chinese governing class, which was very hostile to the exercise of judicial power by the merchant consuls. He believed that this attitude was derived from the class distinctions in China between the rulers and the merchants. Scruggs called for a major overhaul of the consular system which he termed "radically defective." He urged legislation which would require appointment of persons trained in the diplomatic service. Scruggs believed that a professional consular corps would be "commensurate with our national dignity and importance as a first class power."⁹

Seward took exception to Scruggs' comments, and put forth the view that Scruggs had misinterpreted the treaty provisions, misunderstood the nature of the problem, and offered the wrong solutions. Seward clearly wanted Scruggs to recant when he asked Scruggs for "a further communication from you, and a frank exposition of the views which may occur to you upon a further consideration of the subject."¹⁰

To this request for reconsideration of his views, the Georgian responded by defending his position and suggesting that Seward was mistaken in charging that the consul's views were out of step with the State Department's understanding of the terms of the treaties and the nature of the problems. Nonetheless, Scruggs, in an effort to placate Seward, pledged to "adhere strictly to the instructions from the Department enunciated and interpreted by your despatch."¹¹

In a later exchange of notes with Seward, Scruggs conceded that the Consular Regulations of 1874 were acceptable. He wrote that

they are brief, almost to meagerness; and they are simple, possible to feebleness. But until our Consular System shall have been so revised as to render the service more permanent and

efficient, like our judiciary at home, they are perhaps better adapted to our Courts in China than a more elaborate and complex system would be.¹²

Moreover, Scruggs continued to believe that parts of the rules were "somewhat foreign to the spirit of the United States laws and jurisprudence," and he continued to urge changes to improve the quality of consular jurisprudence. The discussion between the two men ended at this point because Seward was leaving his position as minister and would soon be replaced by James C. Angell.¹³

The major crisis which arose during Scruggs' tenure at Zhenjiang was over a British-backed scheme for imposition of wharfage fees at Zhenjiang to maintain the port area known as the British Concession and to pay off bonds issued earlier for internal improvements. When Scruggs learned of the scheme he immediately reported to Minister Seward on May 6, 1880. The British would clearly have a major voice in the control of the taxing and expenditures. The appeals process, as Scruggs noted, would be largely in the hands of the British. There would be virtually no American participation in the decision making process, but Americans would have to pay the wharfage fees.¹⁴

Because Scruggs had not been officially informed of the scheme, he could not formally lodge a protest. Therefore he prepared a memorandum dated May 6, 1880, in which he spelled out the American objections to this effort by the British to increase their influence. The consul held that the plan was not justified by the existing treaties between China and the other powers. Moreover, he denied the legality of the so called British Concession, and the increase in power of the municipal council under the proposal would represent an unwarranted assumption of power. Scruggs remarked, "Such an assumption would, if admitted, be a manifest abridgment of treaty rights. It would destroy the foundation of existing commercial intercourse by foreigners in the Chinese Empire." He contended that the municipal body should have jurisdiction over the British only. Scruggs concluded that the proposal "is objectionable; so much so that it can never be seriously entertained by the American Consul."¹⁵

Scruggs, who constantly informed Seward and the State Department as to his efforts to defeat this British grab for power, soon learned that the British in fact had been trying for five years to win acceptance of similar proposals, but they had been unsuccessful

because of lack of support from the Chinese and other foreigners. Scruggs uncovered information which caused him to suggest that two men were responsible for the present proposal in order to promote their own selfish ends. One of them, Sir Robert Hart, who was the Inspector General of Customs, was a large landowner in the area and stood to benefit financially. The other, Mr. Kleinwachter, Commission of Customs at Zhenjiang and a member of the municipal council, stood to gain political power. Although Scruggs held the British to be back of this scheme, he assured his superiors that the controversy had not impaired his "very cordial relations" with the British consul; indeed, at that very moment Scruggs was looking after the affairs of the British consulate during the absence of its consul.¹⁶

Scruggs renewed his attack on the wharfage dues plan with a second memorandum on July 10, 1880, in which he again claimed that no such local tax would be in compliance with treaty provisions. He suggested that the ends desired could be achieved without imposing such dues if the Inspector General would "appropriate the tonnage fees, collected from the foreign vessels at this port, as contemplated by the treaty, in order to accomplish the end desired." The consul then commented that the improvements would benefit the property owners in the British Concession and they, not the persons outside, should be taxed. Finally, he expressed opposition to the decision-making process which favored the British.¹⁷

On the same day, July 10, 1880, Scruggs forwarded to Seward a modified version of the plan which the local *taotai*, or provincial official, had prepared at the insistence of Commissioner of Customs Kleinwachter. This modified plan was then submitted by the *taotai* to the foreign consuls for their approval. As far as Scruggs was concerned the changes were cosmetic and the basic flaws remained. It still was essentially a plan "for paying a private indebtedness at the expense of the public," and it also included an "unwarranted assumption of eminent domain, which if once admitted will seriously impair treaty rights and undermine the present system of commercial intercourse, at the Chinese open ports."¹⁸

By September 13, 1880, Scruggs could claim victory in his fight against the wharfage dues scheme. He reported that the *taotai* was now opposed to the plan. The Chinese official informed Scruggs that he had given support to the plan because Kleinwachter had told him

that the American consul was in favor of the plan. Scruggs then showed the *taotai* the memorandum of May 3 to prove that Kleinwachter had misrepresented the American position. By this time Scruggs could also report that the acting British consul had come to the conclusion that the scheme would fail and assured Scruggs that he would seek to discourage further attempts to push the proposal. The Commissioner of Customs was threatening to carry the issue to Beijing (Peking), but it appeared that he had almost no chance of success.¹⁹

Both Seward and his successor, James Angell, supported Scruggs' efforts to resist this illegal maneuver by the British. Angell wrote to Scruggs that "I take pleasure in expressing my approbation of the position you have taken in opposition to the proposed 'Regulation.'" He repeated his praise of Scruggs' handling of the problem in a despatch to Secretary Evarts. At the end of the negotiations, Angell expressed the view that "this result is probably due in some degree to your lucid and forcible presentations of objections to it." Scruggs could take some satisfaction that his service at Zhenjiang was crowned with success.²⁰

In spite of Scruggs' efforts to return home or to be transferred elsewhere, due to his family's illness in Georgia and his illness in Zhenjiang, Scruggs had to accept re-assignment to Guangzhou, China, in June, 1880.²¹

Scruggs officially assumed his new post at Guangzhou on November 15, 1880. There he found that conditions were less than satisfactory. The furnishings of the consulate were "rather meager." He soon requested permission to hire a constable. His predecessors had called upon consulates of other countries to aid whenever the services of a constable were required. Scruggs complained that "such practices illy [sic] comport with that dignity and independence which other first class powers are careful to maintain in China."²²

As American consul in Guangzhou, Scruggs was concerned about the failure of his country to take advantage of the potential trade with China. On April 2, 1881, he reported to the State Department that only two American ships had visited Guangzhou during the previous six months, and his impression was that the situation was similar at other Chinese ports. He bemoaned the decline of the American merchant marine from the time of the Civil War, when the blockade

and the success of Confederate commerce raiders caused a significant decrease in the number of American merchant ships. Since the Civil War the Congress had been willing to give adequate support to the merchant marine. The result was, in his opinion, that the United States was "no longer either a great commercial or a great naval power." The situation would impair the efforts of American merchants to expand trade between China and the United States.²³

The most important diplomatic event during Scruggs' service in Guangzhou was the wreck of The *James Bailey*, of Portland, Maine, sailed from Hong Kong on October 14, 1880 for Vancouver Island. It encountered a storm which resulted in the vessel going aground near Wenchang on the coast of Hainan Island about 2:00 a.m. on October 17, 1880. The crew of twenty-two men under the command of Captain Joseph W. Mann survived the wreck. The Chinese in the area took advantage of the opportunity to strip the ship. Captain Mann and his men were befriended by Fu Shun, a native of Hainan who could speak English. They journeyed overland to Haikou, where Mann requested and received the aid of James Scott, acting British consul at that place. Scott contacted the Chinese officials and demanded protection for the vessel and appropriate action against the looters. The local *taotai* ordered a detachment of police to the scene and initiated action to recover the lost property or to fix the responsibility for the theft. The American arranged for transportation to Hong Kong aboard the *Cassandra*. Consul Mosby advised the State Department of the situation and suggested that the government might want to "demand indemnity of this outrage from the Chinese Government." He also requested that Rear Admiral John M.B. Clitz, United States Asiatic Squadron Commander, send a naval vessel to the scene to conduct an investigation. The consul at Guangzhou, C.P. Lincoln, who had jurisdiction over the area where the wreck took place, advised the State Department of the incident on November 3, 1880, two weeks before he was replaced by Scruggs.²⁴

Admiral Clitz, as requested by Mosby, directed Commander Charles L. Huntington to take the *Alert* to Hainan and to conduct an official investigation to determine the facts concerning the looting of the *James Bailey*. He learned that the Chinese authorities had acted swiftly to punish the guilty parties and to recover the stolen property. The Chinese cooperated fully with Huntington's investigation. Unfor-

tunately, Huntington was not authorized to negotiate a settlement nor was he accompanied by the consul who could have done so.²⁵

When Mr. Lincoln turned over the consulate at Guangzhou to Scruggs the case was pending. Scruggs contacted the viceroy, who assured him that the proper instructions had been issued to the local officials at Hainan to punish the persons responsible and to recover the missing property. The consul also learned that the owners of the *James Bailey* had sold the wreck at auction to a German firm in Hong Kong on November 6, 1880 for two hundred dollars. The new owners promptly informed the Guangzhou consulate of their claim against the Chinese government for \$8,850.00 for damages done to the ship after the purchase. Captain Mann filed a claim for \$7,445.75 on behalf of the original owners, crew, and himself. Scruggs refused to take any action on the claims until he could determine all the circumstances.²⁶

By April 3, 1881 Scruggs had a copy of Commander Huntington's report and had completed his own inquiry. He informed the State Department that the local Chinese officials on Hainan had turned over to him the compass and sextant which had been stolen from the ship. The viceroy inflicted punishment on the person responsible and "he is still detained by the local magistrate as a kind of hostage for the missing articles." Scruggs did not expect any substantial restoration of the items still missing, and he anticipated that it might be necessary to demand a financial settlement. He suggested to the viceroy that a financial adjustment could be arranged and the sum raised by a levy imposed on the Hainan area.²⁷

In regard to the claims, Scruggs believed that Mann's claim was "extravagant and unreasonable." Commander Huntington unofficially estimated the loss at between two and three thousand dollars. Scruggs was skeptical of the claim by the new owners because of the German nationality of the owners. Although one of the owners claimed to be a naturalized American citizen, he had no proof of this. Nor was there any evidence to prove damage to the ship after the transfer of title. Finally, Scruggs believed that the claim was so exaggerated "as to render the claim itself preposterous, for the claimants made the purchase as a venture, paying only two hundred dollars therefore, and by the very terms of the sale, assuming all risks." He thought it possible to negotiate a settlement which would be for less than half of

the original owners', crew's and Captain Mann's claims and no more than actual losses by the German company, if any. Scruggs promised to keep the State Department fully informed of the negotiations.²⁸

Eventually Scruggs was able to settle the claims for owners, crew, and Mann for two thousand dollars and no award was made for the Germans. While this was less than Scruggs had expected when he entered into the negotiations, it was all he felt could be obtained from the Chinese. Much of the damage to the *James Bailey* was the direct result of the storm, and compensation for such damage could not be expected. In the negotiations Scruggs was mindful of the need to be fair to both sides. He observed, "Whilst this sum is a great deal less than the aggregate of the claims presented by the claimants, it is, in my judgment, an equitable equivalent for all actual losses sustained by reason of the robbery." Although the German company, Messrs. Blackhead & Co., received no compensation in the settlement, this was fair because it had no real loss. In fact, the company which had purchased the wreck for \$200 resold it to a German businessman for \$2,800.²⁹

While Scruggs was successful in arranging a settlement of the *James Bailey* case, he found himself engaged in a controversy with Minister James B. Angell over his failure to keep Angell informed. Angell first learned of the loss of the ship from the British minister to China, Sir Thomas Wade, who showed Angell a despatch from acting Consul Scott. The American diplomat related the information to Secretary of State Evarts in a despatch of November 20, 1880, in which he mentioned that he was expecting a report on the incident from the consul at Hong Kong or from Consul Lincoln at Guangzhou. He promised that if the matter could not be settled at the consular level, he would demand satisfaction from the Imperial government. After waiting weeks without word from the consuls, Angell wrote Admiral Clitz and gained from him a copy of Huntington's report. After more weeks without communication from the consuls, Angell wrote Scruggs on January 12, 1881, and was surprised to learn from Scruggs that Lincoln and Scruggs had reported directly to the State Department without informing the legation. In a despatch to Evarts, Angell observed that the case might require action by the minister: "It is surprising to me that it should not have occurred to either Mr.

Lincoln or Mr. Scruggs to write me about it." He reported that he had written to Scruggs to express his amazement and to instruct the consul to keep the legation informed if a similar situation should evolve in the future. Angell also suggested that in the future the consul at Hong Kong might be required to report on all maritime disasters in that area directly to the legation.³⁰

While the handling of the *James Bailey* case was being discussed, Scruggs was seeking leave to return to the United States. He wrote to President James A. Garfield on April 5, 1881, informing the President that when he agreed to go to China in 1879 he had been promised early leave to return home. The Georgian reviewed his health problems and the warning by his doctors that his continued stay in China would endanger his life. Scruggs wrote "under all circumstances it would be madness to disregard their warning." He requested a sixty day leave with permission to return to the United States and reminded the President that "a word from you, Sir would settle the whole matter."³¹

The State Department granted the leave, and Scruggs arrived in Atlanta on August 13, 1881. He was never to return to China; after months of leave, he was appointed minister to Colombia in 1882.³²

Scruggs' years in China were unhappy for him because of loneliness and sickness. He was a feisty fighter for his views and reputation, and thus much of his time was spent in controversy with his fellow diplomats in China. He worked diligently to improve the consulates to which he was assigned. Scruggs was successful in resisting the wharfage scheme and in negotiating a settlement of the *James Bailey* case. He was an efficient and effective representative of his country under very difficult circumstances.

NOTES

¹ For more information on Scruggs, see: "William Lindsay Scruggs," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (22 vols., New York, 1928-1958), XVI, 520-21; Theodore D. Jervy, "William Lindsay Scruggs—A Forgotten Diplomat," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 27 (July 1928), pp. 292-309.

² William L. Scruggs to Sevelean, Brown, May 26, 1879, in U.S. State Department, *Despatches from United States Consuls in Chinkiang (Zhenjiang), 1864-1902*, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as *Despatches, Chinkiang.*); Scruggs to Charles Payson, July 18, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang.*

³ Scruggs to Payson, October 29, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang.*; Scruggs to Payson, August 28, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang.*; George Seward to William M. Evarts, October 10, 1879 and February 23, 1880, in *U.S. State Department, Despatches from U.S. Minis-*

- ters to China, 1843-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as *Despatches, China*.); Scruggs to Payson, February 4, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁴ Scruggs to Payson, August 4, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁵ Scruggs to Payson, October 20, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁶ Scruggs to Payson, February 17, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁷ Scruggs to Payson, August 17, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁸ Scruggs to Payson, November 19, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ⁹ Scruggs to Payson, November 20, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁰ Copy of Seward to Scruggs, December 3, 1879, attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 19, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹¹ Copy of Scruggs to Seward, December 15, 1879, attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 19, 1879, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹² Copy of Scruggs to Seward, March 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, March 10, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ Copy of Scruggs to Seward, May 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 3, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁵ Copy of Memorandum of May 6, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 3, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁶ Scruggs to Payson, July 14, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁷ Copy of Memorandum of July 10, 1880, attached to Scruggs to Payson, July 14, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁸ Copy of Scruggs to Seward, July 10, 1880, attached to James B. Angell to William M. Evarts, October 27, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ¹⁹ Copy of Scruggs to Angell, September 13, 1880, attached to Angell to Evarts, October 27, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ²⁰ Copy of Angell to Scruggs, September 23, 1880, attached to Angell to Evarts, October 27, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*.
- ²¹ Scruggs to Evarts, January 11, 1880, and to Payson, March 19, April 28, and August 24, 1880, in *Despatches, Chinkiang*. Copy of James White to Denny, October 11, 1880, attached to Denny to Payson, December 18, 1880, in *Despatches, Shanghai*.
- ²² Scruggs to Payson, November 16, 1880 and November 30, 1880, in U.S. State Department, *Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Canton* (Guangzhou), 1790-1906, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as *Despatches, Canton*.)
- ²³ Scruggs to Payson, April 2, 1881, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ²⁴ Mosby to John Hay, October 30, 1880, in *Despatches, Hong Kong*; C.P. Lincoln to Payson, November 3, 1880, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ²⁵ Copy of Huntington's Report attached to Scruggs to Payson, December 7, 1880, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ²⁶ Scruggs to Payson, December 7, 1880, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ²⁷ Scruggs to Payson, April 3, 1881, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Scruggs to Payson, May 24, 1881, and June 3, 1881, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ³⁰ Angell to Evarts, November 20, 1880 and March 19, 1881, in *Despatches, China*.
- ³¹ Scruggs to James A. Garfield, April 5, 1881, in *Despatches, Canton*.
- ³² Scruggs to Payson, June 28, 1881, August 13, 1881 and October 14, 1881, in *Despatches, Canton*; *Atlanta Constitution*, April 16, 1882.

Feminism and Methodist Missionary Activity In China: The Experience of Atlanta's Laura Haygood, 1884-1900

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There exists an impressive amount of literature concerning the failure of Protestant missionaries to convert China to Christianity. Relatively little of this literature considers the role played by women in the missionary endeavor.¹ Although the China missionary field was one area of religion open to American women in the nineteenth century, important questions arise: Why was this particular field open to women? What kinds of women entered it and why? What was the nature of the missionary woman's spiritual consciousness? On what basis or terms did women participate with men in the China missionary movement? What was the effect of their participation, if any, on China? Although few extant studies concerning women's missionary activities consider such issues, these questions can be answered for the experience of Laura Askew Haygood of Atlanta.²

Between 1884 and 1900 Haygood was a missionary-educator for the Woman's Board of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in its "Woman's Work for Woman" project in China. She is an appropriate subject for historical inquiry

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because of the nature of the work she accomplished overseas and the relationship that existed between her missionary activities and her feminist and religious consciousness. The Haygood story identifies religious roots of feminism and the involvement of women in American-East Asian relations, since being a foreign single woman missionary eventually offered an acceptable career alternative to becoming a homemaker. In addition, Haygood's experience shows how some American Christians viewed the Chinese and their culture. Her life history could contribute to a collective biography of western women in religious vocations in East Asia.

American Methodists had initiated missionary activity in China in the late 1840s, but the American Civil War interrupted this work. In the post-war recovery decade of the 1870s interest in Christianizing China revived and increased in momentum during the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1870s a small group of zealous Southern women organized to convert the women and children of "heathen" lands. Conservative church members, both men and women, opposed the idea of a woman's missionary society. According to Mrs. Francis Butler, first editor of the *Woman's Missionary Advocate*, conservative women were afraid because they had "lived at ease in Zion without a thought of personal obligations distinct from father, brother or husband." Male opposition stemmed from a "chivalrous feeling" that Southern women should retain their old-time ubobstrusiveness, without any desire to assert their own personality, even in Christian work, or to engage in anything, other than social obligations, that would call them out of their sheltered homes.³ After burying the activist women's petition in committee in 1874, the Southern Methodist General Conference of 1877 finally authorized a woman's missionary society on condition that it was subordinate to the Conference's Board, which would appoint the woman's missionary society's Executive Committee. The activist women agreed and organized in 1878.

The years of Haygood's residence in China coincide with the beginning of organized missionary activity on the part of the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Southern Methodist Church. Until her arrival the society supported only two women in China, Mrs. W.R. Lambuth, who had gone with her husband before the Civil War, and Miss Lochie Rankin, who had gone in 1879. A native of Georgia who had lived most of her life in Atlanta, Haygood arrived in Shanghai,

China, in the autumn of 1884. She lived there continuously, except for a two-year visit home from 1894-96, until her death on April 29, 1900.

Missionaries adopted practices suitable to the situations in which they found themselves. The WMS directed its missionary activities in China toward Chinese women and children. The policy rested on their presumption that “the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world.” The women missionaries apparently believed the maxim to be applicable to China without any extensive investigation into Chinese society. The WMC viewed Chinese women as powerful forces in society, capable of influencing the opinions of their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons, and able, therefore, to transform China from a pagan into a Christian land. A missionary’s story printed in an Annual Report was illustrative of how closely this belief was held. According to the missionary:

the Chinaman is an individual with some backbone in him, but a Chinese woman has several backbones in her. Once a builder would not give [the missionary] an estimate for a building because the builder’s wife was not at home, saying he never gave estimates without consulting her. On being asked why, he replied: ‘Well, if you were married to her, you would not ask why.’

The missionary’s conclusion was that “If this shows the immense power and ascendancy of woman in the home in China, how important [it is] that she be brought as speedily as possible under the influence of Christian education.”⁴ The article did not deal with the more complex questions of whether the anecdote was proof or example, or whether the example was valid. If the missionary program was based on a false assumption, wasn’t it doomed from the start?

Nevertheless, missionaries in the field, including native Chinese clergymen, nurtured the belief in the importance of Chinese women. Missionary work appears to have become based on faith, or isolated example, rather than fact. Particularly influential in spreading the supposition of the importance of Chinese women to the missionary effort was Young J. Allen, a male Methodist missionary, educator, administrator, writer and publisher, who had gone to China before the Civil War and who served as WMS’s agent from 1878 to 1886 and as its superintendent from 1886 until 1889. Allen’s report on a missionary meeting held in China in 1884 emphasized his perception of the

urgency and value of a woman's work in evangelization of China. He cited several reasons presented by native clergymen to support his opinion. According to the native clergymen, Chinese men "cared little for spiritual ideas or things."⁵ Chinese women, on the other hand, had a highly developed religious sentiment, nurtured in "the recesses of the inner apartments in the kitchen, and more or less regularly at the temples." They also appeared to express a "spirit of devotion and a longing for spiritual light and consolation."⁶ Chinese women might well be easier targets for missionary activity than men, irrespective of their presumed power or ascendancy. The native clergymen also maintained that the pious example of the mothers in the family had led to the establishment of Buddhism and Taoism in China and that it would likewise lead to the triumph of Christianity. Finally, according to Allen, "Woman's Work for Woman" was necessary for a practical reason: male clergy, whether foreign or native, had no access to Chinese women. In Allen's summation "Woman's Work for Woman" in China has attained the commanding position of being a practical necessity, not only for the salvation of woman but of the family as a whole, and the ultimate introduction of the Christian religion."⁷ Because of the presumption propagated by Allen that China would become Christian only through its women and that only female missionaries could approach the women, Southern Methodists became especially receptive to the notion of women missionaries concentrating their efforts primarily on the women and girls of China.

Haygood's personal philosophy and goals in life harmonized with the policy and objectives of the WMS. If Haygood is an accurate model, the women who went to China as missionaries were well-educated, sensitive, romantic, idealistic, energetic, and hard working. They were also activist, unmarried and devout Christians—in Haygood's case one would have to say intensely religious. These attributes derived from a highly developed religious consciousness which served as the organizing principle in a woman missionary's life.⁸

Haygood's religious consciousness made her an especially zealous missionary. In her understanding, a Christian was by definition a missionary. A Christian must act like Christ. Therefore, he must continue Christ's work of preaching the word of the Father to all His children.⁹ In a letter to Dr. Allen she wrote:

It seems to me that our only hope for the world in darkness is that men and women into whose hearts the light of the knowledge of the glory of God has shined in the face of Jesus Christ should come into living sympathy with Christ's thought for the world, and should come to know that they are—everyone—called to fellowship with Him in saving the world.¹⁰

A Christian must look after the spiritual and physical needs of suffering peoples everywhere.

Haygood's religious consciousness not only made her a missionary; it also made her a feminist. The obligation to continue Christ's mission had devolved on Christian women as well as men. In an essay written shortly before she left for China she deplored her sisters' lack of concern for the plight of "the heathen:"

We, the women, as well as our brothers—have been slow to understand that she was included in the Savior's gracious words to the Father 'As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world.' To her as well as to him was given the commission to teach and to testify of the risen Christ; upon her as well as on him came the pentecostal gift of tongues.¹¹

She blamed society for women's lack of concern for others. In her opinion parents and teachers taught women to value the wrong things, "the perfect report, the medal, the honor, the applause of the world, a brilliant entrance into society."¹² Consequently, continued Haygood,

she spends hours at the piano though she has no special talent for music; she begins to paint impossible pictures, or, even worse, she stitches away her life, with its golden opportunities for health and strength, in ruffles and tucks and embroideries. Why have we not told her that to grace her home, to make it bright and beautiful and good, is indeed womanly and wise, but must not absorb all of love and time and mind?¹³

Haygood was a missionary at home first and only later abroad. With two other women she had organized the home mission work of Trinity Methodist Church in Atlanta. For several years she found this work completely absorbing.¹⁴ Although she sympathized with Dr. Allen's problems concerning the lack of personnel for the China's mission, she did not herself feel a "call" to go.¹⁵ Perhaps the respon-

sibility of caring for her invalid mother blocked the way. After her mother's death in 1883 Haygood admitted that, to her own surprise, she found herself gravitating toward the China mission.¹⁶ While listening to a sermon by Dr. Potter at Trinity Church she felt the personal call to go to China. She wrote Dr. Potter that "within the last ten days I have come to feel that if the works of God in China needs women, there is no woman in all the world under more obligation to go than I am."¹⁷

Haygood's religious consciousness had wedded her to missionary work, but not necessarily to "foreign" missionary work. Other factors contributed to her decision to become a foreign missionary. As she explained, there was, first, the dire need for workers. Secondly, she had the necessary qualifications.¹⁸ The Woman's Board required that its missionaries have teaching or administrative experience. Haygood had both, by virtue of a long teaching career in Sunday school and in Atlanta's Girls' High School, her principalship of Girls' High, and her presidency of the Trinity Home Missionary Society.¹⁹ Finally, she was "free" to go. The Woman's Board required that its missionaries be unmarried and that they remain so for five years or repay the cost of their outfit and travel to China, usually from \$1300 to \$1500.²⁰

Haygood's experience led her to modify her views on the status of women. She at first approved of the requirement that women missionaries be unmarried. In her early years she seemed to feel that for women the vocations of marriage and family life were incompatible with missionary activity.²¹ Women apparently could not be wives, mothers, and missionaries simultaneously. She did not recognize a similar conflict in men between the vocations of husband, father, and missionary. In time, she changed her mind.²² Several factors contributed to Haygood's change of mind concerning the relation of the married woman to missionary work: the demands of the work in China; the scarcity of workers; and the remarkable performances of missionary wives, especially in day schools run by the Methodist Church.²³ Consequently she influenced the Woman's Board to change its policy regarding the wives of missionaries. That policy had permitted a woman to be a missionary as long as she remained single. If she married another missionary she became a missionary wife, received no salary, and often continued to do the same work on a reduced scale but without any supervision. Haygood advised the

Board to recognize missionary wives as associate missionaries. The Board adopted her proposal, allowed the associate missionaries to participate in annual missionary meetings, but denied them the right to vote.²⁴ Haygood's attempt the following year to gain associate missionaries the right to vote failed.²⁵ However, her action brought the activities of missionaries' wives under the control of the Woman's Board and thereby elevated their status.

Haygood also advanced the cause of feminism in China missionary work by helping to open the career to older women. Haygood herself failed to meet the Board's age requirement. She was approximately thirty-nine years old at the time of her appointment, whereas the Woman's Board required its missionaries to be between the ages of twenty-two and thirty years, later extended to thirty-five years. Nevertheless, it had also provided for exempting the "exceptional" woman, which Haygood was deemed to be.²⁶ In China, her age proved an asset, as did her gray hair, large physique, and eyeglasses. Anna Brown testified to the fact in 1892, on the occasion of the formal opening of McTyeire School, which Haygood helped establish. One Chinese man inquired about Haygood's age. Her associates informed him that she was nearly fifty and grayhaired. Mrs. Brown noted that "all of these [attributes] are prominently respectable in the eyes of the Chinese. Truly no real young woman could open the school. Miss Haygood's age and experience are simply invaluable."²⁷ To Mrs. Brown, the Chinese awe for seniority vindicated the exception the Board had made in Haygood's case, in favor of an older woman. Haygood's achievements in China might facilitate the acceptance of older women for missionary duty in China thereafter.

In appointing Haygood to the China Mission, the Woman's Board intended that she would lead the woman's work in Shanghai.²⁸ For the first five years she worked with Dr. Allen, an association that worked well because she agreed with his plans. Before taking over responsibility for the work there, she had managed to learn the Chinese language and cope with illnesses induced by the climate. This was all the more remarkable for a thirty-nine year old grayhaired woman. In 1889 Methodist Bishop Wilson appointed her superintendent of woman's work in the Shanghai District. In that capacity she managed all the business affairs of the Woman's Board there and coordinated the Society's educational and evangelistic activities as

well.²⁹

Southern Methodists had several approaches which they could follow in promoting Christianity in China. These included preaching and/or teaching.³⁰ Some missionaries argued in favor of exclusively evangelistic activities because they believed secular educational projects distracted a potential convert from religion. Those who promoted secular education, on the other hand, viewed it as a means to an end. Because of its practical value, secular education would attract the Chinese. While giving the Chinese a practical education, the missionaries could at the same time instill Christian principles in them. The latter method seemed to many to offer more return for the money and effort invested.

The WMS in its "Woman's Work for Woman" project developed a methodology which combined the educational and evangelistic approaches. The society viewed the two as interdependent. Teaching was preaching and vice versa. Educational activities served as a springboard into evangelistic work. Missionaries would provide a secular education in which they would inculcate Christian principles and practices. They would teach the Chinese to read the Bible as well as the Chinese classics. The schools were essential to the evangelical work of the society.³¹ The missionaries regarded children as the keys with which they would gain the vital access to Chinese mothers at home.³² To convert the woman in the home was the real focus of the "Woman's Work for Woman" project. The missionaries would visit the home, preach the gospel, and invite the women to come to church for prayer meetings and Bible instruction. The missionaries would then recruit adult female converts, or "Bible women," who would further proselytize among other Chinese. The "Bible Women" project, related to the school project, was especially well thought of and financed by American supporters of the China mission.³³ Because the "Bible Women" project and girls' schools were considered by WMS their best methods for achieving the evangelization of China, they became WMS's principal activities.

It is possible to argue that Young J. Allen was responsible for the WMS's methodology. Yet if the Woman's Society followed Allen's lead, it was perhaps because it found his philosophy and methods acceptable. They were identical in basic features to those the women were employing in their home mission work.³⁴

Haygood, in her activities on behalf of WMS, offers an example of a Victorian female missionary as a capable administrator. The McTyeire Home and School which she helped establish in Shanghai embodied the WMS's philosophy and methods. Although the idea was Dr. Allen's, Haygood helped make the school a reality. She proposed a novel way of funding the school without borrowing money already pledged to other projects. It consisted of selling shares in the school at ten dollars each to individuals and groups. Although Haygood only arrived in Shanghai in the autumn of 1884, the Woman's Board adopted her proposal and before its 1885 meeting adjourned, the members had pledged eight hundred and twenty shares.³⁵ Haygood also located suitable property for McTyeire, arranged for the school's construction, and furnished it between 1884 and the school's opening in 1892. She was the school's main guiding force in the first years of its actual operation.

While Methodist "day schools" serviced Chinese girls from lower social classes, McTyeire School was primarily for upper-class Chinese girls whose parents disliked charity schools. It paralleled the Southern Methodists' Anglo-Chinese College for Boys. The Woman's Board planned that the school would eventually be self-supporting since wealthy Chinese could well afford to pay to educate female children.³⁶ The "hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" philosophy was evident. Given a Chinese woman's presumed influence with the men in her family, it would be best to focus on the women of the powerful Chinese upper class as a way to ultimately Christianize China's ruling class. In this way Southern Methodism might make its greatest impact.

Based on the history of Haygood's McTyeire School, it is impossible to determine whether WMS pursued the most profitable course in its missionary endeavors in China. As indicated earlier in this paper, the society's basic premise was questionable. American women in the late nineteenth century had already discovered the "hand that rocked the cradle" wielded limited power and influence because it could not cast the ballot. That China was less conservative or paternalistic than America was problematical. What is definite is that Haygood's methodology, evangelization through education of upper class women, did not turn China into a Christian nation. The missionary enterprise may have helped to convert or westernize an infinitesi-

mally small elite of upper class women in an overwhelmingly peasant society, but it did not change China.³⁷

It is possible to make limited conclusions concerning Haygood's life and its significance. Her life was a success by her own standards. She did not experience a dichotomy between what she believed and what she did. Hers was a totally integrated personality; she was a fulfilled person. Her religious consciousness and her intense Christianity seem to have largely contributed to this fulfillment. Because of it she became a feminist, went to China as a missionary, and assisted in feminist-oriented reforms within the China missionary movement. Her religiosity inspired her to help establish McTyeire School. Her acceptance of the maxim concerning the importance of women in Chinese society underlay her activities on behalf of McTyeire, and may have led the WMS to believe, by the time of Haygood's death in Shanghai in 1900, that its proselytization work in China was successful and growing. The conversion of most Chinese, however, remained altogether beyond WMS's grasp. Because Haygood came to China during the initial, formative years of the Society's missionary work, she exerted an influence on the Society's policies and effort to Christianize China.

NOTES

¹Rita Gross, "Methodological Remarks on the Study of Women in Religion: Review, Criticism and Redefinition," in *Women and Religion*, ed. by Judith Plaskow and Joan Arnold Romero (rev. ed.; American Academy of Religion and The Scholar's Press, 1974), pp. 157, 159-61.

²The great majority of works about women's missionary activity were written by women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and were primarily biographical in nature. While some are of historical value, especially those containing personal letters, most of these works suffer from a lack of objectivity. Their primary purpose was to eulogize the departed missionary and to inspire other women either to become missionaries or to donate to the missionary endeavor. Exceptions to this overall pattern in literature on women's missionary activity include: Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), Part Two, "Charlotte Diggs Moon," pp. 65-138; and R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968). Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in China* (Taipei: Ch'eng-Wen Publishing Company, 1966), is mainly a survey, but a good starting point for general information. See also, as an exceptional account of women's missionary activity: Frederick B. Hoyt, "'When a Field was Found too Difficult for a Man, a Woman should be Sent': Adele M. Fielde in Asia, 1865-1890," *The Historian* 44 (May 1982), pp. 314-334.

³Francis A. Butler, *History of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, M.E. Church, South* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1912, c1904), pp. 11-12.

- ⁴*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society*, M.E. Church, South, 1892 (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1892), pp. 19-20. Hereafter cited as *Annual Report*, with the specific year.
- ⁵*Annual Report*, 1884, pp. 6-7.
- ⁶*Annual Report*, 1884.
- ⁷*Annual Report*, 1884.
- ⁸Letter, Laura A. Haygood to Mollie Stevens, Shanghai, December 10, 1890; Letter, Haygood to Miss Rutherford, Shanghai, December 19, 1890, in *Life and Letters of Laura Askew Haygood*, O.E. Brown and A.M. Brown, eds. (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1904), pp. 254, 256-58 (hereafter referred to as *Life*); *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 11.
- ⁹I.J. John, Mrs., compiler, *Missionary Cameos* (rev. ed.; Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, 1897, 1906), p. 27.
- ¹⁰Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, Shanghai, June 7, 1893, Young J. Allen Manuscripts, Emory University Special Collections, pp. 8-9 (hereafter cited as: *Allen Papers*). Emphasis is Haygood's.
- ¹¹Haygood, "Relation of Female Education to Home Mission Work," August, 1884, *Life*, pp. 89-95. The discrepancy in the year composed, 1884/1894? does not alter the essay's meaning.
- ¹²*Life*, p. 93.
- ¹³*Life*, pp. 93-94. Emphasis is Haygood's.
- ¹⁴Letter, Haygood to D.H. McGavcock, Atlanta, February 12, 1883, in *Life*, pp. 99-100; Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, Atlanta, February 21, 1884, *Allen Papers*.
- ¹⁵Letter, Laura A. Haygood to Dr. Allen, *ibid*.
- ¹⁶*Life*, p. 100.
- ¹⁷Letter. Haygood to Dr. Potter, Atlanta, February n.d.; in 1884, in *Life*, p. 100.
- ¹⁸John, *Cameos*, p. 27.
- ¹⁹*Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 50-51; *Cameos*, p. 27.
- ²⁰See "Treasurer's Report" included in each *Annual Report*.
- ²¹*Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 89-90.
- ²²Letter, Haygood to Mattie Nunally, Shanghai, May 23, 1893, in *Life*, pp. 310-311.
- ²³*Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 89-90.
- ²⁴*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 100.
- ²⁵*Annual Report*, 1892, p. 100.
- ²⁶*Annual Report*, 1879, pp. 50-51.
- ²⁷*Annual Report*, p. 281.
- ²⁸*Annual Report*, pp. 103-104.
- ²⁹*Annual Report*, 1889, p. 80.
- ³⁰For a consideration of this issue see Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., "Protestant Missions in China, 1877-1890: The Institutionalization of Good Works," in *American Missionaries in China*, ed. by Kwang-ching Liu (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970), pp. 93-126; and *The Missionary Controversy: Discussion, Evidence and Report* (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1890), pp. 1-4. Some English Wesleyan Methodists argued that Alexander Duff's policy of giving the Brahmins, the Indian leadership class, a Christian education, had failed to convert them. "Instead of an explosion within the citadel of Brahmanism, as the result of missionary work, we witness the wall of the citadel crumbling beneath the influence of the 'Zeitgeist,' built up again in a new form and with a new strength by the young Brahmins educated in our missionary colleges." *Missionary Controversy*, p. 1.
- ³¹*Annual Report*, 1886, pp. 7-9, 17, 6l; 1887, pp. 19-20; 1888, p. 9.

³²*Annual Report*, 1891, p. 17.

³³Letters, Haygood to Truehart, passim, in *Life*, pp. 438-46.

³⁴*Life*, pp. 69-84; Letter, Haygood to Young Allen, February 21, 1884, Allen Papers, pp. 8-9.

³⁵*Annual Report*, 1885, p. 59.

³⁶*Annual Report*, p. 58.

³⁷Hyatt, *Confess*, pp. 990-92, concluded regarding "woman's work" in East Shandong that "female conversion was meaningless (except in 'worth of one soul' terms) without male family backing from the first," p. 90.

A Georgia Evangelist in the Celestial Empire: Cicero Washington Pruitt (1857-1946) and the Southern Baptist Mission in Shantung

MARJORIE KING*

Only the Big Rock standing twenty-five feet high, half a mile north of Barrettsville, Georgia, marked the place of Cicero Washington Pruitt's birth. Fifty-five years after leaving Dawson County for China, the fields he had cultivated alongside his father had turned into impassible forests. The buildings of his childhood home were gone, the relationships with family and friends preserved only on the yellowed pages of occasional letters postmarked from China. One of the few remaining memories of his father was the elder Pruitt's renunciation of all connection with slavery. "He, however, never allowed it to make a break between him and his brothers or his neighbors or his pastor who had a considerable number of slaves."¹

Where memory faltered, vision strengthened C.W.'s childhood bond with Georgia kin. In his own old age, his grandfather, Hale Washington Pruitt, whom he had never met, came to him in a waking dream. "Suddenly I saw him standing in his mill near his home, his height not far from my own, his appearance that of an old man with a rather plump form. Rather fine-looking."²

The deep, almost mystical bond with his forefathers in the North

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Georgia mountains internalized in C.W. Pruitt lifelong patterns of respect for pre-scientific world views, agrarian ways of life, independent thinking, and sensitivity to human relations— qualities which stood him in good stead as a Southern Baptist missionary in China. These qualities set him apart from most other longtime missionaries of the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations which shared the North China mission field. A “gentle, widely-respected man,” C.W. Pruitt’s evolving understanding of the Chinese people and the role of Christian missions in China during the years of America’s “special relationship” with China (1890-1945) offers an alternative model for American interactions with China as we enter a second period of favor.³

C.W. Pruitt’s decision to devote his life to Christ and to China grew out of his close association with the Concord Baptist Church. He warmly remembered working with his father on the farm or tending cows, sheep or hogs in the woods while his father reviewed religious services and business meetings. For many years, attendance at the popular Concord Camp Meeting was an annual Pruitt family event. During a Concord Revival in 1870, at the age of thirteen, C.W. dedicated himself to a religious vocation in China. He was licensed to preach at Concord Church by age fifteen and served as pastor of three churches in South Carolina before China’s call grew insistent.

Southern Baptists took seriously Christ’s commission to save the world in His name. With the establishment of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845, the Foreign Mission Board was formed. The Southern Baptist Convention’s mission focused on China because of its size, population, “relatively advanced” culture, and relatively easy access.⁴ The Reverend Samuel C. Clopton was appointed to Canton within a year after the founding of the Foreign Mission Board.⁵ J. Lewis and Henrietta Shuck soon moved there from the Portuguese colony of Macao, where they had been stationed since 1836.⁶ This expansive gesture followed that of evangelical Protestant denominations inspired by the Great Awakening (1725-1775) to send missionaries to continental frontier settlements. New England Baptists, who outnumbered Congregationalists by 1790, sent missionaries to the back country of the Southern colonies after 1756.⁷

C.W. Pruitt’s interest in China during the 1870s coincided with the renewed commitment of Southern Baptists to missions after a hiatus

during the American Civil War. Edmonia and Charlotte Diggs (Lottie) Moon were appointed to the North China mission station in Tengchow in 1872 and 1873 respectively.⁸ He shaped his educational training to suit his perceived needs in the China mission—a term each at Georgia Agricultural College in Dahlonega, Georgia, and Furman University, South Carolina, before attending the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky. Here he studied Greek and Hebrew, reasoning that learning these two languages would be the best preparation for mastering Chinese.

In 1880, only a semester before graduating, C.W. was one of two seminary students urgently called to the North China mission station to replace two missionary students of C.H. Toy, whose liberal interpretation of biblical scripture had “embarrassed” the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board.⁹ In Pruitt’s “instantaneous” decision to sacrifice his divinity degree was a lifelong characteristic. “The Baptist denomination was *mine* and I could not afford to see it suffer.”¹⁰ C.W. Pruitt’s mandate in the Southern Baptist China mission was to preserve the denomination from the liberal trend in Protestantism which developed with Darwinism and German high biblical criticism after the American Civil War.

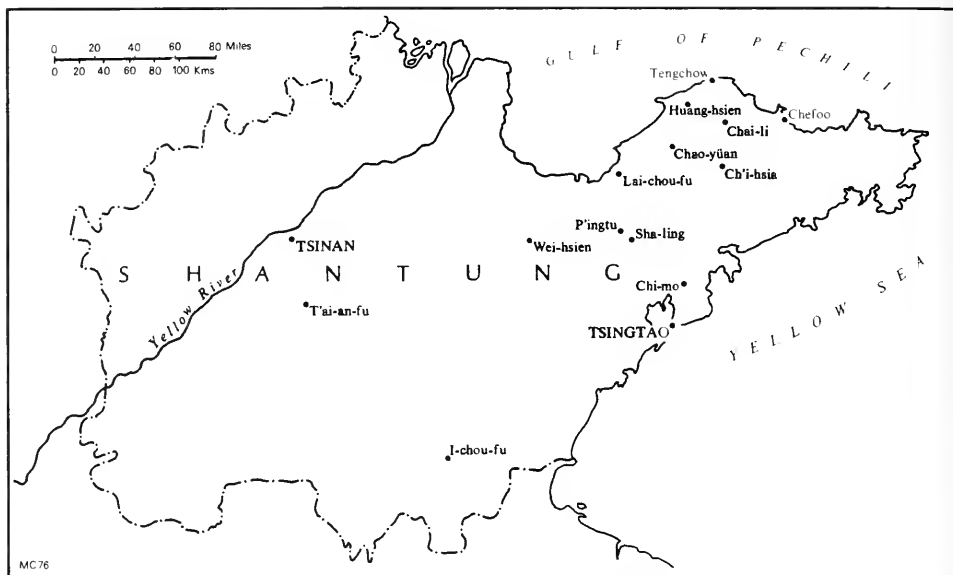
In later years C.W. Pruitt would be called on to preserve his denomination from the opposite trend of Tennessee “Landmarkism” advanced by fellow North China missionary T.P. Crawford. Tennessee “Landmarkism” was a movement within the Southern Baptist denomination which emphasized the uniqueness of Baptist beliefs and thus advocated complete separation from other Protestant denominations. Landmark Baptists stressed “adult conversions, revivals,...hard and violent demonstrations, painful exhaustions” and “near paranoid church independence” more than other Baptist groups.¹¹ In his theology and personal temperament, Pruitt most closely approximated W.O. Carver, a “mild and gentle” Professor of Missions and World Religions at the Louisville Seminary, who fought against both the fundamentalist and liberal polarization of Baptists, advanced interdenominational understanding and ecumenical movements, and urged respect for other Christian and non-Christian religions.¹²

In late 1881, shortly before his twenty-fifth birthday, C.W. Pruitt boarded the train to San Francisco on one of the first cross-country rail trips.¹³ In San Francisco he embarked for Yokohama and Shang-

hai. The Secretary of the Foreign Missions Board, Dr. H.A. Tupper, gave Pruitt funds for two. "He thought I looked so young and lonely that I ought to be able to persuade some young woman to accompany me."¹⁴ In Shantung he married Presbyterian missionary Ida Tiffany, who with C.W. opened the mission station in Hwanghsien and evangelized in the countryside of Eastern Shantung province until her death from typhoid in 1884. Of fourteen Southern Baptist missionaries appointed to the North China station after 1881, all but C.W. had died or returned to the United States by 1884.¹⁵ He and his second wife, Anna Seward Pruitt, would remain in China until 1936, becoming two of the four Southern Baptists (of 620 total) who served over fifty years in China.¹⁶

After C.W.'s first wife died, he continued to evangelize in the countryside alongside longtime missionaries stationed in Tengchow: T.P. and Martha Crawford, J.B. and Eliza Hartwell, and Lottie Moon. (Edmonia had returned to the United States.) When additional recruits were laid low by tuberculosis, the Hwanghsien station was forced to close in 1887. He traveled to Hwanghsien, Chaoyuen, Laichow, Pingtu, Tsingtao, and Chimo, on a set route from Tengchow, in accordance with the Southern Baptist itinerating strategy.¹⁷ (See accompanying map showing the North China mission field.) Pruitt's evangelistic efforts met with their greatest success in the inland village of Pingtu. He attributed this to Pingtu's agricultural economy in contrast to the acquisitive, competitive spirit of commercially-based coastal towns such as Hwanghsien and Tengchow.¹⁸ Following Lottie Moon's strategy, C.W. found the Chinese more responsive to informal conversations than to formal preaching. By answering general questions about the United States as well as Christianity, he felt he "sowed" his Gospel seeds on fertile ground.

While farming for Christ among the Chinese, C.W. Pruitt and other foreign missionaries planted seeds of information and attitudes about China in American church congregations. Hoping to promote a kindred spirit with Chinese peasants, his letters to personal friends and family, as well as missionary publications, described North China in terms understandable to North Georgia farmers. His farmer's eye noticed that, in comparison with Forsyth County terrain, Shantung's hills were rugged and barren of all vegetation except small pines planted for fuel. Carefully terraced miniature farms produced re-



C.W. Pruitt's Itineration Route in North China. From Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth Century American Missionaries in East Shantung* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), © 1976 by The President and Fellows of Harvard College. Reprinted by permission.

markedly good wheat crops in the dry season.¹⁹ For the *Baptist Sun*, he wrote a lengthy five-part series, "Farming in China," in which he elaborated at some length on soil conditions, fertilizers, terracing, plowing, and the various types of fruits and vegetables.²⁰

C.W. also used agricultural metaphors for evangelism. To his Georgian readers, he explained the daunting task of heathen conversion thus: "Instead of finding the land ready for sowing the seed, we must clear away dense thickets of undergrowth, and give valuable time to rolling together and burning logs—the accumulation of centuries."²¹ "I am now in the business of cleaning and in a few little patches sowing the seed."²²

Pruitt's attempts to promote a bond between Georgian and Chinese farmers were motivated by the need for additional reinforcements on the North China mission field. Year after year, his letters to friends and missionary journals pleaded for others to answer the call to become missionaries. C.W. appealed to his readers' religious and regional identity. "What a grand State of Baptists we Georgians are, and yet are we doing our duty?... I am the only man from Georgia in all the foreign fields."²³ Much of C.W.'s concern was prompted by the high turnover of missionaries in the North China station. For a time,

those families not discouraged by death, disease, or discomfort were persuaded to join T.P. Crawford's breakaway "Gospel Mission" in western Shantung. Influenced by the doctrine of extreme congregational independence peached by Tennessee "Landmarkism," Crawford's Gospel Mission advocated no financial support for Chinese Christian workers from the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board.²⁴

C.W. Pruitt fervently argued that the North China mission station deserved the support of Georgia Baptists as well as additional missionary reinforcements. He cited several reasons for his passionate conviction. Shantung, a province approximately the size of Georgia, supported a population of almost three million people. The city of Hwanghsien, whose Baptist mission was forced to close for want of a missionary family, had 140,000 residents. He estimated three or four families would be necessary to respond adequately to the growing interest in Christianity in Hwanghsien alone.

Second, Chinese living in Sha-ling, Pingtu district, showed an extraordinary spiritual awakening after Lottie Moon took up residence in the village and singlehandedly continued the work which Ida Tiffany Pruitt had begun before her death in 1884.²⁵ C.W. baptized the first church members in 1889.²⁶ For lack of a Western missionary, the Sha-ling church was led by a native Chinese pastor. (Shantung would become a "hotbed of indigenous Christian development" in the years immediately following the Republican Revolution, 1911.)²⁷ Pruitt ministered to his "flock" long distance, traveling the arduous route through driving snow in order to comfort the victims of violent persecution.²⁸ He felt the Chinese Christians deserved to have greater spiritual support from Western Christians than he alone was able to provide.

C.W.'s third appeal was a personal one. Although he had remarried in 1888, he continued to struggle with loneliness and social ostracism as the only missionary except T.P. Crawford in the entire region. "I need some of my Georgian brethren for help and counsel."²⁹ Just before his first furlough after ten years on the field, he wrote, with considerable nostalgia, "No skies are so bright as one's native skies, and no hearts so warm as those of brethren. As much as I love this land and her people, it has never lessened in the least my far greater love for North Georgia, the home of my boyhood."³⁰



C. W. Pruitt astride donkey at center-rear. His wife, Anna, and daughter, Ida, are in the sedan chair. North China, 1890. All are wearing Chinese garments. Pruitt Family Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Harvard University.

Pruitt repeatedly assured his readers (potential recruits) that the Shantung climate, “as healthy as any in the world,” was quite equal to Georgia’s climate for vigorous work and a long life.³¹ In light of the numerous deaths of other missionaries, including his first wife and two children of his second marriage, Pruitt’s assertion appears disingenuous. However, Pruitt himself, his second wife, Anna, and his daughter, Ida, who all lived vigorous lives in China for fifty years, were proof that Westerners could survive the harsh living conditions in North China. (Three other sons, John, Robert, and Dudley, also spent many years in China.)

The passages of C.W. Pruitt’s letters which made it into print generally conformed to the religious tone, colorful description, and anecdotal style proper for denominational publications.³² Missionary journals exerted editorial prerogative in publishing excerpts of missionary letters. In addition to rational appeals to Georgian Baptists, C.W. occasionally adopted the tactic popular among missionaries which described the “heathen Chinese” in lurid terms calculated to raise funds and volunteers.³³ Pruitt’s evocation of a “great mass of the people ...a thousand years behind the times,” victimized by

poverty and death, was classic missionary rhetoric whose legacy lives on in contemporary American images of Asians. His list of Chinese personality traits, many “vile beyond a name,” was remarkably like those in Arthur H. Smith’s influential *Chinese Characteristics*, written during the same period.³⁴ Usually a cautious man who wrote carefully balanced, rational analyses, C.W. was moved in 1888 to claim that there was “not an honest man in the empire.”³⁵

Remarkably often, however, C.W. used a positive appeal to potential American recruits. His underlying evangelistic premise was the need to “respect and love the good in the Chinese.”³⁶ This required some understanding of Chinese institutions as more than pagan superstitions to be destroyed, as so many of his contemporaries urged. Using a variety of missionary journals as his forum, C.W. proceeded to discuss the Chinese family, holidays, entertainment, educational system, and religious values. Sometimes he compared a Chinese institution with an American one. He saw the esteemed Confucian teacher as the counterpart of American preachers.³⁷ The several-week holiday during the Chinese New Year, which annoyed many Americans attempting to conduct business transactions, was presented as the Chinese Sabbath, “the only Sabbath they have—their great rest.”³⁸

Negative aspects of the Chinese character and institutions were often balanced with positive. The love of formalism and stability, although detrimental to both Western science and Christianity, promoted cultural unity and strength for centuries. The Chinese family system was a considerable hindrance to individual Christian conversion, but offered its members necessary mutual support and dependence.³⁹

In marked departure from missionary stereotyping of “the” Chinese, Pruitt observed a variety of Chinese responses to the West. Discussing the civil service exam system, the key to Confucian governmental control, C.W. distinguished liberal officials who integrated Western science into the Confucian classics, conservative literati who objected to all Western knowledge as irrelevant to passing the exams, and the “lower classes” who treated the Confucian classics as immutable sacred texts.⁴⁰

Finally, C.W. Pruitt was one of few missionaries who retained a balanced view of American Christians, an objectivity which many

people lose immediately upon traveling abroad.⁴¹ If Chinese were slaves to their fear of evil spirits and demons, many Americans were equally enslaved by their passions and love of money.⁴² Referring to the “rice Christians” whose pecuniary motives for conversion to Christianity bothered T.P. Crawford enough to foreswear all United States funding of Chinese Christian evangelists, C.W. commented, “the Chinese have their faults and the love of money is one of the greatest, but I seriously doubt if it is one whit greater than that of the unregenerated American.”⁴³

He was able to distinguish between the Christian religion and American culture at a time when foreign mission boards were influenced by Horace Bushnell’s *Christian Nurture*, which presented Christianity as a matter of upbringing in a Christian (i.e. American middle class Protestant) atmosphere.⁴⁴ In the missionary debate about the propriety of dressing in Chinese clothing, C.W. advocated its adoption. Qualifying his position by acknowledging that his North China experiences might not be applicable in all foreign mission fields, C.W. argued that, compared with the American styles of the day, Chinese padded garments were more comfortable in the winter and loose-fitting coats were cooler in the summer. Western clothing frightened mules and children, provoked barking dogs, and prompted “a thousand and one” questions. Reasoning that the missionaries wanted to gain the Chinese, “they in no wise desirous of gaining us,” missionaries should make all reasonable concessions without sacrificing Christianity. “Fashion and form are no part of our spiritual religion.”⁴⁵

In his presentation of China and the Chinese to American church audiences, C.W. Pruitt avoided the “we-they” framework through which most people saw the American missions and the host countries. He encouraged Americans to go beyond their view of the Chinese as the psychological “other,” negative counterpoint to all American national character traits. “Some things in this country strike one as the densest ignorance but then I remember that with all of us there are limits to our knowledge.”⁴⁶

The objectivity, balance, and humility reflected in C.W.’s letters to friends and articles to mission journals may have reached American audiences during numerous talks while he was on furlough to the United States in 1891. More likely, such subtle messages were over-

shadowed by descriptions of poverty and depravity as well as by exhibitions of Chinese clothing modeled by his children before congregations throughout the American South and Mid-West.

Upon the Pruitts' return to China, their evangelical methods and philosophy were modified in several ways. Anna seems to have taken on the task of corresponding with mission boards and publications while C.W.'s attention turned to translation. In addition to hymnals and Robertson's *Studies of the New Testament*, his "crowning" work was the translation of Dr. John A. Broadus' *Commentary on Matthew*.⁴⁷ Increasingly, the efforts of both Anna and C.W. Pruitt turned from evangelistic "itinerations" throughout the countryside to the Hwanghsien mission station and schools.

The Hwanghsien mission station had joined the North China region of the Southern Baptist Mission Board in 1881, staffed by C.W. Pruitt, N.W. Halcomb and their wives.⁴⁸ Closed in 1887 when death and illness took their toll, the station was reopened after C.W. married Anna Seward in February, 1888.⁴⁹

The mission station and Pruitt residence was a Chinese compound in Sung-chia-t'an village bought by the Baptist Mission from the principal family of Hwanghsien. The Ting family settled for the very low price of \$1660.31 because the property was haunted. (The Pruitts' yearly expenditures amounted to \$1000 in those days.) Relatives and neighbors, aware that Mr. Ting's motive for selling the compound was not fear of ghosts but the need for ready cash to support his opium addiction, resented the compound's sale to foreign devils. But the Pruitts had acted honorably in the transactions and the neighbors' resentment died down. Possession of the property was unusually peaceful and happy.⁵⁰

Not all mission compounds had been secured as peacefully as the Pruitts'. Two longstanding Baptist and Presbyterian patriarchs on the North China mission field, T.P. Crawford and Calvin Mateer, used confrontational and underhanded means to buy or rent property. When neighbors' outrage against the block-busting tactics turned nasty, the United States consul, or in Mateer's case, the Navy, was called in to restore the peace. Crawford made matters worse by challenging Chinese rules for the proper alignment of buildings ("geomancy"), to avert natural disaster in the wake of the foreign military incursion. Mateer's home illustrated another form of insensi-

tivity toward the Chinese, according to some, by its profusion of Western luxuries in the midst of Chinese poverty.⁵¹

The Ting family compound in Sung-chia-t'an village, Hwanghsien, consisted of seven courtyards and eleven one-story houses off those courtyards. It was as long as a small city block and almost half as wide. The Pruitts used the Ancestral Hall as the chapel, lived in the House of the Women, and established the dormitory rooms of the boys' boarding school in the House of Those Who Must Also Be Cared For.⁵² Various modifications such as a baptismal font in the Ancestral Hall, and additions such as a water pump and distiller, a cider/vinegar press, Grand Rapids-style American furniture, and an American vegetable garden were made to "make a tasteful, civilized, cultivated home... in the midst of heathenism."⁵³

Anna Pruitt utilized this "real Christian home" as the primary agency for evangelizing Chinese women and children.⁵⁴ Despite extensive adaptations, however, Anna continued to feel imprisoned by the high walls of the Chinese compound and was relieved when the family and many other missionaries moved to Western-style buildings in Chefoo after the Boxer Rising of 1900.⁵⁵ C.W., on the contrary, considered "the beautiful Chinese house" in Hwanghsien to be the family home long after they moved away.⁵⁶

The Pruitts opened a school for boys in 1894 after visiting the Southern Baptist mission school in Canton. With this decision, they definitively broke with T.P. Crawford's sectarian Gospel Mission, which criticized mission schools, hospitals, and other social institutions as non-evangelical. Crawford's position echoed the majority opinion of foreign mission boards between 1838 and 1877, when Presbyterian Calvin Mateer defended missionary educational institutions at the First General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Shanghai. By 1890 Mateer's educational initiative had stimulated a much larger role for Christian missions in China than pure evangelism had played.⁵⁷ Anna Pruitt sympathized with the Gospel Mission's concern that secular education would weaken the evangelistic purpose of missions, but criticized Crawford for leaving Christian Chinese children uneducated or, perhaps worse yet, driving them into Presbyterian schools.⁵⁸

Anna undertook major responsibility for administering the Hwanghsien mission school. C.W. actively supported her efforts by

helping to care for their small children and by substitute teaching on occasion. He appreciated her role as a teacher and didn't view the work as draining energy away from her wifely duties.⁵⁹ In this he differed from T.P. Crawford, who forced his wife, Martha, to choose between him and her successful school, and from Calvin Mateer, who reorganized his wife Julia's school, and took over the older boys' education.⁶⁰

C.W. concentrated his own educational efforts on translating religious texts and training native Chinese pastors. In 1904, his training center became the Bush Theological Seminary. C.W. was named President of the seminary after Mercer University in Macon, Georgia, granted him the doctor of divinity degree he had sacrificed twenty-three years before.⁶¹ By 1920, under Pruitt's administration, Hwanghsien became a center of Southern Baptist education in China. "Tsung Shi" (Pursuit of Truth) School, also called by the more prosaic name, North China Baptist College, included the Bush Theological Seminary, a normal department, industrial and agricultural training, grade school, and kindergarten. All classes above the primary level were co-educational, a "daring experiment" for its time.⁶²

According to C.W., the civil unrest throughout North China during the 1920s never affected the Pursuit of Truth School.⁶³ The worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, greatly reducing Southern Baptist appropriations for the college, proved to be more damaging than bandits.⁶⁴ Still, by the time of the Pruitts' retirement from active missionary status in 1938, the educational center they had founded in Hwanghsien was a strong component of Southern Baptist work in China. Under C.W.'s leadership, the Theological Seminary had developed into one of the "crowning jewels" of the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board.⁶⁵ Following the policy of the Southern Baptist Convention, which encouraged Chinese leadership, K.S. Wong, a graduate of Georgetown College, Kentucky, and Lee Mai Wang, took over the administration of the school when the Pruitts retired.⁶⁶

The quality of C.W. Pruitt's leadership in the Hwanghsien mission station, which stressed harmonious relations and encouraged the leadership potential of others, differed markedly from that of other longtime Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries on the North China field. Fellow Baptist T.P. Crawford, whose Gospel Mission broke

away from the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, has been called a "totally reactionary evangelist" who "never liked the Chinese very much." Influenced by Tennessee "Landmarkism," which was concerned with maintaining Baptist purity over interdenominational and ecumenical relations, Crawford cast all mission issues in terms of doctrinal purity. Preaching sermons of "great force and effect" at emotionally exhausting revivals, Crawford sought to violently "uproot" heathenism and "plant" Christianity in its place. He turned his Tengchow church into a center of business, mediation, and entertainment and made himself indispensable to church members while destroying all fledgling Chinese leadership.⁶⁷

The other longtime Southern Baptist presence in North China, J.B. Hartwell, came across even less sympathetically than Crawford in his correspondence with the Foreign Mission Board. Although he did ordain a Chinese pastor to serve his Tengchow congregation in his absence, his motive was less to encourage native leadership than to defend his turf from Crawford. Sanctimonious, self-righteous, and sadistic, he was eventually reprimanded by the Foreign Mission Board and sent to work among Chinese immigrants in California.⁶⁸

History has shown Presbyterian Calvin Mateer in a much more positive light. Translator, educational administrator, teacher, a "surrogate father in a foreign land," Mateer personified the self-confident, optimistic, and expansive American pioneer with great love of experimentation and great faith in the future. Yet many of his achievements were driven by "compulsions...to conquer and to direct and to achieve...." He fashioned the character of his Chinese associates according to his own design.⁶⁹ Is it any wonder that, as Chinese national consciousness came into its own during the 1920s, patriotic Chinese reacted against Western missionaries as much as against military and business leaders?

C.W. Pruitt's personality and leadership style were strikingly different from the three above ruling spirits who, according to contemporary observers, were driven to "make their presence felt on all sides for power to be or do is exactly their line."⁷⁰ C.W. believed the great work was to "help the people to some degree of love for us." Acknowledging that this required considerable tact, he maintained "so long as they hold the messengers in contempt they will never respect the Lord."⁷¹ A demonstration of C.W. Pruitt's eventual acceptance of and

by the Chinese community is an official decree granted by the district magistrate acknowledging the great deeds of this blue-eyed, big-nosed foreign devil on behalf of the city and county of Hwanghsien.⁷²

In this philosophy he resembled nobody so much as his good friend, Lottie Moon. Lottie Moon, a single missionary woman who lived alone among the peasants of P'ing-tu in the 1880s, is still revered by the Southern Baptist Church for her sacrificial devotion to the Chinese.⁷³ What has been lost in the Lottie Moon story, however, are the very qualities of leadership which set C.W. Pruitt and her apart from most other missionaries. After Lottie Moon's experience living among the Chinese in P'ing-tu, she stopped thinking of herself as wiser and better than the Chinese, the basic Christian premise that drove missionaries to China. She no longer joined in other missionaries' comments about Chinese dullness and stupidity. In fact, she rarely congregated with other missionaries, with the possible exception of the Pruitt family.⁷⁴ In ironic refutation of Arthur H. Smith's newly published *Chinese Characteristics*, which concluded that the very "Chineseness" of Chinese culture worked against Christianization, the church in Sha-ling, P'ing-tu, founded by Lottie Moon and C.W. Pruitt, developed into the greatest Southern Baptist evangelistic center under a native Chinese pastor.⁷⁵

Since Lottie Moon's death in 1912, the year after the Chinese Republican Revolution, and C.W. Pruitt's death in 1946, as the Chinese Civil War intensified, the terms of America's "special relationship" with China have changed several times. Decades of silence and hostility between the two countries followed the Communist victory of 1949. After the United States extended diplomatic relations to the People's Republic in 1978, Sino-American business, diplomatic, and cultural ties slowly have been revived. A small but zealous Chinese Christian community thrives throughout China despite official persecution during the Cultural Revolution. In an increasingly multi-polar world, China is becoming a respected power. The domineering leadership style represented by T.P. Crawford at its worst and Calvin Mateer at its best is no longer appropriate (if it ever was). At this juncture in history, Lottie Moon and C.W. Pruitt offer alternative models for American interactions with China. Moon and Pruitt approached the Chinese with humility instead of pride, as equals rather than their betters. Both were willing to acknowledge the posi-

tive in Chinese institutions, values, and people. They were willing to be changed by their encounter with China, even while offering something of American institutions, values, and themselves.

Perhaps a missionary's internal change can best be detected through his theology. In a brief autobiographical reflection written in Atlanta after his retirement, C.W. Pruitt looked back with respect and affection to the education and theological training he received from teachers in Georgia during the 1870s, when he walked the line between religious liberalism and fundamentalism. He then continued,

The idea of the deity has grown in my mind until now...I realize the He *fills all space* and maintains relations with all creatures and loves all intelligent beings as *children* with capacity for unlimited development. This is the idea of God I should love dearly to pass on to all my children.⁷⁶

After devoting fifty years to studying the Chinese language, classical literature, and culture, in order to evangelize, translate biblical commentary, and administer a Western-style educational institution, Pruitt's moderate Southern Baptist understanding of God seemed to take on a universalistic, mystical quality from the Chinese he had come to save.

NOTES

- ¹ C.W. Pruitt, "Life of Cicero Washington Pruitt: Composed By Himself," typed mss., n.p., n.d., p. 1. This and all of the original Pruitt family papers are in the possession of Marjorie King before deposit in the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- ² C.W.P., "Life," p. 2.
- ³ Irwin T. Hyatt, Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three American Missionaries in Shantung Province* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 51.
- ⁴ Hyatt, p. 4.
- ⁵ Hyatt, p. 3.
- ⁶ Frank K. Means, "Southern Baptist China Mission History Project," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 9 (April 1985), p. 64. Murray A. Rubinstein, "Witness to the Chinese Millennium: Southern Baptist Perceptions of the Chinese Revolution, 1911-1921," presented at the Conference on the Impact of American Missionaries on U.S. Attitudes and Policies Toward China, U.S. International University, San Diego, California, October, 1987, p. 4.
- ⁷ Charles L. Chaney, "The Missionary Situation in the Revolutionary Era," in *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective*, ed. R. Pierce Beaver (South Pasadena: William Carey Library, American Society of Missiology, 1977), pp. 1, 17, 20, 23, 24.
- ⁸ Hyatt, p. 97. Anna Seward Pruitt, *Up From Zero in North China* (Nashville, Broadman Press, 1939), pp. 23-24.

- Hyatt, pp. 98-99.
- ¹ C.W.P., "Life," p. 4.
- Rubinstein, p. 29. Hyatt, pp. 233-34.
- ² Rubinstein, pp. 19-20, 26, 29.
- ³ Ida Pruitt, *A China Childhood* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978), p. 3.
- ⁴ C.W.P., "Life," p. 6.
- ⁵ A.S.P. *Zero*, p. 54.
- ⁶ Means, p. 64. Anna Pruitt actually served between 49 and 50 years. Rosewell Hobart Graves purportedly served the longest, 57 years, but Hyatt, p. 59, reports that Martha Crawford served 58 years.
- ⁷ Rubinstein, pp. 6-7.
- ⁸ C.W.P., "A Recent Trip to Pingtu," Dec. 20, 1887, n.p. (Articles by C.W.P. are from family scrapbooks in the Pruitt collection. Date and place of publication often are unnoted.)
- ⁹ C.W.P. letter to Frank Nicholls, Cumming, Ga., Aug. 9, 1882. (Letters are in designated files in the Pruitt collection.)
- ¹⁰ C.W.P., "Farming in China," n.p., c. 1888.
- ¹¹ C.W.P., "Success in China," n.p. Je 24, 1889.
- ¹² C.W.P. letter to Brother Corn, Je 19, 1889.
- ¹³ C.W.P. letter to Brother Corn, Chefoo, Je 19, 1889.
- Hyatt, pp. 59, 233-34. A.S.P., p. 51.
- ¹⁴ Anna Seward Pruitt, "Sketch of the Life of Cicero Washington Pruitt," n.p., n.d., p. 5.
- ¹⁵ Hyatt, p. 111.
- Rubinstein, p. 55.
- ¹⁶ C.W.P., "Persecution in Pingtu," n.p., My 8, 1889.
- ¹⁷ C.W.P. letter to J.H. Kilpatrick, Tengchow, Jan. 18, 1889, *Christian Index*, n.d.
- ¹⁸ C.W.P., letter to the *Christian Index*, Hwanghsien, Ap. 29, 1891.
- ¹⁹ C.W.P. letter to Brother Bell, Oct. 24, 1887, to J.H. Kilpatrick, Jan. 18, 1889.
- ²⁰ Rubinstein, p. 73.
- ²¹ Charles W. Hayford, "Chinese and American Characteristics: Arthur H. Smith and His China Book," in *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, ed. by Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Committee on American-East Asian Relations of the Department of History and the Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1985), p. 153.
- ²² Hayford, p. 153.
- ²³ C.W.P. "China's Need of the Gospel," May 2, 1888. "Outlook in China," for the *Messenger*, c. 1895.
- ²⁴ C.W.P., "Success in China," n.p., Je, 24, 1889.
- ²⁵ C.W.P., "Religious Instruction in China," n.p., n.d.
- ²⁶ C.W.P., "The New Year in China," (2 parts), n.p., n.d.
- ²⁷ C.W.P., "Some Chinese Traits," n.p., Mar. 12, 1890.
- ²⁸ "Competitive Examinations in China," n.p., Dec. 22, 1887. "Chinese Family Life," JI 24, 1893.
- ²⁹ C.W.P., "Competitive Examinations in China," Dec. 22, 1887.
- ³⁰ In his analysis of Arthur Smith's *Chinese Characteristics*, Charles Hayford faults Smith for lacking an objective perspective of his own country, in the tradition of Herman Melville or Mark Twain, whose writings critiqued American society, p. 165. I am suggesting that C.W. Pruitt's letters, unlike Smith's book, balanced the good and the bad in America as well as in China.
- ³¹ C.W.P., "The New Year in China,"
- ³² C.W.P., "Mission Methods," for the *Religious Herald*, Chefoo, n.d.

- ⁴⁵ Hayford, p. 160.
- ⁴⁶ C.W. P., "Missionaries Adopting Heathen Customs, etc.: The Other Side," *The Central*, Nov. 19, 1889.
- ⁴⁷ C.W.P., "An Interesting Chinese Doctor," Hwanghsien, My 12, 1893.
- ⁴⁸ Anonymous, "A Hero's Prayer," n.p., n.d.
- ⁴⁹ A.S.P., *Zero*, p. 34.
- ⁵⁰ Wedding Announcement of C.W. and Anna Pruitt, Feb. 16, 1888. Published in unidentified missionary journal.
- ⁵¹ A.S.P. 1894 letter, pp. 49, 96-98, 103. I.P., p. 7. Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 20.
- ⁵² Hyatt, 13-14, 21, 148, 151. A.S.P., *Zero*, 31.
- ⁵³ I.P., pp. 5-8 and frontispiece.
- ⁵⁴ A.S.P., 1891, p. 29. 1893, p. 132. Jan. 16, 1899. March 5, 1900. I.P., pp. 15-16.
- ⁵⁵ Marjorie King, "American Women's Open Door to Chinese Women: Which Way Does it Open?" in *Women's Studies International Forum*, special issue on European Women and Imperialism, ed. by Peg Strobel and Nupur Chaudhuri, forthcoming.
- ⁵⁶ A.S.P., 1891, p. 29. 1893, p. 132. Jan. 16, 1899. March 5, 1900. I.P., pp. 15-16.
- ⁵⁷ C.W.P., "Life," II, p. 1.
- ⁵⁸ Hyatt, pp. 176, 181.
- ⁵⁹ A.S.P., *The Day of Small Things* (Richmond: Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1929), pp. 26-27.
- ⁶⁰ A.S.P. letters, Nov. 24, 1895, I 3, 1898. 1901, p. 14. 1893, p. 190. 1894, II, p. 40.
- ⁶¹ Hyatt, pp. 40, 166-171.
- ⁶² A.S.P., "Sketch," p. 7.
- ⁶³ A.S.P., *Zero*, p. 125.
- ⁶⁴ "President of Chinese College Here for Leave of Absence, May Find Buildings Wrecked," Dallas, c. 1926.
- ⁶⁵ A.S.P., *Zero*, p. 134.
- ⁶⁶ Rubinstein, p. 14.
- ⁶⁷ Rubinstein, p. 9.
- ⁶⁸ Hyatt, pp. 19-23, 233.
- ⁶⁹ Hyatt, pp. 19-20, 39.
- ⁷⁰ Hyatt, pp. 231-33, 235.
- ⁷¹ Hyatt, p. 235.
- ⁷² C.W.P. letter to Bro. Barnwell, Huanghsien, Ap. 18, 1888.
- ⁷³ A.S.P., "Sketch."
- ⁷⁴ Hyatt, pp. 118, 120, 130+. See also Murray A. Rubinstein, "Christianity in China: One Scholar's Perspective of the State of the Research in China Mission and China Christian History, 1964- 1986," *Chung-kuo shih yen chiu t'ung hsun* ("Newsletter for Modern Chinese History" no. 4 (September 1987), pp. 111-143. Rubinstein contrasts the hagiographic treatment of Lottie Moon by Catherine B. Allen in *The New Lottie Moon Story* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1980) with Hyatt's scholarly, though also sympathetic, account.
- ⁷⁵ A.S.P. letters to her family in Tallmadge, Ohio, make periodic reference to visits from Miss Moon during these years.
- ⁷⁶ Hyatt, p. 111.
- ⁷⁷ C.W.P., "Life."

**Contemporary Georgia-East Asian
Relations and the Future**

Georgia, Atlanta, and the East Asian World: An Economist's Overview of Interactions Since World War II

ERNEST W. OGRAM, JR.*

Since World War II, East Asian trade has become increasingly important to the United States in terms of the total value of all U.S. international trade. By 1982, according to *Discovery* magazine, the United States depended economically "more on East Asia than on Western Europe. Since 1975 transpacific trade has exceeded the total of all transatlantic trade by value."¹ One notable component of transpacific trade is the commerce between the United States and Japan, which by itself by 1982 exceeded the combined dollar value of trade between the United States and the United Kingdom, West Germany, and France by some two billion dollars.

The relatively recent phenomenon of foreigners' direct investment in the United States tells a story similar to that of trade. This article will first take a brief look at the changing patterns of foreign investment in the United States with particular emphasis on the Southeast. We will then focus on Georgia, and specifically Atlanta, as distinct participants in trade with East Asian countries.

Attraction of the Southeast

Data collected by the Conference Board indicates that in recent

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years, German, British, and Japanese firms have increased their share of total foreign investment in the United States.² Moreover, the Conference Board survey pointed up a shifting of foreign investment in the United States toward the Sunbelt, and particularly to the Southeast.³ In 1977 Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia were not even listed among the top five states for foreign investment in the United States. In 1979 the top five states were California, New York, Texas, North Carolina, and Georgia.

A recent survey of French direct investment in the Southeast mentioned a number of general considerations important for foreigners contemplating investing in the United States. These factors included a strong desire to diversify into other countries to spread the financial risk, availability of raw materials, relative costs of production including labor and energy, and existing and possibly future regulations by the United States government that would discourage trade in certain product categories.⁴ The attractions of the Southeast for French investment, according to the survey, included ease of exporting and importing through the region's seaports and airports, the strong economic growth that the region is experiencing, a favorable attitude in general toward business development, and the high quality of life in that area.⁵

Because of world-wide recession, foreign trade in the Southeast declined in 1982. Foreign direct investment continued to expand, however, as it has for the last nine years. For the past several years, the Southeast has led all other regions of the country in its share of foreign direct investment in terms of employment, value added, plant and equipment.

If total United States employment in manufacturing is considered by state for the period 1969-80, the Southeast plus two states in the Southwest, California and Texas, experienced significant gains while the states of the Northeast and the Midwest suffered substantial declines during the same period.⁶

If one compares the number of corporate headquarters of *Fortune's* top 500 firms that have moved to the Southeast from 1971 through 1981, the increase has been just under 100%.⁷ The states of the Northeast, Midwest, and California still dominate headquarters locations for the nation's top industrial firms. Southeastern growth, however, is significant because corporate headquarters tend to attract

other firms that provide support services for research and development, corporate planning, and finance. A similar pattern of expansion on corporate headquarters has also occurred in *Fortune's* second 500 industrial firms as well as in the service areas of trade, finance, and insurance plus utilities.

The Southeast, with its vast timber resources and favorable geographical climate, has especially become a focal point for the lumber, pulp, and paper industries. This, to a significant extent, explained why Georgia Pacific Corporation moved its headquarters from Portland, Oregon to Atlanta, Georgia early in 1982.

International Activity of Southeastern Banks

The growth of trade and foreign direct investment in the Southeast has led to a dramatic increase in the region's banking activities. International trade through the ports of the Southeast in the 1970s grew at a faster rate than that of the rest of the nation. Prior to World War II, banks in New Orleans and Mobile were paramount in financing international trade through their respective ports because of the historic role of these ports in dominating the international trade of the Southeast. In the post-World War II period, banks in Miami and Atlanta have come to the forefront as the fastest growing centers for international banking activities in the Southeast. The explosive jump in international banking activity, especially in Miami, is explained by the sustained growth in Miami's trading and investment relationships with Central American, South American, and Caribbean countries. Furthermore, Miami banks, because of their aggressive marketing practices, have become magnets for individual and corporate deposits from this same area. In addition, many United States multinational firms with investment interests in Central and South America have found it practical to locate their Latin America headquarters in Miami.⁸ Atlanta banks, on the other hand, have been adding to their international deposit base because the city has come to serve as an international center for transportation, finance, and related services for the Southeast, a matter to be addressed in more detail later in this paper.

The dynamic growth of the Southeast region, the favorable investment and geographical climate, and the fact that the support infrastructure has been in place explain not only the rise in domestic

corporate activity in the Southeast. These factors also account for the sustained increase in foreign investment activity in the region.

Initial Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese Investment in the Southeast

Although corporations from the Netherlands, United Kingdom, West Germany, and Canada are the largest investors by value in the Southeast, Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese companies have become increasingly involved since approximately 1976.

In June 1983 the first truck made its way along the assembly line at Nissan Corporation's Smyrna, Tennessee, plant, which features industrial robots and other state-of-the-art technology. The plant, which employed 2,650 by 1984, involves a Japanese investment of \$500 million. The Smyrna plant represents the largest single investment by any foreign company in the United States and the largest investment by Nissan outside Japan. The Lancasters' and Waldner's articles in this volume cite particulars of ongoing Japanese investment in Georgia.

Korean and Taiwanese firms are also investing in the Southeast. In Alabama, a Korean company announced that it will manufacture microwave ovens and television sets. Sampo Corporation, a Taiwanese television set manufacturer, established a factory and regional sales office in Norcross, Georgia.

Few other public concerns in recent years have generated as much apprehension and emotion in the United States as foreign investment in agricultural land. As a result of this intense concern, in February 1980, the U.S. Department of Agriculture released the results of a study of the ownership pattern.⁹ One of the findings of this study was that most foreign holdings are concentrated in the Southeast and in particular in Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. Certainly part of the explanation for this is the fact that southeastern states in general are more liberal in their attitude toward foreign ownership in agricultural land. East Asians count among other foreign buyers of Georgia pulpwood land.

Ongoing International Trade and Foreign Investment in Georgia

The view from the balcony of Atlanta's World Trade Club provides an impressive indication of the impact of foreign investment on

Atlanta. Within a few blocks one can see the National Bank of Georgia, owned by a Saudi financier; the Atlanta Hilton Hotel, partly owned by the Kuwaiti Development Corporation; the Dutch-owned Life Insurance Company of Georgia; the Atlantic Steel Company and Cable Atlanta, owned by a Canadian firm; and the Equitable Building, partially owned by Japan's Asahi Life Insurance Company. These structures demonstrate Georgia's success in attracting foreign investment. According to ex-Georgia Governor George Busbee, who solicited much of this commerce, international trade and foreign investment in Georgia in 1981 immeasurably enhanced the State's prosperity. "Manufacturing investments alone are in excess of \$1.6 billion, with foreign firms providing more than 30,000 jobs in our state," Busbee asserted. "In addition, recent estimates indicate that Georgia is exporting in excess of \$3 billion worth of manufactured and agricultural products annually. That figure, according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, creates 120,000 jobs within the state."¹⁰ Exports and foreign investment within Georgia created jobs, which in turn expanded the State's income base, and provided successive responding and consumption within the state.

Atlanta: An International City

Since before the American Civil War, Atlanta has been the commercial hub of the Southeast. This happened because of Atlanta's geographical location, its climate, its banking and insurance services, and its pivotal transportation system.

One of the most exciting aspects of Atlanta's growth has been its emergence as an international city. A number of criteria for an international city have come to apply to Atlanta since 1973.

First, there is the matter of overseas flights from the city's new airport. Hartsfield International, the second busiest airport in the United States, serves as the gateway for direct overseas flights to numerous European and Latin American destinations. United, Delta, Continental, American, and Northwest Orient, U.S.-flag passenger carriers servicing East Asia, have sales offices in Atlanta and connecting or direct flights out of Atlanta's airport to East Asia. Singapore Air Lines and Korean Air Lines have established district sales offices in Atlanta to service Asia-bound passengers and cargo originating at Hartsfield and elsewhere in the Southeast. Japan Air Lines flies

directly from Atlanta to East Asia.

Second, a state law liberalizing foreign banking activity has resulted in eighteen foreign banks establishing offices in Atlanta. Three of these foreign banks are East Asian: the Bank of Tokyo, Fuji Bank, and the Industrial Bank of Japan.

Third, one of Georgia's incentives to help promote international trade is the state's first foreign trade zone, a duty free zone in Shenandoah, near Hartsfield International Airport. The function of a foreign trade zone is to permit entry of foreign goods into the zone without payment of customs duties. Duties are paid only if the goods are subsequently sold in the domestic market. Should the goods previously imported be re-exported, no customs duties are paid. These and other incentives have attracted over four hundred foreign firms to establish facilities in Georgia since 1975. Among these are seven East Asian foreign trading companies with offices in or near Atlanta: Tatung Company, from Taiwan; and C. Itoh, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nissho-Iwai, Nissei Sangyo, and Toyo Menka Kaisha, all from Japan.

Fourth, the opening in 1976 of the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta, which hosts increasing numbers of international meetings and trade shows, provides an example of the state government's growing assistance to international intercourse.

Fifth, part of any city's degree of internationalization involves the number of foreign governments that feel obliged, because of trade and investment considerations, to establish some type of formal diplomatic representation within the city. In 1975 Atlanta had seven consulates staffed by career diplomats and twenty-one honorary consulates or trade offices in the city. Eight years later, the number of career consulates had jumped to thirteen and the countries with trade offices or honorary consulates stood at twenty-seven. The government of the Philippines opened a trade office in Atlanta early in 1983. The expansion of consulates and trade offices in Atlanta came about in part to service the increasing number of foreign companies having trade and investment relationships within the Southeast.

Sixth, a significant indicator in determining the degree of internationalization for any city is how many foreign nationals live there and in what activities they participate.

The number of foreign nationals living in a city may be considered a function of those that come when a foreign firm sets up a manufacturing or other facility or who come on their own volition searching for jobs or perhaps for an opportunity to start their own businesses. Growing numbers of foreign nationals from East Asia have come to Atlanta in recent years, especially from Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and China.

Taiwan's Presence in Atlanta

Professor George Wang, formerly of National Taiwan University, recently arrived in Atlanta and asserted that business opportunities in Atlanta are very attractive to many Taiwanese. According to Professor Wang, Atlanta's principal attractions are a growing business community and the "courtesy and friendly relations that Atlantans have with all peoples."¹¹ Professor Wang estimated that Atlanta now has about 4,000 Chinese residents, many of whom originate from Taiwan, as well as from Hong Kong, Indochina, mainland China, and elsewhere.¹²

The government on Taiwan opened an Atlanta consulate, its first in the Southeast, in June 1973. In 1979 the United States broke diplomatic relations with the government on Taiwan and formally recognized China. Since 1979 a private organization, the Coordination Council for North American Affairs, has represented the interests of the government of Taiwan in Atlanta. (See Krebs' article, in this volume, on the intricacies of Sino-American relations). Lin Tsunhsien, Director of the Coordination Council's Atlanta office in 1983, explained that his government felt that locating a representative office in Atlanta was logical because Atlanta not only was the commercial and cultural center for the Southeast, but also the center for international air cargo for the region. The director further stated his government's procurement mission has purchased significant amounts of Georgia peanuts and tobacco in recent years. He also expected that his government would send a commercial attache to his office because of Taiwan's increased trade and in the Atlanta area.

Andrew Li, the Council's secretary, commented as did Professor Wang, that the reason why increasing numbers of Taiwanese have immigrated to Atlanta is because of the business opportunities here, plus the favorable geographical climate. He remarked that Atlanta

now has 170 Chinese restaurants, a ten-fold increase between 1972 and 1982. Many of Atlanta's restaurateurs are Taiwanese.

The Republic of Korea's Presence in Atlanta

In June 1976 a Consulate General of the Republic of Korea was established in Atlanta. The consul general in 1983, Hak Won Song, stated that his government felt that Atlanta was becoming the center for trade and investment activity in the Southeast for his country. Because of this fact his government at the same time determined it should also establish a regional office of the Korea Trade Promotion Corporation (KTPC). The KPTC is involved in trade and investment promotion in both directions. Mr. Song said that KTPC was interested in promoting joint ventures between Korean and American firms that would result in increased exports from the United States to Korea.

Mr. Song estimated that 7,000 Korean nationals live in the Atlanta metropolitan area and that the reason for most of them coming here was to start their own businesses.

Japan's Presence in Atlanta

Yoshinori Tsujimoto, acting Japanese consul general in Atlanta in 1983, indicated that the consensus within his government back in 1974 was that Atlanta was the hub of transportation, banking, and insurance services within the southeastern United States. Mr. Tsujimoto also remarked that "the enthusiastic reception given to the Japanese business community from former Governor Busbee and other state officials has been a positive force in helping Japanese firms decide on a Georgia location for manufacturing plants and other facilities."

Nippan-Daido was the first Japanese supermarket chain to establish itself in Atlanta. The increased number of companies from East Asian countries that have located in Atlanta over the last several years, and the increasing numbers of nationals from these countries who have moved to Atlanta for other reasons, prompted Nippan Daido in 1981 to consider opening an Atlanta supermarket. In October 1982, opening day customers at Nippan Daido's Atlanta market found the store's shelves filled with all kinds of Asian delicacies. The Nippan Daido store offers a full line of groceries including specialty seafood as well as Asian books and magazines for Georgia's ex-

panding Asian population.

The facility was Nippan Daido's fourth to be established in the United States and its first in the Southeast. It was not by any means the first East Asian grocery to be established in the Atlanta area. Koreans operated a spacious "Asian Super Market" in Atlanta's Broadview Shopping Plaza.

The fact that close to 20 percent of the 500 foreign companies that have located in Georgia are Japanese testifies to the state's successful effort in attracting both small and large Japanese firms to locate here. The Lancasters' and Waldner's articles give further specifics on this recent growth.

China's Presence in Atlanta

The extent of recent contact between China and Georgia, including Georgians who have been to China and Chinese scholars who have come to Georgia, is covered in Krebs' article. Georgia's trade with China does not nearly equal its trade with Taiwan despite visits to China by ex-Governor Busbee, Trader Commissioner Milton Folds, and International Trade Director John Welsh to stimulate commerce. The Shanghai exhibit at the July 1982 Asian Gift Show in Atlanta marked the first sales effort of its kind by a People's Republic of China firm in Georgia. Coca-Cola, as Krebs mentions, made a pioneering commitment to the China market, as it did some years ago in Japan. In the view of former Undersecretary of State Georgia Ball, "The question no one can answer today is whether we are witnessing merely a Chinese version of Lenin's NEP (National Economic Plan)—that brief season of free enterprise which the Soviets permitted in 1921—or whether Peking is definitely moving with traditional pragmatism toward some kind of indigenous compromise between Marx and Adam Smith."¹³ To the extent that Georgia, Atlanta, and the Southeast have a role to play in future trade and investment with the PRC is a function of the decisions that must be made in Beijing (Peking).

Conclusions

As an economist, I feel confident in asserting that Atlanta and Georgia are well on their way to prominence in the Southeast relative to trade and investment with Asian countries. The state's economy

increasingly feels the impact of the East Asian world in terms of exports, imports, diplomatic representation, foreign investment, cultural ties, and the ever-increasing number of nationals from East Asian countries living and working in Georgia.

NOTES

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The term "Sunbelt" generally applies to the southern tier of states from the east to the west coast. Within the Sunbelt states there are two sub-areas, the Southeast and the Southwest. The Southwest is generally considered to begin with Texas and extends west through the southern half of California. The Southeast extends east from Texas to the Atlantic Ocean.

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The Georgia-Japan Relationship: Into the Twenty-first Century

DAY LANCASTER*

For Americans, Japan may be a jumble of contradictory images. Japanese quality automobiles, electronic products, and cameras mingle with pictures of paper houses, rickshaws, and cheap toys of forty years ago. And to confuse matters further, there is often no clear differentiation between Japan and China. No wonder so many Americans have such a hard time comprehending the “inscrutable” Japanese.

In Georgia, however, there is a growing awareness and understanding of Japan and the Japanese that increasing interaction with that country has brought on. The origins of this growing involvement and some of the consequences, merit our attention.

The Japanese commonly identify Georgia with *Gone With the Wind*, Jimmy Carter, and peanuts, in that order. Unfortunately, none of them are contributing very much to Georgia’s trade balance with Japan, but at least the state does have a positive image as a result. At present, peanuts comprise a portion of Georgia’s exports to Japan, but it is not large, due to tough competition from China. Perhaps with a better marketing strategy that highlights their origin, Georgia peanuts would do better in the Japanese market.

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The largest quantifiable export product is kaolin. Approximately 400,000 tons of Georgia kaolin are shipped to Japan every year to be used primarily in the paper industry. The paper industry also accounts for the other major Georgia exports—wood and paper pulp. Other products include soybeans, wheat, and poultry products.

In terms of agricultural exports, Georgia is at a disadvantage to those states in the Midwest and West that are geographically closer to Japan. Georgia's agricultural products must be considerably better in quality and price in order to offset greater transportation costs. Poultry products and wood and paper pulp have that advantage.

Unfortunately, exports of manufactured goods to Japan lag far behind those of other states. Georgia traditionally has not had the large industrial base that could support a strong export drive. Increasingly, however, more and more Georgia businessmen are stepping up their search for new markets, and though efforts are still in an embryonic stage, in the 1990s we should see a growing number of Georgia companies looking to the Japanese market place.

One example of this trend is the Carpet and Rug Institute, a national organization headquartered in Dalton, Georgia. The Institute, in conjunction with the United States Department of Commerce, sponsored a trade mission to Tokyo and Osaka in March 1983. Of the sixteen participating companies, ten were from Georgia. The carpet and rug industry in Japan is still not as technologically advanced as it is in the United States. Therefore, marketing opportunities for Georgia carpet makers should be better than for other types of United States manufacturers whose expertise is superseded by that of the Japanese.

Another example of growing interest in Japan was the visit to Japan in May 1982 by members of Georgia Institute of Technology's Advanced Technology Development Center. The purpose of the trip was to pursue opportunities for Georgia's high technology companies to do business with Japanese firms, as well as to promote Georgia as an investment location for Japanese capital.

These are some recent examples of trade activity between Georgia and Japan. Several companies have been doing business in Japan for many years. By far the earliest Georgia company to establish operations in Japan was Coca-Cola, which began selling its soft drinks back in the early 1900s. It took until 1957 to form Coca-

Cola/Japan. Even then, growth was limited because the Japanese government, for reasons still unclear, imposed restrictions on the ingredients needed to make Coke. In 1961 those restrictions were lifted and the company began to expand. Within two years three Coca-Cola bottling companies had been founded. And since that time fifteen more have been formed. In 1990 there is virtually nowhere in Japan where one cannot purchase a bottle or can of Coke or of "Georgia," a coffee drink Coca-Cola/Japan began marketing several years ago exclusively for the Japanese market. In fact, over half of Coca-Cola/Japan's product line was developed for Japanese tastes and is not marketed elsewhere. That certainly reflects the commitment that has made Japan Coca-Cola's third largest market outside the United States.

Kleentex, a manufacturer of doormats headquartered in LaGrange, also has a solid foothold in Japan. The company opened a sales office in Tokyo in 1977. Soon after, Kleentex incorporated in Japan and began production in the city of Akashi three and a half years later. Business is apparently increasing steadily.

Another pioneer in the Japanese market was American Family Life Assurance, based in Columbus. Starting with a representative sales office in Tokyo in 1974, American Family was the first company to offer cancer insurance in Japan. Since that time the company has expanded rapidly to include twelve sub-branch sales offices with over 1500 agencies handling their insurance. By 1983 the Japanese market accounted for fifty percent of American Family's total revenues.

American companies in general have been quite successful in exporting the fast food franchise business to Japan. McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Dunkin Donuts were among the first; and now Denny's, Wendy's, Mister Donut, Seven-Eleven, and Hardee's, to name a few, have joined the ranks. The latest to take advantage of this still-expanding market in Japan is Arby's of Atlanta. They opened their first restaurant in May of 1982 and now have six stores throughout Japan.

Besides these examples of Georgia companies that have actually established subsidiaries or branch offices in Japan and are now successfully conducting business, there are a number of firms that are involved with Japanese business, but in a less visible fashion.

Major Atlanta banks have extensive correspondent relationships with many of the large Japanese banks. And several Georgia companies have supplier or customer relationships with Japanese manufacturers.

In terms of the number of companies, the involvement of Georgia business in Japan is small, but quite diversified. In terms of revenue, however, Japan represents a substantial market for those firms mentioned above. A large potential still remains for Georgia companies that are willing to invest the time and money to research the Japanese market and provide a service or product that either fills a need or competes effectively with what is already available.

The key words here are time and money. Very few foreign companies now doing business in Japan were instant successes. Considerable amounts of hard work, and a patient and committed home office, are prerequisites for creating a successful operation in Japan. In the opinion of this trade official, it seems that too often American companies have dropped out before really getting started, due to lack of commitment on the part of top management. Some United States companies have passed over a very lucrative market.

On the other side of the business relationship is the Japanese presence in Georgia. With the dramatic expansion of Atlanta as a regional center in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Japanese firms began locating sales in the city. (See Professor Ogram's article in this volume on Atlanta's expansion as an international city). A district sales office of Japan Air Lines was among the first Japanese companies to arrive, along with general trading firms that needed a regional presence in order to expand their export and import business in the United States. Representative of this group were Mitsubishi Corporation and Mitsui and Co., two of the largest trading firms in Japan, which opened in Atlanta offices in approximately 1970. By 1983 three of the top seven Japanese trading companies had opened Atlanta offices to service the Southeast.

Following along the same lines, the United States subsidiary sales companies of Japanese manufacturers also began putting offices and warehouses in the Atlanta area. Panasonic, the sales arm of Matsushita Electronics Corporation of America, opened a southeastern regional sales warehouse and distribution center in Norcross, Georgia, approximately the same time the trading companies were

moving in. Soon, other Japanese subsidiary sales companies, recognizing the advantages of an Atlanta location for coverage of the Southeast, began locating sales centers in and around the city. In 1983 there were fifty-six United States subsidiary sales companies of Japanese manufacturers located in Georgia, primarily in the Atlanta area.

While Atlanta gained recognition as a prime spot to expand American markets, Georgia also gained increasing attention as an ideal location for manufacturing operations. The first Japanese company to utilize these advantages by establishing a factory in the state was Yoshida Kogyo (YKK), the world's largest producer of zippers and fasteners. After studying numerous possible locations in United States, YKK decided that Macon, Georgia's favorable labor climate, low land cost, geographical location, and excellent transportation system, among other factors, justified putting their plant there.

Initially starting out with final assembly of zippers, the production process at the YKK Macon plant now encompasses everything from the spinning of yarn to stamping zipper sliders. What began as a 250,000 square foot facility employing 120 workers is now a sprawling 700,000 square feet with 600 employees on the payroll. In 1981 YKK purchased a nearby 250 acre tract of land on which to build a major industrial/residential complex that is designed to fill the working and living needs of YKK employees. When fully completed, it will include several major manufacturing facilities as well as single and multi-family housing with adjoining recreational facilities. Already, a 50,000 square foot monofilament plant has been completed and another 250,000 square foot facility is currently under construction.

In 1973, when YKK made their move to Macon, Sony was the only other Japanese company with a manufacturing base in the United States. Consequently, YKK's decision received major attention in Japan. This, coupled with the nearly simultaneous establishment of the State of Georgia Department of Industry and Trade's Tokyo office, served to highlight Georgia as a potential site for other Japanese manufacturers looking to start making products in America.

Whether influenced by YKK's move or not, three Japanese textile-related companies established their first United States factories in Georgia shortly after YKK. Locating in Augusta, Columbus, and Macon, these companies have begun fabric printing operations.

Partially spurred on by United States government pressure to compete on equal terms with United States textile manufacturers, these companies perceived Georgia's experienced textile work force as a particular plus in their decisions to locate in the Peach State.

Subsequent manufacturing investment in Georgia has not followed any particular pattern. Makers of products ranging from ceramic capacitors to high voltage circuit breakers to automobile oil seals have come from Japan to set up shop in Georgia. The approximately thirty-five manufacturers that have invested in the state represent a truly diversified product range. This illustrates the compatibility of Georgia as a location for numerous types of industry. Georgia ranks second in the nation for the number of Japanese factories in operation in one state.

Despite growing competition from other states in attracting Japanese industry, Georgia remains in good position to maintain its lead as a desirable location for Japanese investments. The momentum generated by the nearly one hundred Japanese companies which have come to the state has served to create an infrastructure unparalleled outside the major metropolitan centers of Los Angeles, New York and Chicago. This will continue to draw Japanese businesses to Georgia in the future and further develop what is already considerable activity.

An early manifestation of the large Japanese presence in the state was the formation of the Georgia *konwakai* (discussion group), an organization made up of native Japanese company managers residing in Georgia. The *konwakai* provided an opportunity for Japanese businessmen to get together to discuss common problems and develop community projects, as well as socialize on an informal recreational basis. As membership increased the group changed their name to the Georgia *shokokai* (Japanese Chamber of Commerce) to reflect more accurately their expanded function in the community.

The most notable accomplishment of the *shokokai* so far has been the creation of a supplementary Saturday school for Japanese children in the Atlanta area. For grades one through nine, Japanese housewives with teaching experience hold classes in Japanese language, science, and mathematics. Originally the school used classrooms at Oglethorpe University, but as enrollment grew, the *shokokai*

decided to relocate the school to more appropriate surroundings in 1980. With the assistance of Atlanta's Japanese Consulate, the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade, and the Gwinnett County Chamber of Commerce, the school moved to the Beaver Ridge Elementary School in Norcross.

Also in 1980, since enrollment had reached one hundred pupils, the Japanese government, through its Atlanta Consulate, dispatched a full-time principal from Japan to supervise the school. In 1990, over 400 Japanese children attend the school every weekend. The school has satellite branches in Mableton, Columbus, and other Georgia cities with a Japanese population nearby. These schools are major incentives for Japanese companies trying to decide where to put their United States facilities.

Another result of the concentration of Japanese businesses in the Atlanta area is the proliferation of Japanese food stores and restaurants. In 1973 there was only one authentic Japanese restaurant in the entire state. By 1983, there were ten that served traditional Japanese cuisine, with another four specializing in steak dishes. In 1990 there are also at least ten Japanese and Asian food stores in Atlanta that provide a full complement of cooking ingredients.

An interesting example of how a Japanese company directly influenced the location of a Japanese restaurant in Atlanta is the case of Hitachi, Ltd.'s telecommunications division and Gojinka Restaurant. Hitachi's telecommunications headquarters factory is located outside of Yokohama, where most of the managers staffing Hitachi's Doraville, Georgia, facility are from. Many of the managers had frequented a Yokohama restaurant called Gojinka before being assigned to the Atlanta post. Often when back at headquarters on business, these managers would go to Gojinka after work and relate their experiences of life in Atlanta. Apparently the suggestion was made that Gojinka's owner should also move to Atlanta and set up shop there. After repeated urgings, the owner began to take the idea seriously. When he learned that an existing Japanese restaurant in Atlanta was looking for a chef, he applied for the job and was hired.

Selling his restaurant in Yokohama, the chef and his wife moved to Atlanta and spent their first several years in Georgia working for what was then called Ginza Benkay Restaurant (now Benihana). When Ginza Benkay closed down, the chef took his savings, invested in a

location off of Buford Highway, and opened up a new Gojinka Restaurant. Needless to say, the Japanese employees of Hitachi's Doraville facility are now regular customers.

Georgia's growing relationship with Japan is also reflected in the development of a number of organizations and programs devoted to increasing the opportunities for exchange on business, cultural and educational levels. In the Spring of 1975, a group of about ten senior executives of large Japanese corporations visited Atlanta, and in conversation with then-Governor George Busbee and various businessmen, became convinced of a growing potential for business exchange between Japan and Southeast. The outgrowth of these conversations was the establishment in December 1975 of the Japan/U.S. Southeast Association, comprised of seven member states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) and Japanese firms doing business in the Southeast. The State of Georgia hosted the first meeting in Atlanta in 1976. Subsequent annual meetings have rotated among the seven member states during the even years, while the Japanese side hosts the odd numbered year. There are other organizations of this kind in the United States, but as of 1990 the Japan/U.S. Southeast Association is by far the most active.

On a social and cultural level, the Japan-American Society of Georgia, established in 1980, has played an increasingly active part in promoting understanding of Japan in Georgia as well as providing a venue for Japanese living in Georgia to associate with Georgians interested in Japan. (See Professor Waldner's article in this volume on the history of the Japan-America Society).

Besides these organizations, there are a number of civic and educational programs designed to foster exchange. In 1966 the Prefecture of Kagoshima, located in the southernmost region of Japan, decided it wanted a sister state. After some study, prefectural officials decided that Georgia was a good match because of the shared traits of mild climate, a citizenry that believe in traditional hospitality, a distinct southern accent, and defeat in a civil war. Based on their recommendation, Katsushi Terazono, then Governor of Kagoshima, approached then-Georgia Governor Carl Sanders, who agreed that a sister state relationship would be mutually beneficial, and an agreement was signed by both governors in a ceremony at

the Georgia State Capitol in 1966. "Kagoshima Corner" of Georgia's State Capital was devoted to exhibits from Kagoshima Prefecture.

Exchange of people between Kagoshima and Georgia since that time has been quite active, with a group of Kagoshima high school students visiting Athens every summer and an ongoing faculty exchange program between the University of Georgia and Kagoshima University. In 1981 a large group of Georgia government and business leaders, led by former Governors George Busbee and Sanders, visited Kagoshima to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the sister state relationship. The University System of Georgia has sent a group of college students to Kagoshima for a summer of foreign study. In September 1982, outgoing Governor George Busbee and a small delegation paid a "farewell" visit to Kagoshima and other parts of Japan important in Georgia's foreign trade.

Georgia also has an active sister city program with Japan. As of 1990 four relationships exist, and in each case a Japanese or American firm has played a vital role in forging the link: YKK linking Macon and Kurobe; American Family Life joining Columbus and Kiryu; Nippon Oil connecting LaGrange with Aso City; and TEC uniting Gainesville with Ohito City.

YKK initiated the first sister city relationship, between Macon, the site of its United States city, and Kurobe, its headquarters on the coast of the Japan Sea. Groups of official and unofficial visitors have been visiting back and forth on a regular basis since the beginning of the relationship and recently YKK announced plans to implement a scholarship program that would fully subsidize a year of study in a Japanese university for students in Macon-area colleges.

Columbus is a sister city of Kiryu, a community north of Tokyo. This relationship was the result of Kiryu officials going to the major bank in the area to ask for suggestions on possible candidate cities in America. The bank, in turn, requested help from American Family Life, which was one of their clients, in recommending a place, and the result was the development of a sister city agreement with Columbus.

In the case of LaGrange and Aso City, which is located on the same island as Kagoshima Prefecture, the go-between was Nippon Oil Seal, Inc., which has factories in both cities. And the most recent sister city relationship, between Gainesville and Ohito City, was an

outgrowth of discussions between Georgia state officials and TEC America, which has a large manufacturing plant in Ohio as well as a sales and service center in Georgia. In 1983 the two cities inaugurated a three-month homestay program for students.

Educational exchange programs are not just limited to those mentioned above. In 1982 Georgia State University began including a one-week study tour of Tokyo area businesses as part of its Executive MBA Program. As of 1990 various types of exchange programs are now being considered by a number of organizations, so the chances for Georgians to learn more about Japan, and vice versa, will increase.

The relationship between Georgia and Japan is still young, and the future points towards continued strong and positive growth. The danger exists, however, that the relationship will become too uneven. As of 1990 some one hundred Japanese companies have operations in Georgia while only four Georgia companies are represented in Japan. Japan represents a substantial marketplace. Admittedly, the Japanese market is not an easy one to penetrate, but for those Georgia companies truly committed to maintaining a competitive edge in the world marketplace, selling in Japan is increasingly attractive.

The potential also exists for an imbalance to develop on a cultural and educational level. Though no accurate figures are available, a safe guess is there are more than one thousand Japanese students studying in Georgia schools and universities. And if study and tour groups are included, the flow of people from Japan to Georgia, is considerable. By comparison, there are only a handful of Georgians studying in Japan. If this is to be corrected, more opportunities must be developed for Georgians to learn and travel to Japan.

Until these areas are addressed and properly remedied, the Georgia-Japan relationship remains in danger of being lopsided. Fortunately, the many examples of increased interest in Japan and the growing Japanese-related activity in the state are positive signs that an appropriate equilibrium can and will be achieved.

The Georgia-Japan Relationship: A Comparison of Japanese Investment in Massachusetts and in Georgia

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The following article is by a layman, not a scholar. The opinions are mine, gathered from experience in the trade and international development offices of the State of Georgia and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I hope my ideas will initiate further research and exploration.

The presence of Japan in Georgia has intrigued me for years. Georgia has attracted close to 200 Japanese companies over the last twenty years, creating a strong infrastructure for future growth. Scholars and experts attribute the success to low cost of living and transportation, non-union labor, quality of life, and Southern hospitality. The evidence suggests, however, a more fundamental factor based on the history and development of industrial manufacturing in the United States.

In studying the history of industrial development in the United States, one observes different regional rates of development and inherent strengths and weaknesses resulting from the different rates. The length of a region's industrial involvement has an effect on worker relations, economics, politics, and culture. If we compare Massachusetts and Georgia, we can see how varying rates of indus-

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rial development impacted a state's ability to create a sound international investment policy, primarily in regard to Japan.

United States industry began in the Northeast corridor. Massachusetts, the regional power, began manufacturing firearms as early as the late eighteenth century. The manufacturing process required sophisticated forging techniques and the skilled use of crude machine tools.

Another feature of the Massachusetts region was its textile industry, with the cities of Lowell, Fall River, Taunton and Lawrence dominated by sprawling mills. As the textile industry modernized over time, the machines and processes required more sophistication, both in development and maintenance. A strong infrastructure developed beneath Massachusetts' burgeoning industrial might.

The advent of heavy manufacturing in Massachusetts, as opposed to firearms and textiles, began with the shipping and shipbuilding trade. As far back as the eighteenth century sleek, swift clipper ships plied the waters between Massachusetts, Europe, and Asia. Shipyards in the port cities of Boston, Salem, Quincy, and New Bedford attracted thousands of skilled and unskilled laborers.

The shipbuilding industry so dominated these cities that subsequent industry developed only to serve one industry. Even today much pride arises from the seafaring history of the region and forms much of the basis for regional identity.

On the other hand, there were negative aspects of the region's industrial development. Progress is rarely a smooth and effortless process. In Massachusetts the mills were frightful places to work for men, women, and children. Work was never lacking, and the hours stretched to twelve and fourteen a day in dim, dust-filled factories.

The workers' lives were controlled entirely by their employers, similar to the Chicago meat-packing industry depicted by Upton Sinclair. It took horrible disasters such as the raging fire that engulfed a multistory mill in Lowell, killing hundreds of women and children, before a workers' rights movement gained momentum in Massachusetts.

From the Massachusetts employers' viewpoint, the worker was never more than a means to an end. At the turn of the century violent clashes erupted between employers and workers, with crippling strikes. As popular uprisings grew in number and magnitude, the

work force became more organized and powerful. Unions developed, and suddenly the worker had the support and alliance of others in the same industry and not just in one factory.

The unions and solidarity of inter-company laborers created a formidable negotiating force. Slowly control was wrested away from the owners. As a result, laws governing minimum wages, child labor, compulsory school attendance, and workmen's compensation were enacted to protect both child and adult workers. The viciousness and horror of the earlier period were not easily forgotten. As the twentieth century unfolded, unions and manufacturers stood in extreme polarity, remaining mutually suspicious and antagonistic.

Rather than meet the rising demands of the now-powerful unions for higher wages and better working conditions, manufacturers exercised one remaining option: They moved, and more often than not, to the South.

The post-Civil War South, continuing an antebellum trend, was gripped in a subservient economic role to the North. Raw materials exhumed from the ground and grown on the fields of the South fed the Northern engines. Over time great disparity in wealth emerged between the two regions. The effects are still evident today in terms of per capita income, educational performance, and cultural amenities.

Low wages and even lower expectations created an excellent environment for incoming industries in the South. The trickle turned to a flood as more mills and machine shops discovered a pliant work force suspicious of unionism and its violent birth. Many a small Southern town could not thwart the power of manufacturers and in the end owed its existence to one industry.

Fortunately, industry had learned a lesson from its troubled Northern past. This attitude, coupled with protective labor laws, created conditions in Southern factories and mills much less barbaric and inhumane than what had existed in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts factories.

It took a national emergency to finally lift the South out of its vassal existence and into self-sufficiency. The sudden need for national manufacturing power during World War II marked a turning point for Georgia and surrounding Southeastern states. Lockheed spearheaded the drive by building a massive aircraft factory in Marietta. The

venture was considered an extreme risk because of its large scale and its reliance on hundreds of unskilled and untested Southern laborers.

The risk turned out to be unfounded as thousands of inexperienced but willing laborers descended from the Appalachians and emerged out of the Piedmont to man the production lines. Smaller automobile plants in Atlanta geared up for the manufacturing of transport vehicles and in the process increased the scale of factory and work force. The workers came into the factories from the woods, mines, and farms, proving to the nation that the South could produce a capable and efficient laborer. The industrialization of the South was under way in a process qualitatively different from what had occurred over the previous century in the North.

The South benefitted from welcoming industrialists "enlightened" by many labor battles on Northern soil. Although unions followed the large manufacturing concerns into the South, workers were reluctant to join them.

Smaller industries opened factories without unions, and though wages were low and benefits slim, workers proved to be more interested in earning a steady living at less than optimum conditions than in facing the vagaries and hardship of farming and mining. Unions never made any headway beyond the large national manufacturing companies, and to this day, the South overall has the lowest union participation of any region in the country.

After World War II, the movement of industry congregated in specific regions in the South. Steel and heavy industry went to Alabama and its port cities. Textiles and carpets centered on the Carolinas and Georgia.

The movement decimated the economies of parts of the Northeast. Massachusetts was especially hard hit. The traditional textile fortresses of Lawrence, Fall River, Lowell, and Taunton soon resembled ghost towns as no new industry stepped in to fill the void. The machine tool industry, so strong in Springfield and Worcester, began to decline rapidly as factories disappeared. As no new industries emerged, workers either followed the jobs south or relied on the government for assistance. Once-proud and defiant laborers were now helpless and angry.

The differing historical development of industry between the North

and South had far reaching repercussions on the economic, political, and social landscape of both regions. The wrenching conflict attending the North's birth of industrial unions never threatened the South. For the Southerner, industrialization triumphed over poverty and occupational uncertainty and replaced lost pride in the aftermath of the Civil War. Industry helped the South gain confidence and strength, and such positive effects carry on today.

Political relations between industry and government have suffered mightily in the North because of taxes and pollution. Pollution controls being nonexistent in the early stages of the industrial revolution, much of Massachusetts felt the adverse effects first. The Commonwealth became one of the first states to represent the worker against industry in advocating pollution-free manufacturing environments. Adding insult to injury, as industries left, those remaining faced a heavier tax burden to both cover the lost revenue and help the government feed and clothe its unemployed.

In Massachusetts, taxes and pollution remain such volatile issues today that strict controls of industrial waste and business tax hikes can have disastrous results for an elected official. Governor Michael Dukakis was defeated resoundingly in 1978 in a second term election bid due to his policy favoring increased taxes upon industry.

In Georgia, on the other hand, the relationship between government and industry is almost cozy, having experienced only the positive effects of industrialization. By the time industrial processes moved here, their pollution controls were in place. Textiles and carpet manufacturing did not produce devastating pollution. Paper mills in south Georgia are great polluters, but they are distant enough from major population centers to elicit little popular protest. Thus government never had to step in as the regulator of industry.

Moreover, taxation has hardly been an issue between government and industry in Georgia due to the continued growth of industry and population. Analyses of the 1980 United States Census indicate that by the year 2030 Massachusetts' population will have grown barely 4% while Georgia is pegged at 45%. This is reassurance of future taxpaying and a stable tax policy. In fact, Georgia has not changed its corporate tax rate for some forty years.

Economic effects are more difficult to qualify. Massachusetts in 1989 enjoyed one of the lowest unemployment figures in the country,

at 3% compared to a 5% figure in Georgia. The service industry is larger in Massachusetts than Georgia and seems well poised for the next industrial wave.

Questions remain, however, as to the ability of the service industry to replace manufacturing in terms of wage levels, benefits, and job security. And, as in the textile age, the dominance of one industry in a region may be disastrous once the industry falters. A case in point is the town of Lowell which, empty of textile firms, became the home of Wang computers. The computer crash in 1985 devastated Lowell once again as Wang was forced to lay off hundreds of employees, thousands by 1989.

Others question the real cause of the Massachusetts resurgence. Massachusetts' economic preeminence closely parallels President Reagan's tenure and his Strategic Defense Initiative. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) defense contracting and its vast support infrastructure have been major components of the economic rise of Massachusetts.

Be that as it may, the economic success achieved through local efforts, coupled with government-industry antagonism over taxes and pollution and the social effects of industrial upheaval, create an environment adverse to international investment in Massachusetts. One more factor needs to be explored before a clear picture emerges as to why the number of Japanese manufacturers are so small in comparison to Georgia.

The last factor, the one perhaps with the biggest downside for Japan, is the perceived loss of competitiveness of Massachusetts' industry in Japan. The once-proud shipping industry all but disappeared in the face of first Japanese and now Korean manufacturing might. The great Quincy shipyard built its last Navy ship in 1986. The site has been scheduled for conversion to waterfront housing. Massachusetts' machine tool industry was ravaged by the disappearance of the heavy industry it once served. Also decimated by low priced and highly automated machine tools made in Japan, the Massachusetts machine tool industry is all but dead. The shoe industry was killed off by cheap Korean, Hong Kong, and Taiwanese labor. The textile industry, after first losing ground to the South, was additionally debilitated by cheap Asian imports. It is always easier to justify a loss of competitiveness using external evils of protectionism, low wages,

and high-dollar than internal causes leading to deterioration.

Today, Japan is seen as a threat to Massachusetts' emerging technologies. The concentration of universities in Massachusetts spurs on cutting-edge research and manufacturing. Fiberoptics, photovoltaics, artificial intelligence, biotechnology, and superconductivity are seen as new battle grounds between the United States and Japan. Massachusetts is a leader for the United States.

Since Japan has been the most visible and successful competitor, there is a reluctance to welcome Japan to Massachusetts. The irony is that Massachusetts universities are crowded with Japanese researchers, both from industrial and educational facilities. MIT even has an Industrial Liaison Program whereby interested firms gain access to all its research by donating substantial sums. Most major Japanese firms are members. Even so, few researchers have the clout to sway a company's location decision for a manufacturing site in the United States. One exception is the Nippon Electric Corporation (NEC) plant in Boxborough, Massachusetts, located there because the present NEC president wanted to repay the debt he owed for the education he received at MIT many years ago. Moreover, in Massachusetts as elsewhere in the United States, there is both popular and official xenophobia regarding the Japanese.

All the conditions described above—union strife, tax and regulatory instability, and xenophobia—are deterrents to an incoming foreign manufacturer. The United States market is difficult enough for American companies. Thus, foreign companies must reduce controllable risks to compete effectively.

The risk reduction process can be seen in the manufacturing investment strategies of the Japanese. Although 80% of Americans live east of the Mississippi, most Japanese firms first established plants in California. Proximity to the homeland and existing communities of Japanese ancestry reduced perceived risks. Only after gaining experience and confidence in California did Japanese firms begin to venture into other regions.

Georgia benefitted from the lessons of others. The manner in which Japanese firms established a presence in Georgia prevented antagonism against Japanese investment from developing in Georgia.

Acutely mindful of its foreign status, Japan, from day one, took a

cooperative stance in Georgia. Just as the Southern textile industry began to suffer the full effect of cheap foreign imports in the late 1960s, Japanese companies arrived to buy out dying firms and create new ones. Japanese firms beneficially stepped in to fill a void left by bankrupt United States companies, timing themselves so that little disruption occurred. In effect, company ownership was less a concern for Georgians than the availability of good jobs.

In some small Georgia and Carolina towns the biggest employer was Japanese. The firms were seen as a godsend, not a plague. The perception of Japan as rescuer began in the textile industry and laid a fertile ground for future Japanese investment in a variety of industries.

The historical circumstances of American industrial development helped create a welcome environment for Japanese investment in Georgia. Japan's timing and expertise ensured its growth and expansion. One has only to read about "the next Japanese plant location" to realize Japan is a full partner in Georgia's manufacturing community. Contrast this with NEC in Massachusetts, where months of negotiating were necessary to appease suspicious townspeople, and the company arrived as quietly as a thief in the night. Even today, few outside Boxborough know NEC has for ten years been building computers just west of Boston.

I think the historical differences between Massachusetts' and Georgia's industrial development will be of great importance in the years ahead as more companies establish roots around the world and in the process lose their outward national identities. The future of Japanese investment looks bright for Georgia and surrounding states. Interstate competition to woo the Japanese is intense. Yet Georgia continues to win an inordinately large number of firms, third behind California and Illinois. As proximity to Japan is no longer a factor, California's popularity has waned over the years. The actual number gap between Japanese plants in Georgia and Illinois can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

If current trends continue, Georgia has the potential of hosting the largest number of Japanese companies in the nation. But inherent weaknesses in the Georgian economy due to the short history of industrialization could undermine this development. The absence of suppliers and services for the manufacturing industry must be ad-

dressed. Many Japanese manufacturers get components and pre-fabrication from distant points in the Midwest and North, wreaking havoc on their just-in-time-inventory systems. Industrial development authorities need to establish clearly defined, coordinated programs to attract these industries or there will be no support for existing and incoming manufacturers.

Employee training costs in Georgia are high in comparison with industrialized states equipped with workers trained over generations. Although it is not mentioned by the state development agencies in their promotional literature, Japanese firms usually spend more than originally budgeted for training once they set up in Georgia. The best remedy is education. The State of Georgia's Quality Basic Education program, while a good start, must be improved and expanded and become the priority program passed from one administration to the next. An educated work force is easier to train than an uneducated one, thus saving costs and time for industry.

Georgia must improve its infrastructure. Time will inevitably erase the lingering negative effects of industrial history that still hamper international development in Massachusetts. Content and successful today, Georgia could one day discover its glory days of welcoming Japanese investment are in the past.

The Georgia-Republic of Korea (ROK) Connection: Into the Twenty-first Century

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In September 1988, Seoul, capital of the Republic of Korea (ROK), became the first city on the Asian mainland east of the Urals to host the Olympic Games. The XXIV Olympiad was one of the largest, best-attended sports spectacles in history. Dignitaries from the ROK's longtime enemies as well as its old allies were on hand for the festivities. One of the guest delegations was from Atlanta, a city busily promoting its own Olympic hopes. The Georgia capital recently had been chosen as the United States candidate for the 1996 Games, and Mayor Andrew Young was in Seoul to present his case to Olympic officials. Assisting him in the lobbying effort was Korean-born Atlanta banker Joon H. Song, head of Georgia's Olympic Support Committee. Another Georgian who came to observe the Olympics was Chang Bin Yim, a Korean-born textile executive from Dalton. As a member of the Southeast United States-Korea Economic Council, he was also interested in attracting more investment from his native country to his adopted state.

In 1990 the mission of attracting the Olympics to Atlanta still seems an extraordinary long shot, while the effort to boost trade between the ROK and Georgia is being pursued with high expectations. But in both campaigns, as they did in Seoul in September 1988, Koreans in

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Georgia play prominent roles, establishing themselves as key players in the state's future. The Korean presence in Georgia is all the more impressive for having emerged in a single generation. Estimates of its precise size vary because of the continued high growth rate. The *Directory* of the Korean Association of Atlanta estimates that there are 15,000 Koreans in Atlanta and 30,000 in Georgia, making them the largest group of Asians in the state. Joon H. Song, of C & S Bank, and Kyu Chul Lee, of Korean American Broadcasting, Inc., estimate 30,000 Koreans in Atlanta and 50,000 in Georgia.

Georgia's Koreans are well organized, despite the fact that they have not tended to cluster in specific neighborhoods. Among the five Asian populations—Chinese, Filipinos, Indians, Koreans and Vietnamese—that operate ethnic associations in Atlanta, the Koreans have by far the widest range of services and programs. They support about 30 churches in the Atlanta area alone, more than the combined total of other ethnic congregations in the entire state. A Korean-American Chamber of Commerce, active in Atlanta since 1975, estimates that there are 700 Korean-owned businesses in Georgia, most of them family firms in the service sector.

International commerce is another matter. While the ROK is frequently likened to Japan as an emerging economic power and formidable United States trading partner, its potential for growth in Georgia remains to be seen. Georgia's International Facilities Register, which lists foreign businesses operating in the state, shows 206 Japan-based enterprises and only four based in the ROK. In 1986, the ROK ranked 33rd among nations that import Georgia products.¹

If large-scale international trade seems to lag badly behind immigration, this can be explained in purely linear terms. South Korea was an exporter of people well before it was capable of significant international commerce. But if its economic presence in Georgia expands as rapidly as has the state's Korean population, the next two decades will see soaring trade relations.

Background of the Korean Presence in Georgia

Most Asian populations in the United States have grown dramatically in recent years, but this is particularly true of Koreans. As recently as 1940, when the former Asian kingdom was in the final years of Japanese domination, the total number of Koreans in this

country was 8,562, eighty percent of whom were residents of Hawaii.²

Many Koreans had a keen awareness of, and admiration for, America during the Japanese colonial period, and large numbers adopted the faith of American Christian missionaries. This interest, however, was rarely reciprocated in the United States, even in official circles. Schoolbooks mentioned Korea as a province of Japan, and some government records failed to distinguish between Koreans and Japanese.

The military experiences of two prominent Korean-Americans illustrate how little understanding there was of their ethnic group as late as the 1940s. Young Oak Kim of Los Angeles, now a retired United States Army colonel and a highly decorated hero of two wars, began his military career in World War II by being drafted into a unit set aside for Japanese-Americans. Susan Ahn, who in 1942 became the first Asian woman to join the United States Navy, initially was refused enlistment because of confusion over her ethnic status. Navy recruiters "did not know what a Korean was."³

The Korean War of 1950-1953 raised American awareness about the existence of Koreans and left the government in Seoul facing enormous population problems. The ROK government controlled slightly less than half the land on the Korean peninsula, but an influx of refugees had left it with about eighty percent of the peninsula's people. The economy had been shattered by years of colonialism and war, and the country was dependent on United States aid.

Under these circumstances, the ROK encouraged emigration, especially to the United States, while discouraging any outflow of its meager capital. But United States immigration laws were not accommodating. Anti-Asian admission quotas and the realities of military occupation shaped Korean immigration into a peculiar pattern. Most newcomers to the United States from the ROK were either war brides or war orphans. They were absorbed into American families as individuals and rarely established contact with one another. Between 1960 and 1965, 12,000 of the 13,000 Koreans entering the United States were the wives or children of United States servicemen.⁴

United States immigration reform, approved in 1965 and implemented in 1968, increased the volume and altered the character of the Korean influx. In Georgia, where military communities previously

were the centers of a limited Korean population, Atlanta began to develop a recognizable Korean community in the late 1960s.

As late as 1962, there were only three Korean families living in the Atlanta area, in addition to a few students, military brides and adoptees.⁵ The first recorded gathering of Koreans in Atlanta took place in 1964, when five students began a regular Christian prayer meeting at Emory University. This meeting has sometimes been described as the ancestor of the city's Korean Association.⁶

By 1972, Atlanta was considered sufficiently important for the opening of a ROK consulate. The diplomatic mission established the Georgia capital as the Seoul government's contact point for the Southeast, and it continues to serve the entire area east of Texas and south of the Baltimore-Washington corridor. It also made Atlanta the Korean media center for the region. Three Seoul-based Korean-language publications opened bureaus in Atlanta: *Hankook Ilbo* in 1976, the *Joong-Ang Daily News* in 1976, and *Chosun Ilbo* in 1978. The Korean-language *Korean Journal (Georgia Edition)*, a weekly free-ad paper, commenced publication in Atlanta in 1987. It is affiliated with similar Korean-language papers in Chicago and Los Angeles. *The Sae Gae Times*, a New York-based Korean-language daily newspaper that concentrates on world and national news, opened a Georgia bureau in 1983.

In the early 1970s, the authoritarian government of President Park Chung-hee began to sense the political potential of overseas Koreans, almost all of whom owed at least formal allegiance to the ROK in Seoul instead of to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North. In several of his speeches in 1973, Park criticized his countrymen abroad who allegedly had tried to pass as Japanese or Chinese, and he called for an "I am Korean" philosophy. He directed his government to assist the promotion of traditional culture and loyalty to the homeland among emigrants.

Some of Park's efforts led to controversy, as in the "Koreagate" scandal of the mid-1970s, when his agents allegedly tried to exert illegal influence on United States policy through Korean-Americans. But most aspects of this campaign were more benign, including the distribution of flags and patriotic literature and the worldwide promotion of the national sport of *taekwondo*, the teaching of which includes the veneration of traditional Korean symbols. The campaign

also fostered the formation of Korea Societies and Korean Associations.

The Korean Association of Atlanta was organized in 1974. Over the years it has become an umbrella group for a host of other Korean organizations and a clearinghouse for information about them. The most important of these organizations are the Korean-American Chamber of Commerce and the Korean Grocers Association.

In Georgia's urban areas, as elsewhere in the United States, Koreans have become known as the new wave of immigrant shopkeepers. They own hundreds of small, family-run businesses such as restaurants, neighborhood groceries, laundries, and motels. Their seemingly sudden infiltration into this sector has generated some suspicions about the source of their financing.

Gyehs, or informal credit unions, have been an essential though little-publicized factor in the development of this business structure. *Gyehs* are formed, often under the auspices of churches, by groups of families that pool cash resources. Each month the cash pool is lent to a member family, generally interest-free and with no restrictions on use.

Since the *gyeh* system is built totally on trust, members have no legal recourse if their trust is abused. Participants are disinclined to talk about specific instances, but some *gyehs* have failed in the Atlanta area, sending ripples of financial hardship through segments of the community.

Georgia's Korean population entered its greatest period of growth during the administration of President Jimmy Carter, when the state became well-known around the world. Since then, the Korean Chamber of Commerce and individual businessmen have sought to attract Koreans to Georgia from other parts of the United States, especially Southern California and the New York area.

Future Immigration Prospects

The ROK has worked successfully in the past two decades to curb its population growth, but it still forecasts a population for the year 2000 of 49.2 million in a country about the size of Indiana.⁷ Immigration to the United States will continue to be encouraged, and an increasing number of immigrants will find their way to the Southeast. The Atlanta area has the potential to become "another Los Angeles,"

which has 250,000 Koreans, at some point in the future. This prediction seems improbable in the near future, but even conservative estimates are that Georgia's Korean population will double by 1993.

The Korean organizational structure in the state will have to face this influx, and it has shown signs in the late 1980s of a new maturity. Atlanta's Korean Association "democratized" in 1987, electing a president by secret ballot after a formal campaign by three prominent leaders. Dr. Soo-wong Ahn, who has been in the city since 1964, was elected. Dr. Ahn is a physician and his selection may signal a lessening of influence by the merchant sector in Korean affairs.

Another recent significant event was a party in Marietta on August 8, 1988, inaugurating the United Korean Federal Credit Union, the first chartered Korean credit union in the Southeast. The party was attended by prominent Koreans from throughout Georgia and was given wide coverage in the Korean-language *Joong-Ang Daily News*, *Hankook Ilbo*, *Chosun Ilbo*, *Sae Gae Times*, and *Korean Journal*. This was unusually thorough attention for what was essentially a private event. Whatever the success of this particular financial venture, it is clearly a sign that the *gyeh* system is in decline and that Korean ownership of small businesses may not spread so rapidly as it has in the past decade.

Korean churches continue to wield strong influence among first-generation Korean immigrants, but even the clergy fear that this will decline among those born or raised in this country whose primary language is English. In 1980 a Korean school was begun at Atlanta's Baptist Tabernacle primarily to keep knowledge of the language alive. But enrollment has remained at about 100, suggesting that Korean language instruction, if any, is carried on at home.

The political influence of Koreans in Georgia remains minimal, mainly because many first-generation immigrants are still not citizens. An example of the community's relative weakness is its inability thus far to persuade the state government to allow the use of the Korean language on drivers' license tests. But the importance of South Korean money, which has been fortified by the flow of black ink into the ROK in the 1980s, is still to be felt in Georgia.

The Slow Rise in Trade

Korean Air Lines has had a sales office in Atlanta since 1974,

making it the longest-established Korean company in Georgia. But the airline still does not fly into the Southeast's aviation hub, a sign of the long-stalled penetration of Southeastern markets by Korean companies. Atlanta-based Delta Air Lines initiated direct service to Seoul in 1986, an event that attracted regionwide attention to the ROK's emerging importance. Since 1986 the Republic of Korea flag has flown at Hartsfield International Airport alongside the flags of other nations with direct air service to and from Atlanta.

Young Kang, a businessman and former director of Atlanta's Korean Association, approached Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson in 1981 with a proposal that Atlanta acquire a sister city in the ROK. Kang's choice was Taegu, the country's third-largest city. Taegu, as he pointed out to the mayor, was a southeastern metropolis, a provincial capital, and roughly equal in population to Atlanta. It was also his own hometown.

Jackson liked the proposal, and before year's end he had visited Taegu and signed the necessary documents of friendship. The following year, Taegu's mayor paid a reciprocal visit to Georgia and received an honorary doctorate from Atlanta University.

The sister cities program is basically geared toward understanding between cultures, and much of the Taegu-Atlanta relationship has involved student exchanges and tourist visits. But Kang, who has since become vice chairman of Atlanta's sister cities committee, saw the program from the first as a vehicle for increasing commercial ties between Georgia and his native country.

This attitude has been shared by Atlanta's current mayor, Andrew Young, who succeeded Jackson in 1982. In keeping with his experience as a United Nations ambassador and his determinedly internationalist outlook, Young has maintained quasi-diplomatic contacts with foreign leaders and travelled widely to promote Atlanta as a business center. He made his first trip to Taegu in 1982 and has overseen reciprocal visits of administrative and public safety officials of the two cities.

Joe Frank Harris, who became Georgia's governor in 1983, has complemented Young's initiatives with his own vigorous courtship of Korean business. He has visited the ROK three times as part of East Asia trade missions and in 1985 was the first governor in the United States to announce plans to open a state trade office in Seoul.

Georgia's endeavors have brought mixed results. Despite the state's lead in making its intentions known, it was second to Alabama in actually putting its Seoul office into operation. Direct investment from the ROK has remained low, and as of late 1988 none of it was in manufacturing. A small, ROK government-affiliated Korea Trade Center, which opened in Georgia in the late 1970s, quietly suspended activities in October 1987. In addition, United States pressure on the ROK to allow in more United States agricultural imports is being met by stiff resistance in the South Korean countryside.

Two bright spots in this picture have been Hanjin Container Lines Ltd. and Hyundai Motor Company, both of which established Atlanta-area offices in the 1980s and use Georgia port facilities for their Southeastern imports. Hyundai's opening of a regional sales office in Lithia Springs in late 1985 was particularly welcome because it was in an area on the west side of Atlanta that the state targeted for development.

The Southeast United States-Korea Economic Council, founded in 1985 to promote trade between South Korea and seven Southeastern states, alternates its annual meetings between Seoul and various Southeastern cities. Its members from Georgia include Joon H. Song, Chang Bin Yim, and SDI International's Edward I.S. Kil. The Southeastern member states are likely to be competing against one another for Korean business. An ROK government study released in May 1988 rated the 10 best states for direct investment. Nine were either Southern or border states, with Florida placing first and Georgia fifth.⁸

The ROK government, after concentrating much of its energies in the 1980s on staging a successful Olympiad, is now pushing its business sector to invest abroad. The nation recorded its first-ever trade surplus in 1986 and the figure has been climbing steadily since. Government planners want to take advantage of the won's appreciation against the dollar and provide a hedge against growing protectionist sentiment in the United States. To that end, longstanding restrictions on the flow of capital out of the country have been eased. As of January 1988, it is legal to carry as much as \$1,000,000 out of the ROK, up from a previous ceiling of \$40,000.

The ROK government's direct influence on industry has weakened since opposition parties gained control of the National Assembly in

the spring of 1988. Patrick A. Travisano, of International Business Networks, Inc., visited Seoul twice during 1988 to campaign for more ROK trade with Georgia and reported that government officials seemed more receptive than business leaders to his efforts. He found ROK companies eager to gain a niche in United States markets but fearful of the economic risks involved.

Korean business leaders in Georgia see Atlanta's Olympic candidacy as a unique opportunity for the state to outdistance its regional rivals and win over reluctant Asian investors. When the host for the 1996 Games will be chosen in the autumn of 1990, local Koreans with ties to the International Olympic Committee will again be making contacts on behalf of the city.

Young Kang, citing the importance of the Taegu region in ROK politics since 1948, predicts that Atlanta's sister city will swing the Seoul government away from its support of Athens, Greece, and behind the Olympic bid from Atlanta. He may overestimate the current influence of Taegu in ROK politics and of the ROK in Olympic circles, but the selection process has been full of surprises in the past. Choosing Seoul was one of them.

The outlook for Georgia-Korean trade is colored by extremes. If Atlanta succeeds in attracting the Olympics, its attractiveness to Korean investment should rise enormously, with firms that helped rebuild the face of Seoul vying for contracts along Peachtree Street.

On the other hand, no major economic power is more vulnerable to war than the ROK. The Korea Development Institute predicts a continued easing of tension on the peninsula, but with the threat of hostilities persisting past the year 2000. So long as the DPRK remains unpredictable, Seoul is in an exposed position near the border, and even a limited military conflict could reverse years of progress in the ROK.

If events unfold at a more measured pace, Georgia can expect to find itself competing heavily with Florida, which has impressed ROK analysts with its dynamic growth. Opening a ROK consulate in Miami, discussed and abandoned in previous years, is under serious consideration again.

Koreans in Georgia, however, take an unruffled view of the challenge from the Sunshine State. Florida lacks hills, evergreens, and identifiable winters, they say, things that appeal to Koreans both

private and corporate. When asked to sum up the Peach State's appeal, two leaders of Atlanta's Korean community came up with an identical sentence: "Georgia looks like Korea."⁹ In future decades, they hope that will become truer than ever.

NOTES

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¹ From statistics on file at the Georgia Department of Industry and Trade. Figures are for 1986, the last full year for which information is complete.

² *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 603. Korean section written by Hyung-Chan Kim.

³ *Korea Newsreview*, July 9, 1988, for the Kim account; June 11, 1988, for Ahn's story.

⁴ *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, p. 602.

⁵ Interview with Joon H. Song, February 1988.

⁶ Interview with Dr. Soo-wong Ahn, January 1988.

⁷ Korea Development Institute statistic cited in *2000 Days, Korea's Fifth Republic*, (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1987), p. 66.

⁸ *Business Korea* (Seoul), May 1988, p. 43.

⁹ Interview with Joon H. Song, February 1988, and with Young Kang, August 1988.

**Profiles of Civic
Organizations Involved
With Georgia-East Asian
Relations**

Japan, Georgia, and the Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG): The Viewpoint of Its Executive Director

GEORGE W. WALDNER*

Japan and Georgia

Emperor Jimmu, the founder of the Japanese nation, is said to have ascended the throne on February 11, 606 B.C. General James Edward Oglethorpe founded what is now the state of Georgia on February 12, 1733. Allowing for the fact that the international date line bisects the Pacific, it can be concluded that the establishment of Japan as a nation and the founding of Georgia are separated by two days and two thousand three hundred and thirty-nine years.

One need not, however, go back much more than a century to find the origins of diplomatic, cultural and commercial relations between Japan and the United States. A still shorter time frame is required to describe the beginnings of major and sustained contacts between Japan and Georgia.

At the nation to nation level, Commodore Matthew C. Perry initiated diplomatic contact with Japan in 1853 by demanding that the Japanese end their policy of isolation from the outside world. The

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size of Perry's fleet and the insistence of his demands persuaded the Japanese government that they had little alternative but to acquiesce, and so it was that Japan began its contacts with the United States and the rest of the world in the modern era.

Contact with the United States catalyzed Japan's start on a course of national development and economic growth that has continued and gathered speed ever since. In the modernization of their public and private institutions, the Japanese have on many occasions looked to the American experience as a guide for their own growth and transformation. Some of the forces unleashed by the rapid pace of change in Japanese society expressed themselves in a policy of conquest, which brought the United States and Japan into mortal combat and thus riveted the attention of millions of people in both societies on the other.

After World War II, American officials of the Allied Occupation set about the task of democratizing and otherwise reforming Japan's economy, politics, and education system, usually with the willing cooperation of their Japanese counterparts. In recent years, the two countries have been political and military allies in Asia. Increasingly, cultural influences have begun to flow in both directions. Many Americans are now interested in uniquely Japanese styles of the martial arts, tea ceremony, flower arranging and horticulture. People to people interactions have grown with improved air travel between Japan and America now accessible to millions. Most significantly, the commercial and financial relationships between the two countries have developed to the point at which Japan is now the largest overseas trading partner of the United States.

Trade between the two countries in 1981 reached \$64 billion in value. The United States is the major foreign market for Japanese motor vehicles and electronic products, while Japan is America's best overseas customer. In 1981, the U.S. shipped nearly \$22 billion worth of goods to Japan—an amount almost equal to combined American sales to the United Kingdom and West Germany.

The extent of United States-Japan trade has given rise to a steady stream of people and goods flowing between the two countries and has also generated some frictions, controversies, and problems of adjustment.

It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that Georgia began to develop

as a major focal point of U.S.-Japan relations. Among a number of "first causes" for the budding of Japan-Georgia relations, the efforts of Governor Carl E. Sanders should be noted. Governor Sanders, along with Governor Katsushi Terazono of Kagoshima Prefecture, established a sister state relationship between Georgia and Kagoshima in 1966. Governor Sanders made an official visit to Japan in that year to inaugurate this new tie. The link to Kagoshima and the governor's visit focused attention in Japan on Georgia and also paved the way for regular visits of Georgia businessmen and academics to Japan and for delegations of Japanese to visit Georgia.

Another primary factor in the development of Japan-Georgia ties was the maturation of Japan as an advanced industrial state with a substantial export market in the United States to supply with products and to provide with after-purchase service and parts. As the transportation hub of the southeast, the Atlanta area became a key location for warehouse, distribution, and sales offices for Japanese firms, just as it is for U.S. companies. As Japanese firms experienced growth in their U.S. markets and began to require U.S. manufacturing facilities, Georgia again became a leading location for investments. The factors which attracted Japanese manufacturing facilities—a skilled, highly motivated work force, access to transportation, availability of raw materials and energy, and low land costs—again were similar to the factors which have motivated U.S. firms to select Georgia as a site for new manufacturing investment.

Japanese firms, however, did not focus on Georgia without a substantial nudge. That was provided during Governor Jimmy Carter's administration. As Mr. Lancaster has indicated in his article in this journal, Georgia opened a trade and investment development office in Tokyo in 1973 to publicize Georgia's advantages to potential investors. Governor Carter also succeeded in his effort to persuade the Japanese government to locate its new Consulate General of the U.S. Southeast in Atlanta. Consul General Kazuo Chiba arrived in 1974, establishing the consulate's offices in the Colony Square complex and his official residence on Blackland Road. Since 1974, nearly 100 Japanese firms have invested in Georgia. This more than any other factor has made Georgia an important and growing part of the U.S.-Japan relationship, rivaling California, Illinois, and the New York-New Jersey area in number of Japanese investments.

Governor George Busbee built upon and greatly extended the achievements of the Carter years. Most notably Governor Busbee took the lead along with Consul General Chiba in founding the U.S. Southeast/Japan Association in 1975. The Association brings top private and public sector leaders from seven southeastern states into contact with nationally prominent figures in Japanese business and industry for annual meetings. The meetings are held in Japan in odd numbered years and in alternate southeastern states in even numbered years. Governor Busbee led a one hundred member Georgia delegation to the Association's sixth annual meeting in Japan in 1981. It was the Governor's sixth official visit to Japan during his tenure in office.

The middle to late 1970s was a time of transition and growth in the Georgia-Japan relationship. Consul General Chiba departed for another assignment in 1975, and Yoshifumi Ito became Japan's official representative from 1976 to 1978. In 1978 Ito was posted to Sao Paulo, Brazil, and Consul General Ryo Kawade arrived to take up his duties. Kawade served until 1983, when he was replaced by Kagechika Matano. During the Kawade consulship, the Japanese business community in Georgia underwent transition. The earliest organization of Japanese in the Atlanta area, the *konwakai* (discussion club), was transformed into the more formally organized *nihonjin shokokai* (Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry) in early 1980. This group's work is supplemented by the programming of the *hanamizukai* (Flower and Water Club-Women's Club). The *nihongo gakko* (Japanese Language School) was established so that Japanese children would not be too far behind in language skills when they would return to Japan for subsequent education. The school has been crucial in calming the fear of many Japanese parents that a three or four year assignment in the U.S. would cause their children to incur serious educational handicaps that would disadvantage them upon their return to Japan.

Transition and growth was also evident in the efforts of Georgians to develop the relationship. The Georgia Ports Authority established a representative office in Japan in 1976. As Mr. Day Lancaster has noted, a number of Georgia communities began or strengthened sister city linkages with communities in Japan. In the education area, student and faculty exchanges were inaugurated between Kagoshima

University and the University of Georgia.

The Japan-America Society of Georgia,

At the end of the 1970s, there were approximately one thousand Japanese citizens residing in Georgia and some fifty-five Japanese firms located here. It was evident that the Japanese presence in Georgia had grown to a substantial size and that the 1980s and 1990s were likely to be decades of further growth. A study by the Japan Economic Research Center indicated that while Japanese investment in North America was \$4.5 billion in 1975, it had grown to \$8.5 billion by 1979 and will likely reach \$155 billion by 1990. In a recent opinion survey, Japanese business leaders ranked the top ten locations for investment in the U.S. as follows: (1) California; (2) Texas; (3) Illinois; (4) Georgia; (5) Tennessee; (6) Arizona; (7) Indiana; (8) New Jersey; (9) Washington; (10) Michigan.¹ Georgia's experience in the 1970s and the preliminary evidence of future trends available in the late 1970s showed that the Japanese economic role and human presence in Georgia's future would be an important one.

In 1979 a group of Georgians from business and academia came together to form a planning committee for the creation of a Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG), an organization whose object would be to upgrade knowledge of Japanese society, culture, and public affairs among the citizens of Georgia. The organization also aimed to extend hospitality to the more than one thousand Japanese citizens temporarily in residence in Georgia and to make them aware of the history and traditions of Georgia. The planning committee was composed of people with substantial knowledge of Japan and long-term residence in Japan for business or cultural purposes. They recognized that because of the profound linguistic and cultural differences between Americans and Japanese, increased contact and interaction would hold not only a promise of mutual benefit but also possibilities for misunderstandings or simply a dearth of meaningful communication. The organization's mission was to conduct programs and activities to bridge the cultural gap and thereby insure that the Japanese presence in Georgia would be a fully realized opportunity for the state's growth and development.

The planning committee members—Ann Godwey, Allen Judd, Michael McMullen, and George Waldner—were aided greatly in their

efforts by the enthusiastic support of the leadership of Coca-Cola Company, particularly Ian Wilson, officer-in-charge of the company's Pacific operations. This assistance was highly appropriate because Coca-Cola Company is the leading example of a Georgia-based company to have established itself in Japan. In Japan, moreover, as Mr. Day Lancaster has noted, Coca-Cola is also identified with the State of Georgia through the marketing of its coffee-flavored soft drink called "Georgia."

The leading figure in the Japanese business community to sponsor the formation of JASG has been Fred Chanoki, President of Murata-Erie North America, Inc., one of the original Japanese manufacturing investors in Georgia. In June 1980 the founding meeting of the Board of Directors of JASG was held in Atlanta. The decision was made to incorporate the organization and to elect Ian Wilson as Chairman, Fred Chanoki as Vice-Chairman, D. Raymond Riddle, President of the First National Bank, as Treasurer, and George Waldner as Executive Director. Governor Busbee and then-Consul General Kawade were elected Honorary Co-Chairmen. The Articles of Incorporation adopted at the founding board meeting listed the organization's purposes:

1. To promote greater knowledge of Japan's culture, society, and public affairs among the citizens of Georgia.
2. To promote greater knowledge of crucial issues and problems in U.S.-Japan relations.
3. To provide Japanese citizens resident in Georgia with aspects of American history, culture and lifestyles.
4. To promote friendly relations between the people of Georgia and Japanese citizens residing in Georgia in order to secure better understanding by the people of Georgia of the country, people, and customs of Japan.
5. To provide a forum for discussion of topics of common interest to the people of Georgia and the people of Japan, including the arts, literature, and cultural ideas, aspirations, and development of each of these areas.
6. To foster and promote scholarship among the students of the colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning, of both countries, especially in those areas which would lead to a better understanding of one country and its people by the other.

The newly-formed organization joined the Associated Japan-America Societies of the United States, Inc. The parent organization gave programming help to the Atlanta chapter as well as to thirteen other societies around the U.S.A. to best fulfill its purposes. The JASG incorporated as a non-profit, non-governmental, cultural and educational organization.

In January 1981 Betty Weltner became the first full-time JASG staff member, as Executive Secretary. Mrs. Weltner opened the JASG's Atlanta Office at 100 Colony Square.

Since September 1980, JASG has sponsored a wide range of activities in support of its basic purposes. JASG hosted eight corporate luncheons, a corporate reception, and annual dinners, at which experts in Japanese-American relations addressed the membership.² In 1981 JASG co-sponsored educational 'Japan Caravan' at Georgia State University. JASG's women's activities have included a luncheon honoring the director of the Association Japan-America Societies; a tea ceremony; and half-Japanese, half-American *tomodachi* (friendship groups), which meet bimonthly. JASG has sponsored other Japanese cultural activities in Atlanta including beginner and intermediate level Japanese language classes.³ Through the efforts of paid staff and of hundreds of volunteers, JASG continues to foster understanding, communication, and friendship among Japanese and Georgians.

NOTES

¹*A Survey of Japanese Investments in the United States*, (Chicago: Economic Development Commission of the City of Chicago, 1981).

²September 23, 1980: Kenji Kawamura, Managing Director, Foreign Press Center, Japan, "Recent Developments in Japanese Politics: Implications for U.S./Japan Relations;" February 23, 1981: James Balloun, Managing Director, McKinsey & Company, Atlanta. "The White Paper Report Written for the American Chamber of Commerce, Tokyo;" March 13, 1981: Shigemitsu Kuriyama, Chief Economist, IBM/Japan, "Japanese Culture and Economy;" May 7, 1981: Thomas N. Hague, Former President, U.S. Chamber of Commerce/Japan, "Japan and America-Charting a New Course;" October 8, 1981: Clyde Prestowitz, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Economic Policy, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Current Issues in U.S./Japan Economic Affairs;" December 3, 1981: Jack Welsh, Director, International Division, Georgia Department of Industry & Trade, "Report of 1981 Georgia Mission to Japan;" February 8, 1982: Tadayoshi Yamada, Executive Advisor, Nippon Steel Corporation, "Behavioral Characteristics of Japanese Business;" and February 25, 1982: Prof. James Buck, University of Georgia, "Japan's Defense Policy."

³November 3, 1980: "Japan and Culture" Day, Oglethorpe University; December 8, 1980: *Kabuki* demonstration, Atlanta Historical Society; May 14-30, 1981: Japanese Film Festival, High Museum of Art, June 21, 1981: Family Outing, co-sponsored by *shokokai* at

Stone Mountain park; November 7, 1981: Okinawa Court Dancers at the Civic Center Auditorium. Beginning and intermediate Japanese language classes were offered quarterly by Toshiko Jedlicka, a graduate of Rikkyo University with a M.A. degree in teaching Japanese as a second language. As of 1990 the offices of JASG are located at 225 Peachtree Street, Suite 801, South Tower, Atlanta, Georgia, 30303, TEL: (404) 524-7399.

Enhancing Understanding of Japan Through an Informal Coalition of Scholars, Educators and Others: The Japan Education Network in Georgia (JENGA)

DONALD O. SCHNEIDER*

In January 1985 a group of educators, scholars, and others interested in Georgia's youth's understanding of Japan came together to explore the possibility for facilitating instruction about the Japanese people and their nation in the state's elementary and secondary schools. This initial meeting was inspired by the vision of Robert Broadwater, the Executive Director of the Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG), who in the fall of 1984 had enlisted the support of Emory faculty member and past president of the National Council for the Social Studies, Carole Hahn. With modest support from JASG, a group that was to become the Japan Education Network in Georgia (JENGA) met the same month at Hahn's invitation at Emory University to: 1) identify resources in Georgia for teaching about Japan; 2) project a vision of the possibilities for teaching and learning about Japan; 3) outline specific projects that might be undertaken to achieve the vision; and 4) determine a plan of action for implementing proposed projects.

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Among the two dozen people attending this meeting were professors of history, social science, and education; teachers and curriculum specialists from public schools; personnel from the State of Georgia Department of Education; and representatives from Atlanta area businesses, the Japanese Consulate in Atlanta, and JASG.

The Creation of JENGA

This group recognized that since there was no Japan Center of Asian Studies Outreach Center in Georgia, an alternative coordinating unit would be desirable. Accordingly, the participants agreed to establish an informal coalition to be titled The Japan Education Network in Georgia, or JENGA. They also took action on the tasks outlined by Hahn. They identified a number of existing resources and programs related to curriculum, instructional materials for students and teachers, exchange programs or study abroad programs, speakers on Japan, support groups and organizations, and public information programs that might be useful to schools and teachers. They proceeded to create a list of possible projects, some short term, others longer term, that would enhance the teaching about Japan in Georgia. Individuals or groups then agreed to begin work on various of these projects or continue on with those projects that they had already initiated. Carole Hahn agreed to serve as chair of JENGA and members agreed to meet again in May and report on the progress of the various projects.

By the second meeting in May 1985, varying degrees of progress were reported on 13 different projects. These included completion of a slide-tape presentation for middle grades, video taping by the State Department of Education of 14 films selected from among the 96 titles the Consulate had available and that could be duplicated for local school use, initiation of work on a resource directory, implementation of a special program for schools by the Consulate entitled *Japan Caravan*, planning of a teacher workshop on Japan, development of a special course on the Far East in one of Atlanta's high schools, development of a teaching unit for middle grades, initiation of a video exchange project between a Fulton County middle school and a Japanese middle school, planning of a project tentatively entitled *Japan in a Box*, to be undertaken by Japanese parents of students in the Atlanta area Japanese language school, inclusion of

articles about education in the *Newsletter* of JASG, and initiation of a program of essay writing about Japan in Atlanta Public Schools.

Encouraged by the amount of ongoing activity, JENGA members discussed the need to coordinate their efforts in a more comprehensive and systematic manner. Informed that the Japan-United States Friendship Commission might be willing to consider funding a state-wide project for improving the teaching about Japan, several members agreed to meet in June to explore a possible proposal. Out of that meeting came a plan for a comprehensive multi-year project. The plan called for an initial assessment of students' knowledge and attitudes about Japan, obtaining teacher views of what was needed and feasible, and identifying available instructional materials for teaching about Japan. Phase two of the project was to involve the development of exemplary materials to meet the specific needs and circumstances in Georgia schools. The plan for the third or dissemination phase called for a series of teacher workshops, presentations at professional meetings, and classroom demonstrations.

Such a project posed some problems for JENGA. As an informal organization it was not possible for JENGA to submit a grant proposal. It was therefore decided to have the JASG submit the proposal and subcontract with one of the universities to provide some of the needed services. The decision to have the JASG serve as the project agency raised another issue: that of JENGA's relationship to the Japan-America Society. Key members of JENGA did not want to simply become an arm of JASG. The writing team nevertheless decided to proceed and a grant proposal was drafted, approved by JENGA members, and subsequently sent on to the United States-Japan Friendship Commission in the late summer of 1985. The Friendship Commission is an agency of the United States Congress empowered to distribute funds Congress controls.

The issues that had been raised in the proposal deliberations resulted in a review of JENGA's mission and structure. By early fall 1985, a formal mission statement and organizational plan were circulated. The mission statement was accepted, as was the pattern of quarterly meetings, but members backed away from the proposal for establishing a formal structure and instead supported the original conception of an informal coalition of educators and friends of education concerned with teaching about Japan. The major purposes of

JENGA as outlined in the revised statement were to:

1. Disseminate information about events, activities, educational products, and areas of need related to education about Japan;
2. Serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and information related to education about Japan;
3. Serve as a liaison organization for various interested parties such as the Japanese Consulate, the Japan-America Society of Georgia, the Georgia Department of Education, local school districts, universities and colleges, and teachers;
4. Serve as a consultation group for those developing educational projects related to Japan.

With the matter of aims and organization resolved, members awaited word on the grant proposal. Partial funding was approved by the Friendship Commission, but was to be used primarily for curriculum development and diffusion efforts. What had been planned to take three or four years had to be accomplished in less than two years with considerably less funding than initially projected. Nevertheless, JENGA and JASG decided to proceed. Under the leadership of co-chairs Beverly Armento of Georgia State University and Helen Richardson of Fulton County Schools, a revised plan was conceived and the timetable telescoped.

Work began on the project in February 1986, with an initial meeting of five teams of teachers and other educators and a small core of Japan specialists. Each team worked on a single sub-project for a designated grade level. For the primary grades two projects were undertaken. One was the development of a prototype artifacts kit and accompanying teacher guide that focused on 13 typical topics included in the kindergarten-grade 3 social studies program. A second team developed a set of lessons for grades 3-5 on various aspects of Japanese life and culture. For middle school level, one team developed a multi-disciplinary unit on Japan's land and people for grades 6-7 and another team developed a unit focusing on economic relationships of Japan and Georgia for the eighth-grade Georgia studies curriculum. The high school team developed a series of lessons in five units that could be integrated in their entirety in world geography or world cultures courses or used more selectively in the government, economics, or sociology courses.

Sufficient funds were available for pilot-testing of all materials

except the artifacts kit in 50 to 100 classrooms in the winter and spring of 1987. As a result of the extensive field testing, JENGA received many positive comments and some suggestions for improvement and revision of the materials. Unfortunately, neither JASG nor JENGA has been able to follow-up with further development of these materials because additional funding was not available and because the co-chairs and other key members of JENGA had taken on new professional responsibilities and were unable to continue providing the leadership needed to keep the network active.

JENGA In Retrospect

Keen observers of schooling in the United States, such as John Goodlad, have long called for collaborative efforts and linkages of schools, teachers, academicians, researchers, and others (Goodlad, 1975, 1984). Such efforts, however, should be true partnerships with school people. As the limited impact of many of the school curriculum projects of the affluent 1960s made clear, money is not the issue. Academicians cannot expect to bring about pervasive and enduring curriculum change using a top-down model of development and dissemination. JENGA members had organized their projects with this lesson clearly in mind.

The current wave of educational reform exhibits the same strong concern with students' academic preparation that has been a recurring theme in reform efforts of the last century. Professional meetings, educational journals, as well as the popular media, express increasing concern about the substance of the curriculum, and about the ways to improve the teaching of history, geography, and other disciplines. With this resurgence of interest in traditional disciplines there continues to be a need for the development of students' academic skills. Skills, however, cannot be taught in a vacuum. Teachers need the scholarly background and resources that will enable them to blend the teaching of skills with content about other cultures.

Although the contemporary school curriculum is less exclusively centered on Western Culture than formerly, there remains a need for more content about non-Western cultures in the curriculum. Content about Asia in general and Japan in particular remains spotty. Asian scholars can influence curriculum content to the extent that they help to produce textbooks and other materials that more accurately, per-

ceptively, and interestingly present East-Asian content.

Academics can do even more to have an impact on the *curriculum as taught* (as opposed to that described in curriculum documents) if they enter into cooperative efforts with educators instead of criticizing from the sidelines. JENGA represents one such effort to bring together Asianists and pre-college teachers.

The JENGA experience also helped identify some of the issues and problems encountered in such ventures. The informal organization is both an asset and a problem. It is difficult to sustain such a coalition or to provide continuity, especially without a source of funds. JENGA relied heavily on the efforts of a few key people for leadership and the Japan-America Society of Georgia for logistical support.

What assessment then can be made of JENGA? Although its members failed to meet the challenge of maintaining the coalition and building on initial successes, JENGA demonstrated what can temporarily be achieved through an informal organization of scholars, teachers, business people, and government officials. It addressed educational and professional collegial needs not otherwise met at the time. With the development of the University System of Georgia Asian Studies Consortium, headquartered at Georgia Southwestern College and discussed in the next article, and with the emergence of centers such as the University of Georgia's recently established Asian Studies Center, perhaps the void left by the recent inactivity of JENGA will be filled.

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The Asian Studies Consortium of Georgia (ASCOG)

*DON CHANG LEE**

Background

Through a long process of meetings and exchange of ideas among many faculty members from the system's institutions, the Asian Studies Consortium of Georgia (ASCOG) was established in 1986 as a system-wide program under the auspices of the International Intercultural Studies Program (IISP) of the University System of Georgia. Dr. Don Chang Lee, Professor of Anthropology at Georgia Southwestern College, was appointed by the Office of the Chancellor as Director for the Consortium.

As a first step, faculty members who were interested in Asian Studies were identified and contacts were made with many of them to seek suggestions and support for the program. The favorable responses to the idea of establishing the program in the University System were overwhelming.

On January 18, 1986, at the Southeastern Conference of the Association for Asian Studies in Raleigh, North Carolina, the IISP called a meeting to discuss and share the ideas of ASCOG. The meeting was presided over by Paméla J. Dorn, Administrative Coordinator of the IISP. Eighteen people, most of them professors from colleges and universities in the State of Georgia, attended.

The participants at the meeting enthusiastically received and ac-

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cepted the proposal to establish an Asian Studies Consortium and presented many constructive ideas to aid in its inception. These ideas ranged from specific academic programs to the seeking of support from businesses, communities, and government agencies.

Following the aforementioned meeting, the IISP sponsored an International Studies Conference at Georgia College in Milledgeville in March 1986. One of the topics discussed at the conference was the establishment of ASCOG. Dr. Don Chang Lee of Georgia Southwestern College presented a brief outline to the group about ASCOG purposes and needs, activities, organizational structure, funding, and the benefits to University System institutions.

On April 25, 1986, an ASCOG steering committee meeting was held at the office of IISP. Seven faculty members from different institutions and IISP staff were present. The participants discussed a wide range of topics related to the Consortium such as means of publicizing the program and ways of seeking participation and cooperation within the System and externally. The following general agreements were reached at the meeting:

1. The name of the organization will be the Asian Studies Consortium of Georgia (ASCOG).
2. ASCOG will have an advisory council which will consist of administrators, faculty, government officials, and individuals from the private sector. ASCOG would wish to designate a representative from each institution in the University System.
3. The formulation of the mission statement and goals will be done by the IISP staff and Dr. Don Chang Lee. The mission statement read:

In a changing world of increasing interdependence and interaction, the acquisition of knowledge and skills to cope with international and intercultural differences is an important quality of American citizenship. The educational programs carried out by ASCOG will contribute to the development of more capable Georgians today and tomorrow. The future of humanity depends upon the extent to which people in the many corners of the world understand and appreciate the differences in culture, institutions, and practices among other human populations. Having insight into, and awareness of, such differences will eventually contribute to

the development of a peaceful global community.

Within the framework of international affairs, the importance of economic relationships between Asia and the United States further heightens the need for developing an Asian Studies Program. In the global community, Asia is an increasingly important region in terms of our national interests. The programs linking the Asian and American peoples will result in mutual benefits for both and strengthen the world community.

ASCOG will strive to achieve these ends by developing educationally rich and meaningful Asian Studies Programs for Georgians.

Goals

ASCOG will develop high quality academic programs related to Asia. The programs will include the development of Asian area studies courses, major and minor programs in Asian Studies, student exchanges, Asian language courses, and study-abroad programs in Asia.

ASCOG will contribute to faculty development programs by arranging faculty exchanges and research collaboration among the University Systems faculty and also between the faculties of Asian institutions and the University System. In addition, faculty workshops and conferences will be sponsored by ASCOG.

ASCOG will render services to business communities and the public at large. The services will include efforts to attract Asian industries to Georgia; to open markets in Asia for Georgia products, including agricultural goods; to sponsor seminars and conferences for Georgia business people to increase their awareness of cultural factors involved in business, management, and trade; and to provide any other services for Georgia's economic growth and development in relation to Asia.

ASCOG will work in cooperation with public and private school systems in Georgia to promote the study of Asia by providing instructional materials and human resources. ASCOG will also work with Georgia school systems to teach Asian languages to elementary and secondary school children.

ASCOG will serve as a resource center for Asian Studies in Georgia. Collection and production of resource materials such as

books and audio-visual aids will be made available to the System's institutions and the elementary and secondary schools.

ASCOG will function as an intermediary to establish a sister relationship between educational institutions in Georgia and Asia.

ASCOG will serve as a center for the exchange of activities, ideas, works, events, and any other matters related to Asia through publication of a periodic newsletter. The publication may eventually expand to include a scholarly journal of Asian Studies.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

ASCOG has an ongoing exchange agreement with Tunghai University in Taiwan. An English professor from Georgia Southwestern College taught at Tunghai University as a Fulbright professor in 1988. The Consortium also has an exchange and cooperation agreement with the Hokkaido, Japan, International Foundation. As of 1990, there are some fifty Japanese students from the Hokkaido International Foundation on campus at Georgia Southwestern College. These students are taking courses in English, linguistics, and methods of teaching Japanese as a second language in preparation for teaching assignments in the Fall throughout the country and in Canada. Three of these students have been selected to teach within Georgia at the University of Georgia, Brenau College, and Georgia Southwestern College.

During the summers of 1987, 1988, and 1989, ASCOG, in cooperation with Hokkaido International Foundation, sent students, faculty, and interested member of the public to Hakodate, Japan, for a program of summer studies. The two-month stay included intensive study of the Japanese language, culture, history, and business management practices. ASCOG has sent approximately 20 individuals to Hakodate, where they lived with Japanese families for the entire period. In 1989 six full tuition scholarships were being furnished to the students by ASCOG through the courtesy of HIF.

The Board of Regents designated Georgia Southwestern College as a Center for Asian Studies for the University System of Georgia. The new Center has as its primary purpose to promote Asian languages and culture and serve as a model for the University System institutions. In addition, the Center, being the base of ASCOG, will work in cooperation with the Consortium to promote the study of

Asian languages and cultures in the State of Georgia. The Center, working with ASCOG, will initially promote the teaching of the Japanese language at University System institutions. In addition, it will focus on developing Japanese language teaching at public schools in Georgia.

The advisory council to ASCOG meets on a quarterly basis to plan the activities. A sub-committee is compiling an inventory of Asian studies resources available at institutions in Georgia. ASCOG publishes a quarterly newsletter about exchange experiences, publications, activities, and programs related to Asia. Items for publication in the newsletter should be sent to:

The Center for Asian Studies
Georgia Southwestern College
Americus, Georgia 31709
TEL: (912) 928-1325
TEL: (912) 928-1577

The Atlanta Basha of the China-Burma India Veterans Association (CBIVA)

ELMER E. FELECKI

Within the United States there are numerous groups organized to gain recognition and advance the rights and benefits accrued to veterans of this country's wars and conflicts. Among them is the China-Burma-India Veterans Association (CBIVA), founded in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1947. As stated in its articles of incorporation, it aims to promote a feeling of fellowship by renewing old acquaintanceships and making new friends among those who have a common bond, by reason of their mutual service in or with the Armed Services of the United States of America in the China-Burma-India theater of operations in World War II. The articles also state that while this group will cooperate with other veterans organizations, it remains a social and non-political entity and must never merge with any political group or organization. It also aims to better acquaint Americans with problems of East, South, and Southeast Asia. The national officers include a commander, senior vice commander, judge advocate, provost marshal, nine regional junior vice commanders, and an adjutant-finance officer. State departments and local bashas are organized in a similar manner.

The CBIVA has continued to grow since its founding. It established local branches throughout the country. Each local branch is called a basha and reports to national headquarters, either directly or through a state department organization. The term *basha* is the Assamese word for a dwelling. As of 1988 this organization had over 7,000

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members nationwide, over 1,000 in the South and more than 120 members in Georgia. Thus far membership continues to grow despite the aging and demise of eligible veterans.

As the CBIVA continued to grow, it expanded; and today there are bashas located in almost every state in the country. It is particularly active in the South and Southeastern states. The state of Florida boasts the largest number of CBIVA members in the country. Florida has a state department organization and 17 local bashas throughout the state.

The Atlanta Basha, CBIVA, is the only basha located in the state of Georgia. However, it is one of the largest bashas of the national CBIVA organization with a current (1988) active membership of 125 veterans. CBIVA bashas are also located in the other Southeastern states of Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

The Atlanta Basha was founded in 1977. Its founding was instigated by the selection of the city of Atlanta as the site for the 28th national reunion of the CBIVA in 1976. The founder of the Atlanta Basha, James S. Fletcher of Austell, Georgia, a CBI Veteran, inadvertently chanced upon the reunion proceedings at the hotel when the convention was in progress.

The Atlanta Basha held its initial meeting on October 15, 1977 at the Ramada Inn, Six Flags, Atlanta, Georgia. The National Executive Committee was represented by Marvin A. Walker, Jr., Vice Commander-South; Victor Tamashunas, Junior Vice Commander-Southeast, and his wife Doris; and Charles W. Rose, Past Junior Vice Commander-South. A telegram of congratulations from Georgia's United States Senator Herman E. Talmadge was read. Through the courtesy of Senator Talmadge the Atlanta Basha received a United States Flag which had flown over the National Capitol.

Commander Walker of the National Executive Committee administered the oath of office to the new officers. The initial slate of officers of the Atlanta Basha were: James S. Fletcher, Basha Commander; R.E. Wilson, Adjutant; C.P. Blackman, Finance Officer; and W.A. Moyer, Chaplain.

In accordance with the aims of the CBIVA, the Atlanta Basha conducts its affairs on a purely social and non-political basis. Dinner meetings are usually held at hotels in the metropolitan Atlanta area

several times a year. Meetings are also attended by members' wives, relatives, friends, and potential members. Various dignitaries attend from time to time.

Following dinner at each of the regular meetings, a program or speaker is presented. Usually these programs present information about past or present events in Asia. Speakers appearing before meeting audiences have been of Chinese, Burmese, and East Indian origin as well as missionary and military personnel who have served in Asia. In recent years several of the Atlanta Basha members have revisited the old China-Burma-India Theater of Operations. Past Atlanta Basha Commanders George B. Hightower and Ralph S. Turner made trips back to India and China in 1987. They were successful in recording their travels on film. Soon after their return to this country, their films, with a narration of familiar places they visited, were presented at regular basha meetings.

There have been numerous guest speakers over the years who have given interesting speeches about events and affairs in Asia. More notable among them are the following:

Mrs. Gerry O'Connor briefed the basha members in May 1987 about her family's escape from Rangoon, Burma, ahead of advancing Japanese armies in 1942. She explained how, as a child, she fled with her family, traveling at times in dugout canoes on the Chindwin River to the northern border of Burma. She ultimately crossed the border into India and went on to Calcutta to reach a safe haven, where she remained until the end of the war.

At a February 1985 meeting, Mrs. Lucille Turner, the missionary wife of American evangelist and CBI veteran Harold L. Turner, discussed her experiences while serving with her husband in India. She spoke at length about her trials and tribulations while endeavoring to raise a family under the stressful conditions encountered during their Indian years.

In June 1985 Mr. Yun-Feng Pai, Director of Information for the Atlanta Office, Coordination Council For North American Affairs, Republic of China, was a guest speaker. Mr. Pai described Taiwan's economy, culture, industry, and trade practices.

In October 1987 the Atlanta Basha was entertained by the Ceremonial Kukri Combat Drill Team of the American Bando Association. The Kukri Drill teams were initially trained by a retired Gurkha officer,

Dr. U. Maung Gyi. Bando drill teams introduced the kukri knife to this country as a drill weapon. The Georgia Black Panthers Kukri Drill Team is under the direction of Dr. Geoff Willcher, founder of the class at Georgia State University.

In February 1988 the Atlanta Basha invited Dr. Ravi Sarma to speak on the topic of "India Since World War II."

Occasionally meetings are held away from the Atlanta area. In the spring of 1983 the Atlanta Basha and the South Carolina Basha held a joint dinner meeting in Augusta, Georgia. In March 1986 the Atlanta Basha was invited to a meeting with the Heart of Dixie Basha in Montgomery, Alabama. In May 1986 the Atlanta Basha held its regular dinner meeting at Fort Benning, Georgia. While visiting in Fort Benning, members were taken on a tour of the United States Infantry Museum. This museum features displays about the CBI Theater of Operations during World War II.

For one week during the summer the CBIVA holds a national reunion at a city somewhere in the United States. Boston, Massachusetts; Louisville, Kentucky; San Diego, California; and Denver, Colorado, were the sites chosen for the 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1988 reunions. A delegation of members from the Atlanta Basha always attends to deliver a report on local basha activities.

In the fall, winter, and spring the national CBIVA organizations conduct executive board meetings in various regions of the country. These meetings are open to all members. Regional meetings were held in Biloxi, Mississippi, in the spring of 1986; in New Orleans, Louisiana, in the spring of 1987; and in Jacksonville, Florida, in the fall of 1987.

The Atlanta Basha maintains a close association with the Atlanta Office of the Coordination Council for North American Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan). This relationship was established prior to 1978, when the United States ended diplomatic recognition of the Republic of China. As previously noted, the Atlanta Basha is bound to be in compliance with national by-laws and must remain neutral and non-political in all affairs. Consequently it remains amenable to established relations with the People's Republic of China (mainland China) as well as with Burma and India, if and when consulates from those countries are established in Georgia. The basha attempts to maintain good relations with all nations of East, South, and South-

East Asia as well as with other veterans' organizations.

The Atlanta Basha remains concerned with current events in East, South, and Southeast Asia. An example of its recent interest occurred in October 1987 when it was reported from Washington, D.C., that the remains of several crewmen from a World War II cargo airplane had been located at a crash site in the jungles of northern Burma. The crash site was discovered by troops of the Kachin Independence Organization, a rebel faction that controls much of northern Burma along with several other rebel groups. A United States Army spokesman said a request would be made to Burma to see if there was any possibility of going into the area to make a recovery. In an article about the crash discovery, *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* interviewed CBIVA member James S. Fletcher. Fletcher was quoted as saying, on the basis of his experience in fighting with Kachins for two and a half years, "to get back in there you would definitely have to have the help of the Kachins." Although most members of the CBIVA would favor actions to recover the crew members' remains, the official position of the CBIVA is to observe our country's attempts to negotiate a recovery through channels the United States Government officially deems to be appropriate.

In October 1987 the Atlanta Basha celebrated its tenth anniversary. The group met to socialize in hospitality rooms at the Raddison Inn-Central on Friday evening and Saturday afternoon, October 16th and 17th. The meeting rooms were filled with displays, exhibits, souvenirs, photos, and articles reminiscent of China, Burma, and India during World War II. During the banquet on Saturday evening, October 18th, the audience was addressed by National Commander Carl De Leeuw, of Palos Verdes, California, and several past national commanders from Ohio and Virginia. Visitors were recognized from pashas in the states of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Tennessee. All of the Atlanta Basha commanders were also given recognition. They were:

<u>Commander's Name</u>	<u>Year</u>
James S. Fletcher	1977-1978
Anthony C. Serkadakis	1978-1979
William A. Moye	1979-1980
Floyd L. Whittle	1980-1981
Clifford P. Blackman	1981-1982

Ralph S. Turner	1982-1983
David P. Doughty	1983-1984
Elmer E. Feleki	1984-1985
George C. Ward	1985-1986
George B. Hightower	1986-1987
Eugene G. Smith	1987-1988

Eleven people in attendance at the tenth anniversary banquet had also attended the first official meeting of the Atlanta Basha.

The tenth anniversary observance of the Atlanta Basha was brought to a close with a reaffirmation of CBIVA aims and purposes. Notable among these are the aims to preserve the recollections, comradeships, and experiences of those who have served in East, South, and Southeast Asia.

Georgia's Place in the History of Friends of Free China (FOFC): The Viewpoint of Its Executive Director

JACK E. BUTTRAM*

Friends of Free China (FOFC) is a private non-profit organization of Americans interested in maintaining contacts and good will with the Republic of China. It was incorporated in New York in 1972 by F. Clifton White, the political strategist behind the early presidential campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater. The first national co-chairmen were Goldwater and James A. Farley, Postmaster General under President Franklin Roosevelt. The idea behind the fledgling organization was to create a non-partisan privately funded American group that would shore up the long-standing friendship between the people of the Republic of China and the people of the United States.

After James Farley's death in 1976, when I joined FOFC, I saw the necessity to reconstitute a national board of directors and find a new national co-chairman. Anna Chennault, Washington businesswoman, widow of Louisiana native and Flying Tiger General Clair Chennault, and a prominent Friend of Free China, suggested that Thomas G. Corcoran, Sr., would be a good Democrat to balance Republican Goldwater. Corcoran agreed to take the honorary position. With funds donated mostly by Chinese businessmen, we set about organizing local chapters around the country. In Georgia, we concentrated on two cities, Atlanta and Savannah. As of 1990 there are also

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chapters in Augusta, Dawson and northern Georgia near Mount Berry, with more Georgia chapters likely to be formed.

United States Background

After World War II, China enjoyed a great reservoir of good will in the United States. Walter Judd, former medical missionary to China and United States Congressman from Minnesota, had spoken all over the Midwest before the war trying to warn Americans about the disaster we were preparing for ourselves by sending scrap iron and oil to a restive Japan bent on building a world empire. He continues to be an outstanding Friend of Free China today, but he is part of an aging group of supporters. Also in the early days of FOFC United States House of Representatives Speaker John McCormack of Massachusetts lent his name and influence to the budding organization, as did other prominent members of Congress.

Over the years there was a constant erosion of the “old friends.” Attrition took its toll, and the political leaders of Taiwan’s ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party on Taiwan failed to give sufficient attention to making new friends, choosing instead to rely upon old tried and true allies. In the late summer and early fall of 1971 the “handwriting was on the wall” at the United Nations. The KMT’s worst fears came to pass. Representatives of the World War II Nationalist government of China, our staunch Pacific ally and one of the four great powers signatory to the establishment of the United Nations, were barely saved from being physically booted out. They “took a walk” before a vote to admit the People’s Republic of China was actually cast. Later Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flew a secret mission to Guilin in the People’s Republic of China to set up details of President Nixon’s visit, a precursor of United States recognition of the People’s Republic.

So FOFC began in 1972 as a rallying point to keep old friends and make new ones. The basic plan included organizing as many state chapters as could be managed on the donated budget and staging social and cultural events that would call attention to the island republic of Taiwan that was engaged in a desperate struggle to retain its identity and survive. State chapters were organized in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, New York, Illinois, California, and Rhode Island, and more were planned.

Dormancy Threatens

In 1976 FOFC was relatively dormant. F. Clifton White had a busy political consulting practice to attend to and had handed the reins over to conservative activist Marvin Leibman, the moving force behind the old "Committee of One Million," often dubbed by the press "The China Lobby." For Marvin, too, the basic problems of getting people in diverse areas of a state together proved too difficult to manage from New York. The meager budget did not allow for much travel. There were only about six "paper" state chapters in the early days.

The Crisis Comes

On December 15, 1978 President Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, woke United States Ambassador Leonard Unger in Taipei at three in the morning with the news the United States would, on January 1, shift its diplomatic recognition from the government of the Republic of China (on Taiwan) to the People's Republic of China, the Communist government headquartered in Peking. He was instructed to communicate that to Taiwan's President Chiang Ching-kuo in person immediately. Next day, in a flash of passion, Special Trade Representative Warren Christopher's car was overturned and burned by a Taipei mob accompanied by widespread cheers and jeers.

Open Window—Two Weeks

In the wake of this recognition, a brief window was left open for a symbolic action. "Twin Oaks," the residence of the last Chinese Ambassador, James C.H. Shen, is on the national landmark registry for historic homes in northwest Washington. At one time the imposing frame mansion on Woodley Road near the Washington National Cathedral was owned by a close relative of Alexander Graham Bell. It was purchased in the 1930s by the government of China as a residence for its ambassador. That made it an official embassy.

The large house, its outbuildings, and the ten acres it sat on were worth several million dollars in the 1978 Washington real estate market. Its spacious lawns and veranda were the setting for many important functions on the Washington social calendar. If the normal course of events was allowed to transpire, similar to what had happened a few months earlier when the government of Iran was

overthrown, the valuable and symbolic Shen property would become property of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, it was rumored that such was part of the deal struck by President Carter's representatives when diplomatic recognition was offered to the People's Republic of China.

Thomas Corcoran was one of Roosevelt's whiz-kids—called the “Brain Trust” in the days of the New Deal—and a frequent visitor to the winter White House at Georgia's Warm Springs. Corcoran developed a plan to keep this “symbol of free China” in “free hands.” He began to execute a legal maneuver he had perfected and successfully defended before the United Kingdom's highest court—the Privy Council. His legal work established a precedent in international law which stands today. Corcoran, an adroit Washington attorney and confidant of many famous figures besides Franklin D. Roosevelt, had assisted General Chennault in keeping the planes of the Chinese Air Force — which had been spirited out to Hong Kong in 1949—out of the hands of the Chinese Communists. Those planes helped organize the Flying Tiger Line, an important air freight carrier in East Asia today. In 1978 as counsel to the Republic of China he transferred the real estate property to an organization independent of the government and protected by United States laws, FRIENDS OF FREE CHINA. The Legislative and Executive Yuan in Taipei officially authorized the move.

How The Deed Was Done

So it came about that at about eight o'clock one evening in late December, 1978, in the dining room of Washington's prestigious University Club, only three blocks from the White House, I handed over a check for ten dollars to Thomas Corcoran as “consideration,” and took possession, in the name of FRIENDS OF FREE CHINA, of the title and deed to a ten million dollar parcel of property. I had to get my son to write his personal check since we had rushed to Washington so fast in a private plane that I had left my money and checkbook at home.

Now FOFC had a mansion but no money to run it or keep it up. I hired security guards to keep the People's Republic government from coming and just taking it over. That is what happened when the Shah's government was overthrown and his representatives were

ousted by those of the Ayatollah from Washington's Iranian embassy. But now I needed money for heating fuel, electricity, phones, and taxes. Since the property was no longer considered an embassy by the D. C. government, it was subject to real-estate taxes. During the four years FOFC owned the property, real estate taxes amounted to more than half a million dollars.

Mrs. Chennault, who served on the board of the District of Columbia National Bank, put us in touch with people at the bank who enabled us to secure a loan. We borrowed \$100,000 against \$10,000,000 collateral to operate. It was a hectic time. My wife had the upstairs-downstairs experience of writing all the checks for maintaining the upkeep of a very large and drafty mansion, and we prayed for the day we could stop being Washington landlords.

Property Returned to the Republic of China

Over four years later we were able to return the property to the Coordination Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA)—the organization that serves as the Republic of China embassy. Our United States "embassy" in Taipei is the American Institute in Taiwan, staffed by State Department personnel who are either retired or on "temporary assignment" and thus relieved of their regular duties while they continue to acquire seniority, pension, and health benefits. In this way, the United States manages not to have "official" relations with the Republic of China.

In order to maintain FOFC's necessary arm's length independence from the government of the Republic of China, FOFC sold the embassy residence of Twin Oaks back to the CCNAA. With the proceeds the Board of Directors established a trust fund which is used to maintain scholarship programs of FOFC and carry on other cultural and historical programs.

Present Work of FOFC

As of 1989 FOFC has about eighty active chapters in most States and one in Canada. They engage in various kinds of expressions of friendship with the people of the Republic of China. One of our most popular efforts is a high-school pen pal program. We have worked in establishing sister-cities relationships through the regular sister-cities program. We have conducted tours for young students and

adults, made two motion pictures, helped sponsor performing groups especially in the fine arts, established scholarships, conducted essay and speech competitions and generally tried to foster increased exchange and mutual understanding between the peoples of our two nations. Atlanta, Savannah, and Rome represent three of our most active chapters in Georgia, and one of America's former Ambassadors to Taiwan, Walter P. McConaughy, makes his winter home in Atlanta and is active in the work of the chapter there. For further information about FOFC movies, scholarships, essay contests and other activities, contact: Friends of Free China, 1629 K. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 or 1212 Haywood Road, Suite #400, Greenville, SC 29615, TEL: (803) 288-6651.

Our chapters take on the character of the people in the local areas who are interested in Taiwan:

- *In San Jose, California, one of our most active chapters is headed by Mrs. Helen Serenka, who stages an annual flag-raising ceremony on the grounds of the county office building when the Republic of China celebrates its founding day on October 10.
- *Until recently our Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, Chapter was headed by a retired Navy Captain Murry Cohn, who loved to put on Chinese dinners at a local restaurant as well as entertain the young baseball players from Taiwan who played in a tournament staged in Ft. Lauderdale.
- *Another chapter, in Montgomery, Alabama, is largely composed of former service personnel, some of whom served with General Chennault in China. They have just installed a new chairperson, Mr. Y. W. Chang.
- *Our New York chapter has a mixture of younger and older people from many cultures. Our chairman, Ed Murphy, helped stage a front line version of *South Pacific* while serving in China during World War II.
- *The Boston chapter is headed by Robert Mansfield. An activist extraordinary, Mansfield tries not to miss a chance to write a letter in behalf of the cause of freedom and has one of the most eclectic and wide ranging scrapbooks of replies one may find.
- *The Georgia chapters are headed by Penny Rosenkranz, an energetic Atlantan who is assisted by Rosie Clark, a well-known local artist. Cord Middleton, long a devoted friend to the Republic

of China, oversees the Savannah chapter. Tom Crittenden is in charge of the Dawson chapter, while John R. Lipscomb heads the Mount Berry chapter. Georgia Chen and Scott Loo share the helm in Augusta. Each chapter has its own agenda of programs and events.

We think FOFC is in many ways typical of America and typical of the Chinese people. We have many Americans of Chinese ancestry involved in the work of the chapters. Although most are now citizens of the United States, they find their Chinese heritage and culture still draws them to participate in the programs of FOFC.

We believe FOFC has a unique and continuing role to play in American-East Asian relations. "Tiny" Taiwan is a nation of more than nineteen million people. Ireland, the Benelux countries, and Israel each do not match it in population. Beyond that, we believe that it's not sheer numbers, but the willingness of Americans from all sections to reach beyond their regional borders to embrace the transcendent values which draws us all together in a struggle to see that ultimately democracy prevails.

History of the United States- China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) of Atlanta

*EDWARD S. KREBS**

In February 1972, three Atlantans who soon afterward would travel to China, established the United States-China People's Friendship Association (USCPFA) of Atlanta. The Atlanta group was one of the first of many chapters of a loosely-federated organization then starting in American cities. In 1974, 350 delegates from thirty-six cities formed a national organizational structure at a meeting in Los Angeles. At both local and national levels, membership reached a high point in 1978 and has gradually declined since then; at both levels, however, the organization remains vital.

Throughout its existence the Atlanta USCPFA has maintained its own strong identity and program. Originally included in the Eastern region of the national organization, the Atlanta chapter helped to launch chapters in other cities and towns in the Southeast, and in 1975 Atlanta became the headquarters of a separate Southern region.

The USCPFA's brief history covers a time of momentous events in American-East Asian relations. The Atlantans who started their city's USCPFA chapter made their first China trips in 1972, only weeks after President Richard Nixon launched a new era in Sino-American relations with his own visit to the People's Republic. Like the Chi-

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nese, USCPFA members regard Nixon's overture to China as one positive feature of his administration. The Watergate crisis and continuing involvement in Vietnam shook American national life until 1975. Then in 1976 a new series of dramatic developments began in China. The deaths of Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong in 1976 and the subsequent fall of Mao's heirs-apparent, the "Gang of Four," precipitated an apparent reversal of many basic policies in the People's Republic.

The history of Atlanta USCPFA reflects the vagaries and ironies of politics. While many of its early members hoped to spread Maoist teachings in this country, the group now seeks to welcome Chinese scholars to Atlanta and to help them understand the United States and its culture. Initially attractive to student radicals of the late 1960s, the Association subsequently was composed mostly of middle-aged, middle-class Atlantans. USCPFA was, in its first few years, viturally the sole agent for trips to China. USCPFA subsequently became only one of many opportunities to tour China. Despite these changes, the Friendship Association has been an unusual organization, bringing many kinds of people together in a genuinely popular movement that has offered much more than a chance to study China or to go there. This essay will survey some of the main themes in the group's history, attempt to account for its appeal, and explore some of the ironies that have entered into its life.

Organizations do not emerge from nothing; they depend on responses to broadly felt needs and on the hard work of organizers who feel these needs acutely. Perhaps the chief impetus for USCPFA's establishment was the quarter-century of mutual hostility between the governments of the United States and China. Long before the Nixon visit to China in February 1972, many in academia, journalism, and government had hoped for an end to the impasse and looked for some movement in the political sphere. Meanwhile China's revolution had continued, and by the middle 1960s had produced the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which at its best appeared as a great drive for social equality. The youth of China took a direct role in the attempt to achieve social change, and the dedication of many young Americans to changing their own society gave them a sense of solidarity with their Chinese counterparts. The concurrence of "youth revolution" in China and the United States was a second major

feature which gave rise to USCPFA's establishment.

The three Atlantans who launched USCPFA made their China trips in this environment. Bill Cozzens and Bea Miner had written many letters to various Chinese agencies asking that they be allowed to visit China. They learned from a California couple who came to Atlanta in 1971 to report on their own trip to China that the China International Travel Service was a useful office to contact.

Bill Cozzens had been a student activist while attending the University of Georgia in the mid 1960s; his interest in China developed when he took a course on modern East Asia at the University.¹ He left school in 1968 to go to Atlanta to work for the Southern Student Organizing Committee. In time he took a job as an operating room attendant at Grady Memorial Hospital; his work in the health care field gave him a particular interest in observing health care in China. Meanwhile he met and married Bea Miner, who worked at the Georgia Mental Retardation Center and was also taking courses in the Urban Life School at Georgia State University. The couple were thrilled when, in December 1971, word came from China that they could come in two weeks. Except for a medical problem that required immediate attention, they would have made their tour of China before President Nixon made his. As things worked out, they went in April and May 1972, just weeks after Nixon's trip; they managed their expenses by taking a second mortgage on their house.

Bill and Bea had met Hilda Keng during the summer of 1971 as they prepared themselves for a China trip by studying Chinese. Born in the Chang Jiang (Yangtze) valley province of Anhui, Hilda had left China in 1947, not realizing it would be a quarter-century before she returned.² Hoping to contribute to her people's welfare, Hilda went to Nashville, where she studied at Scarritt and George Peabody Colleges. She came to Atlanta for further work at Emory's Candler School of Theology, where she earned a divinity degree and became an ordained Methodist minister. Her work changed from the ministry to education as in the middle 1960s she became a teacher in the DeKalb County schools, offering courses in Chinese history and language at a number of high schools. Hilda retired in 1979. She became an American citizen and a respected member of Atlanta's Asian community. Meanwhile most of her family had remained in China, where vast change had occurred since 1949. Hilda's wishes

for a trip to China centered on a desire to see her family again, and to see what had changed in her native land. Her role in the founding leadership of USCPFA in Atlanta was an extension of her teaching career. "We had our first meeting in my basement," she says proudly of the group's inauguration in February 1972, just at the time of Nixon's trip.³

The name chosen for the group is straightforward, in itself a statement of the organization's purpose. As best he can recall, Bill Cozzens believes the name was suggested by that of a similar organization, one of two or three launched before the Atlanta group. The other group called themselves "U.S.-China Friendship Association," as do such organizations in many other countries. The Atlanta founders decided to insert "People's" in their name, to make it clear that this was a grassroots organization.⁴ The Atlanta chapter thus can claim at least a share of the credit for the decision to use this name for the national organization in the United States.

The visits to China, coming soon after that first meeting for Bill and Bea, then for Hilda, assured that the Chinese would make their own solid contribution to the goal of U.S.-China people's friendship. Everywhere they visited, the Americans received a warm welcome; Hilda was allowed several days for the long-postponed reunion with her family. In retrospect, their tours may be seen as prototypes for those taken by many thousands of Americans who have visited China in the decade since. Bill and Bea went to five cities—Beijing (Peking), Guangzhou (Canton), Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Xian (Sian)—and to places in the countryside near some of these cities. They visited health care facilities, saw the work of "barefoot doctors" (rural paramedics), and saw acupuncture used for treatment and as anesthesia. They observed daily activities in schools, factories, and communes. All three returned to Atlanta eager to share their enthusiasm about China.

Hoping to do just that and to generate interest in USCPFA Bill and Bea scheduled a press conference upon their return home. When no one came, their friend David Nolan urged them to go to the *Journal and Constitution* offices and to radio and television stations to distribute the statement they had prepared. One result of this episode was that Nolan caught the "China bug" from his friends. He had known Bill since coming to Atlanta from Nashville, working for the Southern

Student Organizing Committee; but he'd had only a vague interest in China. Quiet but talented and intense, David read some fifty books on Chinese history and politics in a few weeks. He also assimilated what he read. Soon David was devoting his own energies to USCPFA too. Cozzens credits Nolan with many of the ideas that were used to build the Atlanta group. "I didn't mind getting up in front of a group and making a fool of myself," Bill says modestly of his own role, "but I'd have to give David credit for many of our best ideas."⁵

Bill and Bea's trip was reported in the *Constitution*, as was Hilda Keng's a few weeks later.⁶ As of 1972, however, the membership was very small. Most who had joined by that time were young "movement" people who attached great importance to China's revolution and were particularly attracted to Mao Zedong's revolutionary ideas. The USCPFA cause was new and less volatile than most they had previously undertaken. If ordinary Americans could learn about China's achievements and appreciate the ideas behind them, they reasoned, soon enough these ordinary Americans would get the message for their own circumstances. Perhaps subconsciously, many of the earliest Atlanta USCPFA members saw this new effort as an extension of their earlier activities. From the beginning, the organizers—Bill, Bea, Hilda, and David—hoped for a broadly-based membership.

Although USCPFA thus set out to be apolitical, the group did address one specific issue in American politics. This was the question of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic; and Richard Nixon, with his well-established record for opposing communism, had spoken dramatically to this issue. USCPFA asked of those who wished to join only that they accept the "Shanghai communiqué" which Nixon had signed with Zhou Enlai at the end of his China visit; and that they oppose continued American involvement in Vietnam. Although the Shanghai communiqué has been subject to different interpretations by the U.S. and P.R.C. governments, the document basically stated that the Beijing government was the only legitimate government of all China, and that Taiwan's future was an internal Chinese affair. Although hardline conservatives rejected these propositions, the group had never counted on such support anyway, and in a city of Atlanta's size and makeup, USCPFA could still build a sizeable membership.

It is worth noting that the "movement" people might not have been interested in USCPFA work if their top priority, anti-Vietnam war activities, had not wound down after 1973. Their early political involvement was a type of experience which would be useful in the new organization, USCPFA.

The challenge facing the Atlanta USCPFA was to increase membership by reaching a broader constituency, capitalizing on a new public interest in China. After its first year the group did this with remarkable success. And they achieved success because they did everything necessary to build an organization. They carried on an active, well-publicized program. They made people feel welcome and wanted; they followed up on contacts. Despite failing to show up for Bill and Bea's press conference, the Atlanta media soon realized the USCPFA leaders had become increasingly sophisticated in publicizing their work and in garnering newspaper coverage and radio and television appearances when nationally-acclaimed USCPFA speakers came to Atlanta. They also worked very effectively at less glamorous forms of publicity. They used public service announcements on the radio and in newspapers and posted xeroxed handbills in schools, colleges, and any place else they thought people would take notice. Some of the members worked for Atlanta's underground newspaper, *The Great Speckled Bird*, which had a broad readership. At each USCPFA event, sign-up sheets were circulated, producing names, addresses, and telephone numbers of potential new members. Without the necessary legwork, telephoning, and expression of personal warmth to develop these contacts, the organization would have remained small. Volunteers undertook these details with an enthusiasm and dedication to purpose which had also characterized their antiwar activities. USCPFA's early life may be seen as an example of grassroots organization-building.

As the group grew, it carried on a wide variety of programs. In the beginning the humble slide show served the organization well. Bill and Bea and Hilda began spreading the word by making themselves available to present their China experience in pictures they had taken themselves; many different audiences in Atlanta and in many towns in the northern half of Georgia saw these presentations. Recognizing the appeal of this kind of program, the group asked all applicants for a China trip to be prepared to show their slides to others after

returning home.

The Atlanta group also drew on the resources of the growing national USCPFA organization and its friends and supporters for attractive programs. A number of China experts supported the USCPFA movement through national speaking tours. William Hinton, a Pennsylvanian who had gone to China following World War II to assist in rebuilding agriculture and then returned many times as an advisor, came to Atlanta in the spring of 1973. Widely known for his book *Fanshen* about the post-1949 transformation of one rural area in Shanxi province, Hinton addressed large and varied audiences in three appearances in Atlanta. Other out-of-town speakers discussed law, health care, and the status of women in China. Atlanta audiences were intrigued with Americans who had visited China, or lived there, during those long years when many Americans had been conditioned to see China as a place of "deep red darkness."

The national USCPFA network also circulated films to local groups, and the Atlanta chapter used these to attract interest. China films showed at the "Film Forum" in Ansley Mall. Owner George Ellis, long active in the arts in Atlanta (and better known to vintage television fans in the area as "Bestoink Dooley," the character he created), made his theater available to the Friendship Association, requiring only that the group pay his projectionist the union wage. Large crowds gathered at the "Film Forum" to learn about developments in China.

USCPFA organized short courses to acquaint new members with Chinese history and current events. Hilda Keng was one of the regular instructors, anxious to teach her fellow Atlantans about China.

Publication of a newsletter became one of the Association's earliest activities. Sales revenue from a newsletter might at least partially alleviate the organization's chronic funding difficulties. Usually devoted to a single topic, issues of the newsletter discussed the same themes in print as were covered by speakers or films. The newsletter carried only a nominal charge, and again the group found itself giving away more than it was taking in. Each issue also contained an appeal to interested people to join USCPFA at a cost of five dollars. In time, the growth of membership eased the financial problem. Most of all, however, this organization thrived on the enthusiasm of its members.

The Atlanta USCPFA established contacts throughout the South-

ast. A classified ad in *The Great Speckled Bird* brought inquiries from all over the Southeast and from other sections of the country as well. A number of letters came from men serving time in prison, who often asked for all the free literature on China the group could send.⁷ Another of the group's devoted members, Becky Hamilton, wrote most of the warm responses to these letters. Devotion to the work could generate devotion to another of the group's members; Becky met David Nolan through USCPFA work and in due course they were married.

By about the middle of 1974, all the exposure and hard work began to reap returns. Although "movement" people remained an important element, the Atlanta chapter's membership was beginning to reflect its outreach into the larger community. Among the first to join USCPFA from this broader constituency were Bill and Camille Funk, formerly missionaries in Sarawak, where they had worked with many overseas Chinese who had left China when the Communist government came to power in 1949.⁸ Back in the Atlanta area, Bill taught history at Decatur High School. The Funks began to wonder whether the negative views they had heard from anti-communist Chinese in Sarawak represented the whole story. USCPFA offered information about China and a chance to go there, which both Bill and Camille hoped to do. After some hesitancy they decided to join, and after joining they worked hard for the organization. They helped to attract audiences who would come to hear "former missionaries," as the Funks were often billed, but never to hear "young radicals." Both became leaders in the Atlanta group. Bill served as president and as regional representative on the national steering committee.

As people of different backgrounds began to join, a healthy symbiosis developed between the younger "old" USCPFA members and the older "new" members. This interaction became one of the group's most appealing qualities and a major cause of its continued growth. As they worked together, the membership saw something unusual and extremely pleasant happening; they liked each other, and each learned that the others genuinely cared about other human beings. It was the sort of thing that happens all too rarely in the lives of organizations.

Camille Funk was one of two Atlantans selected for the first USCPFA-sponsored China tour. She was in China in September

1974, just at the time the national USCPFA was formally organized at the Los Angeles convention. Tours became a major attraction for USCPFA. Local chapters were allotted places on tours organized by the regional offices of the organization. Even though individuals had to pay their own expenses, only a small number could be accommodated. Local chapters prepared applicants for trips through their study programs and then rigorously selected those judged best able to profit themselves and the organization with a trip. The selections were forwarded to the Chinese government for approval of visas. After several trips, the Atlanta USCPFA realized that the Chinese had not rejected a single applicant whom they had recommended. Until normalization of relations in 1979 broadened the options for travel to China, USCPFA was virtually the only way for most Americans to get a trip. Thus Atlanta and other local chapters now also attracted people who had hoped, sometime in their lives, to see the Great Wall or the Ming Tombs, plus those who simply loved to travel. To the membership now came people whose chief common trait was an adventurous spirit and a desire to be selected for the China trips.

One of these adventurous types was Freddy Henderson, a black woman who operated a travel agency in Atlanta. Partly because of her own interest but also because USCPFA found few others in Atlanta willing to set up trips to China, Henderson's agency arranged the group's tours for some time. She also had taken a China tour herself, in 1973, traveling on Ethiopian Airlines' first flight from Addis Ababa to Beijing.⁹ Through this and other associations, USCPFA developed links with Atlanta's black community. James Bond, then a member of the Atlanta City Council, went on a USCPFA tour and later served as a tour leader.¹⁰

Besides trips for paying customers, USCPFA operated membership tours, offering greatly reduced rates to those who had worked diligently for the organization. These tours helped to maintain solidarity for the core of "movement" people, still a vital element in the membership. Emulating the Chinese style they admired, they could sacrifice to see one of their own get a trip and trust that, in time, their own turn would come.

For these and other admirers of Mao Zedong, 1976 was a disheartening year. The death of Zhou Enlai in January removed a beloved leader, the source of stability in what had been a turbulent decade.

hu De, builder of the Red Army, died the following July. The great Tangshan earthquake at the end of July seemed a portent of another period of momentous change. Bill Cozzens and twenty others in a Southern Region tour group were in Beijing when the 'quake' hit. Bill noted that the Chinese handled the crisis coolly and efficiently, providing all possible assistance to the affected area, some ninety miles southeast of Beijing.¹¹ Mao had been failing for many months; he died in September. His passing set off political rumblings that soon produced a change of course in national policy. Although it appeared that Mao's widow, Jiang Qing, and associates who shared her ultra-left views would accede to leadership, within a month this "Gang of Four" had been arrested, charged with treason, and made targets of a campaign to fix blame for China's difficulties in economic development. Within a year after Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping emerged once again and began to lay out a new world. This reversal greatly surprised many USCPFA members who had come to know the China of the Cultural Revolution. Deng's new policies were bound to cause repercussions in USCPFA, because many of its members were so attracted to Maoist ideals. At the local level in Atlanta, however, the fallout was limited, and the organization was not affected very directly or immediately.¹² The chapter continued its broad outreach activities, such as China tours and participation in the 1976 Piedmont Arts Festival.

The Atlanta group's success at recruiting broadly seems most responsible for the mild reaction locally. Much more likely to be simply casual travelers than ardent Maoists, those who had joined the Atlanta chapter during the preceding two or three years did not react strongly to the reversal of policy. While concerned about the welfare of the Chinese people, most in the Atlanta group were prepared to let China on its own terms, even though those terms might change. At the national USCPFA level there were significant reactions to China's new course; these came to a head in the 1978 national convention at San Francisco. A small but insistent group in USCPFA's extreme left wing urged that the organization be disbanded as a response to Deng Xiaoping's policies. The episode ended with this group walking out of the meeting and the organization, having failed to convince others of their proposal's merit.¹³ The 1977 national meeting, held in Atlanta, had produced another

debate directly involving David Nolan, who for the previous few years had played an important role in the national leadership.¹⁴ These discussions centered not on Chinese policies but on USCPFA's future. David favored the continual steady growth of a broadly-based organization; he was particularly concerned about the role of the magazine, *New China*, that USCPFA had begun to publish. The magazine was excellent but expensive to produce; Nolan felt that available funds should be used for more modest but nonetheless informative publications. He failed to carry a majority on these questions, but he was less upset at losing on the issues than over what he considered unfair tactics which his opposition had used. Reflecting on the affair after his return home, David decided to withdraw from USCPFA activity. The Atlanta group lost one of its most capable leaders as a result.¹⁵

In December 1978 President Jimmy Carter announced that full normalization of relations between the United States and China would commence on January 1, 1979. Carter was no doubt sensitive to the desires of American banks and corporations who believed that normalization would give U.S. foreign trade a much-needed short-in-the-arm. He was probably influenced by the view that China could serve as a potential counterweight to the Soviet Union. Although the Carter administration had prepared for normalization during the previous several months, it still caught many people, including USCPFA members, by surprise. Normalization fulfilled the chief objective of the Shanghai communiqué, which by this time was almost seven years old. Most USCPFA members had grown accustomed to temporizing statements from American leaders and were prepared to wait years for normalization. In Atlanta as throughout the country, USCPFA hailed the announcement with celebrations.

Dramatic moments followed quickly one after another at this time, climaxing in Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States in late January and early February 1979. Deng made Atlanta his first stop after the usual formalities in Washington. For Atlantans, the visit was especially welcome. The timing of his visit nearly coincided with Coca-Cola's being accepted as the major foreign soft drink manufacturer in China. The Atlanta USCPFA had a minor role in local preparations for Deng's visit to the city, and members attended the banquet that marked the occasion. When Deng visited Martin Luther King, Jr.'s

grave, a contingent of USCPFA members were present, carrying a small sign to identify themselves. One of Deng's aides noted the group's presence, and the Vice-Premier greeted them with a wave and a broad smile.¹⁶

Strangely, it would seem, normalization had a more adverse effect on the Atlanta USCPFA than had the momentous events of 1976 in China. The goal that had absorbed USCPFA since its beginning had been achieved. While the membership in Atlanta and elsewhere were pleased to see China getting so much attention, they were at a loss about what to do next. A few days' front-page coverage of Deng Xiaoping's visit in American newspapers had done more to publicize China than had years of patient work. Business people, bankers, and travel agents flocked to get into the China market, which again, as at other periods in the past, seemed to them a bonanza waiting to be worked. Perhaps the experienced members of the Association realized at the time that a new phase of activity would become apparent when this latest dramatic moment passed.

Since normalization, many of the Atlanta USCPFA's earliest members have drifted away. Some "movement" people had devoted years to the group, and were ready to move on to some other project; the demands of family life, or other changes that come with the passage of years, have altered their priorities or their use of time. Bea Miner continued to serve the Southern Region USCPFA staff as coordinator of tours. Bill Cozzens remained active in the Atlanta chapter, pleased to see it thriving even though the numbers are smaller. After a high point approaching three hundred in the 1970s, the membership stabilized at about ninety.

The post-normalization period has indeed presented new work, of the sort described in the opening paragraph of USCPFA's "Statement of Principles" (which has remained the same since 1972): "Our goal is to build active and lasting friendships between people of the United States and the people of China."¹⁷ A major impact of normalization, along with China's thrust for modernization and shortage of university facilities in China, was the arrival of a number of Chinese scholars to the Atlanta area. By 1989 there were some fifty Chinese scholars engaged in Georgia in individualized programs of study or research, with the largest numbers at Georgia Institute of Technology and at the center for Disease Control. Their presence gave USCPFA

members the opportunity to reciprocate the warm welcome they received when they visited China and to address the organization's essential purpose, that of building friendship. Thus, in addition to other ongoing aspects of its program—China tours, informational and educational programs, reports by members on their trips to new areas of China now open to travel, including Tibet—the Atlanta group has been engaged in the project of welcoming the Chinese scholars.

This friendship activity takes several forms. Chinese scholars attend meetings of USCPFA. There are some group activities, such as visits to industrial plants in the Atlanta area. Most rewarding, to those who have become involved in it, is a “one-on-one” program, in which USCPFA members develop individual friendships with the scholars. These personal exchanges provide the Chinese a chance to improve their conversational English and to ask questions about American life. For those who serve as hosts, the process is not just one-way; they continue to learn about China by asking questions themselves. Herb and Audrey Burt, a retired couple who have worked in the “one-on-one” program for some time, find it extremely valuable. “This gives us a chance to know the Chinese personally,” says Herb, “and after a while, you realize that the Chinese are as different from each other as we Americans are.”¹⁸ Audrey Burt reports an episode that gets to the essence of mutual understanding. One of the Chinese scholars was near the end of his two-year stay at Georgia Tech. Shortly before he left, he asked a question he had long wanted to ask, but had not for fear of hurting someone's feelings: “These animals—alligators and other things—that people wear on their clothes. What do they mean? Do these people belong to some sort of club?” The question—and perhaps the answer too—suggest the dimensions and possibilities of this project. Like other aspects of USCPFA's work, it is a noble venture, down-to-earth in nature, and never far from an interesting surprise.

International friendship can be both elevating and frustrating to those who attempt it. Most people in most nations move beyond the boundaries of their daily lives only involuntarily, for work or for war. Those who seek new experiences in travel and international friendship are, more often than not, the idealists among the educated. From time to time the idea of international friendship gains broad appeal, as among members of religious groups or political move-

ments who see themselves as members of communities without national boundaries. USCPFA can be seen as similar to such movements, arising at a time when Americans had grown skeptical of established institutions. It attracted the devoted service of young educated idealists. That the organization struck a responsive chord suggests that the organizers' skepticism was shared by many in the broader community they sought to reach. Although idealism has been important in USCPFA, its goals are relatively modest and realistic; members learn through travel and personal contacts, without setting nationality aside.

As USCPFA's experience has shown, much that is positive can be achieved by this approach. One wonders how the course of this country's relations with Iran might have been different in recent years, had a U.S.-Iran People's Friendship Association been active for a decade before Iran's revolution. Obviously the existence of USCPFA is no guarantee that equally distressing events will not befall American-Chinese relations; but USCPFA's practical approach to international relations seems an excellent way to avoid such disasters and to mitigate them should they occur.

In its years of activity, USCPFA's work has been fruitful, and all indications are that it will continue this way for years to come. Furthermore, the Atlanta USCPFA enterprise might point to a time when people everywhere will question government-fostered images of other nations, and reserve the right of their own judgment.

NOTES

I thank those in the Atlanta USCPFA for their contributions to this essay; without such cooperation, a project in contemporary history would be impossible. Bill Cozzens has talked extensively with me and has graciously allowed me the use of his files, which cover most of the decade. I am also grateful for interviews with Hilda Keng, Bill and Camille Funk, Herb and Audrey Burt, Jerry Minear, Kai Yong (1983 president), Margareta Davis, and Paul Hagan.

Those who may wish to contact the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association may communicate with the USCPFA Regional Office, Suite 1026, 100 Edgewood Avenue, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Interviews are cited by last name and date, except that first names are added to distinguish between spouses.

¹Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

²Keng 1/25/83.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Bill Cozzens 2/21/83.

⁵Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

⁶*The Atlanta Constitution*, 6/12/72 and 8/10/72, respectively, for the Cozzens-Miner trip and the Keng trip.

⁷Bill Cozzens' USCPFA correspondence file.

⁸Bill Funk 1/18/83; Camille Funk 2/15/83.

⁹Shannon, Margaret, "Friends of the People's Republic," *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine* (Sunday), 2/29/76. This is a well researched and lucid account of the Atlanta USPCFA through early 1976.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Atlanta Constitution* 8/2/76.

¹²Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Shannon, "Friends of the People's Republic." One photograph accompanying Shannon's article shows Nolan standing behind Deng Xiaoping and William Hinton, taken when Deng held an impromptu meeting to welcome a USCPFA delegation.

¹⁵Bill Cozzens 1/29/83 and 2/21/83.

¹⁶Bill Cozzens 1/29/83.

¹⁷This statement appeared in USCPFA's first printed circulars, and is repeated in the current by-laws.

¹⁸Herb Burt 2/11/83.



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Studies in Humanistic Psychology

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Christopher M. Aanstoos



**Studies
in
Humanistic
Psychology**

Christopher M. Aanstoos

editor

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by Christopher M. Aanstoos (Volume Editor)

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The editor and publisher wish to thank Swets & Zeitlinger B.V. (Lisse, The Netherlands) for their permission to reprint the chapter by Mike Arons, "Creativity and the Methodological Debate: A Mytho-Historical Reflection." This chapter originally appeared in their book *Advances in Qualitative Psychology: Themes and Variations* (© 1987 by Swets & Zeitlinger, B.V.)

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*To my colleagues
the West Georgia psychology community
my fellow travelers on this infinite adventure of discovery*

*I appreciatively dedicate this volume
in the hope that our fragile and precious ensemble
will continue to play inspiring music together*

The photograph on the cover of this volume depicts the doors known as *The Gates of Paradise*, an entrance to the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence, Italy. The sculpting on these doors, made in the early Renaissance by Lorenzo Ghiberti, a leading humanist artist, offered a revolutionary new vision in two respects. First, through the use of innovative techniques in gradation of relief, a sense of perspective is achieved, so that the standpoint of the beholder is implicated, thus achieving in bronze casting the effect newly developed by Renaissance painters. Furthermore, what the viewer is invited to stand in relation to is also unprecedented. In contrast to previous pictorial relief work, in which solitary figures were immersed in a hazy and vague atmosphere, an undefined and indefinable space, the panels portrayed not merely isolated figures but complete situations, including their background. The narrative complexity of each panel was far more comprehensive and coherent than anything previously envisaged. In these ways, Renaissance art disclosed the humanistic conception of people existing within the world of their involvements, rather than as detached figures lacking any intrinsic relatedness. Most of all, it is this holistic understanding that infuses contemporary humanistic psychology's alternative to the elementistic approach of experimental psychology.

STUDIES IN HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY

Christopher M. Aanstoos *Editor*

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Foreword

Humanistic psychology developed as a number of scholars in the social sciences, behavioral sciences, and the humanities began to express their dissatisfaction with behaviorism's mechanistic and atomistic view of human nature, as well as psychoanalysis' emphasis on pathological models of human behavior. The humanistic psychologists drew upon a long tradition linking psychology with the humanities and wrote eloquently on the necessity to study human beings — and to be of service to them — from a more holistic perspective. The movement was sparked by many key psychologists of the period, including Henry Murray, Carl Rogers, Charlotte Buhler, Abraham Maslow, Rollo May, and Gordon Allport (who first used the term “humanistic psychology”).

The founding members of the Association for Humanistic Psychology and, later, Division 32 of the American Psychological Association, included psychologists sympathetic to the orientation of European phenomenologists, of existential philosophers, and of Gestalt psychologists. They were also influenced by European theorists of *Geisteswissenschaften*, by the organismic psychology of Kurt Goldstein, and by personality theorists who advocated an active and interactive self. Yet they found a common ground in their dissatisfaction with the domineering presence of behaviorism and psychoanalysis in mid-century American psychology and psychotherapy.

Where behaviorism emphasized observable behavior and applied technology, humanistic psychology focused upon (1) the *human beings* who behave (behavior is not excluded, but human beings are not reduced to their behaviors), (2) a *human science* that adapts the method

to the subject matter rather than the reverse, and (3) a *praxis* — or applications — that call for the real-world extension (both technological and non-technological) of the conceptual structures created by humanistic theory. Where psychoanalysis accentuated unconscious motivation and the psychopathology of everyday life, humanistic psychology insisted that, although dysfunctional activity and the unconscious were certainly worthy of study, (1) human beings had the capacity to display *intentionality* in their actions, (2) more was to be learned from investigating *healthy persons* than those whose growth had been blocked or thwarted, and (3) *human potentials* such as creativity and self-actualization were part of the human birthright.

This was the agenda brought to West Georgia College by Mike Arons in 1968 when he was invited to establish a humanistically oriented psychology program. Traditional psychological courses were not jettisoned because the humanistic perspective has always seen itself as encompassing rather than replacing previous schools and models. However, new courses were added, including pioneering offerings in Eastern psychology and the psychology of women. The cultural and historical context of human lives was examined both in new courses and in several of the theses written as part of the department's Masters of Arts program.

I was one of the first guest speakers to be invited to present colloquia in the new program, and prepared lectures on ten different topics. This *tour de force* inspired a colleague of mine, Robert Morris, to present colloquia on eleven topics the following year! Neither of us have repeated this marathon, observing that there is now enough talent at West Georgia College so that bravura performances from outsiders are no longer necessary. Nevertheless, I have continued to speak at West Georgia each year, in the process learning as much as I have taught.

This volume, *Studies in Humanistic Psychology*, represents the depth and the range of the department's offerings at West Georgia. The European contributions to humanistic psychology are reflected in the articles about Maurice Merleau-Ponty and R. D. Laing. The emphasis upon human potentials is exemplified in the discussions of creativity and knowing. The unique theoretical contributions of humanistic psychology emerge in the chapters about embodiment and visionary experience, while research models are apparent in the discourses on narrative and comparative dialogue. Applications of humanistic psychology are portrayed in the essays on psychotherapy, education, and sport psychology. Humanistic psychology's commitment to social bet-

terment is evident in a report on the psychosocial aftershocks of an ecological disaster.

There is a great diversity in humanistic psychology — a diversity so great that I prefer the term “humanistic psychologies” to describe the movement. Unlike behaviorism and psychoanalysis, no single figure has dominated the field. However, the basic unity of the movement is reflected in Charlotte Buhler’s definition of humanistic psychology as “the scientific study of behavior, experience, and intentionality.” This is the perspective that Buhler, Allport, Maslow, May, Rogers and the others brought to psychology, and is the perspective that readers will find so well articulated in this book.

STANLEY KRIPPNER

Saybrook Institute
San Francisco
June 1991

The Meaning of Humanistic Psychology

Christopher M. Aanstoos

This volume offers a collection of essays by the faculty of the Psychology Department at West Georgia College. For a quarter century, that department has sustained a graduate program in humanistic psychology. (The appendix at the end of this volume provides an overview of that program.) While being infused by many forms of post-positivistic psychology — including phenomenological, existential, hermeneutic, transpersonal, experiential, Oriental, systemic, perceptual, and postmodern approaches — the department has embraced the term “humanistic” as the most generally apt way of labeling its own foundations. In doing so, it identifies with the larger movement of humanistic psychology that has pulsed through America for the past three decades (which Stanley Krippner summarized so well in the Foreword to this volume). However, as Krippner also pointed out, this identification is not with anything static, nor with the doctrine of any particular founder. Rather, the West Georgia program has been notably innovative, its own plethora of intellectual sources providing rich and original syntheses. Exemplifying that tendency, the following “studies in humanistic psychology” may just as well be introduced instead as “current developments in...” or “contemporary issues in...” humanistic psychology.

Such scholarship is particularly important now, as humanistic psychology navigates the ever challenging transition from the generation of its founders to the following generation. Especially at such a time, it is appropriate to ask just what the term “humanistic” means at all, and to appreciate the significance of a wing of psychologists in late twentieth century America describing themselves as “humanistic.” Initially, the very phrase “humanistic psychology” itself seems very odd, since the modifier “humanistic” appears at first superfluously redundant when applied to the term “psychology.” Isn’t psychology, after all, necessarily concerned with what is specifically “human” as its own most central concern? It is of course true that most psychologists do not actually focus on human beings as their subject matter all, choosing instead to devote their careers to the study of certain behaviors of confined rats or pigeons, or to the development of computer models. Even most psychological research that uses human beings does so by studying them in artificial laboratory conditions. Despite this curious shift, it is nevertheless true that even these psychologists would affirm psychology’s central concern with the human by the very way they justify their studies. The reason given for studying rats, pigeons or computers is ultimately to augment our understanding of the human. Though they have chosen to study the human obliquely, by means of something that is not human, or in contexts detached from ordinary human existence, nevertheless, they are the first to insist that their research is uncovering something about the human as well, and for that very reason is worth supporting.

One wonders, then, if all psychologists — no matter how far removed they are from the human in their research work — affirm that their ultimate interest is the human, why would anyone ever even conceive of the modifier “humanistic” for the discipline of psychology? Wouldn’t the modifier be as superfluous as the term “cash” in the phrase “cash money”? Nevertheless, the curious historical fact remains that, beginning in the 1960’s, one branch of psychologists adopted such a label, in order to distinguish themselves from psychology as it had been traditionally established. Even more curious has been the reaction of the rest of psychology to that development. It would seem psychologists who adopt an indirect approach to the study of the human risk the grave danger of missing the very phenomenon they are most centrally interested in discovering — the human. Indeed, only by somehow anchoring its findings about the nonhuman in terms of the human could an indirect psychology determine whether its findings have any significance for understanding the human. At the very least, then, it would seem that

this indirect psychology would be the one in need of justifying its claims to support. And it would seem that it could do so most definitively only by reference to the findings of a genuinely humanistic psychology.

Regrettably, this recognition of the primacy of humanistic psychology has not happened. Instead, mainstream psychology for the most part remains remarkably unconcerned by that perspective at all. Indeed, psychology's establishment actually resisted the inclusion of humanistic psychology in its grants, dissertations, textbooks, publications, curriculum, licensing examinations and accreditation standards. Traditional psychology largely remains so impervious to the appellation "humanistic" that it knows almost nothing about humanistic psychology and most of what it does know are wild misunderstandings. Its introductory textbooks, for example, whose stated aim is to provide a general survey of the discipline, offer — if anything — only the most limited and caricatured versions of humanistic psychology (see Churchill, 1988; Henley & Faulkner, 1989, for critiques of these presentations).

Evidently, the modifier "humanistic" is far from superfluous. Indeed, it now appears instead to represent the most divisive split in all of psychology. But how can this be? How can the term "humanistic" be the basis for internecine conflict in psychology, the very field that proclaims as its mission the discovery of the vicissitudes of being human?

Eschewing the term "humanistic," traditional psychology instead continued to define itself as a positivistic science modeled after the sciences of nature. Within the confines of that identity, psychology's basic premise and goal is that psychological life — presupposed as mechanistic — be eventually subjected to prediction and control. To more fully appreciate the alternative mission of humanistic psychology we should first reflect on its historical foundations and the relation between the humanistic approach with the natural science approach that has guided mainstream psychology.

Some writers consider humanistic psychology to be rooted in the same traditions that bore natural scientific psychology, namely modernity; and hence essentially linked with the fate of mainstream psychology — "as two sides of the modern coin" (Kvale, 1990, p. 45). From his postmodern perspective, Kvale sees that fate to be its increasing irrelevance to our contemporary situation. Certainly it is tempting to read humanistic psychology's concern for the individual self as indicative of this modernistic lineage. However, that reading fails to take into account an older ancestor, namely the humanism of the Renaissance. While many analysts date the advent of modernity with the Renaissance (Jencks, 1986; McKnight, 1989), and thereby fail to distinguish between

these two currents, Toulmin's (1990) analysis decisively corrects this view. He sees the seventeenth century's pursuit of strict rationality and its quest for certainty to be the origins of modernity, but points out that this project was a turn away from the Renaissance humanism that had immediately preceded it. The concerns of the Renaissance humanists for complexity, ambiguity, and a tolerance of diversity were set aside as the war-torn, crisis-ridden Europe of the 1600's sought to renounce ambiguity and embrace certitude, at all costs. Whereas the Renaissance humanists were interested in the oral, the particular, the local, the timely, the modern era valued the written, the universal, the general, and the timeless. As Toulmin summarizes, "the permanent was in, the transitory was out" (1990, p. 34). Toulmin's work provides a crucial understanding by which to differentiate the humanism of the Renaissance from the rationalism of modernity, and so avoid the fallacy of depicting humanism as rooted in modernity. On the contrary, modernity over-rode humanism, and suppressed its impact on culture. In the process, Renaissance humanism's "insistence on the value and centrality of human experience" (Bullock, 1985, p. 47) was replaced by positivistic science's reductionistic abstractions and objectifications of the human experience.

On the basis of this key distinction between these traditions, it is evident that — unlike humanism's Renaissance roots — traditional psychology is a child of modernity. As such, it becomes more clear why its allegiance is not fundamentally to "the value and centrality of human experience." Its quest for legitimation has depended upon its emulation of modernity's proudest achievement: the development of natural science. This imitation can be seen already underway as long ago as 1650 with Hobbes (1650/1964), whose formative conception of the contiguity of ideas provided the foundation for associationistic psychology. Hobbes was deeply influenced by the new empirical natural science being promulgated by Galileo. Following a visit to Galileo, Hobbes "became fascinated with the concept of motion as a powerful explanatory principle not only of the workings of the physical world but also of the mind" (Mandler & Mandler, 1964, p. 14). Specifically, "what excited Hobbes was the possibility of deducing new consequences from the laws of inertia to spheres in which it had not yet been applied" (Brett, 1962, pp. 380-381). Next, Hume, in 1739, was also much influenced by the physics — by then Newtonian — of his time. He compared the association of ideas to natural laws, declaring that "here is a kind of attraction which in the mental world will be found to have as extraordinary effects as in the natural" (Hume, 1739/1978, p. 12). Shortly afterwards, David

Hartley, in 1749, self-consciously borrowed foundational concepts from Newtonian physics also in his refinements of the doctrine of the association of ideas. He depicted the analysis of “complex ideas... into their simple compounding parts, i.e., into the simple ideas of sensation of which they consist” as being “greatly analogous to... resolving the color of the sun’s light, or natural bodies, into their primary constituent ones” (Hartley, 1749/1964, p. 83). Next, James Mill, in 1829, described cognition as a “mental mechanics” in which the contents of the mind are combined according to the laws of mechanics (Mill, 1829/1967).

By the time Wundt arrived on the scene to formally consecrate psychology as a natural science in the 1870’s, using chemistry’s table of elements as the model for his goal of tabulating the elements of the mind, psychology had already been very deliberately borrowing its basic conceptions from the natural sciences for more than two centuries. Therefore, one cannot argue, as some have tried (Skinner, 1971), that psychology’s own development was retarded by its lack of a scientific foundation for so long. Rather, it must be considered that these long-standing natural science foundations may be responsible for psychology’s impaired development. That this obvious retardation should be due to its imitation of the natural sciences at first seems strange, since those sciences were enjoying tremendous accomplishments, most clearly manifested in their attainment of an accelerating mastery of ever greater technological power over nature, evident by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Certainly one would think that these stunning achievements would insulate the model of the natural sciences from any possible critique. Nevertheless, Edmund Husserl, in the 1930’s, intrepidly announced that Western science in general was in a state of crisis (Husserl, 1936/1970, pp. 3-4). By means of his appraisal, the basis of psychology’s own deficiency can be made manifest. The crisis of which Husserl spoke was not at the level of practical successes. Rather, it was a crisis of what science meant and could mean for human existence. Specifically, the crisis was the exclusiveness with which the worldview of modernity had let itself become totalized by the attitude of the natural sciences. As Husserl (1936/1970, pp. 6-7) noted, “scientific objective truth is exclusively a matter of establishing what the world, the physical as well as the spiritual world, is in fact.” With that totalization, as Husserl noted, “merely fact-minded sciences make merely fact-minded people,” and so questions about that which is most specifically human, all questions termed “ultimate and highest” become “excluded questions” (Husserl, 1936/1970, p. 9). Husserl lists as excluded questions those concerned

with “genuine values... ethical action... and freedom.” But can the world, and human existence in it, truthfully have a meaning if the sciences recognize as true only what is objectively established in this fashion? What would become of human presence in such an exclusionary enterprise? Merleau-Ponty (1964/1968, pp. 14-15) provides this sharply satirical sketch of its fate:

[for science] the true is the *objective*, is what I have succeeded in determining by measurement, or more generally by the *operations* that are authorized by the variables... I have defined relative to an order of facts. Such determinations owe nothing to our *contact* with the things: they express an effort of approximation that would have no meaning with regard to the lived experience... Thus science began by excluding all the predicates that come to the things from our encounter with them. The exclusion is however only provisional: when it will have learned to invest it, science will little by little reintroduce what it first put aside as subjective; but it will integrate it as a particular case of the... objects that define the world for science. Then the world will close in over itself, and... we will have become parts or moments of the Great Object.

Precisely because of the technological success of the natural sciences, Husserl recognized how modernity became “blinded by the prosperity they produced” (p. 6) with the consequent “indifferent turning away from the questions which are decisive for a genuine humanity,” from those crucial and most burning “questions of the meaning or meaninglessness of the whole of this human existence” (p. 6). The consequence of totalizing this scientific exclusivity is the loss of the meaning of human existence, since science, as merely fact-centered, fails to address the question of meaning, and thereby promotes the belief in its reducibility or unreality. In other words, what is most immediately given in our spontaneous experience of a thing — that it presents itself *as* meaningful — ceases to be a focus for investigation. That meaningfulness is instead presumed to be a deterministically produced artefact of an underlying causal matrix. Along with this triumph of a deterministic viewpoint, warns Husserl, comes the “loss of faith in man’s freedom.” Such a collapse cuts right to the core of the human capacity for selfhood which, as Husserl shows, is not an object, residing in itself, but an event:

If man loses this faith, it means nothing less than the loss of faith “in himself,” in his own true being. This true being is not something he always already has, with the self-evidence of the “I am,” but something he only has and can have in the form of the struggle for

his truth, the struggle to make himself true. (Husserl, 1936/1970, p. 13)

It would seem, as it did to Husserl, that psychology should be the key discipline to withstand and counterbalance this erosion of the very meaningfulness by which we are fully human. It should be psychology's task, as the science of human existence, to explicate the newly enigmatic residue of subjectivity left in the wake of this exclusivity. Rather than accepting that mission, however, traditional psychology eagerly sought to enact its self-declared status as an empirical science of facts, a positivistic science of mechanistic determinism, a psycho-physics, a physiological psychology. Psychology, of course, has not yet developed any degree of technological mastery over its own dominion comparable to that achieved by the natural sciences. But that lacunae was self-excused by the complaint that it was much more difficult to achieve such a technology in its field. So many "variables" keep "intervening" in its experimental attempts to control human being, thereby limiting the scope of any successes to highly artificial laboratory conditions.

Despite its obvious failure to imitate the achievements of the natural sciences, psychology clings nevertheless to its tattered claim of membership in that club. Its justification for such continued regard is its insistence on the exclusive employment of a tightly rigorous scientific methodology. By at least *acting* just like an empirical science of facts, traditional psychology claims to be entitled to boast of someday achieving control over human existence. Dehydrated by the hegemony of a dry as dust empiricism, psychology has devoted itself to an approach so inhuman that caged, starved, mutated rats have become its primary subject matter. A penetrating look at this peculiar fascination of psychology will reveal how that dream of domination over the rat has been the exemplary ambition of both the pre-eminent paradigms in twentieth century scientific psychology: behaviorism and psychoanalysis. Each sought to control the rat at its own particular level of analysis, the former at the behavioral level, the latter at the level of unconsciousness.

Turning first to the behavioral level, Fred Wertz (1986) has shown in his brilliant examination of psychology's history with rats the ubiquity with which they have served as experimental subjects. In many years more than eighty percent of psychological experiments used rats, in the process devouring over a million rats per year. Indeed, it became an almost universally required rite of passage for psychology students to achieve control over a rat's behavior in order to earn their degree. Manipulating a rat to run through a maze or to press a bar at various

times and rates in response to a variety of specific stimuli has been the basis for tens of thousands of experiments throughout this century; studies that form the bedrock upon which psychology's scientific edifice was constructed. They constitute the very basis for justifying its recommendations for similar manipulation of human beings to ensure their submission to running "the rat race" for meager and intermittent reinforcement. Contemporaneously with the triumph of the machine age and the rise of the assembly line in the first decades of the twentieth century, psychology proffered its expertise as the discipline that could demonstrate how to enforce the endless repetition of rote behaviors, not to mention to achievement of docile compliance by the disturbed and incarcerated.

It was not only this external, behavioral, level that became subject to psychology's control. Wertz (1986) shows how the other significant tradition that arose at the beginning of the twentieth century, psychoanalysis, also aimed to control the rat. But its target was an inner rat. It was Freud's case of the Rat Man that seemed to show him, and society, the wild, irrational unconscious mind and demonstrated psychology's greater power to control it. The patient was nicknamed "the rat man" on account of his persistent anxious fantasy that someone would inflict a gruesome torture on his father and a woman he knew. This torture involved strapping a bucket full of hungry rats to their naked buttocks, whereupon the rats would eat their way up the person's anus. Freud exposed these terrifying rats as coming straight out of the person's own unconscious, and brought that untamed rat-nature under rational control. (That the newly cured patient was killed shortly afterwards in the massive battlefield slaughter of World War I offers us an ironic reflection of a larger, unaddressed, rat problem.)

In sum, a steadfast project to achieve control over the rat undergirds both traditions of scientific psychology — the very two paradigms against which humanistic psychology offers itself as an alternative "third force." But what makes the promise of rat control so deeply alluring? To understand those depths, it will be necessary to return to the pre-scientific experience of the rat, to the very experiential meanings presupposed by scientific psychology (which remains nevertheless founded upon them). For instance, the curiously pervasive presence of rats wherever there are people offers a starting point for such reflection. Alone among animal species, rats share with humans the same versatile ability to inhabit the entire range of climates on the planet. Go to the polar regions, and rats will be there. To the tropics. Rats again. Go thousands of miles over the ocean by ship. Lo and behold, rats have

accompanied the journey. This shadowy parallel of the rat to the human extends to many physiological characteristics the two share, including their similar glandular and neurological make-up, their carrying many of the same diseases, and their sharing many surprising behavioral similarities. Wertz (1986, pp. 144-146) cites a variety of sources to document many of these similarities, including the following: both are omnivorous; both eat their own kind in stressful situations; both have the same gender ratio; in both males are larger and females fatter; both breed in all seasons, especially the spring; both inbreed readily and hybridize easily; in both mothers care for their young while helpless and dependent while the male does little in the rearing of the offspring; both family groups huddle together, groom each other, and the young need touch to live; in both when the young attain maturity, they are evicted from the family and seek a new home of its own, sometimes in an altogether different community; if the rat lifespan were transposed onto a human scale, the rat would go through puberty at sixteen years and menopause at forty-five; both make war on their own kind, are individualistic until they need help, fight bravely when alone but only against weaker enemies, and organize to fight in hordes; neither has achieved social, commercial, or economic stability; the black rat's aggression against the brown rat resembles human's interracial persecutions; in wars of both species, the victors have been merciless.

As many of these similarities indicate, the rat is the mirror of the human; it reflects the dark side of human existence. To even call someone a "rat" is considered a gross insult. As Wertz (1986, p. 146) says:

if rats share something in common with humans, it is the *inhumanity* of man, expressing the despicable underside in a pure and unadulterated form which trails and follows man wherever he goes... This nameless, faceless, anonymous, selfish hoarding element of existence so purely embodied to the rat, is the hidden side, the blind spot of man's own being... We would rather not recognize these features of ourselves. We push them to the margins, leave them in the dark as we define ourselves in terms of justice, mercy, reason, creativity and individuality... we live by traditions, obedience, and the Good, denying with all our might that vague swarming which is still ourselves, but a wild, free self outside the range we have positively allowed ourselves.

In the service of that suppression, scientific psychology's program of rat control assumes a previously unrecognized relevance. The

thousands of experiments on rats show nothing if not the psychologist's ability to control every twitch and nuance of the rat's behavior. They seem to represent the hyper-fulfillment of the promise of domination, prediction, and control of "the rat." But when these experiments are examined more carefully, one cannot help but notice a peculiar substitution. Those laboratory rats are small, docile, and white. They have been deliberately mutated and bred for generations for laboratory use. They seem most unlike the rats encountered in the real world beyond the psychologist's lab. They are nothing like those large and fearsome rats that lurk in the sewers of our civilization. Indeed, these tiny, pale white things have never even lived on their own, and would most likely merely die if turned loose. Experimentally manipulating them seems only an illusion of progress, a deceptive sham. Even here, in its most privileged realm, psychology's dream of domination and control reveals itself to be a misguided and pathetic failure, the denial of which is sustained only by psychology's self-deceptive hubris. Wertz calls for a re-evaluation of this modernist enterprise of rat control. It is time to re-examine how that psychology has projected a false ideal, and led to alienation.

Have we of the twentieth century... in our singular attempt to annihilate our troubles — merciless nature, the bestial, the childish, the criminal, the insane, the sick, and so on — ceased to understand each other and ourselves inasmuch as all our lives, psychologists' included, contain these themes? Again and again we have met the paradox that the rat offers man no confirmation in its resolute otherness and negativity, and yet holds the mirror before humanity. In our quest to eliminate the rat we have paradoxically lost our very humanity. (1986, p. 164)

Is there an alternative? Wertz himself suggested that "only by owning our partial yet inevitable rat likeness might we approach our full humanity" (1986, p. 164). How could psychology contribute to this approach? Can psychology assist this vital ownership of being fully human, and so come into possession of itself as an authentic and originary perspective on human existence? Humanistic psychology says yes, and seeks to do so by more integratively encompassing the human. Humanistic psychology replaces traditional psychology's elementism with a philosophy of holism, and so does not suppress the shadowy mirror of the rat, nor seek domination over it. In place of such a bankrupt promise of manipulation and domination, humanistic psychology offers a fundamentally different hope. Beyond the scope of the

natural scientific quest for power and control, lies an alternative humanistic vision of what is needed:

We need a psychology of affirmation, not control; a psychology of witness and recognition, not test and measurement; a psychology of deep commemoration, not superficial prediction... A psychology of embrace, not engulfment. There must be a way of fostering power and action instead of docility and consumption; a tolerance for ambiguity and compassion in the face of difference rather than fearful sterilization and normalization. (Wertz, 1986, p. 165).

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Creativity and the Methodological Debate: A Mytho-Historical Reflection

Mike Arons

Qualitative Research: Myth and Historical Reality

In Antoine Saint-Exupery's (1943) story, *le Petit Prince*, a Turkish astronomer, garbed in native dress, presents a paper at an international conference describing his discovery of a new asteroid. His announcement is met with polite indifference. He returns several decades later to the conference, but now in European garb since Turkey had meanwhile nationalized. He presents the same paper about the same asteroid and he is acclaimed for his great discovery.

Something like this is the reason that human science and qualitative research are having such a struggle trying to gain recognition. Those for whom it is suited have not yet recognized their need for it. This is due, largely, to its wrapping which is confounded with philosophy and introspection. The philosophical critique of the old psychology methods and the digging of the groundwork for new qualitative research in the social sciences have been in the process of development for a century, particularly in Europe. In the United States, the Duquesne school, above all, has been Spartan in its labour of translating philosophical foundations into rigorous, fertile and original research methods for the social sciences (e.g., Giorgi, 1970).

I would like to propose and defend a more optimistic view about the future of qualitative research. We may be at the point of beholding the mountain coming to Mohammed. For good reason, which will become evident, I am going to put my focus on American psychology in this paper and suggest that as a delayed reaction, it is about to open up to human science approaches. In the end of his life, Carl Rogers, for instance, was enthused and enthusing others about new qualitative approaches that are so well attuned to demands for meaning, complexity and wholeness inherent to the humanistic vision of man (Arons, 1985). American psychology had, after all, undergone, during the sixties and seventies, a major shift in faculty and student interest from the academic-research (dominated by natural science models) to the professional-applied end of the field. Rogers had helped lead this displacement of psychology's center of gravity. It is encouraging just to have heard him re-emphasize research in its newly developing qualitative approaches.

But my basis for optimism is only bolstered by such good signs. What is being expressed has, in my opinion, a much deeper foundation. The dialectical movement in the direction of qualitative approaches to research in American psychology began in the fifties with the emergence of a historical clash between two Titans. One Titan was the quantitative methodology which dominated American psychology. The other was a human subject matter called 'creativity,' so dreaded by the former. Yet, the encounter was fated. Since the confrontation has all the qualities of myth, it is best to at least introduce the story by taking full advantage of the power of myth.

Quantitative methodology ruled the entire kingdom of psychology and all its neighboring social sciences. So consolidated had become the dominance of this approach and so distanced by apparent success from its own family origins, that these origins were never spoken of except in terms flattering to the method. This methodology would tell stories about itself and its ascendancy to dominance. It would read from the scriptures of Auguste Comte about the primitives who inhabit both history and subjectivity, of the slow rise of its ancestors from animism and projection through noble attempts of peoples and the mind to grapple with realities beyond their fears and desires. Mentioned often is Uncle Physics, who by his boldness and originality conquered the physical world from the aging and waning King Philosophy. He had lithographs of Uncle Physics' conquests which he showed whenever asked or given the opportunity. All knew that Uncle Physics was the model for this

methodology's conquests in the land of the psyche (in any event, the land had once been called psyche). What was never told, or perhaps even remembered, in royal circles where background is a matter of some consequence, were the differences between the ways that this methodology achieved dominance in psychology as compared, really contrasted with the ways Uncle Physics had taken over from old King Philosophy. If the truth be known and honestly stated, this methodology, ruler of psychology and the social sciences, inherited nearly everything of what it has become from Uncle Physics. Of course, Uncle Physics had earned his success the hard way. The methods of Physics evolved slowly and in relationship to the encounters with the physical world and at a point it became evident to both winner, Physics, and loser, Philosophy, that the latter had nothing comparable to offer. Philosophy retired from the physical world with dignity. Being a noble fellow, he helped out Uncle Physics when and wherever he could. But things were different in psychology and the other social sciences. The philosophers knew that while the method had introduced a new language and a set of impressive formalities, psychology had never left the oldest questions asked during the days when King Philosophy reigned. It simply crowned itself a better manager of these questions than philosophy who had centuries earlier raised them. But this was merely a matter of double theft: questions from Philosophy; method from Uncle Physics. The story of ancestry is more sordid though. It starts with an incestuous relationship. Uncle Physics was ruling a land of subjects who were natively different from himself. Thus he could more easily respect them as strangers and employ the most effective, if necessarily indirect, means to get to know them and by this understanding of their ways would they come slowly to yield to his rule. But, alas, the relationship between the psychologist and his subject matter was, to put it discreetly, more intimate. Indeed, if in psychology there was to be a relationship at all which could appear honorable, it was necessary that the new reigning methodology forced, by extraordinary double contortion, a distance between the human psychologist and the human subject matter. The first part of the contortion was not hard to effect because the prying instrument to gain cleavage was borrowed from Uncle Physics. It was called the objective attitude through which the psychologist could distance himself from himself. Kings must always keep this distance. There was a ritual called scientific education which taught how this is done. Or, if one were clever, he could merely recite the incantation, over and over, that I am a scientist, and all the rest of this humanness, especially that nasty pre-scientist

stuff, would just vanish. But to assure this, the method as applied had built-in constraints and red light signals just in case some lyrical subjectivity managed to whistle its way through. The second part of the contortion was hard, for this was something the methodology in psychology never could borrow but had to improvise on its own. Here it was a matter of making human subjects into objects, like those of the physical world. This double contortion had put a strain in the land of psychology. The philosophers have never ceased to talk about this strain because, after all, they are concerned with ultimate truths. They not only sense, but fully understand both the basis and burden in debt to fate which psychology carries.

Some who tell stories, liken the situation of the psychology's natural science methodology to the Hindu symbol of the snake which is eating its own tail, pretending not to know or being dumb to the foreseeable consequences should this incestuous relationship continue unabated. In any event, the method assures that the distinction between pretending and dumb is merely academic. Once the method starts eating away, it never sees more than a nibble in advance and, at that, has established all the skepticism and safeguards to assure no recognition of itself in its mouth.

Others liken the strain to the story of Oedipus, who while escaping his fate becomes, like the method, king, intelligently ruling over subjects whose problems he cannot possibly understand, for lack of understanding of himself. The strain is not reduced until Oedipus encounters pre-scientific subjectivity through a primitive yank at the emotions. I like this version because it offers me the lever to move to the major point of this article. That is, that American psychology in the 1950's met Tiresias in the form of creativity.

Somewhere between the Dumb and the Blind

Nearly anything that was new, democratic sounding and not boring was welcome to America at the time it gave refuge to functionalism in its behaviouristic form. It is as if William James were a bridge between a boring German and an evangelical American attempt at objectivity — a role for which he would certainly not wish to be remembered. But he might have been dismayed, though not surprised, to have seen the day when the latter became as trivial and pedantic as the former. Given its early promise of instant success, one might wonder how the new American psychology could have postponed its day of reckoning until the 1950's.

That question lends itself to interesting thoughts. Survival of the new psychology, once defeated in its introspectionist form, rode on playing safe and dumb. Its safety was a cocoon it built around itself, making it impervious to criticisms from without and even within. As a science it was now in a class progressively beyond philosophy — out of earshot — and in any event, it spoke a new and esoteric language of jargon and operational definitions intentionally disconnected from natural language. Its taste for elements served to segmentalize its enterprises into micro-specialties and increasingly isolated psychology from the once related, but now distant, fields of social science. But even these seemed not much more distant than any subfield of psychology from another. If the cocoon developed on the outside, the isolating mechanism operated from within. It was a new science which, it seemed fair, could only approach the subject matter incrementally beginning with the simplest indications of ‘humanness’ first - which often meant animal studies. However, this was the way of forestalling the day when that psychology had to encounter a humanness more than its match. That would turn out to be the titan Creativity.

It could avoid thinking about such things by substituting for a reality check of its own, a *priori* assumptions borrowed, like its method, from other fields about the depth and scope of the human subject. Hedonism largely provided the energetics and functionalism the telos. This obviated the need for a philosophy of humanness and also provided the inherent justification for predictability and potential control. The American society, stretched by pluralism, needed a psychology of adjustment hush to collectively breathe. Its past, like that of its psychology, viewed obsolescent, left nothing but progress to consider. And signs of progress were everywhere in America. Psychology benefitted here. For unlike its unfortunate European cousins who had to communicate with their pre-scientific colleagues, American psychology was granted early and total autonomy from philosophy.

Playing dumb was a game learned from the positivists who called it objectivity. By this, for whatever else it’s benefits, a split occurs between the man and scientist. The scientist played dumb to the man, to his feelings — to his own personal experience. He was already playing dumb to the pre-sciences. It was fair for the scientist to peek, on off-hours, in the interest of his creativity — which he was allowed to call a “gut feeling” — but none of this stolen fruit was to be recognizable in the scientific formulation of the product. By an interesting pact, ratified in the American constitution, to insure the purity of both, a stiff arm distance was also to be kept between the secular and the religious. Max

Weber (1958) thinks that Protestantism is that arm. This situation also permitted psychology to play dumb to the claims of an invisible spiritual world proclaimed by those of blind faith. There is no doubt plenty of room for misunderstanding and mischief when a society stands between the authorities of the dumb and the blind. One really does not understand where either of them is at or if they at all have anything in common. The Church-secular split in America took a different form than that tried elsewhere. In America, students received their spiritual training in Sunday school and not, as in France, by means of historically raised spiritual questions now examined in secular philosophy. Where American education, after formalities were dispensed with, led unabashedly toward the functional, i.e., social adjustment and jobs, French education led toward "culture generale" and "l'annee philosophique."

Where the disturbed adolescent in France was likely seen as passing through "la crise spirituelle," requiring intimacy and self-exploration, his counterpart in America was sent to the counselor for a dose of 'social adjustment.' Those in America who found no comfortable home in the dogmas of the church and yet found adjustment less than a satisfying escatology, and who had abandoned past cultural and ethnic identities in the name of progress could easily feel like spiritual orphans. It was a state of uneasiness widely enough spread to spawn the sort of social reaction which erupted in the 1960's. This same spiritual void would spawn the creativity and humanistic reaction within American psychology.

But that is the key encounter we are not yet prepared to face. The matter of playing dumb took several forms: e.g., split of scientist from man [himself] and his object [once man]; split of positivist from philosophy and pre-science; split of autonomous psychologist from colleagues and split of thinking man from blind faith. The matter of playing dumb was supported from within by *a priori* motor—telos assumptions of wholeness, and supported from without by a society sharing values of the functional subject and progressive methods. Combined, these all amounted to the obverse side of their promised benefits: to massive suppression.

The combination of a sequestered dumbness, as our educators and psychoanalytic colleagues would remind us, is pregnant with explosive future possibilities, both fortunate and unfortunate. One might say that the form American psychology took amounted to a bet with very high stakes. The bet was that the method with its progressive objective of prediction and control could ultimately devour, at least on its own terms, the subject. The price of failure would be that not dissimilar to the fate

of Wundt and Titchener's structuralism, but perhaps much worse, given the magnitude of the suppression of history and subjectivity required by the boldness of this new leap. To the advantage of American psychology, the day of the crucial test could be forestalled for reasons offered above, until something unexpected, outside the method's control capabilities, would occur, i.e., a rebellion from its supportive society and/or from within in a form psychology could not ignore without denying itself and its *raison d'être*.

Creativity: Internal Combustion

By the 1950's social adjustment and conformity had become less distinguishable, at least in the public mind, and the latter had reached stages of epidemic proportions (e.g., Goodman, 1960). The Sputnik shock bolted its way into the complacent social consciousness prodding an immediate and subsequent realization. The immediate, that America produced few of its native born or educated creative scientists and, subsequent, that science and technology for all their contributions to progress and material gifts were providing little concomitant self-understanding or personal satisfaction. Remedies for the first, i.e., a tight return to the intrinsics of education, especially to mathematics and science, were reversed and finally overwhelmed by attempted remedies for the second. American education offering little to satisfy the hunger for self-exploration and science offering little in this direction or even personal satisfaction from its products, resulted in an extreme loosening and broadening of education. This reaction was coupled with a growing aversion to science, technology and materialism, and also to conformity, making jobs and professions. The social revolution of the 1960's was on. But its parting shot, creativity, preceded it by a decade (Asch, 1952).

This new hunger for self-exploration made European-based existentialism, and Western and Eastern transcendentalism widely popular reading. The psychedelic movement gave an instant vision of the universe within, paling by contrast social life as lived and, especially, psychology's laboratory version of it (Leary, 1983). The interest in both existentialism and mysticism, though from different tracks, led towards and from the central station of creativity. Creativity was now on the table for psychology, forced by the society. Why had not the functionalistic model in psychology, education and life produced the source inspiration for progress? Why were the "obsolescent" cultures, at home or by immigrant ambassadors, producing the basic creative stuff of science?

From the side of the students of psychology came the question: "is that all there is?"

The subject of creativity provided a perfect vehicle to negotiate a break from fixed patterns of thinking and unquestioned assumptions both about giftedness in the scientist and personal growth. Creativity had that horizontal quality of what Merleau-Ponty (1964) called "ultra choses" very apt for an area of recognized human potential historically ensconced in such an aura of respect, awe and mystery. Creativity had other special qualities not easily dismissed, mechanized or reduced away by psychologists trained in such arts. It had tangible and valued utilitarian products, unlike religion and mysticism whose experiential claims could be reduced to illusion, delusion and consolidation. These creative products were often authored by psychologists themselves and placed as originating in their "gut feelings." Science itself was becoming a contemporary expression of the new, the novel — of creativity and, as Bronowski (1958) was to claim, the scientific method was itself the single most creative product invented by Western culture. Creativity could not be denied legitimate status as a research subject without at the same time denying the self-image of the scientist.

What was to make creativity particularly indomitable in terms of resistance to dismissal, mechanization or reduction was the inherent significance of the term 'originality,' which by definition implies the unpredictable. This was the most inherently frightening aspect of this word, to a psychology operating from a model of prediction and control. It posed the distinct possibility of a human process itself as being unpredictable. Furthermore, 'originality' is a two vectored word. One vector is towards the origins. Here, in the regressive relationship of the new to the origins was the specter of possibility most ominous in its implications for a psychology which had in the name of positive progress expediently suppressed its historical past and personal subjectivity (Burt, 1952; Krippner & Arons, 1973).

Indeed, the studies on creativity were to reveal a great distinction between the creative and non-creative scientist. The latter, like his method, more characterized by repression or suppression of complexity, disdain for ambiguity and equivocal symbols, compulsive rigor and preference for control and order at all stages. The former, characterized by much the opposite plus a non-pathological emotional lability; strong 'primary process' activity; holistic or Gestalt (rather than elementistic) life and organization styles; and strong interest in self-discovery and personal development. Above all, the creative scientist, and more so the

artist, were hardly recognized by their exemplary social adjustment (MacKinnon 1962; Barron, 1963).

Maslow (1962) was to find in the profile of the creative individual, among whose ranks he recognized few of his colleagues, striking correlaries to the traits he was finding in his self-actualizing subjects. For instance, the literature on both groups speaks of “peak” and “transcendent” experience (which would become foundational experiences for transpersonal psychology). Maslow discerned two versions of creativity: one centered on talent, the other characterized by a special spontaneity and originality of life style. Here Maslow both popularized creativity — a spur to the human potentials movement gathering rapid momentum in the United States — and linked creative and Zen perception, and frequency of peak and mystic experiences among creative self-actualizers. The artist John Ferran had come to make this link between the traditionally “talent centered creative” and the “mystic” in a more direct manner. He suggested that the artist would be drawn by inspiration towards completion of the work of art. The mystic would reinvest his inspiration towards self-expansion and greater mystical unity. The creative process in the scientist was presumably similar to that in the artist, both having a potentially mystical side. Such links between creativity and mystical experience have a considerable history in the humanities at large (e.g., Laski, 1962).

This creative-mystical nexus represented in positive and psychological health terms that which had been fundamentally rejected in favour of the method (e.g., consciousness, ambiguity, equivocal symbolism, the mythological and even the mystical). Psychology did what it could to turn torrid creativity into a tepid sub-field except in applied areas (e.g., Torrance, 1976) where it has pretty much languished over the years or has been theoretically reduced to a form of information processing. But as the emergence of cognitive psychology itself indicates, along with dozens of new professional divisions, psychology has never been the same since the creative part of the creativity revolution occurred. Both its foundations and *a priori* models of the human have been wounded and remain vulnerable.

Creativity: Reaction within Psychology

While the more mystical dimensions of Maslow (1971), and certainly much of the popular extensions of the creativity revolution, could be underplayed or dismissed by academic psychology, other more indigenous and traditionally empirical wings of the rebellion opened by

creativity research could not, at least not without intolerable family squabbles. Some of this research was quite explicit in confronting itself to both the method and major productions of psychology at that time. In his 1950 Presidential Address before the American Psychological Association, Guilford (1952) explicitly set up such an opposition. Among the four reasons he gave for the relative lack of interest into creativity prior to the fifties (fewer than one hundred publications before and over one thousand by the end of that decade) were: excessive preoccupation with IQ tests; domination of learning theory; and prevalence of excessively rigid methodological standards. The fourth, lack of adequate criteria by which to define creativity, has its own interest for us which we will come to in its time.

But the opposition was more often implicit in the form of focus, questions asked and research variables selected for study. In a nutshell, the criteria developed for defining creativity were fashioned largely in terms of what was now recognized as *not* creativity or even anticreativity or, put differently, in terms of those characteristics in psychology and society now being recognized as sterile. But this meant that the creativity research itself was largely fashioned by that which it opposed, making this research a significant expression of the local socio-historical context. Some examples of the implicit oppositions characteristic of the creativity research of the period will be discussed (Arons, 1965).

Historically, interest in creativity had largely focused on art and the artist. The research interest flourishing in the 1950's focused more on science and the scientist. As Hudson (1966) conjectured on this shift, creativity was being updated to the new cultural heroes. The scientist was now seen in a new light, previously reserved mainly for the artist. By that widely held view, artistic products such as Shakespeare's character, Hamlet, were unique, irreproducible, products of the creator's imagination. On the other hand, scientific products such as laws of conservation of energy were mere discoveries of realities that any scientist at some point would potentially find. Now the updated formulation expressed by Bronowski (1958) suggested that great scientific products, like art products, were unique individual construals of reality.

This new formulation — linking science to individual originality — had significant implications as regards the status of scientific method. In science viewed as discovery, the role of the (discovering) method becomes dominant. But if the great leaps of progress of science churn around the individual creative scientist more than around the method, then an understanding of that uniqueness is essential. This leads to such questions as to the conditions for creativity, implicating the educational,

laboratory and social conditions. Opposing existent to ideal conditions in creativity research, the former were found seriously wanting and even antagonistic to the latter. In a word, turning particularly to psychology, the over-emphasis on the importance of method and, as Guilford (1952) states, this particular objectivistic method as then applied, proves to be an obstacle not only to the study of creativity but to nurturing creativity itself.

What of the values of personal selection and educational preparation for science? With a stress on the power of method, these are one thing; a stress on the creative power of the individual, these are quite another. Preparation to serve the method more appropriately stresses the systematic, standardized and that which is convergent towards broad and specific ends; that requiring precise and efficient thinking within defined parameters; that affording a great tolerance for deferral of reward; that social in the sense of shared mission, forms and communication and that void of the personal subjective. By contrast, preparation to serve personal creativity more appropriately stresses the pre-systematic or that largely aimed at intuitive development; that which stresses the ideographic, impulsive, divergent towards possibilities, the metaphorical and symbolic; that which is open to the chaotic, iconoclastic and rebellious and that which is strongly dependent on access to vital emotion and personal experience (Barron, 1963).

To the question of what are, in fact, the generalized characteristics of those selected (or who self-select) to enter science, Hudson (1966), no uncritical supporter of creativity research, acknowledges that the creativity literature supports a view that physical scientists do evade personal issues and the psychologist "does something even more odd... he tries to make sense of the human experience by reifying it." These observations are relative to the larger point made earlier in this chapter that scientists tend to be deniers or suppressors of the personal.

The area of creativity research which provokes Hudson to these observations is that in which creative potential is differentiated from intellectual potentials as measured by IQ tests. The IQ test, as Guilford suggests, becomes an important symbol and concrete vehicle for creativity research. The creativity research expresses at once that which is inadequate in terms of educational preparation and personal selection for science and that which is inadequate to both the psychological and social view of 'functionalist' man. The consistently high correlations boasted between IQ scores and educational, social and vocational success, prove to be the lever which energizes the new assault on educational, personal and social values. Convergent thinking is centrally

valued in both test items and educational curricula, at the nearly complete expense of 'divergent' thinking (Getzels & Jackson, 1962).

Both in IQ tests and in education, pure convergent thinking comes to be recognized as leading to standard conservative goals and values. Both turn out to be vehicles expressing and enforcing functionalistic values, including social, professional and psychological goal-directedness. Both value, first of all, goal directedness itself and both value externally set socially reified goals such as scientist or professional, which require step by step purging of all 'irrelevancies' not pertaining to these socially valued ends. This is where, once again, suppression comes in. For both the answers to the tests and vocational goals are measured by reduction to simple form, exclusion or rational instrumentalizing of emotion in the service of goals (called motivation), preference for symmetry and preference for the efficient rather than the complex, ambiguous or paradoxical (Getzels & Jackson, 1962; Torrance, 1976).

The relationship between IQ and functionalist psychological and social values had been made decades earlier by Terman himself, whose standardized Stanford-Binet test accounted for much of the popular wide appeal and application of IQ tests in American education. Arguing generally against past conceptions of the frail and emotionally unstable caricature of the creative genius, and specifically a renewed version of this caricature proposed by Lange-Eichbaum (1932), Terman and Oden (1947) concluded that their follow-up of high IQ subjects had shown them to be biologically superior and to be characterized by "all around social adjustment." In a word, Terman's IQ-tested geniuses were models of Darwinian survival. Of course this was the correlate of psychology's model of superior psychological health, notably with its stress on adjustment to social reality.

Now contrasted to these values implicit to IQ and explicit to psychology generally, the new model for psychological health and success emerged in the name of creativity. Counted among Terman's geniuses "were no individuals who succeeded as Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, etc." an admission Terman explains away by the role luck plays in achievement of creative renown and by contemporary pressures towards specialization. The creativity literature suggests, quite differently, that lack of creative renown of Terman's high IQ geniuses is more associated with the values and forms which underlay his testing instrument itself. The creative individual reaches into inner resources: these he has nurtured and to them he has continuous access. He prizes both self-realization and self-actualization, deals with the experienced

world intrinsically rather than instrumentally and is prone to take psychological, creative and spiritual risks (Maslow, 1971).

Yet the creative individual measured for originality (or other creative characteristics) and those who were already recognized for their creative contributions now serving as subjects, are not lacking in social or psychological reality orientation. Quite the contrary, so strong, characteristically, are the 'egos' of the creative that like the Master at martial arts, these persons could skillfully suspend their 'secondary process' functioning in the interest of exploring the possibility of greater unities of reality (Kris, 1953). This process of "regression in the service of ego," indeed the entire process connected with creative activity, not infrequently opened the individual in the creative process to experiences and realms of reality inaccessible to those centered mostly on the task of survival and adjustment: connections between individuals; sense of personal and collective teleology beyond survival; and ability to see the sacred — at least the significant — in the 'banal.' Frank Barron, among others, was to draw this relationship between the creative individual and the new vision of the psychologically healthy personality (Barron, 1963).

Enough has been said to indicate how much the creative research was connected with and served as an expression of a reaction from within and against the standards of the time in American psychology and society. Yet the point seems self-defeating. For if we are dealing with a local revolution limited to a mid-twentieth century American context, then the implications for the broader question of methodology seem weak or non-existent. I suggest the contrary is the case. It is precisely the relativism of the event which gives it more universal meaning.

Broader Implications for the Field

It is the uniqueness of context and meanings which makes the creativity revolution both a matter of local and international relevance. If one can look at America as the California of the Western World, it can be viewed as an experimental laboratory of that world. These are terms that many American psychologists would likely feel at home with. However, psychologists wrapped in the notions that their approach is 'objective,' i.e. not culture-bound, and their knowledge a progressive product of slow methodological accrual, would be less likely to acknowledge or appreciate the experiment, or test, in which they have been key participants. Even more certainly, the psychologists would likely not admit or realize what was at stake in this test: the very foundations of the method itself as applied in the human sciences.

But events cannot be denied. After the 1950's, American psychology exploded into literally hundreds of splinters, represented by the proliferation of divisions and specialties in the American Psychological Association. Its gravitational center shifted to cognition, but now within seeing range of the more extraordinary possibilities raised during the creativity revolution and its even more radically suggestive offshoots. The research/academic, once unchallenged king, has been supplanted in popularity and influence by the professional and applied ends of psychology. In brief, American psychology has been altered radically since the 1950's, but has yet to take full stock of the directions and meanings suggested by these changes or to reformulate its subject matter and methods in terms of these.

The conservative temper which currently eclipses the United States, has led to a period for reformulation. The reformulation has begun at the guild and political end. Lost territories are being reclaimed (at the academic research level) and newly gained money, power and influence consolidated (in the applied areas). The academics are moving towards more standardized curricula and more control over the applied ends through means of accreditation. The professionals, big political winners of the past twenty years, are attempting to consolidate their gains through control of professional schools, licensure, political lobbying, control over state organizations and other guild serving instruments. The battle passes through the political arena. It has not yet passed through the ideological arena.

Yet, in my opinion, it is the ideological reformulation which is brewing beneath the surface and which strongly favors an opening to human science or qualitative research. The past twenty years have been characterized by a mass migration from the research end of psychology. The period has been characterized more by personal search than collective research. This was, in a sense, a return to the medieval, but also to the Eastern emphasis on personal and direct salvation rather than on the rationalist collective and indirect salvation represented by the model of science (Arons, 1976). Unencumbered by positivistic skepticism and methodological presuppositions, universes of human possibility have been opened during this period of search. The search has carried the searchers to and through vast territories rejected or deferred by scientific psychology but now, by its own routes, reopened ironically in certain areas of quantum physics and neurology (Wilber, 1984). This search in its many forms has been largely centered around consciousness, that term most completely rejected by the behaviourists.

These forms have been psychological, spiritual and social as in expanded or altered states of consciousness and Black, Feminist, Gay or Ecological consciousness. The paths of consciousness have not led only to, though perhaps through, a new 'individualism' in the form of narcissism but, rather, to two newly realized or newly appreciated planes of intrinsic human connectedness. The first is ecological, the second spiritual. I stress here the intrinsic connectedness. These planes of connectedness are there and call for discovering and preserving rather than to be formed actively in individual and collective self-interest.

With this new awareness, the post-Renaissance rationalistic necessity for mastery and control of self and environment is relativized. The other planes of human connectedness, such as the social, economic and political become less ends in themselves for survival and more instruments in the service of personal and collective fulfillment. People are less to be seen as instruments who sacrifice their awareness of intrinsic planes and connectedness in the interest of deferred rewards from science and society.

These reflective observations are not, I conceded, measurable facts which describe current realities. But these are also not merely subjective fantasies in the sense that they now have natural, i.e., scientific factual (e.g., ecological) and experiential (e.g., spiritual) grounding. What is significant about the double sense of connectedness, ecological and spiritual, is that they are now directly and popularly experienced as realities. Intuitively, they have been grasped and by their intrinsic natures, provide, ontologically, an existential ground for humanness. Epistemologically, they make more palatable the Kantian based intuitive mode of knowing rather than the skeptical Human based philosophies. The need to find external sources of knowledge and causality and even the need for 'motivation' in that extrinsic sense which fueled the past models of the human in the social sciences, is now situated rather than absolute. Seen in this way, epistemology now has regained intrinsic sources, opened and directed by awareness from that of which it is aware. In this same view, axiology is now intrinsically grounded, raising serious questions about the long range prospects of success for a 'value-free' science. Explanation, which implies an inherent pre-rational dumbness to that area which 'connects' a cause and an effect, is supplemented by understanding which speaks to an awareness of the necessity of reflectively thematized connections.

Such a climate, which is largely the legacy of the informal exploration of experience and consciousness of the past two decades, bodes well for human science or qualitative research. There is now a research

void to be filled. It is likely that those who have been influenced by the climate of that period, whatever the disciplinary choice, will be more amenable to — even insistent on — a reformulation taking into account dimensions and domains of human experiences no longer hidden by suppression or dogmatic philosophical assumptions of the past. Indeed, the holistic values of these past two decades portend a breaking down of the walls separating past disciplines which were predicated on elementism and certain alienating assumptions which are now relativized. There is evidence at symposia on qualitative research and also within academic settings, of the preference of many young faculty and students for more integrated or multidimensional approaches to the human sciences.

Convergence of Creativity and Method

The above speculations are based not solely on conjecture from current observation of trends. They have a base in necessity, the necessity revealed within and about the human subject, starting with the creativity revolution, which require new epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions to ground research into the human. The creativity revolution reveals a different human potential from that assumed by current research philosophies. For example, originality, by definition, is not predictable. Creative science is powered by this apparent potential for unpredictability but its methodological assumptions ignore it. In fact, developing philosophies of method which emphasize understanding and recognition more than explanation and utility, seem more attuned to the human potential revealed by the creativity literature than the tenets of natural science. Let us consider examples of this attunement, or at least the apparent convergence between the new methods and creative potential.

The phenomenologist-hermeneutician, Ricoeur (1970), is one of several who have formally observed the relationship between the psychoanalytic “topographical domain” of the preconscious central to creativity, and meanings of consciousness reached through the process of phenomenological reduction. In creativity, Kris’s (1953) “regression in the service of ego,” though not identical, has some correspondence in terms of process to Husserl’s phenomenological reduction, centered on the term ‘*epoche*’ which intentionally ‘frees’ or gives access to preconscious material. This particular form of suspension of judgment, this bracketing, has its approximate corollary in the creative process in terms of putting ‘aside’ one frame of reference, letting it ‘gestate’ while

dealing with others, all awaiting a 'deeper' sense of meaning or unity, a new essential relationship. Suspension of judgment is hardly a concept alien to the methods in the natural sciences. But where and how it is founded 'topographically' relative to creativity or phenomenology is an issue of theoretical and practical importance.

The creative process follows, again, along the lines of phenomenology in terms of the relationship of the subject-object, in acknowledging the inherent kinship of the 'two.' Nonetheless, this explicit admission allows for differentiation and for appreciation of uniqueness, a basis for unpredictability of the subject-object. This recognition of difference within continuity and inexhaustibility places much of the field of understanding in the domain of immediate diversity and conflicts of lived world meanings. These lived conflicts appear in the creative process as a tolerance for ambiguity and complexity and a resistance to reductionism from consciousness of convenient but distorting tendencies towards the normative.

This same multi-significant and contradictory world has focus both in phenomenology and particularly, in hermeneutics where the passage from meaning to meaning both differentiates and reveals essential relationships not grasped in the state of 'premiere naive.' The creative potential to subtly attune to isolated but significant indications of essential meaning — such as Freud's example of the unstable position of the tablets in Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses — suggests correspondence to the significant experienced-revealed essence relationship recognized in phenomenology.

Little need be said about the new appreciation in many fields, including philosophy and hermeneutical psychology, for the creative value of the symbol. This newly rediscovered appreciation for symbolism coincides with the characterization of creative thinking as metaphorical. For all the justified objections to language, symbol and, particularly metaphor, as subjective obstacles to scientific knowledge, much creative thinking even at the scientific level proves to be metaphorical. This implies that one does not pass to the complexity of creative human thinking, experience, meaning and action without passing through the thickets of language and symbolic thought, and "language is the source of all misunderstanding," wrote Sainte-Exupery (1943).

Specific suggested correlatives can be added to and even multiplied. But there is a much broader level at which creativity research and human or qualitative research join. They both push subjectivity to its limits, and although the former path is not made explicit, the latter's is. For both, subjectivity is a form of objectivity in the sense that the object

is the guide and the relationship called for is one characterized in the creativity literature as “detached-engagement.” One could speculate that this relationship to the world experienced has its own correlaries in the philosophies of religion, East and West, a Taoist perception or a Biblical view of the “in but not of the world.” Implied is a respect for uniqueness as well as the continuity and extension presented within creative ‘space’ or ‘distancing.’

The intelligence required of both human science research and creativity is recognized as broader and different from that measured by utilitarian tests, particularly standardized tests. Such an expanded sense of intelligence or ‘esprit’ is not apart from empathy, sensitivity, self-awareness, emotional validity, significance of values and the sense of personal and human destiny. Human destiny is different from but evidently implicated in progress of the scientific variety. The studies on creativity have undermined much of, at least, the common meaning of progress associated with positivistic assumptions (these implicit as well to IQ testing). Maslow (1962) realized this but stopped short of smashing the idol of science as the only form of inquiry which could ‘progress.’ He asked that science take into account, as heuristics, the contributions from the pre-sciences, i.e., art, poetry, philosophy, theology. However, he fell into trap of construing all progress in a single, more linear, manner like that characterized by technology.

Boirel (1961) points out that the pre-sciences also progress but in a qualitatively different way. The relationship in technology between a TX-1 model and an advanced TX-2 model is one of defined improvement. The relationship between impressionism and cave art, on the other hand, is one of expanded views and meanings of reality. In art, unlike technology, the recent progression does not render the earlier product obsolete. Science, according to Boirel, has dimensions and qualities of both technology and the consciousness expanding pre-sciences. The creativity literature is rather explicit in establishing the essential relationship in the interest of creative contributions to ‘progress’ as, to use Ricoeur’s (1970) terms, one of Arche—Telos. It offers the resources for and the possibility of revitalization of the sedimented symbols and meanings of the past, historically and personally, in the interest of the creative work or creative living. The creative literature, best illustrated by the work of Barron (1963), insists on the creative individual’s access to continuity between early and recent experience, all of which serves as resources in the creative effort. This continuity with ‘past’ or ‘the subjective’ — living with all the meanings and complexity — makes for a better understanding of the non-pathological

personal and social instability often observed in such creative individuals.

There is a type of validation inherent to the creative process — a discrimination of the true and real — which differs from but both precedes and antedates the validation process valued in science using a positivistic method. It is the validation of the poet, or philosopher, and lies in a sense of necessity, harmony and elegance. It is aesthetic as well as logical and heuristic: aesthetic in the sense that the ideas are congruent; logical in the sense of coherence, or recognition of that which is intellectually discordant, incompatible; and heuristic in the sense of suggesting new, potentially harmonious paths. The creative process has a 'built-in' dimension of criticality which is recognized in the fresh yet plausible quality of the creative product, which in science then makes it a candidate for positivistic validation, e.g., as an hypothesis, theory, model, etc. Of this creative pre-science of the scientific process itself Einstein (1934) wrote:

Science as something existing and complete is the most objective thing known to Man. But science as an end to be pursued, science in the making, as subjective and psychologically conditioned as any other branch of human endeavor. (p. 112)

But is there not also a 'creative post-science' which seeks validation of scientific results in the various value and meaning contexts which give significance to the scientific project itself? For, even after the scientific validation process has been applied, its results also must meet the intuitive criteria for coherent reconnection with other validated products of the method. In this relationship of creative validation which is pre- and post-scientific, we find a correlate to phenomenology. The phenomenological process — not totally dissimilar to the creative one — operates along lines of inherent validation: necessity, intuitive coherence, and heuristically suggestive of the next paths to follow. Like the creative process, but as a well thought-out method which has the essential quality of reversibility, phenomenology is both a pre- and post-scientifically validating enterprise.

One of the reasons offered by Guilford to explain the psychology's retarded interest in creativity was the lack of adequate criteria. Although the products are enormously different in quality, both a child's doodle and a Rembrandt painting can legitimately qualify as 'creative' products. Later, Maslow was to extend the word creative to a 'productless' but recognizable style of personal growth which he discerned among his 'self-actualizing' subjects. Harmon and Rheingold

(1984) see in the same creative process two distinct possible paths, one towards tangible art (science, etc.) and the other towards mysticism. Little wonder that creativity is so difficult to define.

Yet its recognized presence everywhere, even at the heart of a science which denied it in its subjects, reveals the fuller socio-historical significance of a rediscovered creativity. It is a reminder of the inexhaustibility of the human subject when researched by the human subject. Yet the very limits which forecast an ultimate inexhaustibility, provide the steps of potential coherence from which the phenomenologist moves systematically towards the inexhaustible. Each step provides simultaneously coherence which reveals its limits and new potentially meaningful directions. For as creativity has two sides, one of product and one of personal growth, so also does phenomenology, which reciprocally in process reveals the subject studied and the subject inquiring. Neither is the same afterwards. Nowhere in sight is the 'definitive' study which rests as the ideal for the naive-arrogant scientific psychology which had, until its household encounter with creativity, monopolized the twentieth century.

It appears to me that what is required if we are to achieve a larger view of science which incorporates different forms of inquiry and still avoids a 'tolerant' but sterile eclecticism, is a hermeneutic seeking the integrity of different methodological 'missions' — their uniqueness — as well as an understanding of the greater integrity which links their discontinuities. Such a hermeneutic could well begin with an inquiry into the questions of distancing, validation and progress in natural science, human science, personal self-understanding and creativity.

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Knowing the Other in Self Psychology: A Comparative Dialogue between Heinz Kohut and Maurice Merleau-Ponty

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Self psychology holds that self-object relationships form the essence of psychological life from birth to death, that a move from dependence (symbiosis) to independence (autonomy) in the psychological sphere is no more possible, let alone desirable, than a corresponding move from a life dependent on oxygen to a life independent of it in the biological sphere. (Kohut, 1984, p. 46)

This statement, concerning the nature of our relations to others, is at the very foundation in the architecture that comprises all other self psychological theory and practice. Directly stated, our relationship with others is undivided, a unit, a *Gestalt*, a structure, and this is true of both normal and disordered relations to other people. With respect to disordered life, Kohut has described the novel peculiarities expressed through narcissistic forms of transference, where structural deficits in a patient's psychological life exist and are expressed as innocences requiring completion through the blind appropriation of other people, situations, and things into the very psychological tissue of the self. Others are not initially seen as independent beings having their own identity, centers of initiative, and personal limits, but as extensions of the self

(Kohut, 1977). Normal development and health, in turn, also reveal this inseparability of us and others, but this time in and through relations that we freely choose and are enjoyably involved. These are important occasions that allow us to *occupy and share* authentic moments of mirroring, confirmation, genuine greatness, purpose, strength, and calmness, and that allow us to touch our commonness and belongingness together as people (Kohut, 1984).

These instances exist in everyday life and in the vocational, social, cultural, and spiritual currents of our existence. Self psychology, therefore, has a great deal to say about all these sectors of our life — because their inspiration, intrinsic meanings, and forms of appreciation by other people are infused with selfobject relations, albeit of a higher order of structuration. Accordingly, in disorder as in health, in everyday life as in high cultural forms of expression, we are indivisibly related to other people and a world through self-selfobject relations.

The informed reader may have already spotted a convergence between how self psychology depicts the undividedness of our relations and the phenomenological rendering of this insight through the notion of *intentionality*. Are they the same? Do the remarkable departures of self psychology from paradigmatic psychoanalysis authentically place this new psychology within the family of the human sciences, if its approach is made explicit? Or, is self psychology more genuinely a liberal, creative extension of the natural science approach which has cradled psychoanalysis from its founding to the present?

These are some of the questions I have been seeking to answer in my own research on self psychology (Masek, 1986, 1987, 1989). Their final answers certainly go beyond the scope of this paper. Accordingly, for now I want to make one more modest step by addressing the question raised earlier: Does Kohut's discovery of the undividedness of our relations correspond to the phenomenological notion of intentionality? Are they the same? In answering this, I will establish a comparative dialogue between Kohut and Merleau-Ponty. Our dialogue, however, must take a circuitous route into a more fundamental question, the subject of this paper, and the most fundamental one for clinical psychoanalysis: How do we know the other person?

In answering this, I will first move to critically examine Kohut's account of how we come to know the other, and to lay bare the philosophical foundation that informs these issues for self psychology. Once exposed, is this philosophy, this approach (Giorgi, 1970) of self psychology, capable of supporting and containing Kohut's clinical discoveries, or does it betray a divorce between the theory and practice,

the intentions and their realization, in self psychology. Finally, does this have consequences for the overriding clinical interest in the therapeutic situation: the welfare and emancipation of the patient?

Knowing the Other Person in Self Psychology

Kohut (1977) says that we come to know the other person through empathic perception, or what he calls, "vicarious introspection." This avenue to the other becomes understandable if we make explicit the philosophy, implicit in self psychology, which outlines how the other's psychological life is originally given to us. In this philosophy, the other person's subjectivity is anterior to and hidden from *direct* expression, and is only known through its *representations*. Freud (1915/1957) originally inaugurated this position in psychoanalysis when he stated that we can never know the unconscious directly and in itself; we can only know its representations. All this informs Kohut's approach to how the self exists and is known:

We cannot, by introspection and empathy, penetrate to the self *per se*; only its introspectively or empathically perceived psychological manifestations are open to us... we will still not know the essence of the self as differentiated from its manifestations. (1977, p. 311)

In short, the self is an *inner* self; hence, the problem becomes, for the analyst, how this self may be known. This problem, as it is philosophically framed, is a primary question for all psychology, psychoanalysis, and philosophies of mind. From this basis, Kohut tells us that vicarious introspection is a means "to think and feel ourself into the inner life of another person" (1984, p. 82). In fact, "the idea itself of an inner life of man, and thus of complex mental states, is unthinkable without our ability to know via vicarious introspection — what the inner life of man is, what we ourselves and what others think, and feel" (1977, p. 306). How, then, does this occur? Kohut (1980) explains that we are able to know the other person emphatically

because they are given to us in terms of the storehouse of the images and memories that we have acquired through our lifelong previous acquaintance with the inner world of man through our own introspection (plus, of course, all the relevant experience distant theories that belong to *this* dimension of our outlook on the world). (p. 458)

Accordingly, I can only know the other's psychological life *indirectly* as mediated through my own self knowledge, which may or may not be

complemented by pre-given theories. When we move shortly to consider Merleau-Ponty's views on knowing the other, we will see that he converges with Kohut on the centrality of other people in our lives; sees the subtleties of how others are present to us and through us, as we are intimately intertwined with them. Yet, he would sharply part from this philosophy of self other relations, with its view of how we come to know the psychological life of another person. For now, let me simply state that this philosophy of self psychology is an account rooted historically in Freud and extending to present day schools of psychoanalysis. It is worth repeating in simpler form, this time from the English object-relations tradition:

Our understanding of others is, at the intellectual level, an inference based on our knowledge of ourselves... we can know others "on the inside" by identification, as Home stressed, because we know ourselves directly "on the inside." (Guntrip, 1969, pp. 370-371)

One final point remains before we close our presentation of Kohut on these themes. This is the question of how we are inseparably linked to one another. Repeatedly, when Kohut comes to answer this question, his reply is *need*. First of all, this is true of the developing child, whose relations to the parents allow them to function as phase appropriate extensions of the child's self-first through an empathic reading of its needs and, second, by providing those functions necessary for the child to *be and do* in life. Parents and child are, therefore, co-participants in the child's initial formation of a sense of self, and their co-dependence together, in face to face relations or as "insentient others" (Masek, 1984), continues throughout psychological development, as other people alongside parents also come to be included within the very form of selfhood that is lived by an individual. We *need* others, Kohut says, as we need oxygen in order to survive biologically. Others provide a basis for the *organization* of a person's psychological life (Kohut, 1971, 1977, 1984). So central is this role of others that Atwood and Stolorow (1984) have termed it the essential motive in human conduct — others are utilized in the service of acquiring and maintaining the individual's organization and structuration of experience. Hence, in self psychology our inseparability with others is based on our *need* of them.

Merleau-Ponty's Critical Reply to Kohut

Were he alive and writing today, Merleau-Ponty would show self psychology the same respect and differential assessment that he

evidenced in his ongoing involvement with Freud's psychoanalysis. He would affirm the role others play in our psychological development, interpersonal relations, socio-cultural relations, and analysis itself. He would agree with much of this, for among phenomenological philosophers, he, too, accorded a fundamental role to our relations with others through what he called our "co-existence" with them — as they are often subtly infused in the historical, cultural, social, personal, and yes, therapeutic arenas of our existence. He would agree that our relations with others are originally undivided, and that we need not construct this unity, as mainstream analysis has, by taping together libidinal aims and their respective objects through cathexis. He would appreciate how the inclusion of other people, places, and things into the self is the rule, rather than the exception — if we define the body through its open, circular relationships with the world, rather than through its skin. And, he would clearly see a pathology in the altered scope of a patient's decentered relations, as he strips the world of its *genuine otherness* — converting non-self into self — in the service of forming an equilibrium with his milieu.

In short, our relations with others are but one more instance of a *general intentionality* showing our inherence in the world, and he would see that intentionality at work in the self-selfobject structure of our relations. But he would clearly scrap the philosophy that leads to explanations of this discovery through recourse to an omniscient, sovereign self that somehow causes these relations. He would show that this intellectualist philosophy deprives other people, situations, and things of their quality of authentic "otherness" from us. Self psychology is, thereby vulnerable on this issue of other people, and this issue is at the heart of self psychological practice and theory. Let us see how all this is so, and then explore the alternative in Merleau-Ponty's approach to this problem.

Self psychology draws from a Cartesian philosophy which *begins from* divorced relations between mind and body, subjectivity and behavior, person and world. From this approach, behavior is public, while subjectivity is private and inaccessible to the direct experience of the other person. In fact, subjectivity is only known directly from one viewpoint: my own. That is, I can only know myself directly; however, because the subjectivity of another person is private and not directly knowable by me, then knowing them poses a problem. Intellectualist philosophy argues that we know other people on the basis of our own self knowledge. The meaning of the other's behavior is decipherable by first finding a correlate of their behavior in our own "inner" life, then

projecting that on to the other's behavior. Within the history of psychology, this philosophy sponsors the concept of *introspection*, from Wundt through contemporary schools, as the only means of knowing the self *directly*, and other people *indirectly*. Earlier I showed how Kohut was informed by this philosophy in his explanation of empathic perception and its role in knowing and understanding the patient.

Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) has outlined some of the problems incurred when this philosophy is invoked to explain issues arising in psychology and everyday life. For example, he says: "In so far as I constitute the world, I cannot conceive another consciousness, for it too would have to constitute the world and at least as regards this other view of the world, I should not be the constituting agent" (p. 350). Here, the problem in knowing a *genuine other person is evident*. But also evident is the whole issue of *truth*, when that becomes disclosed through out intersubjective sharing of a common world together in our respective experiences of it: "My awareness of constructing an objective truth would never provide me with anything more than an objective truth for me" (p. 355).

All this poses problems for self psychology on both these issues. For example, the patient's self-selfobject bonding with others, and the forms of narcissistic transference, are predicated on the radical otherness of the analyst to provide those functions that the patient lacks. Here, we could speak of a narcissism originally expressed through the patient's lived experience, a "utilitarian" form of perceiving, where the otherness of the analyst is thematized and *used* by the patient to achieve an equilibrium in self-world relations (Masek, 1986). Beyond this, an affirmation of the genuine otherness of people is crucial to understanding *all* the patient's relations when grasped in their descriptive, dynamic, and genetic forms. Accordingly, a faithful comprehension of our relations with others is disallowed when rooted in the explanations self psychology draws from this philosophical approach, and its question of truth in actual practice and theory are also compromised. This account of knowing the other in self psychology expresses a *philosophical narcissism*, in vivid opposition to the centrality Kohut gives to the role of experience-near, empathic perception as the ground for all other clinical and theoretical activity (Masek, 1989). Now, while these problems arise at a very foundational, indeed philosophical, level, they are wrapped up in the overall approach that self psychology brings to its work. As such, they diffuse like a dye throughout the volume of self psychology as a whole.

Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Knowing the Other

Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962) is recognized as having provided phenomenological psychologists with a more fruitful alternative approach toward knowing the other through his original conception of the *body subject*. This approach radically affirms the fusion of subjectivity in and through an expressive body, incessantly in undivided relationship to the world. This is Merleau-Ponty's original variation on the phenomenological notions of intentionality (Husserl) and Being-in-the-World (Heidegger). Understanding these issues, like understanding how we know the other, means first understanding how the lived body is pivotal. He puts it this way: "If I experience this inhering of my consciousness in its body and its world, the perception of other people and plurality of other consciousness no longer present any difficulty" (p. 351). An example from this *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945/1962, p. 150-151) should make this position clear, and help depict how a direct perception of a genuine other person is possible.

Merleau-Ponty makes the comparison between the relations of subjectivity to bodily behavior and an artist's subjective intentions to paint something and the executed painting. The work of art, like the expressive body, is a focal point of perceived meanings. While the artist may begin with a private intention in mind, once that intention is expressed through the work it is no longer private and reducible to the artist's aims. Rather, as perceived at a gallery, for example, the meaning of the painting is now public and multiperspectival in its meaning, owing to the actual perceptual viewpoints of the people present to it. Likewise, in the lived world, we do not cancel out our meaningful appreciation of a painting because we are ignorant of the artist's intentions. Instead, once expressed through the paint and canvas, the meaning of the work is *co-defined* by the viewpoints, including the artist's, which spontaneously perceive it. Hence, in a manner of speaking, the work, like our existence as individuals, can be said to exist *between* the actual viewpoints present to it or us, including our own. In this sense, the expressed is never purely personal; expression is also social and potentially shareable when other people are present to us.

In another work (Masek, 1983) I showed how the other person's viewpoint on us may be present and expressed through any of the varied forms of perceptual consciousness—whether that be seeing and hearing, or remembering, imagining, dreaming, or such altered modes as delusional and hallucinatory experience. The other person may also be present to us in a submerged, not immediately visible, manner, as an

“insentient other.” For example, I recall one hospitalized, anhedonic, schizophrenic patient, who, on recognizing his novel enjoyment in playing cards with his ward colleagues, was dealt the “King of Hearts,” which depicted the king with a raised sword. My patient’s immediate experience was overwhelming terror, to the point where the charge nurse had to immediately sedate him. A session following this revealed that his own sadistic father, chronically intolerable of his son’s well being, had faced him in that rare moment of enjoyment, and stood ready to kill it. Here, the card *was* the father in the same sense that the fallen horse *was* the father, if we view differently Freud’s (1909/1955) classic analysis of Little Hans. These events are not understandable by recourse to projected “representations” or “symbols,” as psychoanalysis, in general, and self psychology, in particular, would have us understand. However idiosyncratic the meaning, may be, *it is immanent in and given through these appearances*, if one stays closely with their description when pushed to their horizontal limits, and does not confuse the lived meanings with the conventional “thing.”

Merleau Ponty (1945/1962, p. 356) depicts his inherence of subjectivity through expression by the following example:

I perceive the grief or the anger of the other in his conduct, in his face or in his hands, without recourse to any “inner” experience of suffering or anger, and because grief and anger are variations of belonging to the world, undivided between the body and consciousness, and equally applicable to the other person’s conduct, visible in his phenomenal body, as in my own conduct as it is present to me.

Approached this way, Merleau-Ponty’s philosophy allows us to truly see how a direct experience of the genuine otherness of people is possible, as we know and take that for granted in everyday life and analysis.

But this is not enough. Merleau-Ponty also acknowledges that our experience of the other, like all perceptual experience, is *perspectival* and *situated*. It is perspectival because I always grasp the other person from some finite point of view, from my own bodily perspective on them, from my otherness with respect to them. Therefore, I do not know the other’s intentions, desires, or emotional life precisely as he experiences them. Even in empathy, where I seek an overlap with a patient’s viewpoint, I always grasp him or her from my own standpoint, and always from within a particular *situation*, which delimits and contextualizes the meaning of his or her expressions — “The precise content of a gesture

is its reference to a situation" (Merleau-Ponty, 1952/1985, p. 45). Further, Merleau-Ponty acknowledges a genuine ambiguity in our experience of the other. For example, while I do have direct access to the other's anger or grief, I may not perceive what he is angry *about* or grieving *over* until I ask him. Thus, knowing the other also occurs over time as other perspectives of him are disclosed through dialogue.

In summary, through his original concept of the lived body, Merleau-Ponty is able to show how a direct perception of genuine other people is possible. In this approach, reflection on our lived through relations with others would replace and deem unnecessary an intellectualist account, where introspection and projection construct and explain how I can know a subjectivity seen as originally divorced from me. In short, these latter operations, unfounded in concrete experience, are required paraphernalia only if one begins from a Cartesian approach, thus bypassing direct experience.

Merleau-Ponty on Our Inseparability from Others

A related point I raised earlier with Kohut is the question of how we are linked to others. Earlier, I showed how sensitively Kohut recognized our inseparability through his clinical discovery of the self-self-object unity in our relations. In doing so he offered an original formulation on what the starting point and original data are in psychoanalysis. Self-object *relations* are the rule, not the exception, in both disorder and health. I stated this as an imperfect analogue to an instance of Merleau-Ponty's intentionality, as that describes our "co-existence" with each other. Even when we have developmentally distinguished the meanings of ourself from others, we do that within an inseparable perceptual relationship to them. Hence, Kohut (1980) is rightly critical of the implications of Mahler's (1968) understanding of a "separation-individuation" phase in development, where *autonomy* from others rather than *freedom in our relations with them* is the outcome. However, when called to account for this unity in our relations, Kohut explains it by recourse to the need or choice of a person.

By now, I hope the problems with this explanation will be obvious: both need and choice reduce the phenomenally given to the action of the person; both, thereby, explain this pregiven unity of relations, whereas it can only be described; both arise from an intellectualist position where need sponsors a projection of representations — which create the meaning and function of concrete, clinical events. Both arise from a way of thinking, a silent philosophy that goes beyond, yet leads

to, specific, technical portrayals of motives as the articulated consequences of a drive substrate in psychoanalysis. Finally, both, I believe, take self psychology into a place it does not want to be, if we remember Kohut's original aims and intentions. We know he was critical of drive/defense theory in its more obvious forms (Kohut (1971, 1977, 1980, 1984). Clinical phenomena which show a drive-like, determined quality to the analyst, he said, are *outcomes* of an enfeebled, fragmented self and are not descriptive of a fully functioning one.

Likewise, in his later writings, he clearly saw the limits of drive theory as a basis for scientific explanation, and, I believe, honestly struggled for a new approach toward these issues. Were he alive today, Kohut, I believe, would wish to resolve this conflict in self psychology.

Merleau-Ponty would agree with Kohut's critiques of this approach for psychoanalysis. For example, in *The Structure of Behavior* (1963, pp. 137-184), Merleau-Ponty points out that rigid, determined forms of behavior reflect the relations of a "sick organism." These relations, he says, reflect a destructure, a loss or lack of the integration more characteristic of behavior at the balanced, human order. But he would also be critical of the role given to choice as a basis for explaining how we are linked to others in our, integrated relations. Here, the power of the person's choice becomes absolutized as a determinant, thus ignoring that we are always in a situation which also genuinely circumscribes, informs, and co-constitutes our relations to another human being. Finally, however liberally defined, the philosophy that supports these explanations cannot escape the scope of causal thinking, which begins from a decomposition of our inseparability from others in order to explain it — whether that arises from intellectualist or empiricist currents of Cartesian thought. What self psychology needs is an approach that affirms this inseparability, our contingency and co-dependence on others, as well as our individuality in relation to them — all this without straying from the original insights and guiding aims of self psychology.

Contingency and co-dependence are natural consequences of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of our interpersonal life. First, contingency is implied in our relations with each other, as expressive of intentionality. For example, the reflecting person discovers that he is present to himself, that he is a self, through first being present to others and a world; his reflection is possible by virtue of its contingency on a pre-reflective, self transcendent experience-*of-someone* or something. In other words, the phenomenological reduction reveals someone who discovers himself not to be self sufficient, but contingent on, and derived from, relations that are first lived then known. Seen this way, contingen-

cy is *original* to how we exist ontologically, as individuals and colleagues in this world. This original contingency also makes understandable, for example, how the narrating analyst cannot describe himself without already implicating others in the drama of his history, current relations, and future imaginings; how he can surprise himself in hearing his own narration of what he has lived through. Second, our co-dependence on each other is an outcome of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, if we again examine the role of the body in these relations. For example, earlier I showed how through the lived, expressive body, the meaning of my own expressed behavior is potentially shareable and co-defined by the viewpoints present, including my own. Even my silence, when I am with others, has a meaning for them as it does for me, and we may agree or differ on its significance. Hence, following Merleau-Ponty, I suggested that the real meaning of any concrete behavior is installed within a situation, and exists *between* the viewpoints actually or insentiently present, and is open to *reflection* through them. This is what Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p. 57) means when he says "The phenomenal field is not an 'inner world,' the 'phenomenon' is not a 'state of consciousness,' or a 'mental fact,' and the experience of phenomena is not an act of introspection." Subjectivity is potentially shareable, and this obviates the need for a psychology of vicarious introspection aimed at an interiorized self.

Now, throughout his career, Merleau-Ponty struggled for a new way to language this ontological co-dependence, which reflects how we perceptually share and co-define reach other. Like Kohut, Merleau-Ponty sought original terms for original insights. Accordingly, in his last work *The Visible and the Invisible*, he put it this way: "We situate ourselves in ourselves *and* in the things, in ourselves *and* in the other, at the point where by a sort of *chiasm*, we become the others and we become world" (1968, p. 160). Co-dependence is original and intrinsic to our lived relations with each other. This is also seen if we follow out the implications of Merleau-Ponty's understanding of perception, as I did in an earlier comparison between him and Kohut on this issue (Masek, 1989). For instance, by virtue of the finite viewpoint we, as individuals, have on our lives, we require the eyes and example of others with whom we are already intertwined. Herein, would be a convergence with self psychology, but, as I have shown, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology would discover this co-dependence through a radically different approach.

Discussion

Some remarkable points of convergence were shown between Kohut and Merleau-Ponty, but important differences were also outlined. Seeing the analytic relationship, including the vicissitudes of transference, as an inseparable self-selfobject unit, which allows an equilibrium that the patient cannot sustain alone, is a new starting point and source of data for psychoanalysis. (Masek, 1986, 1987, 1989) Kohut (19771, 1977, 1984) has been extremely clear in showing how one time worn concept after another, in mainstream psychoanalysis, must be revised in light of his innovative discoveries. The concrete activity and aims of the analysis show a corresponding transformation, as he depicted so well in "The Two Analyses of Mr. Z" (Kohut, (1979). He is very clear about not wanting to pour new wine into old bottles, by seeking to jam his innovative insights into a mainstream, drive/defense approach (Kohut, 1984). Self psychology, he says, has a superordinate position with respect to mainstream psychoanalysis. That is, should it choose, self psychology can see and include the insights of the tradition, but the tradition cannot integrate the unique discoveries of self psychology. Nevertheless, I showed how Kohut's project was compromised by the guiding philosophy which self psychology subsumes in its understanding of our relating to and knowing of others. I also suggested how Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology could help overcome many of these problems by offering an approach which affirms our original link with people, depicts their genuine otherness from us, and reveals our contingency and co-dependence on them — *without* leaving direct experience for explanations which construct what is already pre-given in our experience. I will not review those specific analyses again. Instead, as part of some concluding remarks I would like to draw out two additional points I could not make earlier.

First, when self-selfobject relations are examined from within Merleau-Ponty's view of our co-existence, then psychoanalytic practice and theory become more firmly rooted in the describable interexperience of the participants. For example, the movement from archaic to mature forms of relatedness reflects an important change in the patient's perceptual relationship to that analyst and vice versa. Archaic selfobject transferences express a particular *singularity* in the patient's grasp of his existence. His life is totalized in his own perspective on it, and recognizing this, Kohut (1984) speaks of the necessity for an *understanding phase*; the analyst's point of view accords, and empathically moves within the patient's first person viewpoint, thus sponsoring a oneness,

a self-selfobject bond, in his seeing and being seen. Kohut found this phase to be an absolutely necessary precondition in work with narcissistic personality disorders, before any other work involving what he called "experience-distant" interpretation could take place. That is, once this was accomplished in a phase, varying in time from patient to patient, then sufficient cohesion and continuity was established for the patient to "tolerate" other forms of intervention. In time, this overcoming of perceptual singularity (archaic narcissism) begins to be expressed by the patient as an openness to the *multiperspectivity* of who he is, and to the analyst as a genuine other, whose viewpoint may not coincide with the patient's own. Kohut calls this the "explaining phase," and says that the patient is now open to dynamic, genetic, and structural explanations of his conduct. Now, if we stay closely with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception, as lived in the analytic situation, then we see something much more fundamental occurring. The movement that Kohut identifies through the explaining phase is not so much "experience distant" as it is a flexible shift in the patient's consent to being *co-defined*, and, thus, restored to a place within a community of people who are also other than him. Put differently the patient is able to move from first person to second and third person viewpoints, which differ from his own, and all this is directly describable within the clinical process. This is immediately evident when grasped from an altered approach to our relations with others, an approach more firmly rooted in our lived experience of them.

The second point is broader in scope, and pertains to the focus of self-selfobject relations. When Kohut speaks of the inseparability of our relations, he emphasizes the interpersonal as the area of that unity. True, he speaks of an "extrospection," which is our perception of things, rather than people (1984, p. 32). But the centrality of other people is prioritized in self psychology's dynamic, genetic, and structural accounts, and the peopled transference becomes a focus in understanding the patient's psychological life. Now, within psychoanalysis, Searles (1965) has questioned this focus, showing it to be a major presupposition in psychoanalysis and social psychologies as well. In contrast, he argues well for the necessity of including the *non-human environment* in our understanding of the patient; using case examples, he vividly depicts its significance in both our ongoing development and current relations. Merleau-Ponty, and phenomenological psychologists in general, would agree with him. They would point out, from a different direction, that intentionality certainly includes our relations with others, but it also goes beyond them. Merleau-Ponty would describe perceptual con-

consciousness as an opening onto the *world* not simply others. Hence, faithfully understanding the patient requires beginning from an approach that allows supreme openness to all the presences in the patient's world, as he describes them, without closing them off in advance. Van den Berg (1972), for example, has shown this openness in his own phenomenological analysis of a patient. He depicts how alterations in a patient's behavior are preceded by alterations in his world — through changes in how things, other people, lived time and space, and the patient's own body appear and have meanings which contextualize and allow a rich understanding of his behavior.

Accordingly, Merleau-Ponty would argue for a greater openness at the base, in the approach of self psychology. He would suggest that this approach be dilated to accommodate these other genuine dimensions in a patient's life. In turn, his own philosophy would be greatly enriched by many of the clinical discoveries of self psychology. He would appreciate more deeply how experience possesses a developmental structuration, and expresses a sedimented layering of former times, places, and people. He would see more concretely how other people and things are invisibly infused in our psychological life, and expressed through the equilibriums we strike in our living. He would also see what self psychology is aiming at when it distinguishes itself from interpersonal and object-relations approaches in psychoanalysis: self psychology has its subject matter in the specific "functions" chronically sought by the patient and perceptually thematized in selfobject presences. In all this, Merleau-Ponty would affirm an incipient psychology of *structures*, rooted first in how the patient both regularly and rigidly circumscribes what is available to him through his perceptual consciousness of the world. Finally, the personal consequences of our not faithfully reading each other, and then carrying that over into our actions, might affirm again, and give added flesh to, his thesis of the "primacy of perception." In these and other ways, Merleau-Ponty would learn much from self psychology, and, thereby, deepen his own philosophy. In its own turn, this philosophy could provide implications for a new approach, tailored to the interests, aims, and scope of self psychology.

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The Luminous Diamond of Knowing

Kaisa Puhakka

What does it mean to know something, to really know? This question has been a central concern for philosophy, psychology and the other human sciences. These disciplines have provided descriptions of the process of knowing that usually focus on its conditions or context, and its objects. The present chapter will inquire into the meaning not of that which is known, but of knowing itself, in whatever context it may occur and with whatever objects it may be concerned.

In Tibetan Buddhism, the symbol for knowing (*prajna*) is the diamond (*vajra*) whose clarity and luminous transparency is unparalleled by anything else and whose power to penetrate and cut through the thickest and toughest of materials exceeds that of all other things. Like the diamond, knowing is multi-faceted, yet each facet reveals the diamond as a whole. On the other hand, if one facet is covered with dust, the entire diamond loses its transparency and luminosity. So it is with knowing. In its essence, knowing is whole; confusion, however partial, occludes the whole. The central theme of this chapter is the celebration of knowing as the act that connects one to being and is the wellspring of meaning itself.

Knowing is not usually thought of as having such power. This is because it is taken to be either a reflective activity such as remembering, categorizing, inferring, etc., or a pre-reflective, spontaneous or habitual, response. In contrast, knowing is here taken to be a matter of *awareness*.

As such it is not propositional, not a conceptual or linguistic product, but rather it is prior to any conceptual formulation. Indeed, it occurs precisely when habitual responding or the activities usually associated with mind cease. In relation to the world it appears that, ultimately, knowing as awareness is not other than being; the two converge in a moment of direct, intuitive seeing in which the distinction between seeing and being disappears altogether (Radhakrishnan, 1940). Usually, however, knowing stops short of such ultimate convergence of seeing and being, but even then it connects the knower to the world in a manner far more direct than anything that can be accomplished by habitual responses or by the conceptual and linguistic activities of the mind.

A contemplation of “awareness” as a source of knowing can be a baffling, frustrating affair. For “awareness” is devoid of any content. The gesture of grasping for something flails in thin air; there is nothing to be gotten hold of there. This chapter explores the connection between the “nothingness” of awareness and the “everythingness” of the world in the act of knowing. The affirmation of a nonconceptual, nonlinguistic act of knowing certainly flies in the face of the current postmodern notion that everything we are and claim to know is culturally and linguistically contextualized. Indeed, the affirmation of any kind of real knowing seems out of step with the cynical malaise — or “happy nihilism” (Kvale, 1990) as the case may be — which postmodern deconstructions have left in their wake. Yet, precisely because it spares so little and renders transparent so much, the postmodern criticism of knowledge may in fact provide the first step toward the recovery of the luminous diamond of knowing.

The Perils of Knowing

It is a difficult road to recovery, however. Most people know very little, believe that they are capable of knowing even less, and often prefer to know not at all. Uneducated people consider themselves not to know because of their lack of education. Educated people appeal to their education for the reasons why they don't know and why nobody else knows, either. Anyone who claims to know something rather than just be informed about what others presumably know is viewed with suspicion. Why is such an ambivalent, fearful attitude toward knowing so prevalent? What are the dangers that loom large about knowing?

Most people do not mind being “well informed,” that is, knowing “the facts.” Being informed is generally acceptable, even desirable. Parents, teachers and employers all want to be “informed.” One of the

most effective ways of winning an argument or putting people “in their place” is to let them know that they are not informed, not in possession of “the facts.” Facts are something everybody can agree upon. Being informed is how one becomes a team-player in the games of life.

By contrast, knowing is something that does not essentially depend on agreements and, indeed, sometimes happens in spite of the agreed-upon facts. All great and profound visions, whether in the realm of philosophy, art or religion, are voiced with at least a certain amount of disregard for the facts that everybody agrees on. Those who give voice to them stand out — and stand alone. When the disregarding of facts becomes too blatant, one risks being ridiculed or even ostracized by others. At the very least, a person who knows and lets others know that he or she knows is a whistle blower, a game stopper who is despised by the loyal team players. We do not need to think of Galileo (who survived by submitting to the official “facts”) or Giordano Bruno (who did not submit and did not survive) to appreciate the dangers of knowing. Knowing that uncovers dark secrets is dangerous. But far more perilous is the knowing that penetrates through what is openly displayed, for such knowing does not merely expose the agreements that divide but shatters those that bind. The wrenching predicament of one who is on the verge of shattering such agreements is described by R.D. Laing (1970, p. 1) as follows: “they are playing a game. They are playing at not playing a game. If I show them that I see they are, I shall break the rules and they will punish me. I must play their game, of not seeing I see the game.” If knowing can be dangerous in the convoluted games of interpersonal relationships, how much more so in the big games of nations and of the world at large! Knowing, then, is a subversive act. It is the last taboo that remains after all the others, against sex, against asserting oneself, even against having one’s own opinions have been lifted. Parents encourage children to do well, to be smart, to learn their lessons, even think for themselves, but parents seldom encourage children to “know for themselves.” One who claims to know is worse than defiant: he or she is possibly mad. The consequences of being judged mad by society are not something most people would be willing to confront. Small wonder that few would dare admit to really *knowing* anything.

The Perversion of Knowing and the Postmodern Critique

Knowing is brought into being by and for the individual alone, in the direct connectedness between the knower and the known in the actuality of the here and now. It is for this reason that knowing is an

inherently revolutionary act. It involves a radical individualism which cannot be tolerated in society. The history of civilization, of our educational and cultural institutions, is, among other things, a story of the ways in which knowing has been perverted and its inherent power usurped for political ends. Marcuse, Adorno, Foucault, and other critical thinkers have analyzed ways in which the perversions of knowing coerce, co-opt and seduce individuals into believing that they are knowing authentically when in fact they are submitting to or agreeing with the instruments of their own oppression.

The perversion of knowing no doubt goes back to times immemorial, to the beginning of organized human societies. But it attained unprecedented success with the rise of science during the age of modernity. Having already given up their faith in their own capacity to know to the authorities of their social and political, and especially religious, institutions, people now lost trust in anybody's capacity to know. With the rise of science, personal knowing of any kind was systematically replaced by impersonal "scientific knowledge." The cardinal doctrine of scientific methodology is that the less knowing depends on the personal involvement of the knower, the better and more reliable is the knowledge.

This insistence on extrinsic legitimation leads to a curious predicament, namely, that any claims to knowing have to be backed up by proofs to the effect that those involved in the project of knowing really aren't the ones who know. In light of this predicament, the ideal approach to knowing becomes the "double-blind" study in which neither the researcher nor the human subject whose experience is under investigation knows what is really going on. Thus is born a truly anonymous knowing. But a new mystery is also created: what constitutes such knowing? And, since a valid and reliable answer to that question must obviously also be anonymous, the query continues: just *how* is the answer to it known to be an instance of legitimate knowing? As Kvale (1990) has noted, "the more one legitimates, the greater the need for further legitimation." (p. 37) The ground of knowing to which we as knowers have no direct access is a chimera sustained by faith and nothing else.

The current postmodern zeitgeist has lost this faith. The great epistemological schemas and "grand narratives" upon which the legitimacy of anonymous knowing had rested have fallen by the wayside (Lyotard, 1975; Kvale, 1990). One might think this to be an occasion for the restoration of the direct connection between the knower and the known. But not so. The postmodern critique obliterates the last remnants of personal knowing. While modern philosophy and science

reduced the knower to impotency and sheer irrelevancy, postmodern thought virtually wipes him out of existence. The knower is found to be just a link in the endless, criss-crossing chains of culturally and linguistically produced modes of engagement variously called “narratives” (Lyotard, 1975; Kvale, 1990), “games,” or “discourses” (Lather, 1990). The authors of these narratives, the designers of the games, the creators of the discourses have disappeared into the context, if not the text itself, of the narrative. They have become the players of the games, the objects as much as the subjects of discourse. Lather (1990) describes the “self” as becoming

both site and subject, produced by diffuse forms of power. The subject is constantly figured and refigured within a context of bombardment by conflicting messages... spawned by the intensified sign production of consumer society. (p. 77)

In a similar vein, Lovlie (1990) describes the self as “the proliferation of roles, the progressive showing of (sur)faces” (p. 111). Reflection, the last bastion of the modern self, also fails to secure its individuality. The self that *knows* its self-descriptions to be relative to the linguistic and cultural contexts and situations has no privileged status among the proliferation of roles and surfaces. Lovlie (1990, p. 111) goes on to claim that

The irony of such knowing does not counter of invalidate the self-description indefinitely in a *progress ad infinitum*, the self captured only in the play of new roles, the reflective “I” but one of them.

The postmodern critique comes to its conclusion with the deconstruction of the subject. A subject that is “constantly figured and refigured” is no longer a subject but has been turned into an object. An object is something that shows surfaces to a view from the outside. In modern scientific thought, the inside view was discredited and set aside. The knower was severed from knowing and left idling, presumably to enjoy the fruits of knowledge that he or she did not produce, of anonymous knowledge to which no one has an inside access. /Still, in modern thought the knower could reflect and recover a sense of self, however irrelevant this was to anybody other than itself. But postmodern critique shows that anonymous knowledge, like an ever-spreading swamp, has seeped back and swallowed up the knower itself, including its self-reflection.

The Opening of Inquiry: Beyond the Postmodern Hubris

The essence of hubris is a transcendental claim that puts an end to inquiry and the possibility of knowing. Conversely, knowing can be rehabilitated by opening up inquiry into the transcendental claim. Postmodern deconstruction of knowledge conveys an ambivalence regarding transcendental claims. But if such claims can be let go completely and unequivocally, then the postmodern critique, with the unprecedented thoroughness of its deconstruction of the presuppositions of knowledge, can provide a radical opening to knowing.

What is meant by “transcendental claim” here needs to be clarified. The scope of such a claim “transcends” the domain of actual or possible inquiry, as specified by the claim itself. Kant (1781/1929) in his “antinomies of Pure Reason” was the first in the West to articulate this feature of transcendence in metaphysical claims and to point out their inherent contradictoriness. But in his defense of the prevailing modern scientific worldview Kant himself made transcendental claims regarding the *synthetic a priori truths* (i.e. truths that are not trivially or tautologically true but which tell us something about the world and yet are necessarily true). The Kantian *a priori* truths could not be questioned until the worldview whose foundations they described (and justified) were questioned. The lesson from Kant may have been too quickly dismissed by post-Kantian and postmodern thinkers who consider themselves to be “only describing,” not seeking to defend or justify any “worldviews.” For, really, what are descriptions if not implicit legitimations of “how things are,” of worldviews? This appears especially the case when the need for ontological considerations beyond description is denied, when “surfaces” are said to be all that there is.

The transcendental claim of postmodern criticism is contained in the notion of the everpresence of localized linguistic and cultural contexts. The postmodern repudiation of “metanarratives” precludes the possibility of any universal claims. Yet such claims are implicit, for example, in the statement by Lovlie (1990, p. 111) cited earlier.

An inquiry that opens up to knowing asks: How is the act of self-reflection known to be just another culturally and linguistically contextualized enactment of a role? The assumption that self-reflection involves an infinite regress is based on the premiss that the reflection has a culturally and linguistically conditioned object, not only factually and contingently, but *necessarily*, thus, *a priori*. And if this is true, then of course the act of reflection is also culturally and linguistically contex-

tualized. But how does one go about establishing the aforementioned premiss? By definitional fiat or by actual inquiry?

Because of hubris, inquiry terminates in a truth claim rather than knowing. As Adorno (1973) and Foucault (1980) have shown, such claims soon degenerate into jargon and buzz words by which cherished ideas like “authenticity” or “self” actualization” are co-opted to serve the “*status quo* or the anonymous powers behind it. The postmodern criticism claims that there is nothing to be co-opted because everything already has been, is, and of necessity will be co-opted in the sense of being contextually determined by language and culture. Will the hubris of postmodernism insist on this claim as the last word?

If not, then the postmodern criticism of knowledge can be a prelude to genuine knowing. For in showing the relativity and indeed insubstantiality of all claims of objectified knowledge, including our subjectively held but no less objectified ideas and notions regarding the knower and known, postmodern thought prepares the ground for the possibility of real knowing. In so doing, it undertakes an endeavor in the West that is similar to Nagarjuna’s dialectic in the East. Nagarjuna showed through his relentless dialectic the inner contradictoriness and “voidness” of all universal claims. (Inada, 1970; Murti, 1987). Universal claims hold their sway in the implicit notions people live by and take to be only descriptions of how things are,” and it is these notions that are taken up for scrutiny by the dialectic. Nothing is spared, for the purpose is to prepare the ground for knowing (*prajna*). That is why Nagarjuna’s dialectic ends in silence rather than a transcendental claim about the constitution of either knowledge or reality.

The most heroic of philosophic endeavors is the attempt to articulate the limits of what is articulable. In the West, radical deconstructionists such as Derrida (1973) are doing just that. Reaching beyond what would ordinarily be taken as the fundamentals of conceptual thought and language, namely, *sameness* and *difference*. Derrida attempts to articulate the common (same?) root of the difference between these in his concept of *differance*, only to find himself writing about “the constitution of primordial temporality” as well as of “primordial spatiality.” He recognizes the appropriate place for such articulations to be “in transcendental language which is not longer adequate here.” (p. 130) But where does one go from here? Derrida’s deconstruction ends, it seems, in the “irreducibility of temporalizing” as well as “spacing” just short of articulating the transcendental claim except as a counterfactual, i.e. how this irreducibility “would be called” (p. 130) in the transcendental language which he in fact does not use because of

its inadequacy. This is a tortuous balancing act between, on the one hand, a transcendental claim that reflexively turns back on all of language and, on the other hand, the silence of nothingness when one refrains from making such a reflexive turn. In the Buddhist tradition within which Nagarjuna's dialectic was conceived, silence is natural and effortless because it is taken to be just that: silence. In the West, silence is a problem; it is viewed with suspicion as "mysticism," and "mysticism" carries the connotation of intellectual irresponsibility, of giving up clarity of understanding, of refusal to articulate what can be articulated. Such uneasiness with silence betrays the Western insistence on talk and articulation as the last word, the insistence on the *word* as being last.

On the other hand, letting go of the hubris of the transcendental claim frees one to not only celebrate "margins," "differences," and "otherness," but also to recognize, in Huston Smith's (1989) words, that "we would not honor the otherness of the Other if we did not also recognize her identity within us." (p. 239). Letting go of even the balancing act between making and not making transcendental claims, free-falling into silence, at last loosens knowing from the grip of cultural and linguistic context.

Postmodern deconstructions thus prepare the ground for genuine knowing by removing all grounds, by leaving the knower with nothing to stand on, not even the idea of himself or herself as the "reflecting agent." The last of the Cartesian ghosts is dispelled, dispersed all over the context and structure of the "thinking" of the "thinking thing." When even the last claim about *differance* dissolves into its context of *nondifferance*, then inquiry has done its job, the last debris of thought has been cleared up, and nothing is left.

The nothing that is left is a silence of pure transparency. This transparency is not something that can be thought of or even seen. For something to be an object of seeing, some degree of opaqueness is required. Pure transparency is not something that is seen, but through it everything else is seen. Transparency is thus not itself an object but that which allows objects to be seen. This transparency is the luminous diamond of knowing of which the Tibetan *Vajrayana* Buddhists speak.

The Three Facets of Knowing

While the transparency of knowing defies description, there are certain qualities associated with experiences that partake of this transparency. One could think of these as the facets of the diamond. The three facets of knowing to be described here are: *power*, *joy*, and

connectedness or *intimacy*. There may be others as well, but these three are chosen here for the special luminosity that they seem to possess and the readiness with which they reveal something about knowing.

The transparency of knowing is not grounded in anything, but it bestows, and can restore, the groundedness of one's being in the world. In this lies its power. Knowing is not a matter of the "subject" vis-a-vis the flat, opaque surface of an already construed "object," whether a physical thing, an idea, or a structure of meanings. Rather, knowing is a three-dimensional affair involving an unbroken continuum from here ("knower") to there ("known") that both reaches and reveals in depth. One who partakes of such knowing is infused with power. For one is now touching the world directly. Witness the intensity and exhilaration of the first "discoveries" of a child exploring the world.

The loss and subsequent restoration of one's power and groundedness of being is illustrated by the following psychotherapy patient. The patient was in psychotherapy with the author for a period of six years. She had been previously diagnosed as schizophrenic. This patient was convinced that she was "invisible" and on occasion expressed doubt as to whether she existed at all. She also complained of not being capable of knowing anything at all, not even whether the rest of the world existed. The restoration of her knowing began when she, with her therapist's instruction, began to simply look at physical objects around her, with full attention, one at a time. She "looked" with her eyes as well as her hands (i.e. by touching). Eventually she saw them with the conviction that she indeed was seeing them. She was later able to "look" at her family and "see" how her father who has sexually molested her for years pretended he had not, thereby invalidating her knowing that he had; how her mother, unable to bear knowing about the molestation and unable to bear the presence of her daughter pretended the girl did not exist, thereby invalidating her existence and rendering her "invisible."

With the blossoming of her own authentic knowing, this patient's past was rendered increasingly transparent and her own being, which she now described as "solid" became increasingly grounded in the world. For her, the solidity of the self was a triumph of knowing that empowered her to live in the world. In other situations, the solidities and opaqueness within the self itself can be rendered transparent, thus freeing up the power locked therein.

Knowing is a joyful experience. Witness someone having an insight. A face that just moments ago appeared preoccupied suddenly breaks into a smile that conveys pure joy. The spontaneous smile, however

momentary and subtle, is the incontrovertible sign that an insight has occurred. Even a recollection of past moments of insight can bring a reflection of that smile on a person's face.

Bliss (*ananda*) is recognized in the Hindu spiritual disciplines as an essential accompaniment of the kind of knowing that transcends all duality and joins the knower (*chit* = consciousness) to the known (*sat* = existence). A glimpse of this bliss is reflected in the smiles that accompany our everyday insights. The joy of knowing is a pure pleasure that extracts none of the costs associated with other, more sensuous pleasures. The latter have to do with grasping objects, immersing oneself in the thick of things that produce sensations and emotions, and the price one must eventually pay in one way or another has to do with the loss of the things grasped. In contrast, the joy of knowing has to do with letting go of things and the lightness of being that comes with letting go.

Knowing that reaches out and reveals connects us to the world. Thus knowing intimately joins one being to another. Knowing can bridge the gap between subject and object. In love and friendship, one is not just informed about the other but actually knows him or her. There is a unique sense of aliveness, connectedness and intimacy in such an act of knowing which is not present when one is just being informed. Polanyi (1969) talks about the act of understanding as an "interiorization" or "indwelling" which "causes us to participate feelingly in that which we understand" (pp. 148-149). He goes on to say, "these feelings of comprehension go deep; we shall see them increasing in profundity all the way from the 'I-it' relation to the 'I-Thou' relation" (p. 149). Examples of intimate knowing that readily stand out come from personal relationships. But the same intimacy of knowing is possible with a rock, a tree, or an empty Coca-Cola can cast by the roadside. When any being, whether construed as living or nonliving, is known in this direct, personal manner, there comes about a joyful, empowering connectedness between the knower and the known.

Interdependency of power, joy and intimacy in knowing is evident from every instance of knowing we may contemplate. A life style of cultivating knowing is richer, happier, and more fulfilling than a lifestyle of being merely informed about the world, in which one lives vicariously off of other people's knowing but always remains an outsider, a mere voyeur of the love affair with the world that knowing is. Nevertheless, knowing rarely occurs even to those who value its gifts. The paradox of knowing is that it is effortless and spontaneous when it is present, yet when it is not it seems ephemeral and altogether beyond reach.

An Invitation to Knowing

Knowing involves both a “looking” that reaches out with interest and a “seeing” which embraces what is given. But only when these arise from the empty space prior to the constitution of objects does knowing really take place.

An opening to this space is, then, the first step, indeed, the only necessary “step” that must be taken before knowing spontaneously occurs. The act of reflection contains within it the possibility of moving into this space. More often than not, however, reflection in a reflexive turning back immediately closes the gap and fills the space with objects. In the Western philosophical and phenomenological traditions the act of reflection is understood and, indeed, defined through its engagement with objects, whether “physical” things or meaning structures. The disengagement just prior to the engagement, just prior to the completion of the reflexive “turning back” upon the object, is what Husserl called *epoche*. It is this disengagement, *epoche*, that is at the basis of even as simple an act of reflection as “remembering,” (Schutz, 1976, p. 47) for it is what lifts the experience out of its pre-reflective duration. And it is what is responsible for the freedom bestowed upon thinking by the act of self-reflection that was celebrated by Husserl (1913/1931). One wonders whether it may also be what puzzled Heidegger (1927/1962) about the act of “seeing phenomenologically” which he painstakingly learned from Husserl (Ihde, 1986). Certainly, the taking of Being itself as the object of reflection requires a profound disengagement and distancing not only from this or that experience, but the entire domain of lived experience as well as reflections on such experience.

What, then, is involved in the disengagement? Just prior to turning back on the object, the reflexive movement of awareness had moved away, distanced itself, not only from that particular object but all objects. At that moment there is an opening of space that is radically empty of all designations, of objects as well as boundaries of thought or perception. The trouble with that moment is that it may have lasted less than a split second and most likely was not noticed by the person before his attention was focused back on the object. Only a trace of that space may be present in the “feeling” that accompanies reflection, namely, that it is a *turning* back. But whence came it back, such that its turning could be felt? In the “whence” of that turning are intimations of nothingness, of vast, unoccupied spaces.

But ordinary consciousness, in William James’ (1890/1982) unsurpassed description, reveals no gaps, no spaces. The stream of conscious-

ness is continuous, one thought or image follows upon another without a gap; between thoughts there are no empty spaces, only “fringes” of thoughts that in their moment of passing are already transforming into other thoughts. However, James’s very “seeing” of the fringes and transitions of consciousness was itself a modification, in the sense that implied a distancing from the state of affairs he was describing. One may, then, well inquire as to the possibility of further modification of consciousness or experience such that might reveal the spaces from within which “looking” and “seeing” arise.

For the inquiry to proceed from here, the practical disciplines for the transformation of noetic consciousness developed in the Eastern traditions are invaluable. A central practice in the Theravada Buddhist discipline is the *vipassana* or “insight” meditation (Goldstein, 1976; Khantipalo, 1987; Sayadaw, 1984). The practitioner is instructed to focus attention on the rising and falling of the abdomen as one breathes in and out. Whenever sensations, thoughts, or feelings arise, one is to merely notice them and return attention to the rising and falling of the abdomen. How is insight attained and cultivated by a meditation whose overt goal is to merely keep attention focused on the physical process of breath? The point of this meditation is to anchor the wandering mind and still the stream of consciousness enough so that its movements can be “noticed.” This art of noticing is similar to the act of reflection in that it takes as its object that with which it was previously involved. But it differs from reflection in that it does not attach itself to this object but immediately disengages and returns to the rising and falling of the breath. These moments of disengagement, at first rare and fleeting, open up the space between thoughts. As the meditation progresses, thoughts and sensations, which at first were simply “given,” are now seen as arising and passing away (Sayadaw, 1984). Eventually, with the progressive stilling of the mind and the sharpening of the “noticing” the space between thoughts begins to open up more and more. In the emptiness of that space, subtle things previously unseen now appear. The acts of intention in their various modes of reflection that previously defined the focus and horizons of what was seen are now themselves seen.

The foundation for insight, then, is emptiness and openness. With the emptying out of all the clutter of preoccupations and preconceptions, of meandering thoughts and images, comes an openness to knowing. Thus it is grounded in nothing other than itself. The emptiness of the space within which knowing arises is the measure of its purity. The connection between space and direct, intuitive seeing is appreciated by

inquirers after such knowing in various traditions (e.g. Tulku, 1977; Merrell-Wolff, 1944/1983).

But knowing is not a mystery inaccessible to all but a few privileged souls, nor is it a rare prize to be won by arduous discipline and effort. From the glimpses of insight enjoyed in everyday life it is clear that no effort and no grasping is involved in knowing. Consider, once again the experience of insight. What goes on when one has an insight into something, sees something in a way never seen before? Before the seeing, there is usually a sudden gasp for air, a deeper than usual inhalation that accompanies the embracing of this space. Then, with the exhalation, comes a smile signifying that insight has occurred.

Knowing comes not by grasping but by invitation. A genuine invitation makes time but most of all space for the guest. By meditative practices, the space for knowing can be opened up and the opening can be made to last longer. But whatever the duration of one's dwelling in this space, the making of this space is all that is needed as an invitation to knowing. This space when cleared of the debris of thought allows the luminous diamond of knowing to shine in perfect transparency, even if only for a moment.

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Understanding Laing's Understanding of the Family Before The Family Was Understood

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We speak of families as though we all know what they are. We identify, as families, networks of people who live together over periods of time, who have ties of marriages and kinships to one another. The more one studies family dynamics, the more unclear one becomes as to the ways family dynamics compare and contrast with the dynamics of other groups not called families let alone the ways families themselves differ. (Laing, 1971)

The title of this paper may be mis-leading to some in that it may seem to imply that prior to the writings of R. D. Laing there was no attempt made to understand the family. On the contrary, when psychiatrists started to observe and to treat families, it became apparent that the theories developed in the first half of the century were inadequate to understand the family. Fox (1976) traces the development of family therapy to six major factors: (1) increasing sophistication in conceptualizing individual psychotherapy; (2) the child guidance movement of the 1930's and 1940's; (3) the development of group therapy; (4) the rise of marriage counseling; (5) intensive research into tough

clinical problems, such as schizophrenia; and (6) serendipitous influences. Hence, in the nearly four decades of its existence, family therapy has become an all encompassing term for a number of orientations and practices.

To be sure, however, this present paper is not about family therapy, but rather an exposition of the unique contribution Laing has made to the field. It is the opinion of the author that Laing's contribution in this area even outweighs the more publicized attention to his work on schizophrenia. In fact, it is because of his work with schizophrenia that Laing became aware of the importance of the family context. It is quite clear that other therapists were cognizant of the urgency to comprehend the family (as presented below), and that many diverse concepts and styles have been ensued. However, Laing's ability to understand and to penetrate deep into the very experience of the family has provided rich clinical data not found in the major models of family therapy today. Before exploring Laing's contributions, a brief presentation of some of the major contributions to the development of family therapy is presented to initiate the reader to the issues involved.

The Development of Family Therapy

As stated earlier, family therapy has emerged from a number of diverse orientations and practices. One of the major obstacles confronting therapists in the early development of family therapy was the overwhelming emphasis on traditional Freudian concepts. Many psychiatrists emerging from a psychodynamic background found it difficult, if not impossible, to maintain the perspective that pathology is contained within the individual when treating families. One of the major contributors of the family approach when it was developed in the 1950's was the discovery that symptoms could be viewed as appropriate and adaptive behavior. Rather than assume a symptom was irrational and based on misperceptions carried over from the past, it was argued that a symptom was a way of adapting to the current social situation.

Among the therapists who began shifting their emphasis to the family and away from traditional psychoanalysis are Theodore Lidz, Nathan Ackerman, and Murray Bowen. Lidz (1963), like Laing, began investigating the relation of the family to schizophrenia and generalizing such investigations to a theory of the role of the family in society at large. However, unlike Laing, Lidz draws a curious conclusion that the eventual psychological health of the individual family member consists in adapting to the family. Ackerman (1958) came to regard the disturbed

person as symptomatic of a disturbed family. As a result of his experiences with children in therapy, he found that as the children improved, their parents began developing neurotic symptoms or marital dysfunction. Ackerman utilizes office interviews with the entire family and also visits the family in their home. Thus, he sees the diagnostic and therapeutic process as embedded in the dynamics of the family group.

Bowen's (1960) observation of schizophrenic patients who lived with their parents in a hospital ward for sustained periods led to the conclusion that the entire family unit was pathogenic and not just the patient. From these observations, he evolved the idea of "undifferentiated ego mass" family and the related concept of personal individuation as essential to mental health. In addition, Bowen is credited with what is called the systems mode. He regards the family as a system in the sense that a change in one part of that system will, in due course, produce a change in another part.

In an attempt to understand schizophrenia, a Palo Alto group approached the problem from a communication point of view. This group contained no less than four prominent names in the history of family therapy: Don Jackson, Jay Haley, Virginia Satir, and Gregory Bateson. During the 1950's, Bateson, an anthropologist, was involved in a project on communication. Bateson and his colleagues began to feel that therapy for schizophrenics must encompass the family group. While much of this research was conducted under Bateson's name, members of this group developed their individual approaches to the family.

Haley (1976) and Jackson (1961) developed short term, strategic changes based on precise understanding of the family as a system. An additional influence for Haley was the hypnotic technique of Milton Erickson, which became the model for a certain type of intervention by indirect suggestion. Satir's (1972) approach emphasized self realization and clarity of communication. She regarded the family therapist as a resource person who observes the family process in action and then a model of communication for the family through clear, crisp communication. Another element important to Satir's method is the communication of feeling, which was consistent with the Human Potential movement of the 1960's.

An important idea evolving out of the research of Bateson and his colleagues is the concept of the double bind (Bateson, Jackson, Haley, & Weakland, 1956). An example of this is a child receiving contradictory messages from another family member. For instance, a father might repeatedly tell his child to "Always stand up for your rights regardless of the situation!" This is what Bateson refers to as the primary injunc-

tion. However, on other occasions, the child is also told by the father, "Always do what I say!" or "I am your father, never question my authority!" This secondary injunction conflicts with the first but at a more abstract level. Hence, the child is in a bind. The contradiction inherent in the two messages ensures that no matter what the child does in relation to the father, it will be the wrong thing. Bateson and his colleagues felt that the contradiction, the father's failure to admit that there is a contradiction, and the lack of support from other family members can lead to the development of schizophrenia.

While this theory provided fertile ground for further research and methods for detecting pathological communication patterns in families, Bateson (1972) later revised the concept to include an experiential dimension. As he states:

our original paper on the double bind contains numerous errors due simply to our having not yet articulately examined the reification problem. We talk in that paper as though a double bind were a something and as though such somethings could be counted... double bind theory is concerned with the experiential component in the genesis of tangles in the roles or premises of habit (pp. 272, 276).

Further consideration of the double bind is presented later in connection with Laing's ideas.

Lastly, it is important to mention the recent work of Maria Selvini-Palazzoli and her Milan-based associates. The ideas of this group, which has come to be known as Milan Systematic Family Therapy, extended the ideas of the Palo Alto group through the use of paradoxical interventions and other team approaches to families with schizophrenia and anorexia nervosa (Selvini-Palazzoli, 1978). On the basis of this account of some of the major positions in family therapy, attention can now turn to Laing.

It is virtually impossible to cite one or two sources as representative of Laing's position on the family. While he did publish a work entitled *The Politics of the Family* (Laing, 1971), it is important to examine some of Laing's earlier works in order to appreciate fully the progression of his thinking on the subject. Incidentally, *The Politics of the Family* is actually the last major clinical work published by Laing. Subsequent works fall outside of the study of theoretical and methodological concepts relating to individuals of families. Thus, to begin this understanding of Laing, an examination is made of his first major work.

The Divided Self

The publication of *The Divided Self* (Laing, 1969) represents a significant breakthrough in the attempt to understand schizophrenia. It challenged the psychiatric community to dissolve barriers between themselves and patients and to transcend the limitations inherent in the natural scientific, positivist approach to medical psychiatry. In the first chapter, "The Existential-Phenomenological Foundation for a Science of Persons," Laing asked the question "how can I go straight to the patient if the psychiatric words at my disposal keep the patient at a distance from me?" (pp. 16-17). By asking this question, Laing recognizes the problem of psychiatric terminology which splits people up without consideration of what the words actually "disclose or conceal." Laing further points out that the technical terminology of psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and other systems tend to isolate human beings from one another and the world. In other words, the vocabulary implies that human beings are not essentially in relationship to the other and in a world. Words such as "mind," "body," "physical," "mental," "organism," etc. are all abstractions. As Laing says "instead of the original bond of I and You, we take a single man in isolation and conceptualize his various aspects into 'the ego,' 'the super ego,' and 'the id'" (p. 17).

From the preceding statements, it can be noted that Laing establishes the approach he wishes to take. He describes his method as existential phenomenology. In characterizing existential phenomenology, one is met with the difficult task of synthesizing diverse ideas held by the many different existential phenomenologists. Hence, the question arises, what does Laing mean by existential phenomenology? Because these terms are often rather loosely used labels, a digression on their meaning is relevant at this point, although this is not an attempt to give a full of exhaustive account of these philosophies.

Existentialism

It would be incorrect to begin by defining existentialism as simply a philosophy, because its import has exceeded the boundaries of philosophical circles (Barrett, 1962). To be sure, existentialism is a vast and amorphous position having ill-defined boundaries and doctrines, but at the same time maintaining a central coherence (Karl & Hamalian, 1974). Witness, for example, the writings of Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Jaspers, Marcel, Heidegger, Camus, Tillich, Sartre, and Binswanger. The impact of the existential movement has found its way into the areas of literature, art, music, and psychotherapy, as well as philosophy. Even

those who may be unfamiliar with the specifics of existentialism are quite familiar with some of its major themes such as existence, possibility, despair, nothingness, alienation, being, the absurd, and the death of God.

Beginning as a revolt against the atomistic or reductionistic view that science and philosophy held toward the human being, existentialism takes human existence as its subject matter. It is concerned with human existence in its involvement in a situation within a world (Kockelmans, 1967). Hence, existentialism asserts the primacy of existence over essences, which is to say, the essential qualities of a human being are determined by his or her existence of modes of being: being-in-the-world, being-for-others, being-for-self, etc. What is implied here is people make their own lives: the qualities of persons, their essence, are the outcome of their own personal choices of their general being-in-the-world.

This raises two major concerns that are characteristic of existentialism. The first is the question of being. How do the various modes of being go together? And secondly, there is the issue of individual freedom, the right of the individual to choose and act out his or her own destiny. Even if freedom is not explicitly an issue, one may expect an existential analysis to perceive empathy and tolerance towards the individual's position. That is, an existentialist respects the individual's views rather than evaluates them in terms of criteria external to that individual's position.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a method developed originally by Husserl purporting to acquire pre-scientific knowledge in a rigorous way. Roughly speaking, its essential features are: (a) "pure" (presuppositionless description of conscious phenomena as we experience them, not as we believe they must be in light of common sense or scientific knowledge; (b) analysis of these phenomena in terms of "intentionality," i.e. directedness towards objects, which is said to be a feature of all mental phenomena (Husserl, 1913/1962). Thus, a belief is a belief about *something*, a desire is a desire for *something*, a sensation is a sensation of *something*. To give, then a phenomenological analysis of an object or person as it is experienced by one or more human beings.

We are now in a position to look at the relationship of existentialism to phenomenology. The most striking feature of existentialism that distinguishes it from phenomenology is its subject matter, which is human existence as opposed to consciousness as found in phenomeno-

logy. An equally important factor, also, is that existentialism, unlike phenomenology, does not aspire to be scientific. This is not to say that existentialism is necessarily anti-scientific or even anti-systematic. Systematic structures and absolute certainty are simply none of its primary objectives. Hence, existentialism is not restricted to any particular method; its ultimate objective is not "theoretical justification, but the awakening of a special way of life, usually called 'authentic existence'" (Spiegelberg, 1967).

Despite these differences, existentialism and phenomenology are quite compatible. To be sure, phenomenology has enriched itself and developed into a philosophy of the person by borrowing many topics from existentialism (Luijpen, 1974). What is known today as "existential phenomenology" is basically a synthesis of Kierkegaard's existentialism and Husserl's phenomenology as expressed in the writings of Heidegger in his quest for the meaning of Being. Heidegger tried to enlist an enlarged hermeneutic phenomenology, interpreting the meaning of the phenomena, particularly that of human Dasein, for the task of uncovering the meanings of human existence (Heidegger, 1927/1962). Thus, existential phenomenology maintains that existence can be approached phenomenologically and studied as one phenomenon among others in its essential structures.

Ontological Insecurity

In the light of this all too brief account of these philosophical traditions, what can now be said about Laing's employment of them? Through the application of existential phenomenology philosophy, Laing (1969a) tried to demonstrate that schizophrenia is best understood both as the experience of primary ontological insecurity (a term derived from Tillich), and as the efforts of the subject to deal with and come to terms with this experience. As Laing (1969a) states:

Existential phenomenology attempts to characterize the nature of a person's experience of his world and himself. It is not so much an attempt to describe particular objects of his experience as to set all particular experiences within the context of his whole being-in-the-world. The mad things said and done by the schizophrenic will remain essentially a closed book if one does not understand their existential context. (p. 15)

Primary ontological insecurity is viewed by Laing as a fear of one's soul. He attempts to show that our ontological orientation engages us in questionable assumptions about experience itself and particularly our

experience of others. The most basic existential problem, as Laing sees it, is the preservation or loss of one's sense of self. Furthermore, he feels that one's sense of self, its presentation and its possible loss, is inextricably bound up in self—other relationships. Thus, for Laing (1969a), the necessary task of existential phenomenology is to:

articulate what the other's 'world' is and his way of being in it... It is of considerable practical importance that we should be able to see that the concept and/or experience that a man may have of his being may be very different from one's own concept or experience of his being. In these cases, one has to be able to orient oneself as a person in the other's scheme of things rather than only to see the other as an object in one's own world, i.e., within the total system of one's own reference. (pp. 24-25)

Laing described three forms of anxiety to which an ontologically insecure person is prone. The first is termed "engulfment." This is the fear of losing one's identity by interacting with others. The second form of anxiety is termed "implosion." This refers to a state whereby the individual experiences him or herself as hollow or vacuous. The third form is termed "petrification," which refers to a dread of being immobilized as an object for another. Initially, therefore, this anxiety is one of being regarded as an object, an "it," of not being considered really there, in a personal sense. Laing proceeds to give several clinical examples illustrating these anxieties and their relation to ontological insecurity which comprises part one of *The Divided Self*. The remaining sections deal with how the schizoid individual copes with ontological insecurity and the transition from schizoid to schizophrenic states. The book ends with an extended case study of a chronically schizophrenic woman.

The reader may be wondering at this point what this perspective has to do with family therapy. While there would not be much argument about the foregoing ideas of Laing's today, it was quite radical to make such statements in the late 1950's in a psychiatric atmosphere of tranquilizers, electric shock, and brain surgery. Any one, or all of these methods of treatment were administered when one found oneself not in step with one's family, community, or society at large. Laing's primary purpose here is to "make madness, and the process of going mad, comprehensible" (p. 9). Obviously, Laing understands that in order to understand the "other" one must situate the other in his or her existential milieu, not least the family. Consideration is now given to another

work by Laing, one whose impact on family therapy has yet to be realized.

Self and Others

In this publication, Laing (1969b) states his purpose as an attempt "to depict persons within a social system or 'nexus' of person, in order to try to understand some of the ways in which each affects each person's experience of himself and of how interaction takes form (p. xi). To comprehend the act interexperiencing, Laing proceeds to show how phantasy, which is individual, enters into interpersonal relations and becomes an integral part of the structure of the group. Phenomenologically speaking, phantasy is neither private, unsharable, nor unreal. What goes on in families is a shared phantasy system about what each member thinks the family is. As Laing says:

The close-knit groups that occur in some families and other groupings are bound together by the need to find pseudo-real experience that can be found only through the modality of phantasy. This means that the family is not experienced as the modality of phantasy but as 'reality.' However, 'reality' in this sense is not a modality, but a quality attachable to any modality. (p. 24)

For the individual family member, shared phantasies become an important part of the experience of being in the family. However, to a great extent, these shared phantasies are shared misperceptions of the family itself. It is as if within each member of the family there is an image of the family, and these images correspond to each other, but not necessarily to the real family. The family member in such a system loses his or her individuality but may not experience it as such. Laing speaks of an "alienation effect," and a "false position," but stresses that the falsity of it is only apparent retrospectively, that is only after an individual has managed to extricate himself from the system. Since the system provides a strong sense of reality, removing oneself requires a derealization of the pseudo-reality and a realization of a new reality. However by doing so, the individual runs the risk of being labeled mad.

A further important concept of Laing introduces is called an "untenable position." This occurs when a person is placed in two or more false positions which are mutually incompatible. Here Laing draws on the work of Bateson and his colleagues (1956) noting that their theory of the double bind situation is highly relevant to his own work. However, Laing recognizes that Bateson's theory is a causal one and posits a theory of behavior without theoretical consideration accorded to ex-

perience. As mentioned earlier, Bateson acknowledges this problem in a later paper. Instead of the term "double bind," Laing uses the term "untenable position," which in many ways is phenomenologically more sound than the double bind as Bateson employs it. What Laing recognizes in the untenable position is: (1) an existential quality, i.e. one places oneself in an untenable position; (2) a social-behavioral quality, i.e. one is placed in an untenable position by others, and; (3) what might be termed a transpersonal quality, i.e. there is no apparent binder.

A situation of this type may result from an instinctual dynamic. For instance, a child may place the parents in an untenable position by crying when it is hungry and continuing to cry when fed. Feeling at a loss as to what to do, the parents become tense and anxious, perhaps withdrawing affection on the one hand, and overly indulging and being protective on the other (Laing, 1969b). Hence, the contradiction is not within the family, but between the family and the child's biological need to eat. Both parents and child are in a bind, but yet, there is no binder.

In his continuing investigation of phantasy experience, Laing looks at the relation of phantasy to other modes of experiencing and forms of behavior. He particularly investigates hysteria which he calls "elusion." As Laing (1969b) states:

Elusion is a way of getting around conflict without direct confrontation, or its resolution. It eludes conflict by playing off one modality of experience against another. (p. 32)

Thus, a person in a relationship who does not want to be in the relationship pretends not to be in the relationship. When this person comes to feel that he or she is no longer in a relationship, it becomes necessary to pretend that he or she actually is. Instead of being what he or she is, one pretends to be.

Having thus characterized interpersonal conflicts as conflicts existing between different identities within the same person, Laing next examines how one achieves a social identity. Recognizing the limitations of inter-experiencing at the level of phantasy, Laing introduces the concept of "complementarity." Laing (1969b) explains:

By complementarity I denote that function of personal relations whereby the other fulfills or completes self. One person may complement another in many different senses. This function's biologically determined at one level, and a matter of highly individualized choice at the other extreme. Complementarity is more or less formalized, culturally conditional. (pp. 66-67)

Thus, one must not only have an identity for oneself, but also, an identity for others. However, a viable identity of self is impossible unless the definition of self by others is in some ways compatible. To deal with this problem, Laing introduces three more concepts: confirmation, disconfirmation, and collusion. These concepts can be seen as an acknowledgment that we need our own conception of the objective world to coincide with, or at least not to be too discrepant from the world as seen by others.

With respect to confirmation, Laing (1969b) states that:

Any human interaction implies some measure of confirmation, at any rate of the physical bodies of the participants, even when one person is shooting another. (p. 82)

Any acknowledgment from another confirms one's presence in the world, even if that acknowledgment brings harm to one's self. From the above quote it is obvious that confirmation does not mean or imply agreement. And for disconfirmation, it may take the form of tangential responses, or having an opinion invalidated rather than contradicted: that is, treated as worthless, not merely false.

Collusion on the other hand involves two or more people playing a "game" with each other to the point that they mutually deceive themselves. This is a cooperative effort in which the individuals involved participate willingly, but without any awareness of doing so. In a sense, collusion could be a resolution to the problem of disconfirmation. The particular function of collusion seems to be the mutual confirmation of the individuals' positions by each other.

A significant contribution to understanding and making intelligible communication in couples and families is to be found in the appendix of *Self and Others*. Entitled "A Shorthand for Dyadic Perspective," Laing attempts to transcend the behavioral approach to communication which is isolated from experience, and replace it with a more phenomenological concept, "perspective." Unlike, Bateson's theory, the concept of perspective situates the perception of incoming communication and the knowledge of outgoing communication within the experience of the individual. An expansion of this idea is found in a work entitled "Individual Perception" (Laing, et. al., 1966). The "interpersonal perception method" (IPM) set forth in this book uses such tools as a technical symbolic notation, and the matching and statistical analysis of questionnaires, in order to discover information unavailable to the experience of any individual. That is to say, it provides information about discrepancies in interpersonal perception.

Thus, in investigating the interpersonal range between the self and others, and particularly in the dyadic relation between the two selves, Laing attempts to understand one's "Meta-perspective," i.e. comprehending one's view of the other's view of oneself. Laing's employment of the concept is seen quite clearly in his research into schizophrenic families (Laing & Esterson, 1964) and normal and disturbed marriages (Laing, Phillipson, & Lee, 1966).

The Politics of the Family

This brings us to a discussion of an important work by Laing that actually represents his last major publication of a psychiatric nature. In *Politics of the Family* Laing (1971) begins by discussing the relation between "the family and the 'family.'" Where "family" is used to mean the internalized pattern of family relation in the individual. He says:

It is to the relation between the observable structures of the family and the structures that endure as part of the 'family' as a set of relations and operations between them that this chapter is addressed. (pp. 3-4)

To better understand what Laing is referring to here, it is necessary to examine an article written by Laing, published as a chapter in a book by Lomas (1967) entitled, "The Predicament of the Family." This article was revised as the first chapter of *The Politics of the Family*. In that article, Laing begins by asking the obvious, but important question: what is a family? And, what is meant by the terms "family dynamics" and the family structure? A family, he says, is a system of interaction and interexperience.

Understood this way, Laing challenges the therapeutic community to acknowledge their lack of understanding concerning the relationship of family dynamics and structure to other sorts of group dynamics and structure. The essential issue here is the relation between the structure of the family as observed and the experiential structures of its members, particularly phantasy experience. Laing continues by suggesting that it is incorrect to view any group as a set of binary relations; that is, as a set of relations between individuals and the rest of the group. For in doing so, the observing third party is ignored, which must be considered when attempting a phenomenological approach as Laing does here. As an example, a family consisting of a father, mother, son, and daughter will not only have the daughter's view of the father, mother, etc., i.e., all binary combinations, but also the daughter's view of the relationship

between father and mother, between mother and son, etc., the daughter's view of the son's view of the relationship between father and mother, and so on. Laing terms each of these perspectives a "synthesis."

Considering that communication within any dyad may be clear or dysfunctional, it will be perceived differently according to who the observer is. If father, mother, and son interact happily with respect to the son, that is, when synthesized by son as parents, but fail to do so with respect to each other, that is, when synthesized by each other as husband and wife, coherency within the group is at stake. To achieve coherency, each member must perform acts of synthesis whereby members of the group are "we" and non-members are "them." Each member must internalize not only his own syntheses but everyone else's, also. Hence, the family observed is quite different from the internalized "family." As Laing (1971, p. 5) states, "The 'family' to each of its members is no objective set of relations. It exists in each of the elements in it, and nowhere else."

In analyzing the phenomenon, Laing (1971) uses the notion of mapping. He says that "internalization means to map 'outer' onto 'inner'" (p. 7). The internalized family is the process of mapping the "family" onto the family. There are a number of mapping operations which can be performed here: first, one's family of origin is internalized as a child, which is of course basic to psychoanalytic theory, but Laing suggests that the "family" is not an introjected object, but an introjected set of relations (p. 6). As Laing (1967) puts it:

In studying the families of very disturbed people, we have repeatedly been surprised by the extent to which quite delusional structures are recognizably related to family relations. The reprojected of the 'family' is thus not simply a matter of projecting an 'internal' object onto an external person. It is the re-experiencing of the whole system of relations (p. 116).

The "family," then, is mapped back (projected) onto the family, but also onto later relationships. In a family with a shared phantasy of its own structure, it is to be expected that, in the first place, the "families" of the parents, derived from their experiences of their own families of origin, will form the core of the new 'family' which the children will be under pressure to internalize.

The pressure on another person to adapt one's own phantasy is what Laing (1971) calls "induction." Induction is the operation of inducing another to embody one's projection of them. Induction, therefore, is something one does to another's experience. As Laing describes:

Suppose I projected my mother onto my wife... I may or may not induce her to embody my mother. The operation of inducing her to embody my projection is what I am calling induction. Projection is done by one person as his own experience of the other. Induction is done by one person to the other's experience. (p. 119)

Children particularly will be subject to induction by the parents of their own phantasy structures.

Once a family has a shared phantasy, transpersonal defenses develop. The phantasy has to be defended against conflicting maps of the family, particularly more accurate ones. Anyone who ceases to share the phantasy, or the child who has never properly internalized it (perhaps has internalized the "real" family instead) is perceived as a threat. Confirmation of the shared phantasy is reinforced, disconfirmation of it is punished. The emotional dependence of the child on the parents places in their hands a powerful weapon with which to punish any doubts about their phantasy family.

Incidentally, denial is an example of a transpersonal defense (actually, Laing prefers the term "operation"). Specifically, it is demanded by others and forms a part of what Laing (1971) calls a "transpersonal system of collusion" (p. 99). Such an operation is at the basis of the Happy Families game, whereby everyone is unhappy, but all deny it to themselves, and deny their denial to themselves and each other. Each colludes in the mutual denial. Moreover, rules develop which are meant to convey a process whereby certain basic distinctions such as good and evil are projected into the world. These rules govern the entire social field. Laing says:

It is bad to think bad about what you are supposed to think good about. It is bad to think good about what you are supposed to think bad about. It is good to think bad about what you're supposed to think bad about. (p. 105)

But beyond those rules are meta-rules, to the effect that such badness or goodness is not seen as a projection; the initial rule does not exist. There are, in fact, rules against seeing the rules. Hence, the function of phantasy is the mapping of experience onto experience.

Dialectical Intelligibility

A discussion of Laing's contribution would not be complete without taking at least a cursory look at his employment of concepts found in Jean Paul Sartre's (1960/1976) *Critique de la Raison Dialectique*. Laing

and his colleague, David Cooper (1964) published a work that in some sense may seem tangential to the writings in psychiatry. The book entitled *Reason and Violence* purports to be an account of "A Decade of Sartre's Philosophy," the subtitle of the book. While a complete rendering of the ideas found in this work cannot be made here, attention is given to those concepts that specifically relate to assessment (not derived from measurement) of the family situation.

In a paper entitled *Mystification, Confusion, and Conflict*, Laing (1965) states his intention is "to give an account of two theoretical polarities developed by Sartre in the 'Critique,' namely praxis and process, and series and nexus, using the family as a point of concrete reference" (p. 7). Praxis, self-action in a project, is the struggle against process, passive reception of action. A dialectical investigation attempts to establish the complex play of praxis and process. Various occurrences and events may be intentional acts by individuals, or they may simply be the outcome of, or parts of, a continuous series of operations that have no agent as their author.

When one can trace what is going on in a group (a family) to the authorship of its members, the term praxis is used. However, behavior may have become too far alienated from anyone's responsibility to be directly comprehensible in terms of the deeds of any identifiable agent. But it is intelligible if one can retrace the steps from "what is going on" which is process to "who is doing what" (praxis) (Laing, 1965, pp. 7-8). Hence, praxis is human intention whereas process is the result of physical forces. As an example, if a person is severely ill and heavily medicated and begins to talk seemingly nonsensical, this could be the outcome of process. On the other hand, if that same person, a few weeks later, announced his or her candidacy for public office; that would be the result of praxis. What is essential here is that since praxis is the result of human intention, it is intelligible, it can be comprehensible in human terms. Process, on the other hand, can only be understood in terms of cause and effect, quantification, etc.

Now the two types of groups in which praxis and process are realized are "series" and "nexus." In a series, no one individual is essential. Members of this group may be unified by serial ideas which are never held by anyone on his or her own. Each person is thinking of what he or she thinks the other thinks. A nexus is a group "where unification is achieved through reciprocal interiorization by each other, in which neither a common object, nor organization, nor institutional structures, etc., has a primary function as a kind of group cement"

(Laing, 1965, p. 11). The nexus only exists in so far as it is present in each person, including the own person.

According to Laing, families are often of the structure of a nexus. To remain united, each family member must interiorize the "family." As Laing (1965) states:

The condition of permanence of such a nexus, whose sole existence is each person's interiorization of it, is the successful re-invention of whatever gives such interiorization its *raison d'être*. If there is no external danger, then danger and terror have to be invented and maintained. Each person has to act on the others to maintain the nexus in them. (p. 12)

Now, since human reality is contradictorily and continuously undergoing a process of change, it is imperative for the therapist to conceptualize and comprehend behavior and experience through the heuristic benefits of a dialectical perspective, change and growth are emphasized through the progressive reconciliation of contradictions existing in one's experience and behavior and in one's relation to the family in question. This change and growth is integral to the dialectical method and is experienced as a movement in both the therapist and the individual family member.

The dialectical method is a movement of totalizing, detotalizing, and retotalizing essentially different elements of experience in wider synthesis. This progressive-regressive movement occurs in three moments. In the first moment, the therapist's initial totalization is disrupted when it becomes apparent that certain elements in the situation under study are not congruent with existing findings or totalizations of the observed and with his or her relation to it. Incidentally, for the purposes here, a totalization is defined as the sum total of one's experience about something in the present moment. The term, as used by Sartre, is defined more extensively; the reader is referred to these sources for further explanation (see Sartre, 1963; 1976/1960; Laing, et.al. 1964; Esterson, 1972).

Consequently, the second moment is a negation of the totalization by the therapist. In the third moment, the therapist retotalizes the situation by dissolving into and preserving the former findings in a wider synthesis. The method of totalizing is constituted by a movement that is regressive and progressive in structure. The three moments constitute the regressive-progressive movement. Sartre's (1963) schema for this movement is outlined in the following way: 1) phenomenological description, or observation by experience, though based on some

general theory; 2) analytical-regressive, and; 3) synthetic progression. In the first moment, the investigator attends phenomenologically to contradictory events occurring in the system under study and to his or her own experience of the system as a participating member. From here the therapist proceeds by way of a regressive analysis to analyze historically previous totalization about the system in order to define and date its earlier stages and his or her relation to it.

A progressive-synthetic movement comprises the third moment, wherein the historical findings, by means of a hypothesis, are reconstituted and related synthetically to the experientially observed events in an expanded totalization. In other words, to clarify an event in a present situation, the synthetic-progressive movement, which is historical and genetic, moves from past to present to rediscover the present (Laing and Cooper, 1964). Upon forming a totalization about the family, the therapist must proceed by way of a regressive movement to an analysis of all socio-environmental conditioning factors including the intra-familial, extra-familial, economic, and socio-historical factors that have bearing on the present situation.

However, this movement does not signal end to the investigation. The therapist must then move from the past to the present to rediscover the present in a new synthesis. By a synthetic-progressive movement, the therapist can grasp a family's own totalization of the conditioning factors on the basis of the conditioning factors totalization of the family. That is to say, it is necessary to comprehend what effect the historical conditioning factors have had on the family and how the family responds to these socio-historical factors.

Now dialectical reasoning implies that one is attempting to make sense of a situation in order to act on the sense made. This provides intelligibility. Intelligibility involves the totalization of the individuals comprehension of what is being studied with his or her own awareness of him or her doing it. Hence, to render a family's actions intelligible, the therapist must not only come to be aware of their totalizations of each other, and of the family itself, but also be aware of his or her own totalization of their totalization of the way he or she constitutes himself or herself as a part of the family being studied. Before leaving this discussion, Laing (1965) introduces another term that is relevant to understanding the family: "mystification." Laing argues that mystification is the misrepresentation of praxis as process, and this misrepresentation is itself a form of praxis. The immediate function of mystification is to mask real conflicts. As an example, Laing uses a situation wherein a teenage girl and her mother are in conflict. Her mother perceives any

signs of maturation on the part of the daughter as symptoms of either badness or madness (e.g. going out with boys or the questioning of accepted religious beliefs). Her axes, then, were simply good/bad, and sane/mad, these being identified with her daughter's behavior, chronologically, then/now. "Good," for the mother, was the girl's behavior as an obedient child. She lacked any historical perspective, both of her daughter, her relation to her daughter, and of the family as a whole. Consequently, she was not able to use the axis of, say, immature/mature, which would have corresponded, objectively, to the girl's developing biological maturity.

The therapist, upon discovering such a situation, must demystify the obscurity and discover the real issues, and contrast these with the false issues. Mystification serves to maintain rigid stereotypic roles. A mystified relationship rules out the genuine reciprocal conformation of identity, and substitutes a pseudo-mutuality in which false fronts are induced, and an overall system of pseudo-identities arises based on phantasy. According to Laing (1965) such systems are found to be almost universal in the families of schizophrenics. However, the same situation can be found in normal families because while mystification frequently seeks to avoid conflict, it does not necessarily avoid all conflict. In fact, it may institute conflict over non-existent issues, thereby clouding the real issues.

Laing (1965) gives an example of a child playing noisily, and is getting on the mother's nerves. She wants him to go to bed. Now, she may say, "I'm tired, go to bed," or, "Go bed because I say so." These are straight injunctions which the child may obey or disobey. On the other hand, the mother may employ mystification and say, "I'm sure you feel tired, darling, and want to go to bed, don't you?" The mystification here resides in several aspects: first, what is apparently a factual description of the child's condition is really a command; second, the child's feelings are being defined for him regardless of how he actually feels; and third, what he is supposed to feel is what the mother actually feels. Hence, before a therapist can take enlightened action, demystification must occur.

What then can be said of Laing's contribution to understanding the family? First of all, Laing and his colleagues have realized more than any other theoretician and practitioner that the essential features of human experience can be revealed in an adequate manner, and the dimensions of human meanings, purposes, and history are embodied in the person's experience. Secondly, he has extended the knowledge of family interaction based on psychoanalytic theory to a methodology that

will do justice to the uniqueness, richness and complexity of the family. Thirdly, Laing's understanding of the family transcends mere technique. On the contrary, his understanding is the empathic grasping of the nature of the family's being-in-the-world. Fourthly, by radically reflecting on the important role of phantasy (experience) in families, not only is there a change in the perception of that experience for the therapist, but also, it demands a change in the therapist as an experiencer. What is changed is the attitude of the therapist toward the family in question. By adopting a dialectical-phenomenological perspective, the family therapist becomes aware of various systems and approaches to therapy as being only a phase in the ongoing dialectical movement. Through dialectical reasoning the family therapist becomes able to make sense of and understand the family in increasingly wider ranges of intelligibility. The basic aim of Laing throughout his clinical writings is the acquisition of that essential understanding.

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Bedtime Stories: Engendering Sex Through Narrative

Kareen Ror Malone

Reputable colloquial use reveals that American culture closely associates having sex and having (a) sex (even if it is unclear what sex we have at those precipitous moments). Consequently, I begin with the precept that it is both useful and necessary to examine the significance of gender in terms of its expressions within sexuality. Simply put, gender and sexuality are interdependent and overlapping domains of human meaning. Although in many respects this assertion seems self-evident, psychologists and sexologists, whom we might consider most intimate with the real of sex, have been slow to investigate the implications of a conjunction between sex and gender. Both sexology and psychology remain within frameworks that have historically privileged either (de-sexed) individual experience or the scientific method (Irvine, 1990).

With respect to the former, psychologists in the humanistic paradigm consider sexual identity as a distinctive addition to individual identity. The issue then becomes to liberate presumably natural sexual feelings from the fetters of gender into the clear air of individual self-expression. But when humanistic psychology universalizes the idea of the individual, it has a difficult time recognizing the historical context which has given rise to the individuality so conceived. Thus, for example, feminist criticisms of scientific sexology which invoke humanistic values

as spoken through the "voices" of women (Tiefer, 1990) may overlook the social contexts that have given women's voices a very particular script to follow. This script and the values it promotes are as enmeshed with femininity as the scientific discourse is enmeshed with masculinity. Further, universalizing individuality blinds one to other autonomous systems of the psychological register. Such autonomous systems, gender being but one example, may actually play an independent role in the constitution of individuality. Because humanism ties individuality with a notion of freedom which can not have its defining subjectivity essentially compromised, gender and other determinative systems are automatically excluded. (Does "one" come before two as with God or "two" before one as with humans?) By contrast, gender studies in other disciplines have discovered that suspending an allegiance to individuality has bred a wealth of insights and research. A psychology too deeply committed to the study of individual experience or overly secure in its presuppositions about individuality has in essence cut itself off from these emerging paths of inquiry (Squire, 1989).

When it comes the question of gender and sex, the limitations of scientific methodology are even more glaring. Not only does scientific psychology exclude certain possible avenues of study, but it obfuscates many of the fundamental concepts germane to the sexual realm. Psychology's investment in the scientific method implicitly endorses a tradition of philosophical thinking that bifurcates reality in terms of fact vs. fiction, reality vs. illusion, subject vs. object. The privileged side of these antinomies is the former term. One should observe that the more valued side of the opposition enjoys a historically forged association with masculinity while the less meritorious is joined with signifiers of woman. These interrelations and binaries are sewn into the semantic fabric and even the experiential identity of man and woman (where is the "I" without the not "I") and cannot be easily dislodged by an unreflective appeal to "objectivity." This so called "objectivity," interlaced with the cultural position of the sexes, only asks certain questions of the reality that it investigates. Both the questions it poses and the reality it claims privilege a conception of the subject (matter) that is not neutral with respect to gender (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). Consequently, we do find, and would expect to find, that even feminist inspired empirical research would generate data and norms that lean to the tradition of the masculine. As Jill Morawski (1990) shows in her brilliant analysis of Bem's notion of androgyny, this inadvertent bias does indeed insinuate itself into the feminist empirical tradition. Morawski's point is not directed only to androgyny but to the nature of

the scientific method embraced by psychology. If one conducts research, the foundations of which depend upon certain traditionally gendered presuppositions such as nature vs. culture, one implicitly incorporates certain effects of gender in a haphazard and often reactionary manner.

Even with this problematic horizon, contemporary psychology has managed to carve out a subfield of study devoted to sexuality and by implication, to gender. In contemporary psychology, it has been typical to allot sex to the realm of the biological and accord to gender those aspects of sexual difference determined by cognitive schemes and socialization. Thus sex and gender exist uncomfortably between a pre-given objective physiology and rational or irrational socialization practices. Seldom does one find a significant effort to comprehend the experiential and theoretical interdependence between sexuality and gender.

Those theories within psychology that have attempted to articulate a coherent connection between sexuality and gender usually derive from psychoanalysis. Those theories of psychoanalysis with which most American psychologists are familiar have pursued two courses in explicating the imbrication of sexuality and gender. In the first case, psychoanalysts and post-Freudians like Erik Erikson depend upon morphological analogies which elaborate gender from the givens of the physical body. For example, the shape of the vagina is translated into a feminine receptive nature, the womb into an implacable interiority. Conversely, the outward extension of the penis and its distinctive pointed shape have been conceived as originary in a masculine penchant for penetration. To suggest that the possession of a particularly contoured sexual organ results in an insatiable desire to poke appears absurd upon examination, but it has constituted one path by which the psychosocial dimensions of gender have been interpreted *vis a vis* the physical body. One could ask why the penis and vagina have been so figural in such accounts. Would a focus on the testicles create a new masculinity? In this regard, women have fared better in such discourses. The psychosexual attitudes that have issued from analogies of anatomy have symbolized the clitoris, the breasts, and the vagina, a veritable cornucopia of gender trajectories.

A second course of conceptualizing sex and gender also originating in psychoanalysis involves associating what are assumed to be physiologically based functions such as lactation with psychological pre-dispositions, such as mothering. Although feminists like Nancy Chodorow (1978) have argued that mothering is a result of subtle socialization practices which use the similarity between the bodies of

mothers and daughters but are not dependent on that similarity, there is still a tendency to essentialize gender behavior in terms of the pre-given body. Lest we think that we contemporary psychologists are beyond such essentializing, we might be reminded how often it is asserted that sex roles are outdated because physical strength is no longer socially relevant. What kind of theory of gender and sex does this observation presuppose?

The most disappointing approach is the unreflective juxtaposition of physiological facts with a summary exposition of gender specific socialization. Although anyone can recognize the genitals being discussed, perhaps even the four stages of arousal, and can identify with the inculcation of sex roles, no effort is made to broaden the understanding of a body being inducted into a two sexed culture. Further, although there are appeals to alter antiquated sex stereotypes, little attempt is made to discover the function or referent of those stereotypes or account for their staying power. This failure is in part due to the inadequacy of a physiological body to provide such a referent.

When one theorizes gender and its stereotypes in terms of other social structures such as power hierarchies between men and women, one possesses a more adequate framework. Still, this type of explanation, popular in second wave feminism, fails to investigate how such power structures are translated into sexually stimulating bodies except by implicating masculine self-interest. Unfortunately, the meaning and the motivation of self-interest, especially in sexual matters, is not self evident. With respect to women and the parallels between sexual subordination and other forms of social oppression, it is notable that an adequate formulation of the "desire to be oppressed" has perplexed Marxism for decades and the matter is even stickier in relation to sex. With respect to the designated oppressor, man, it is problematic to assume a desire to oppress and objectify. In sum, psychology has yet to articulate the foundations out of which a psychology of sexuality could emerge. Further, the incommensurability of sex and gender is no slight oversight but rather is symptomatic of a major gap in theorizing at the heart of a psychological understanding of sexuality. As a result, the present state of theorizing fails to account for the presence of particular gender practices, their pervasiveness, their variability and most importantly what makes them sexy, that is, a body that desires.

In bold contrast, other disciplines have embraced the detailed study of sexuality and gender, not as a prurient aside, but as an fundamental strategy for understanding the development of subjectivity, social structure, and language, topics of undeniable interest to any number of

academic fields. Psychology could easily profit from the conceptions of sexuality and gender generated in other corridors of academe.

One key to this renaissance in sexual studies is a shift to narratives on sexuality instead of predicating the study of sexuality upon some to-be-discovered reality. Obviously, such a shift is most easily accommodated in the humanities but merely its heuristic value recommends this approach for psychological research. In contradiction to the modern fantasy that contemporary culture is singular in its openness about sex, recent historical researches reveal that most societies industriously produce discourses that characterize our sexual natures. Whether that nature is brutish and in need of restraint, as most sects of Christianity seem to believe, or more analogous to a fresh mountain stream and to be cherished and cultivated, or merely a matter of necessity is ultimately beside the point. Once the emphasis is put on narrative and its effects as narrative *per se*, the question of a knowable physical reality which can be more or less accurately portrayed is tabled. There are only bodies being given meaning and desire through endless cycles of signification. The narratives that criss-cross our bodies do not mirror physiology or point to one element in the social structure. Rather narratives on sex are symbolic knots within interlocking networks of culturally generated meaning. The various narratives manifest these networks' mutually reinforcing and mutually limiting sites of intersection. In an excellent historical study of sex, Thomas Laqueur (1990) documents Western fantasies and discourses on sex and gender. Modern physiology although more in touch with the (perpetually receding) real of the body is by no means immune from the infusion of other cultural narratives which have been traditionally coupled with sexuality and gender.

Ancient accounts of reproductive biology, still persuasive in the early eighteenth century, linked the intimate, experiential qualities of sexual delight to the social and cosmic order. More generally, biology and human sexual experience mirrored the metaphysical reality on which it was thought that social order rested. The new biology, with its search for fundamental differences between the sexes... emerged at precisely the time when the foundations of the old social order were shaken once and for all. But social and political changes are not, in themselves, explanations for the re-interpretations of bodies. The rise of evangelical religion, Enlightenment political theory... Lockean ideas of marriage as a contract... the French revolution... the factory system with its restructuring of the sexual division of labor... none of the things *caused* the making

of a new sexed body. Instead the remaking of the body is itself intrinsic to each of these developments. (Laqueur, 1990, p. 11)

Laqueur argues that before the ascendance of modern science gender preceded sex. Thus, for example, a woman who had given her life to God was likely to undergo a divine sex change operation, sprouting the proper accoutrements in order to utterly devote herself to the path of the spirit (Bullough, 1982). Her mutant body reflected the theological conviction that men were several inches closer to God. This presupposition falls within the symbolism of gender but directly impacts the body of sex. To merely dismiss such an alignment of sex and gender as superstition not only impoverishes our comprehension of previous eras, it obscures the interdependence of sex and gender in present society.

The significance of narratives for the comprehension of sexuality was recognized by early sexologists (although later sexology deviated from this precedent). Kraft-Ebbing, as a case in point, collected the biographies of the perverts he researched. He did not measure their behavior or look at their sex acts, he recorded their words (Weeks, 1986). In fact after the initial edition of his classic work on perversion, he was inundated with the stories of individuals' sexual experiences. He was not asked to make sense of their bodies but to make sense of their sexuality in the context of their stories. Psychology might be well served to learn the lesson of the "speaking pervert." Whatever the meaning of sex or gender, it must situate itself in a narrative which frames it.

Following the lines set by narrative, one can ask, for example, why spending was the orgasmic metaphor for the cost conscious Victorians. To spend or to save was not just a moral question posed to the purse strings but a lively debate in treatises on masturbation (Neuman, 1975). With respect to the latter, excess spending could cause nerve damage, intellectual disrepair and atrophied sex organs. Conversely saving was prerequisite to social, economic and intellectual success. When orgasms were considered a precondition to conception — not so long ago — going and dying were the idioms. Perhaps an orgasm that could mean your replacement was on the way slanted the experience in a more melancholy direction. Now we don't go, we come, and in contrast to the Victorians, we can (and maybe should) increase our comings through masturbation. This is a certainly major turnabout in cultural narratives of sexuality.

Regarding masturbation and the positive connotations of coming, Jeffrey Weeks (1985, p. 23) characterizes our first masturbatory

entrepreneur, Hugh Hefner, as a symbol of the acceptance of marketed fantasy. Accepting marketed fantasy, of course, means certain transformations in the relationship of inside to outside — a hallowed boundary in individualism — and in the relationship of public to private. For Weeks, marketing fantasy is essential to the continued expansion of commodity based capitalism. Within this economy, there can be no limit to desire. Otherwise how could we justifiably give up a perfectly functional overcoat for one that is a different color, longer or shorter and adorned with shoulder pads. Hugh Hefner did not create an alliance between sexuality and economy, he merely exploited a long standing intersection between economics, arousal, and orgasm (Foucault, 1986). Whether in sex or business, we Americans can come and come, but we are haunted with the question of whether we ever arrive. This a formal privileging of process over product.

Contemporary advertising also confirms that consuming desire can traverse both the economic and sexual spheres. What Hefner pioneered in the 1950's has become a motif in mainstream commercials. We now watch stylish ads which utterly obscure the object of desire and simply invoke the process of desiring itself. I implicate not only products such as Obsession but those ads for the car Infiniti where the car is never seen, a tactic more successfully employed by the auto company, Saturn. We should not be in the least surprised at such persuasive tactics. After all, if it is just fantasy that you are marketing, showing the car or product itself is really secondary.

The analysis of any cultural narrative depends upon an openness to what anthropologists Harriet Whitehead and Sherry Ortner call, mutual metaphorization (Ortner & Whitehead, 1982). Being labeled a girl or a boy is not meant to denote a body. The elaborate rituals of pink and blue, with blue becoming supposedly desexualized with maturity (like the universal "he") and pink remaining a signifier of the feminine (Gallop, 1988), are not prominent because the members of our society need assistance to recognize the sex of the physical body. Rather being a girl and being a boy represent the insertion of our physicality into numerous chains of signifiers which structure our culture and make sure we go about reproducing and having sex within it. To trace back these chains of meaning we need to follow the endless sexual metaphors which inhabit non-sexual discourses and the non-sexual metaphors imported into the realm of sexuality. Without the rich reservoir of mutual metaphorization, the sex joke and perhaps sex would have died long ago. Freud once warned us that psychology would be chasing down bad jokes in its search for the psychological.

By attending to such metaphors, other disciplines have begun to disrobe the fantasy body that motivates the physical body in its sexual tastes. Our fantastic bodies are images which accompany the often irrational narratives and practices through which we learn our sex and sexuality. Cooties, farts, sissies, and childhood theories of birth all constitute a legacy of sexual meanings. These translate the cultural place of sex, reproduction, and gender onto the desiring body. Although accomplished in a haphazard manner, the cultural function of sexual activities nonetheless reflects economic, epistemological, and political dimensions of human experience. Our physical sexuality is always mediated by signifiers. Purely physical sex may be a delicious fantasy but it is only a fantasy. Moreover, it is a fantasy that is interdependent with spiritual fantasies of sex, economic fantasies of sex (making it) and political fantasies of sex (in terms of which feminism has been so perceptive). Sexuality and sex make us functional or dysfunctional members of our social group and will continue to perform this role as long as society needs mothers and fathers, bodies and desires. Further, sexuality buttresses the value we place on socially produced objects. Do beautiful women sell beautiful cars or do the cars sell the women or are they interchangeable as feminism suggests.

Freud is probably the most famous decoder of fantastic bodies and of the narratives that create them. Maligned or ossified by many in psychology, Freudian theory has been pivotal in the reconsideration of sexuality in other disciplines. Freud has been useful in part because of his focus on infantile representations of the body and sexuality. In other words, Freud never conceived of sexuality outside of symbolism and imagination. Once one recognizes that Freud inaugurates his researches at the point of memory, hallucination, symptom, dream, or image — all of which entail processes of representation — it is possible to reread his entire corpus on sexuality as a meditation on the properties of that space between the real of the physical and cultural networks of signifiers brought to us by our parents. Despite maintaining the horizon of the real, Freud's concept of primary repression means that we are forever denied access to that real, a limitation that mystics apparently transcend and psychology persistently tries to circumvent. In contrast, psychoanalysis has humbly foregone this challenge:

In conformity with its peculiar nature, psychoanalysis does not try to describe what a woman is — that would be a task it could scarcely perform — but sets about enquiring how she comes into being (Freud, 1965, p. 103).

Throughout his many writings on the topic, Freud debates the importance of the dichotomy active versus passive for the understanding of sexual difference. On the one hand he remarks that active as male and passive as female is as far as the psychological understanding of the sexes has gone. A cursory glance at the rather grim history of speculations on sex and gender bear Freud out. Whether one consults Galen or Aristotle or William Acton, we get a clear impression that the container womb clearly signifies the female nature as receptive and fundamentally passive. On the other hand, Freud observes that passivity and activity are inadequate to mature masculinity and femininity.

For its part, present and past pornography testifies to the arousing nature of repeated enactments of the themes of activity and passivity. (We would expect pornography *not* to represent the most mature expression of sexual difference.) Steven Marcus (1964), in his study of Victorian sexuality, finds the dichotomy well represented in the pornography of the era. *The Story Of O* indicates that the theme has lost little appeal in the twentieth century. An example from the well known "Fanny Hill" illustrates how the active and passive is played out in the sexual encounter of man and woman:

He pass'd his instrument so slow, that we lost sight of it inch by inch, till at length it was taken into the soft laboratory of love, and the mossy mount of each could fairly met together. In the mean time, we could plainly mark the prodigious effect the progression of this delightful energy wrought in this delicious girl, gradually heightening her beauty as they heightened her pleasure. Her countenance, and her whole frame, grew more animated... her naturally brilliant eyes now sparkled with a tenfold lustre: her languor vanish'd and she appeared quick spirited, and alive all over. (Cleland, 1985, p. 116).

Of course all of us get a little spring in our step when sexually aroused, but the point is the directionality of the agency. For Aristotle, man is form and energy and woman is matter; for John Cleland the same arrangement is less dryly put but nonetheless dictates the characterization of the sexual encounter.

There have been innumerable theories about why and how activity and passivity intersect with masculinity and femininity. Lacanian psychoanalysis relates this conjunction to the acquisition of language. Anyone who has had occasion to hear the rambling of a thought disorder probably realizes that a person's being can be most tenuously connected to his or her speaking. Anyone who has taken sixth grade grammar

realizes that the active subject and passive object structure any utterance. This linguistic stricture is further accentuated in the two voices of the verb. Lacanian thought asserts that we are socialized into a connection between our being and our symbolic system through the drama of sexuality. In other words, we must learn how to position ourselves within the opposition of activity and passivity to embody the structure of language: the ritual of embodiment is the construction of the opposite sexes. More generally, in the Lacanian interpretation of Freud, cognition and gender are interdependent. This Lacanian move makes sense out of the integration within Freud of sexuality, metapsychological speculations, and the talking cure, an integration which has not been effectively addressed by most re-interpretations of Freudianism. Lacan's hypothesis, quite overwhelming in its particulars, is at least confirmed at the general level by social practices. Until very recently, highly symbolic activities such as logic were considered out of the intellectual grasp of the average woman and were speculated to pose a danger to her ovaries. On a more pedestrian level, there is no tangible reason that scientific methods are designated as hard.

Others speculate that Freud's association between active and passive and the two sexes reflects traditionally hierarchial social relations between men and women: The dominant individual possesses agency and choice, that is, power. The folks on the bottom have either been forced to submit as in subjugated peoples or possess a nature not given to choice, sovereignty, and power. I read an interesting "support the troops" poster that goes, "don't let Hussein saddamize the world." Here again the possession of the penis is associated with dominance and power and the subordinate position is associated with a receiving orifice. It appears that the reading of the sexes through activity and passivity is still alive and kicking in our collective imagination. Man and woman, masculinity and femininity, carry a very heavy symbolic weight. These images of gender are rapidly changing as the social positions of the sexes transform. One can think of the incredible emphasis on clitoral sexuality, glorified as never before, to realize that images of the body are responding to significant cultural shifts.

The position and symbolization of the feminine are a place of marked tension in contemporary society. If statistics on childcare and household work indicate anything, the feminine is still steadfastly associated with the maternal and domestic. Expressions such as jugs for the exalted female bustline further evidence the entrenched conflation of woman with mother. In slang expressions such as boobs the female's most prominent secondary sexual characteristic enjoins its bearer with

the passive and the dumb. Calling a whole person a boob or the vernacular boob-tube fully unveils the connotations of boobs for breasts. We could profitably compare the qualification of this body part with that of the hand for example (so dear to phenomenological psychology). No body minds being called handy, or good with their hands. It is nearly an oxymoron to be called good with your boobs because in cultural and sexual dichotomies flesh is not active. In keeping with Freud's sexual opposition, flesh should be molded and shaped. One sees this in women's fashions throughout the ages, from corsets to lift and separate bras.

At the same time, we are becoming a culture less of sexual opposition and more of sexual equality, a shift concurrent with many changes in the images of women's flesh. At the present juncture, we appear to be a culture in awe of hard flesh. Our fascination with the body as machine apparently leaves the world of the simpleton boob behind. Further, this cultural pre-occupation is not considered primarily a masculine pursuit. Both men and women mold their flesh with the nautilus. With specific regard to women, around eighty percent of American females report they are dieting; quite stridently, the image of fleshpot is being shed by its typical occupants.

However, such changes should not tempt us to disdain past images and designations of sex and sexuality. If Freud is right, the fantastic body is immature and anchored in the past. Our revulsions, compulsions, and wayward desires seldom meet the expectations devised by morality and consciousness. I would suggest then that we listen to as well as transcend our irrational residues — the silly perhaps even infantile fantasies of gratification and desire of which American advertisers make such good use.

Consequently, I would not ignore lingering images of the body from by-gone eras or the narratives which give them meaning. Given the imbrication of the maternal with the flesh, it is doubtful that women and the feminine will completely separate from a number of traditional associations. Perhaps, when technology replaces woman in the process of gestation, the psychological body will radically transform. Nonetheless, our fantasy bodies are a density of experience that resists any singular definition of its pleasures. This means of course an endless horizon for the psychological study of sex.

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Embodiment as Ecstatic Intertwining

Christopher M. Aanstoos

And the light that shines above the heavenly vault, the support of all creation, the support of the universe, in the supreme and highest realms, is none other than the light that dwells in the human body. Its actual manifestation is the warmth that is felt when the flesh is touched. (*Upanishads*)

The Fundamental Openness of Embodied Existence

Through the body, we embody a network of lived relations, with other people and the world. How can we describe this intertwining nexus, this 'bodying forth'? Let us begin phenomenologically, by taking seriously our embodied experiencing as it shows itself. To do so, we must suspend judgment. We must suspend belief in the traditional object-centered metaphysics of the body. Instead, let us take as real whatever bodily reveals itself as real. Rather than violating that experienced givenness by subjecting it to the extrinsic confines of any conceptual categories imposed from outside of experience, we shall attend faithfully to what presents itself, taking it precisely *as* it presents itself. Let us look with appreciation, wonder, awe, upon our actually lived bodily experience.

Such an exploration begins when we extricate ourselves from all reductionisms that naively conceptualize the body as an encapsulated object. I do not deny the possibility of viewing the body as an object.

Indeed, such an impersonal viewpoint — which discloses the body as a mass of tissue, blood, organs, and neuronal networks — is the necessary underpinning of the surgical attitude. The fact that the body lends itself to both first person and third person viewpoints is of great significance to an understanding of its ontology (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, 1964/1968; Pollio, 1982, pp. 53-75; Wertz, 1987; Zaner, 1981). I am simply saying that we will never understand the first person experience of one's own body by reducing it to a third person perspective. The body is not only the *object* of perception, but the *subject* of perception as well (Marcel, 1952; Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962; Sartre, 1943/1956; Wertz, 1987). Or, more precisely, the body lives in the space between the concepts of object and subject. So let us set aside externalized conceptions of the body, in order to explore the living, carnal fecundity of embodiment.

The body is a movement of the heart, reaching out to touch, to embrace — as ecstasy. Following Merleau-Ponty, I take the *ecstatic* as a comprehension of our embodiment. To describe the body of our experience as *ecstatic* is to assert its ontological character as disclosiveness, as openness onto a world. For Merleau-Ponty, this *ek-static* openness of the body forms our deepest relational intertwining with the flesh of that world (Merleau-Ponty, 1964/1968). This shared “flesh” is also evoked by Roll's (1986) use of the term “skinship” to describe our relations with each other and the world. The body has “carnal knowledge” of the flesh of the world. “All sense perception involves something like a carnal embrace” (Lingis, 1985, p. 52). In the sense that “our flesh lines and envelops all the visible and tangible things which nonetheless surround it, the world and I are within one another” (Merleau-Ponty, 1964/1968, p. 123). Therefore, “every perception is a... communion... the complete expression outside ourselves of our perceptual powers and a coition [an intercourse], so to speak, of our body with things” (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 320).

This does not mean that my body and the world are the same. They are distinguishable, certainly, but not separable. The body—world boundary is a porous one, permitting of unceasing interpenetrability. Lingis amplifies Merleau-Ponty's point by noting that “perception is an inscription of a dynamic version of the outside within and a reflection of oneself on the outside” (Lingis, 1985, p. 51). This analysis is most clear, Lingis points out, with regard to sexuality. For example, “to see someone sprawled on the bed as seductive is to feel, forming within oneself, the movements of taking him or her. The other is structured perceptibly as a surface destined for kisses and embraces, the exterior

relief of one's inward lines of feeling" (Lingis, 1985, p. 51). This ecstatic body is thus a "body of love" (Brown, 1966), a "movement of sympathy" (Levin, 1988b, p. 298). Merleau-Ponty points out

if the qualities [of the sensible] radiate around them a certain mode of existence, if they have the power to cast a spell... a sacramental value, this is because the sentient subject does not posit them as objects, but enters into a sympathetic relation with them, makes them his own. (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, pp. 213-214)

Through this ecstatic embracing of the world, our embodiment discloses its *there*. This reflective bodily mode is a "locus of meaning" (Shapiro, 1975, p. 14; also cf. Gendlin, 1962). We embody and express this ontological openness through our posture. Vassi's (1984) evocative analysis of "lying down" and Straus's (1966) of "the upright posture" present two postural modes that exemplify this proto-ontological significance of posture (also see Keleman, 1975). Our stance, our movement, our gait, our comportment, the gestures of our hands. Every enactment of our embodied being offers us our existence as an ontological openness. And also therefore calls forth our existential responsiveness. Thus,

In every disposition of our embodiment, the existential possibilities in this relationship lay claim to our guardian awareness, and appeal to our capacity for a manifest responsiveness. Every gesture and every movement takes place within the dimensionality of the ontological difference, measured by the depth we open up. Moving within this space, moved by its indifferent grace, we are charged at all times with questions of motivation. Regardless of our level of awareness, regardless even of the degree of our caring, our bearing continually bears witness to the enabling presence of a field of Being. How might we bear this charge with grace and dignity? And what difference would we like our bearing to make in the world of our brief passage? (Levin, 1985, p. 92).

In reflecting on that call to own the ontological difference that we manifest, let us also remember that our embodiment is unwarranted. We did nothing to warrant embodiment. It is a gift, an unwarranted gift (Levin, 1985, p. 68). From life itself. And with it a fundamental indebtedness to recognize and to live the significance of what is received. It is up to us to accept this motivational charge and to live it with resolution and authenticity. If our every gesture *can* be a consecratory act of world-disclosure,

what does it take for this possibility to be realized? Mindfulness, care, love, silence, openness: attitudes carried by, and in, the body; attitudes inhabiting the body, shaping and choreographing our gestures and movements: how we point, touch, hold, and handle; how we sit, stand and walk; how we inhabit a space. (Levin, 1988b, p. 289)

Yet, there is also within the human a tendency “to lose touch” — a tendency toward forgetfulness of our Being. We “lose our footing, stumble and fall” (Levin, 1985, p. 95). Or, as Heidegger (1927/1962, pp. 219-224) has expressed it, a state of “fallenness” constitutes the average everydayness of Dasein, the There-Being. Within average everydayness we do not notice the ontological difference we open up. We may even act as if we were encapsulated automatons.

Nevertheless, we may instead re-member our embodiment as a presencing, an openness. Let us meditatively recollect this oft’ forgotten significance of our embodiment as openness and reflect upon our ontological dimensionality of worlding a *there*.

Our embodiment presences its openness in a myriad of ways, a typology of which is far from established. Openness, as an ontological significance, can appear across even the most diverse ontic events. The ecstatic as a “placing beyond” is, after all, particularly manifested in both orgasm and panic. And so many variations in between. We may feel a “gut reaction.” Or a “broken heart.” “Cold feet.” A “loss of face”. Or we may feel ourselves being tapped on the shoulder, so to speak. Or we may feel the “chill in the air.” Or we may feel the twinkle in the other’s eyes. Or we may instantly hear betrayal in the other’s voice. Or see it in their face. Or we may be gripped by a shadowy vision, dark and frightening. Or we may burst into giggles. Or goose pimples. Or ulcers. Or madness. Or awe, as I felt when my five year old daughter described the tooth fairy as “wings of love.” I just burst open in awe.

So where in this plethora of polymorphously engaged embodiment shall we dig in? I will examine the following six expressions of this ecstatic intertwining of bodyhood—worldhood: first, the habitual body’s disclosure of its own form; second, the engaged body’s disclosure of things; third, the praxic body’s disclosure of space; fourth, the intimate body’s disclosure of others; fifth, the transpersonal body’s disclosure of one-ness; and sixth, the ecological body’s disclosure of the world’s body. In each of these six inter-related strands, we will discover the embracing ontological openness of ecstatic embodiment.

Six Expressions of Embodiment

The Habitual Body's Disclosure of Its Own Form

I will begin with the body's disclosure of its own form, since questions of body image seem most evidently tied to the objective viewpoint on the body. However, even in the experience of thematizing my body as an object, that image of the body remains thoroughly subtended by the corporeal schema I am embodying.

Merleau-Ponty's (1945/1962, pp. 73-89) unforgettable analyses of phantom limb and anosognosia make very clear this irreducibility of the corporeal schema to the body as object. The person who has suddenly lost a limb continues to engage the world via the embodiment of a two-armed existence. In contrast, the anosognosic fails to embody the still present but now dysfunctional limb at all. In the former, the arm which is now objectively absent is still lived as a presence, whereas, in the latter, the arm which is still objectively present is now lived as an absence. Thus, even such fundamental profiles of our bodily schema as *presence* and *absence* reveal the operative intentionality of the body of experience.

Merleau-Ponty's discovery can be illustrated in a wide variety of contexts, across progressively more subtle alterations of embodiment. For example, like the phantom limb, obese persons who undergo drastic weight loss following intestinal bypass surgery will continue to live the presence of their formerly obese body (Moss, 1984). For instance, they continue to embody obesity by the way a chair still presents itself as "too small" to occupy, long after objective measures would indicate otherwise. The body that discloses and is addressed by that chair is the obese body, the bodily form still being embodied. That projective presencing is precisely why drawings of the body are expressions of vision rather than measures of artistic ability.

A different sort of example was given me by an employee of an amusement park, who must wear a rabbit costume with ears that protrude a foot beyond her own head. When she became habituated to this costume — that is to say, once she in-habited it, lived in it, embodied it — those ears became as much a part of her body as her own limbs, and as irremovable. As a result, even after she has taken off the costume, she still finds herself ducking to go under doorways that would otherwise bump against her extended "rabbit ears." Here we have a case of a double alteration: first, the ears *become* a part of her while the costume is *on*, and second, the ears *remain* a part of her after the costume is *removed*.

But this extension of the body into things should not be taken as unusual. We all do so. For instance, when we write, we may not even feel the pressure of the pen against our fingers, but against the paper, as the tip end of the pen glides across its surface. We have situated our embodied presence *there* — on the paper (McConville, 1978, p. 108).

This extended embodiment is possible because our habitual body acquires a carnal knowledge of its things, as the obverse side of its own flesh. For instance, Wertz has described the blind man's cane in terms very much like I have just done concerning the pen. He indicated that the cane's way of palpating things is comprehensible only in terms of the body's involved kinship with the world: "the cane is enveloped and swept up in the unity of a touching intention which can be carried out only by something that can both touch and be touched" (Wertz, 1987, p. 134). As Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p. 143) has noted, "to get used to a hat, a car, or a stick is to be transposed into them, or conversely to incorporate them into the bulk of our body. Habit expresses our power of dilating our being-in-the-world."

The Engaged Body's Disclosure of Things

To summarize, these are ways our embodiment extends beyond the range of the skin-encapsulated object of mechanistic physiology. By virtue of its openness onto a world, our embodiment embracingly discloses the worldly significations of our involvements in the very form it embodies. But this disclosiveness is true not only of the habitual body's incorporative capacity. Many other types of examples abound concerning our body's embracing disclosure of the physiognomies of things as they present themselves in the spontaneity of the moment. For instance, van den Berg's (1972) touching example of how the placing of the holiday tablecloth on the table transforms the ambience completely. Such transformations are possible on the basis of our engagement with the things of our world, an engagement that is embodied. For example, Heidegger has noted that

When I go toward the door of the lecture hall, I am already there, and I could not go to it at all if I were not such that I am [already] there. I am never here only, as this encapsulated body; rather, I am there, that is, I already pervade the room, and only thus can I move through it. (Heidegger, 1954/1971a, p. 157)

Likewise, Boss has given us the following example: "while perceiving the window sill... I extend myself bodily far beyond this fingertip to

that window sill (Boss, 1979, pp. 102-103). In this sense, our lives are “ingrained in the things of our existence” (Roll, 1987, p. 17).

This ability to bring to bear that embodied involvement is also the hallmark of musical and athletic performance. The drumsticks, the keyboard, the skis, the baseball bat, the tennis racquet, the golf club, the gun, the sword — all become extensions of the body. But so too does the ball itself, even after it has been thrown or struck. A professional quarterback describes his experience of a pass completion to a receiver as a “connection” with that receiver, despite the fact that an objective measurement shows the two are fifty yards apart at the time.

Let us consider in some detail another example of this experienced connectedness across a distance (cf. Brown, 1966, pp. 156-157). A golfer putts the ball toward a small hole twenty feet away. As the ball rolls too far toward the right, the golfer leans to the left, to “pull” the ball more in that direction. Just as striking a ball to get it to spin a certain way is called putting “English” on it in many racquet sports, so too is this common experience known as using “body English.” Now, from an objective viewpoint, even the golfer might say there is no such thing as contact across a distance with a moving ball. And, if the golfer is no longer in contact with the moving ball, then such bodily leaning is completely superfluous. Nevertheless, it is the body of this very golfer which comports itself in terms of just this continuing relationship with the ball. As McConville (1978, p. 108), has shown, the praxic body is already geared to the situation prior to knowledge: a situation in which the body, the ball, and the terrain over which it must roll are all united by the intentional arc of the necessary shot. Hence, in this case of an errant shot, “body english is an act of using the body in order to regain the balance of the body-ball-terrain system which is upset by the errant shot.” That is to say, the leaning movement expresses the golfer’s continuing embodiment of that unifying intentional arc.

This embodied organizational unity of person and situation is illuminated most starkly by moments of danger. For instance, while bicycling one day at peak speed, a large insect bounced off my eyelid, which had closed just as that insect — that I had not seen — bounced off it. I had not seen the bug, but I had embodied a life-saving relationship with it. Another time, just as I was losing my balance while bicycling too fast around a curve, I found that my right leg had extended out, and saved my balance. I had not thought to do that, but it was exactly what was needed to prevent a serious injury. In these cases, my body engaged the operational unity of body—bicycle—terrain, disclosively presenting it as a relational whole. Such is the experience of finesse.

The Praxic Body's Disclosure of Spatiality

Our embodiment's world-disclosiveness is illuminated not only by our relations with the equipmentality of that world. The very spatiality of the situation is essentially valorized by our embodied intentionality within it. That is to say, our embodiment comprises a "melodic arc" (Levin, 1988b, p. 290). It discloses space in terms of distances and directionalities, lines and fields of force, vectors of possible action. For us, things appear "here" or "there," "next to," "in front of," or "behind" — all relational features of our embodied disclosure of them. Of course, this spatiality could not be detected by the detached rulers of objective measurement. Embodied space is of an altogether different order than the merely external geometric space mapped by Cartesian coordinates. Permeating and subtending this abstract, empty space is the spatiality of the engaged body. Merleau-Ponty has described this difference by noting that embodied "spatiality is not, like that of external objects... a *spatiality of position*, but a *spatiality of situation*" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 100). Thus, in contrast to merely external space, bodily lived space:

envelops its parts instead of spreading them out, because it is the darkness needed in the theater to show up the performance, the background somnolence or reserve of vague power against which the gesture and its aim stand out, the zone of not-being *in front of which* precise being, figures and points can come to light... This occurs by virtue of its being polarized by its tasks, of its existence towards them, in its collecting together of itself in pursuit of its aims. (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, pp. 100-101)

what counts for the orientation ... is not my body as... a thing in objective space, but as a system of possible actions, a virtual body in its phenomenal place defined by its task. My body is wherever there is work to be done. (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 250)

Spatial relations, such as closeness and distance, are grasped primordially in terms of my embodiment of things as near or far, with respect to my concerned involvement with them. Heidegger describes how we even make "the remoteness of something disappear" (Heidegger, 1927/1962, p. 139). But, again, this capacity is not something measurable with objective rulers. As Heidegger noted:

When one is primarily and even exclusively oriented towards remotenesses as measured distances, the primordial spatiality of

Being-in is concealed. That which is presumably “closest” is by no means that which is at the smallest distance “from us.” (Heidegger, 1927/1962, p. 141)

This “primordial spatiality” is carved out, not by objective rulers, but by our involvement, our interest, our “circumspective concern”: “Circumspective concern decides as to the closeness and farness of what is proximally ready-to-hand environmentally. Whatever this concern dwells alongside beforehand is what is closest” (Heidegger, 1927/1962, p. 142). Heidegger gives us two examples. He points out that the street we walk upon, seemingly the closest and most real thing of all, is actually much more remote than the friend we encounter twenty yards in front of us. Likewise, “when, for instance, a man wears a pair of spectacles which are so close to him distantly that they are ‘sitting on his nose,’ they are environmentally more remote from him than the picture on the opposite wall. Such equipment has so little closeness that often it is proximally quite impossible to find” (Heidegger, 1927/1962, p. 141). Indeed, several persons who wear eyeglasses have described to me experiences of searching for them without noticing that they were wearing them at the time.

McConville (1978, p. 115) has also illustrated the way space is carved out bodily by our concerned projects by describing how his old experience as a running back in football still gives him a sense of near and far in terms of whether it would be short or long yardage for a first down in a football game. It is through his halfback body that he engages and inhabits that spatiality. A more common example is the way that a branch on a tree does not look as far away when we are on the ground as the ground looks when we are on that branch.

But it is not only distances that are so valorized. The very *feel* of the space expresses our embodied relation with it. For example, the way a soccer player, moving forward with the ball, valorizes the spatiality of the soccer field around the suddenly unblocked lane that “leads” to the goal. Or the way an ex-baseball player describes his experience, even after retiring from the game: “every day I had the smell of the ball park in my nose, and the cool of the grass in my feet” (from the film *Field of Dreams*). Or the way a musician improvises at the keyboard, described by Sudnow (1978, p. 141) in the following way: “as the time got into the fingers, hands, arms, shoulders, everywhere, altogether new relationships were being fulfilled.” Or, Merleau-Ponty’s example of the organist, of whom he writes: “it is not in objective space that the organist is in fact playing. In reality his movements... are consecratory gestures:

they draw affective vectors, discover emotional sources, and create a space of expressiveness" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, pp. 145-146). His movements are consecratory gestures.

This embodied disclosure of spatiality extends also to our perception of movement. For instance: "sometimes I see the steeple motionless against the sky with clouds floating above it, and sometimes the clouds appear still and the steeple falls through space" (Merleau-Ponty, 1948/1964b, p. 52).

A similar example can be experienced when sitting on a dock extending over a body of water. Sometimes the water will appear to be moving rightward under the dock, while at other times the dock will appear to be moving leftward across the water. These differences are neither arbitrary nor intellectually constructed. Rather, as Merleau-Ponty has shown: "movement and rest distribute themselves in our surroundings... according to the way we settle ourselves in the world and the position our bodies assume in it" (Merleau-Ponty, 1948/1964b, p. 52).

In other words, movement and rest are disclosed in relation to that place I am embodying, so that "in each instance the one which seems stationary is the one we have chosen as our abode and which, for the time being, is our environment... the looked at object in which I anchor myself will always seem fixed" (Merleau-Ponty, 1948/1964b, p. 52). It is a question of whether I am embodying a perspective from the steeple or the clouds, on the dock or in the water.

Merleau-Ponty gives us an example of being seated on a train, stopped next to another one. When one starts, we may be momentarily disoriented as to which is actually moving and which remains stationary. How? If, at the time a train starts moving, you are, say, reading a magazine, or playing cards, then you feel it is the other train that has begun moving. However, if at that moment you are, say, admiring an attractive person aboard the other train, then you would likely feel it was your own train that had begun moving.

If you've not ridden enough trains to have encountered this example, the variation of being in a car, stopped behind a bus at a traffic light can serve to illustrate the same point. The light changes from red to green, the bus driver shifts gears, and the bus begins rolling backward a bit, toward your car. If you had situated yourself within your car (say, looking at the odometer), you would experience the movement there, at the bus. However, I once experienced the reverse. Having been so absorbed by an advertising sign on the back of the bus that I had situated myself on the bus, as it were, when the movement began I found myself

squeezing harder on my car's breaks, to stop the apparent forward roll of my car toward the bus. This despite the road having a slight uphill incline at that point.

The Intimate Body's Disclosure of Others

Next, I will examine the most intimate embrace of all: how our embodiment opens onto, and discloses, other people. The intimacy of this embrace is so deeply embodied. Merleau-Ponty has argued that "the constitution of others does not come after that of the body; others and my body are born together from the original ecstasy" (Merleau-Ponty, 1960/1964c, p. 174). In that sense, he says, "the body proper is a premonition of the other person" (Merleau-Ponty, 1960/1964c, p. 175). Please note the two senses that "premonition" can have here: as a premonition *of* others and as another's premonition. "It is as if the other person's intention inhabited my body and mine his," adds Merleau-Ponty (1945/1962, p. 185). My body and the other are so expressive of each other there can be no reduction to an extrinsic, causal relationship. So let us reflect on this embodied disclosure of intersubjectivity. I believe it offers us the implicit phenomenology of what psychology has termed "body language" — but failed to understand by presupposing body and other as merely extrinsically related.

Merleau-Ponty's point here is that "it is precisely my body which perceives the body of another person" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 354). It is my body that inhabits the gestures of the other and so discovers in the other "a miraculous prolongation of my own intentions" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 354). Consider the following three epigrammatic descriptions of this miracle:

I live in the facial expressions of the other, as I feel him living in mine. (Merleau-Ponty, 1960/1964a, p. 146)

My body and the other's are one whole, two sides of one and the same phenomenon. (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/1962, p. 354)

To begin with [other people] are not there as minds, or even as "psychisms," but such for example as we face them in anger or love — faces, gestures, spoken words to which our own respond without thoughts intervening, to the point that we sometimes turn their words back upon them even before they have reached us, as surely as, more surely than, if we had understood — each one of us pregnant with the others and confirmed by them in his body. (Merleau-Ponty, 1960/1964, p. 181)

I believe this is also the implicit core of Laing's (1965) understanding of the schizophrenic's experience of being disembodied — of being the one who is not confirmed by others, but who is invalidated and who embodies this feeling of being unreal precisely as being disembodied. Laing (1972) has also shown the ways by which the identified patient in a pathogenic family embodied his other family members. Paul, at twenty-three, experienced his right side as masculine, his left side as feminine, his left side as younger than the right side, the two sides not meeting, and both as rotting. Paul's mother told him he "took after" his father, and his father told him he "took after" his mother. His father told him his mother was not a "real woman" and his mother told him his father was not a "real man."

His mother thought she could be a better husband and father than his father. And his father thought he could be a better wife and mother than his mother... To summarize: on his right side he takes after father's view of him as taking after his mother, an unreal woman and phoney man. And on his left side he takes after his mother's view of him as taking after his father, an unreal man and phoney woman. (Laing, 1969, pp. 56-57)

Laing concludes his analysis of Paul by stating that "his body was a sort of mausoleum, a haunted graveyard in which the ghosts of several generations still walked, while their physical remains rotted away. The family had buried their dead *in each other*" (Laing, 1972, p. 57).

The reverse is also true: we embody not only the pathogeny of our relatives, but their loving presence as well. Murray (1975) nicely exemplified this by his sense of a habitual gesture of his: a certain way of sweeping his arm while talking that he had incorporated from his brother. As he said, he had embodied his brother's arm, and with it the loving presence of his brother. These familial resemblances are quite common. How often have we remarked that "she has her father's smile" or "her mother's ear for music." Levin quotes a blacksmith, who says "I have... my grandfather's... hands. Hands last a long time, you know. A village sees the same hands century after century" (Levin, 1985, p. 146).

This disclosive embodiment of others is what Husserl called the phenomenon of coupling. It is nowhere more evident than in our embodied relationships with our most intimate others. Our children. Our lovers. When, for example, we say that a man knows a woman "in the biblical sense" — that is to say, in the oldest sense we have — we mean that he has carnal knowledge of her, that is to say, an embodied relation with her.

This embodiment of intimacy is also exemplified perhaps most dramatically by moments of danger. But this time danger to the other. A woman feels pain in her chest, just as her mother is having a heart attack miles away. Another wakes up suddenly, in agony, as her friend is being severely beaten, elsewhere in the city. Roll (1987) discusses a variety of such psychic experiences, and arrives at an understanding of these relationships in terms of the body of memory.

This embodied intimacy is lived not only in moments of danger but also in the most everyday ways. Close women friends will frequently find that their menstrual cycles, which had previously been different, have become synchronized, their bodies expressing the harmonic convergence of their relationship. Also, breast-feeding mothers will begin lactating upon merely hearing their infant cry out for food.

Our embodied relation with each other is intuitively evident in the way that a pregnant woman embodies that relation with her baby. And the way that a father does. For instance, when my wife was pregnant for the first time, I also embodied pregnancy in a way. Like my wife, I had to urinate more often, and I got so tired I eventually had to nap during the day. My body was being pregnant too. And, during the pregnancy with our second child, I felt something else, more subtle, but once felt, unmistakable. A dense heaviness, in my lower abdominal area. And I felt I was weightier. Another description of this phenomenon has recently been offered by Reharick (1987). He focused on his experience of swelling in his hands and feet, which occurred while his wife was in her eighth month of pregnancy.

Primitive people — those without conceptual inhibitions to such experiences — embody this male's experience of pregnancy even into childbirth itself. I have even heard of an island culture whose husbands writhe in pain as their wives give birth. Though there is no sanction in our culture for such male's childbirth experience, men's embodied reactions to their wives pregnancies are now so commonly noted as to have been labeled: "the Couvade syndrome." Of course, we should understand the term "syndrome" here as indicative of a prejudgment of pathology made by an approach whose presuppositions foreclose the possibility of its reality.

Our relationship with our children also offers striking evidence of this embodied intertwining. My experience of my own children has been literally striking. As each of them was learning to walk, they frequently fell forward. Unlike falling backward and landing on a soft diaper, falling forward hits a hard floor, or worse, a hard sidewalk. In such cases, my reaction was to wince. This wince was an unmediated contraction to

pain, to the jolt that I experienced directly through my own body. Though it was my child who landed on the sidewalk, we were both struck by the pain of that fall. I embodied their falling even before they actually hit the sidewalk. As one was falling, I would feel a moment of dizziness, as the sidewalk shifted position, from *beneath* to *ahead*, from perpendicular to parallel. Just as the golfer leans to keep the balance of the body-ball-terrain situation as it is being upset by the errant roll of the putted ball, so too can a parent embody their child's falling as a tipping of the body—sidewalk—other situation.

The parent's embodied empathy may be most visually depicted by the father who grimaces in pain while the baby sitting on his lap receives her inoculation shot. I am convinced that scene is so archetypally recognizable it could have been a Norman Rockwell cover. That empathic embodiment is the miracle of being a parent. That is the miracle of any loving embrace, and the disclosive presencing of our fundamental openness.

This lived bodily rapport with the other's orientation is especially vivid with those we feel closest. With them we feel innumerable pricks and prods, of many kinds. But it can also be discerned in more casual relationships as well, such as a conversation among friends. For example, I was standing in my friend Marc's kitchen, talking with Marc and Phil. Phil was describing a recent event in his own life, which neither Marc nor I had witnessed. Phil described how he had opened up a long shut cast iron stove in his house, only to be surprised by a bat which suddenly flew out of it. As he told the story, we all three simultaneously recoiled involuntarily as the bat "emerged." But what did that recoil mean? For Phil, it might have been a memory of having actually recoiled before the actual bat that had actually surprised him the night before. But Marc and I had not been there to see that bat. We were recoiling along with Phil, in Marc's kitchen, not in Phil's house. Without thinking about what we were doing, we were also ducking to escape Phil's bat. But, in an objective sense, there was no bat in Marc's kitchen. No. But we were embodying an orientation to Phil's cast iron stove, there with him as he opened the door. We had bodily occupied a position there, beside him. We had taken up — indeed we were infected by the contagion of — his orientation. Bodily, we were there with him, as the bat flew out of his stove. We did not "leave" Marc's kitchen, any more than we "leave" our seats as we become immersed in a movie or concert. Rather, the proxemics of our embodied relations are simply not confined by or reducible to impersonally defined space and time. Embodiment is not comprehensible as a location in an objective coordinate

system. To be embodied is to be open, to be open onto others, and a world, as the “whither” of our ecstasy.

The Transpersonal Body's Disclosure of One-ness

Embodied intimacy extends beyond that experienced with regard to a single other in a dyadic relationship. The embodiment of intersubjectivity is not an *objective* relationship. That is to say, it is not a relationship that discloses the other as an *object*. Hence, there are no objective limits to its reach. This embodied openness extends a transpersonal reach as well.

My religion gave me a very concrete example of that. As a child, I had a very dogmatic pre-Ecumenical Catholic school education. From the nuns. And the *Cathecism*. Of course, like any thoughtful Catholic adolescent, I rejected it when I was a teenager. But in retrospect, I now see how much of that vision I treasure — now that I can appreciate its phenomenological significance. A special part of it is the notion of “the Body of Christ.” In that vision, “the Body of Christ” includes everyone. It embodies all the souls, of the living and the dead, the saints and the sinners, God, angels, humans, and devils. We are all embodied within “the Body of Christ.” And the Catholic Mass is a celebration of a sacrament wherein Catholics ingest the living “body of Christ” in the form of a host of bread. This bodily incorporation serves as an experience of co-memoration of our sacred life within “the Body of Christ.” There is something very sacramental about that experience of embodiment.

The Ecological Body's Disclosure of the World

Ultimately, embodiment discloses the whole: life and nonlife. Giambattista Vico, whose genealogy of meaning countered Descartes' rationalism, hundreds of years ago foreshadowed this comprehension of the body as ecologically disclosive. It was Vico's insight that primitive people first conceived of the world with their bodies, that the indispensable origins of human order are an embodied logic, that “they first think the world and society as one giant body” (O'Neill, 1985, p. 28). Vico's (1744/1970, p. 88) analysis of the body of the world, manifested in the “mouth” of the river, the “shoulder” of the road, the “bowels” of the earth, and so forth, illustrates well this ultimate openness of the body. This disclosure of the body of the world is no mere anthropomorphic arrogance. Rather, we discover that the ground of our embodied Being is the earth (Levin, 1985, pp. 289-291). We discover that

we are ontologically inseparable from the parabolic "body of nature," thus participating in its primordial rhythms by our very embodiment. We are grounded in and of the earth, its rhythmic periodicities, and the... fluctuations of a larger, more subtle Nature" (Davis, 1986, p. 106; also cf. Kohak, 1984).

Distinguishable, certainly. But inseparable. Such a disclosure departs decisively from modernity's metaphysic of Nature in terms of its sciences of nature. Within their technological enframing, the earth is disclosed as a vast storehouse of energy, a "standing reserve" (Heidegger, 1953/1977) of raw materials to be carelessly and ruthlessly exploited for human gratification (Kohak, 1984, p. 4). In contrast, the pre-scientific disclosure of the body of the world opens us to the Being of all beings. It engenders a radically deeper ecology through which we can become "capable of grasping [our] moral place in the order of the cosmos" (Kohak, 1984, p. 118). We may then fulfill Holderlin's vision that "poetically man dwells on this earth" (cf. Heidegger, 1954/1971b).

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Sharing Secrets: Where Education and Psychotherapy Meet

Donald C. Medeiros and Anne C. Richards

The person who reads or listens to the hitherto concealed authentic experience of another is enriched by it. To learn of another's experience is to broaden and deepen the dimensions of one's own experience. (Jourard, 1971, p. 61)

One can not become a person without first becoming an individual, without freeing [oneself] from... domination, without becoming aware of [one's] own individuality, which has a right to secrecy. But if one remains at this stage, one remains an individual, rather than a person. By opening out, by telling one's secrets – but freely this time – one becomes personally linked with those to whom [one] reveals them, and becomes fully a person thereby. (Tournier, 1965, p. 29)

What helps... most in [a] search for the truths of life is to hear other seekers speak of their actual experiences. (Tournier, 1965, p. 39)

Reflective of its humanistic/transpersonal orientation, the Psychology Department at West Georgia College is committed to explorations of what it means to be human. The subject matter of psychology is approached in such a way as to facilitate self-awareness and self-understanding as well as understanding of others — all of which are con-

sidered foundational to psychological self-development, both personally and professionally.

Sidney Jourard, a mentor, friend and/or colleague to many in our Department, has explained that "considerable growth in self-understanding and understanding of others occurs through" participation in groups in which persons are encouraged to reveal more of who they are to other members of the group (Jourard, 1971, p. 66). It was Jourard's (1971) conviction that persons could not come to know themselves except as an outcome of disclosing themselves to other persons (p. 6), although such disclosure required an audience believed to be of "good-will" (p. 5) and "the guarantee that whatever is presented to the other is disclosed in privacy" (p. 66). Jourard (1971) was well aware that we typically "camouflage our true being before others to protect... against criticism or rejection" (p. vii) and that disclosure is a difficult process for most persons. He was convinced, however, that we pay a price for our tendency to hide our true being in relation to others, including not being truly known by others in our lives, being misunderstood, feeling lonely, and/or losing touch with our real selves (pp. vii-viii).

Yet many persons feel the price paid for maintaining secrets about self is well worth avoiding the potential for shame that exists if we reveal ourselves to others. Bradshaw (1988) has described various facets of shame — healthy or constructive aspects as well as toxic or dysfunctional aspects. The latter type of shame Bradshaw (1988) refers to as "the shame that binds us," the type of shame that, "like internal bleeding," represents "a rupture of the self with the self," leaving a person with "a sense of worthlessness, a sense of failing... as a human being" or being somehow "flawed and defective as a human being" (p. 10).

This sort of shame leaves one understandably reluctant to express self freely to others. In order to make progress toward transparency, those working with persons who experience such shame must help them

overcome the fear of not being understood, a universal and extremely paralyzing fear of being judged... a fear of being laughed at by the other who might misunderstand the value of an experience or a feeling, or the gravity of some scruples. (Tournier, 1965, pp. 50-51)

Many of the classes in our department are designed to facilitate and encourage self-disclosure and to establish conditions which make healthy and appropriate self-disclosure possible. This is particularly the case in one of our introductory psychology classes, entitled *Personal Relationships*. The course description of this course in our college

catalog reads as follows: "Experiential exploration through personal interactions. Designed to encourage the development of sensitivity to feelings, attitudes, and beliefs of one's self and others."

This class has been a popular one among our undergraduates and has served an important function in the growth and development of the thousands of students who have taken it since it was first added to the curriculum in the late 1960's. Students in this class get individual and personal attention from faculty. Many report that this is the only class in which they actually get to know the names of their fellow students and are encouraged to build meaningful relationships with them. Many students develop friendships in this class that sustain them in difficult times and contribute positively to their satisfaction with college life. The course has given many students the support they needed to stay in school, to communicate more effectively and assertively in their interpersonal relationships, to handle personal conflicts which may intrude into their lives as students, and to become more self-confident, self-directed and empathic human beings.

An exercise, known as the SECRETS exercise, is conducted in some sections of this class. This exercise exemplifies the approach taken in many of our classes as well as the impact of such an approach on students and faculty in our department. Because it has been quite some time since we first used the SECRETS exercise, it is no longer perfectly clear where or how the idea originated. Self-disclosure has always been an integral part of our Personal Relationships courses, and from the first day of class we invite students to share their experiences in relationships of various kinds — with friends, roommates, romantic partners, family members, teachers, business associates, employers, etc.

Many students come to this predominantly Freshman class unaccustomed to disclosing anything but the most basic demographic type of information about themselves. There have been countless times we have gone through discussions focusing on problems students have in relationships with other persons when the question emerged: "What is the worst thing that could happen if you told so and so how you felt?" Attention has often turned to the issue of why people choose to keep particular information about themselves and their feelings a secret.

One day in a class taught by the first author of this paper, it seemed an almost natural progression to ask: "What is it that you would least want others to know about you?" Class members looked at each other and giggled nervously when he first proposed the idea of sharing our "deepest, darkest secrets." However, they agreed to try the exercise, albeit reluctantly in some cases.

The procedure used in this exercise today is basically the same as when it was first proposed as an experiment, although the written statement which is distributed as a part of it has undergone some revision.¹ (See Table 1 on the following page for a copy of this written statement.) Discussion of the exercise takes place in a class meeting prior to the day on which the secrets are shared. During this preceding meeting, the rationale for the exercise (as indicated above) is discussed. Students are told that they do not have to describe a secret if they don't want to.

Before students leave this preparatory meeting, they are given a copy of a written statement which summarizes the SECRETS exercise and an envelope. They are asked to write out a secret on the back of the written statement which summarizes the exercise. It is suggested to them that when they sit down to write out their secrets they find a place where they can be alone, a place where they will feel the least inhibited about writing their secrets. They are then asked to place their written secrets in the envelope provided. These envelopes are collected at the beginning of the class period set aside for the SECRETS exercise.

Several authors have raised concerns about the risks inherent in self-disclosure of this sort, including the potential for "violating the boundaries that protect the self and human relationships" (Bok, 1983, p. 88), for "undue and premature tampering" with someone's inner world of experience (Kempler, 1987, p. 116), for creating a form of "pseudointimacy" (Weiss, 1987, p. 123) and for encouraging "maladaptive self-disclosure" (Yalom, 1970, pp. 272-274). In this regard, Bok's (1983) point is a good one that "experience with secrecy tests human relationships as little else does" (p. 44). She also helps us understand how

Learning to handle secrecy with discretion blends with and reflects moral development. In each, one must come to see oneself and others as capable of moral choice and as owed respect. And at the root of each lies the capacity for sifting apart and for discernment that is indispensable for all thinking, all choice. (Bok, 1983, p. 44)

1 The authors want to express their appreciation to Trish Lane for her contributions to the revision of this statement. These contributions led to the development of a statement which acknowledged the painful nature of some of the information people hide from others and the importance of being mindful of the vulnerability of those who share secrets as participants in this exercise.

Table 1

PSY 103: PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS SECRETS

You are going to be asked to do something which may be difficult, but also can be extremely releasing and rewarding. Everyone has information about themselves which they hide from others, secrets.

Secrets are thoughts, feelings, or actions, real or imagined, that you may be ashamed of, things which you have done or things that have been done to you which still cause you pain.

The purpose of this exercise is to provide an opportunity for you to share your secret. This may be difficult. To make it easier, this exercise is anonymous. Your NAME is NOT to be put on this piece of paper. Your secret will be read aloud and then promptly torn up. I will read the secrets via flashlight in a darkened room so that no one's expressions may be seen. No one will know who belongs to which secret. Take the chance and see what happens. Discover what your reactions will be upon hearing your secret read aloud. Be aware of your thoughts and feelings throughout this exercise. Please be considerate of others' secrets as they are being read aloud. Afford them the same consideration you would wish to have as you expose a very vulnerable part of yourself.

Following the reading of the secrets, the lights will come on and there will be an opportunity for discussion. In the past, some students have chosen to tell the class which secret was theirs and to talk further about their experience. No one will be asked to do so, but this is an option.

If this exercise is too difficult for you, you do not have to participate. If it evokes painful and disturbing feelings, you are encouraged to explore the meaning of your response to this exercise with someone who can help you do so. One possibility for help is the Student Development Center which provides free and confidential counseling to students on this campus. All you would need to do is call there to make an appointment.

On the other side of this paper, please write your secret in as much detail as is needed to describe the secret to us so we will understand what happened or is happening and what you think and feel about the situation being described.

Thanks.

* If you choose to participate in this exercise, fold this sheet and put it in the envelope provided (after writing about your secret on the back). If you choose not to participate in this exercise, *do not* put a blank sheet of paper in the envelope provided. Simply keep the envelope and sheet of paper.

It should be understood that the SECRETS exercise takes place in the broader context of the Personal Relationships class and that instructors utilizing this exercise and teaching this class have a background of coursework and training that prepares them to facilitate such self-disclosure. In particular, they are aware of the ways in which appropriate self-disclosure can beget self-disclosure (Jourard, 1967, 1968, 1971) and the importance of creating a classroom climate which is inviting rather than dispiriting to students (Jourard, 1971, pp. 87-88), challenging but not threatening to them (Combs, Richards & Richards, 1988, pp. 246-247, 295).

We recognize with Tournier (1965) that to "tell a secret is to give one's self... over [one's] natural resistance to open [one's] heart" (p. 34), "to receive a secret constitutes then an enormous responsibility," and that damaging or destructive consequences which may be associated with the sharing of secrets persons consider shameful in one way or another should be avoided (p. 36). In response to this recognition, various efforts are made to insure that the atmosphere in which these secrets are expressed is a protected, safe one.

Students always have the option of not participating in this exercise or any other exercise of this sort. Some students choose not to participate. Instructors recognize that some students may be shocked, stunned, or threatened by particular material disclosed in such an exercise. Students are thus told that these reactions may occur and that they will have an opportunity to share and explore their responses following the reading of all the secrets. In order to provide sufficient time for the reading and discussion of secrets, a class period of 90-120 minutes is recommended.

Because students and faculty interacting in a college classroom are not bound by the same standards of confidentiality applicable in a professional therapeutic relationship, particular steps are taken to insure the anonymity of participants in this exercise. On the day of the exercise, when the secrets are collected, if a small number of persons turns in secrets and the instructor believes the anonymity of those handing in secrets would be compromised, the exercise is postponed until additional secrets are turned in. After secrets have been collected from approximately half of those enrolled in the class, the doors and windows are covered with paper or shutters and the lights in the classroom are turned off. This provides for the privacy of individuals whose secrets are being read. Many students blush deeply when they hear their secrets being read, or give other signs of discomfort or anxiety. If participants in this exercise could readily see others' expressions, this

could be a means of persons losing their anonymity. The secrets are read with a flashlight by the instructor.

After reading each individual secret, the instructor makes a comment about the secret. These comments are supportive in nature and often attempt to place the secret within a developmental context. For example, if persons feel guilty about things they might have said in anger as children to a family member prior to his/her accidental or unanticipated death, the thinking patterns characteristic of young children might be discussed. Post-secret comments attempt to alleviate the shame and guilt which often accompany the secret. Especially in the case of reports of child abuse or sexual abuse, where victims often feel somehow responsible or to blame for what has happened to them, instructors attempt to instill the idea that students are neither at fault nor responsible for the abuse.

Often in their post-secret remarks, instructors seek to communicate the perspective Branden (1990) has articulated, that

When we learn to forgive the child we once were for what he or she didn't know, or couldn't do, or couldn't cope with, or felt or didn't feel; when we understand and accept that that child was struggling to survive the best way he or she could — then the adult-self is no longer in an adversarial relationship to the child-self. One part is not at war with another part.” (p. 243)

Responding to these secrets is not an easy task. Students do not always explain fully what they think and feel about the secrets they describe and given situations could hold a myriad of meanings for different individuals. It is also not always possible to determine whether a particular secret has been shared by a male or a female student. As a result, it is important that instructors commenting on secrets have some appreciation of the limits of their capacity to empathize with the persons sharing secrets in this exercise, and it is helpful to acknowledge these limits to the group. Instructors frequently mention that there are free counseling services available on campus for anyone still bothered by or even simply curious about exploring his/her secret. Individual counselors' names are often mentioned at this point.

Each secret is torn up into many small pieces once it is read, and thrown into a trash can. After all the secrets are read, a few moments are given for the students to compose themselves, and then the lights are turned on.

To this day, almost ten years since that first SECRETS exercise was conducted, the same period of “heavy” silence follows the reading of

the secrets. The atmosphere is almost palpable. The air feels warm, heavy and somewhat electric. The phrase "you could cut the tension with a knife" seems a quite appropriate description.

Students are typically stunned by reported cases of sexual molestation, rape, abortions, varied sexual preferences, violence and other associated illegal activities including attempted murder or manslaughter, car theft and/or sale of large quantities of drugs. Attempts at initiating discussion at first seem fruitless, as if students can't respond until they have somehow taken in or "made sense" of a nearly overwhelming barrage of unanticipated information.

Most are shocked by the discrepancy between the fellow classmates they thought they knew, and the picture of these same classmates which emerges from the SECRETS exercise. They become aware of the many sides of persons that had previously remained hidden to them, as they put in new perspective the sides of themselves they had previously kept hidden from others.

As they seek to process these new perspectives, at first students seem most comfortable talking about their reaction to the exercise in a general way. Questions such as "What do you think about what you've just heard?" or "How do you feel about the secrets you have just heard read out in class?" seem to work well to initiate discussion at this point.

Slowly, as students recognize they are not alone in their feelings of shock, and as they integrate the fact that they themselves have intentionally kept secrets from others as others have kept secrets from them, they will respond to such promptings as "Are there any thoughts or related experiences you would like to share with some of the persons who have particular secrets?" "What did you experience when hearing your secret read to the group?" "How do you now feel about your secret?" Quite often, during this phase of the discussion, supportive comments are made by students to anonymous students who have obviously suffered as a result of the events depicted in some secrets. These types of comments are encouraged and reinforced.

After a more general discussion, in some classes students have been given an opportunity to identify which secret they wrote. There is usually a long pause before anyone does this. Once the first student does so, others often follow. Through nervous voices and with choked-back tears, many stories come out. Almost immediately when this occurs, the atmosphere changes. Students who moments before may have been very solemn and quiet, become active and interested in learning more about the disclosers' secrets. Their questions generally lead disclosers to feel as if others care about them. As these stories are elaborated upon,

additional students often choose to disclose further personal information about themselves. In one class, thirteen of twenty-two students identified their secrets in turn.

In his book on the *Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy*, Yalom (1970) describes an exercise first suggested to him by Gerald Goodman, which Yalom used with members of T-groups to demonstrate certain "common denominators" in the human condition (p. 10). In this exercise, he asked group members (mainly medical professionals and Peace Corps volunteers) "to write, anonymously, on a slip of paper their top secret — the one thing they would be most disinclined to share with the group" (p. 10). Once generated, such anonymous secrets could be collected and redistributed to group members, "each one receiving another's secret. Each member is then asked to read the secret aloud and to reveal how he would feel if he had such a secret." (Yalom, 1970, p. 11).

According to Yalom (1970), the content of these secrets proved "to be startlingly similar with a couple of major themes predominating" (p. 11). He summarized these themes as "a deep conviction of basic inadequacy... a deep sense of interpersonal alienation... some variety of sexual secret" (Yalom, 1970, p. 11).

Using a similar format, Norton, Feldman and Tafoya (1974) generated 359 secrets for purposes of introducing "a more extensive thematic analysis for secrets" than Yalom had offered, and looking at "the parameters of risk associated with various self-disclosures" (p. 450).

Subjects in this study were "359 undergraduates in 20 different interpersonal and group communication classes in the Communication Arts department at the University of Wisconsin" (p. 450) who were informed that "they did not have to disclose a secret if they did not want to. Standardized slips of paper were used. After the exercise, all secrets were collected" (p. 451).

As a result of this study, Norton, Feldman and Tafoya (1974) came up with a 17-category content analysis system. The categories which were so identified were:

1. *Sex*. In addition to secrets concerning the sexual act, this category included, but was not limited to, secrets describing homosexual behavior, sexual perversion, erotic fantasy, self-manipulation, abortion, and illegitimacy.
2. *Violence or destruction*. Secrets that indicated beating, killing, or any type of destruction directed toward a person or property were placed in this category.

3. *Mental health.* These secrets directly indicated a psychosomatic problem which if left unchecked could lead to serious incapacitation. Secrets in this category usually reflected an inability to cope.
4. *Masking.* Secret reflected a discrepancy between the private self and the public self. The person admitted that his behavior operated on at least two levels — usually, private versus public.
5. *Failure.* This category entailed economic, physical, social, spiritual, intellectual, and status failures. It may relate to the person's self-image, his image of others, or others' image of him.
6. *Stealing.* The person admitted that he has committed an act of stealing, usually for economic gain.
7. *Loneliness.* Secrets reporting a sense of loneliness, solitude, isolation, or friendlessness were placed under this heading.
8. *Defective relationships.* The person reported some kind of barrier, either real or imagined, which hindered, denied, or distorted interpersonal communication.
9. *Cheating.* This category is a counterpart of the stealing category. Secrets in which the person admitted theft or plagiarism of another's work, idea, or reputation were included in this category. Instead of economic gain per se, the person cheated to avoid expenditure of work, time, or energy.
10. *Alcohol.* These secrets reflected the use, misuse, or abstinence of alcohol.
11. *Drugs.* A secret which suggested that any drug was a source of a problem belonged in this category.
12. *Phobia.* Any secret which reported an irrational or persistent fear was placed in this category.
13. *Physical health.* Secrets reporting physical defects or health problems were placed in this category.
14. *Ego vanity.* These secrets indicated a person's love or affection for himself, a high degree of self-centeredness, or an offensive conceit.
15. *Goals and plans.* If the secret revealed a fantasized goal [non-sexual] or a future desire, including seemingly unattainable or exaggerated goals, it was placed in this category.
16. *Habits.* These secrets suggested a recurring pattern of behavior that the individual would like to break or that society would tend to frown upon.

17. *Nonsecrets*. Secrets too broad, obviously absurd, or highly positive were placed in this category. Also, the report of "no secret" belonged in this category. (Norton, Feldman & Tafoya, 1974, p. 451)

No examples were provided by these authors as to what might constitute secrets "too broad, obviously absurd or highly positive" (Norton, Feldman & Tafoya, 1971, p. 451).

Although the work of Yalom (1970) and Norton, Feldman and Tafoya (1974) was not known to these authors until a literature search was carried out for the purpose of writing this article, there are many parallels between the content of secrets discovered by the above-mentioned researchers, and the content of secrets revealed in our undergraduate classes.

Among the secrets revealed by such an exercise, it is customary to find content related to problems associated with living with alcoholic parents or partners, stealing, sexual abuse or molestation, activities participated in when under the influence of alcohol or drugs, sexual preferences, cheating (in academic settings and behind the backs of a "steady" dating partner or a spouse), lying and suicidal ideation.

Among the secrets which have been most surprising and/or memorable in the course of these exercises have been reports that a student was a member of an organized car theft ring, that a student had successfully completed a drug rehab program, that a student had an abortion which led to wounding psychological suffering, that a student had witnessed a satanic-cult-related murder, that a student had had an affair with a minister at her church, that a person who had Herpes intentionally withheld this information from various sexual partners, that a student had a brother in the Mafia, that a student had had a sexually-transmitted disease about five months without knowing it, that a student had helped friends vandalize the home of a person who had wronged a friend, that a person had cheated on his girlfriend by having sexual relations with two of her sorority sisters.

The question is often raised, and rightfully so, as to whether students "make up" secrets. This is certainly a possibility which has to be considered. Other interactions taking place in class and the experiences shared in other exercises and assignments related to this course suggest that if this does occur, it does so infrequently.

Even if persons do make secrets up, however, it is interesting to see what type of information they would consider damaging or of a "worst-case-scenario" variety. On those occasions when we believe we may be dealing with a "created" as opposed to a "real" secret, we honestly state:

“This is kind of hard to believe, but if it is true...” and then proceed with the post-secret commentary as if the secret were true. As has been found time and again in the literature regarding the revelation of secrets related to sexual abuse (Bear with Dimmock, 1988; Schaefer, 1984), when a person who has been victimized in some way finally develops the courage to share this secret with another, one only feels doubly victimized if the person with whom the secret is shared does not believe the secret revealed.

Instructors conducting this exercise are respectful of the courage students must build in order to share these secrets with others, even when they do so anonymously. Instructors thus make a point to express their appreciation for the openness, trust, and support conveyed in the post-secrets discussions. On the day after the SECRETS exercise, the first few minutes of class are devoted to any comments or reflections students have regarding this exercise.

Impact of This Exercise on Students and Instructors

“As Alice Miller has... written, ‘It is not the traumas we suffer... which make us emotionally ill but the inability to express the trauma’” (cited in Bradshaw, 1990, p. 228). Further, as one of our former students has put it:

If you’ve ever told someone a secret and felt relieved to have your words and feelings met with understanding, then you know the healing that comes from sharing your inner self in positive relationships. The forgiveness, the knowledge that you’re not alone, the awareness that your life does make sense — all these do much to heal the past. (Hazelton, 1990, p. 199)

Students participating in the SECRETS exercise report a “weight” being “lifted” off of them, even if they simply hear their secret read aloud. The shame and guilt that they have been carrying with them is seemingly relieved, as if a form of confession had taken place. Those who identify their secrets invariably receive support and well-intentioned advice from other class members. Many have said that when they hear their secrets read, understand ways in which they may have been carrying shame about this secret needlessly, and then see the secret torn up into small pieces, it’s as though they have finally been able to put this behind them and get on with their lives.

The secrets exercise does a lot toward building group cohesiveness. The openness of students is a reflection of the trust they sense in the class and its process. In addition, this exercise “opens doors” for further

self-disclosure as the class progresses through the quarter. Much of self-disclosure in post-secrets classes seems to reflect an increased sense of trust in the class. Students come to realize that they are in many ways more similar to each other than they are different. The exercise constitutes what Yalom (1970) has referred to as a “welcome to the human race” experience where students discover that “We’re all in the same boat” at a fundamental level (p. 66). Students report feeling less “alone” after this exercise.

As instructors, we have also benefitted from participation in this exercise. Immediately after the secrets are read we often feel somewhat saddened and overwhelmed. There are usually several, if not many, secrets which describe the pain and suffering of the persons holding them, or “the many faces of shame,” as Bradshaw (1988, p. 3) has put it. At times we get the impression that the average student is so entangled in difficulties and crises that it seems beyond his/her capacities to cope. On occasion we feel helpless to do anything to make a real difference or to relieve suffering of this magnitude.

Just as frequently, however, we find ourselves able to bring some light into the darkness, to relieve the burden of some unnecessary suffering, and we leave the room feeling uplifted. It is especially encouraging to hear students make comments which evidence caring and concern for fellow classmates who are suffering. As they offer solace or comfort to troubled students, and do so as insightfully and therapeutically as many trained professionals might, we recognize that there is hope — for those in our classroom, and for others in the larger society who carry the burden of their own secrets.

Using this exercise in our teaching, we have come to appreciate Jourard’s (1971) statement that persons who believe themselves to be in relationship with others may be more “strangers one to the other” than they realize, and more of a mystery for one another than is constructive for healthy functioning (p. 6). We have come to understand how self-disclosure between persons “reduces the mystery” one individual “is for another” (Jourard, 1971, p. 6). We have become more aware of the impact such self-disclosures have on our own development and on the development of others.

As we have become aware of some of the realities of human existence reflected in the SECRETS exercise, we have come to understand how difficult it is to effectively direct the course of one’s destiny, or to engage in authentic dialogue with another when misconceptions, unwarranted assumptions or secrets stand in the way. We have become more comfortable disclosing some of our own conflicts and struggles to

persons with whom we interact (both students and non-students) and inviting them to dialogue with us in more authentic and meaningful ways about their experiences.

Given the broader perspective of the human condition which emerges for us through this exercise, we have come to be able to deal more effectively with painful memories of our own. We have seen our interactions as a class as the coming together of "fortunate strangers" (Beukenkamp, 1958). We have come to realize that what has happened in the classroom is a microcosm of life itself. People struggle, people hurt, people are unhappy. But people also find help from others to regain needed strength to pick up the pieces of their lives and move on.

Where Education and Psychotherapy Meet

The literature on the sharing of secrets makes frequent references to the psychotherapeutic context — a context in which secrets are frequently shared. As Tournier (1965) has stated it, "to tell your secrets, to experience thus the human communion we all need... there you have the essence of psychotherapy, of every school" (p. 40).

In discussing the process of therapeutic change in the context of group therapy, Yalom (1985) summarizes eleven primary "therapeutic factors" which he considers fundamental to this process":

1. *Instillation of Hope* — a perception that improvement in one's situation, change, or the possibility of being understood by others may be achieved.
2. *Universality* — a perception that one is similar to other human beings in one's struggles and one's concerns.
3. *Imparting of Information* — a presentation of didactic information or advice.
4. *Altruism* — an offering of support, reassurances, suggestions.
5. *The Corrective Recapitulation of the Primary Family Group* — a challenging exploration and re-examination of fixed roles and ground rules for interpersonal interaction.
6. *Development of Socializing Techniques* — the development of basic social skills.
7. *Imitative Behavior* — a situation in which group members serve as models for one another, demonstrating behaviors that might be "tried on" by others.
8. *Interpersonal Learning* — an experience borne of opportunities for feedback from others and self-observation.

9. *Group Cohesiveness* — a sense of relatedness or connection to others in the group.
10. *Catharsis* — a ventilation or expression of feelings.
11. *Existential Factors* — a recognition of the “capriciousness of our existence” and the importance of taking “ultimate responsibility” in living one’s life.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion, most of these factors are reflected in student and faculty responses to the SECRETS exercise. In the course of his clinical work, Yalom (1985) has “made it a practice to interview patients after they have completed group therapy,” seeking to learn more about “some single critical incident, some turning point or the most helpful single event in therapy” (p. 26). In discussing “common characteristics of these critical incidents,” Yalom (1985) mentioned that group members often report an incident “that is highly laden emotionally” and yet one in which a “feared catastrophe did not occur” (i.e., “the roof did not collapse”; “neither derision, rejection... nor the destruction of others” occurred) (p. 27).

The SECRETS exercise is easily one of the most emotion-laden and remembered of the many activities carried out in the Personal Relationships classes. When students return to campus, even years after graduation, they often ask whether this exercise is still being done, and are pleased to know that it is.

While Jones (1968) emphasizes the differences between psychotherapy and education (although he sees ways in which professionals in both areas overlap in their focus and concerns), our students’ experiences and our own experiences indicate that at its best, education interfaces with psychotherapy and the two become complementary aspects of learning experiences described as some of the most memorable of students’ college careers. As Combs and Avila (1985) point out, the discovery of personal meaning is one of the underlying principles of helping relationships, whether one is a teacher, therapist, minister, administrator, nurse, etc.

The SECRETS exercise leads to changes in how students and faculty view themselves and others. It also leads to changes in how they understand themselves and others. Surely it is fruitless to debate whether these changes are “really” therapeutic or “really” educational. Perhaps the term “growth” best describes what is occurring. Perhaps a new term such as edu-peutic or thera-cational needs to be coined. We leave such speculation to those who are so inclined. Of one matter there seems little doubt. The SECRETS exercise, in particular, and the approach we use in many of our courses, enables students to articulate

and share significant aspects of their experience, building a foundation for being able to better direct the course of their lives.

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Visionary Experience: A Preliminary Typology

Raymond Moody

Visions are among the most extraordinary phenomena of the human mind, yet today are seldom studied by psychologists. At first, this seems paradoxical, but it becomes more understandable in light of several facts.

First, most of us grow up in an atmosphere charged by tales of visions which occurred in Biblical times. We learn about Ezekiel's sighting of a "wheel within a wheel," about Jacob's Ladder, about *Revelation*. Attitudes shaped by this context of presentation often preconceive of visionaries as extraordinarily gifted individuals — as having some mysterious talent or gift, perhaps even the ability to peer into supernatural realms or to commune with God directly. This sort of view seems to assume that the capacity to have visions is extremely rare, that most of us lack it.

Secondly, visions are presumed to be difficult to study in a systematic way, due to the fact that for the most part they are *spontaneous* phenomena. They seem to come on people without warning, as it were. So, since we can't tell when a particular person is going to have a vision, we are unlikely to be on hand to study it.

Thirdly, today many people tend to *pathologize* visions — to assume that visionaries are schizophrenic, delirious or perhaps even

sociopathic. On this view, there is no real distinction between a vision and a hallucination.

Fourthly, many people tend to see visions as an antique phenomenon which is totally without relevance in the modern world. Science and other modern methodologies for acquiring knowledge, these people believe, has made such hoary modes of knowing obsolete.

However, careful consideration of such attitudes clearly show them to be lacking. To begin with the claim that they are obsolete: in fact, numerous individuals who have made major contributions to human knowledge or to art have recognized the role of visionary experiences in their creative process. Kekule's insight that the carbon atoms in the molecular structure of benzene are arranged in a ring came to him in a dream-like state as he sat before a fire and watched visionary snakes curl around and bite their own tails. Rene Descartes (1641/1960) made major contributions toward formulating the scientific method as a result of a spiritual experience involving several "waking dreams." Sir Arnold Toynbee was inspired to write his monumental *A Study of History* (1947) by a series of visions in which he seemed to drop into "a pocket in time" during a trip to Greece when he was twenty-three years old. Thomas Edison, Charles Dickens and Robert Louis Stevenson were among the many creative individuals who sought inspiration in the "state between sleeping and waking."

Such incidents raise serious questions about the notion that visions are pathological phenomena. "Hallucination" is far too broad a term to characterize the various kinds of experiences which have been called "visions." In discussing visions, one needs to consider not only the phenomenology of the experience itself but also its social, cultural, spiritual, artistic, and even at times its political dimensions. In so far as a vision is a hallucination, it is a "hallucination in context," and we are unable to unravel its meaning until we understand that context.

As to the beliefs that the visionary capacity is very rare and that visions are not susceptible to being studied systematically under controlled circumstances, I want to suggest that both beliefs are demonstrably false. In this paper, I will argue that in fact two forms of human experience which have manifested in the past as "visions" are in fact widely distributed in the population, and that this fact makes possible the systematic study of visions.

The modes of experience to which I am referring are, first, hypnogogic states, the type of awareness which we experience "between waking and sleeping," and, secondly, pareidolia, the type of visual illusion which we experience when "seeing faces in clouds." In what

follows, I want to illustrate how each can account for certain categories of naturally occurring visionary phenomena. After that, I will conclude by suggesting other well-known modes of human experience which may help understand historically important visions.

Hypnogogic States and Visions

Although estimates of the percentage of normal individuals who experience hypnogogic imagery during the onset of sleep vary widely, it is generally accepted that this is fairly common. The reported imagery is often brightly colored and may involve surrealistic distortions or humorous, even cartoon-like sequences. Commonly reported images include faces of persons known or unknown, beautiful, majestic scenery or "mini-dramas" (brief sequences of action involving one or more persons).

Persons reporting such experiences typically describe them as occurring "in the mind," that is, without definable external spatial location, but there is no question that they can be "projected" into the visual field and become, in effect, eidetic images. They are clearly associated with creativity, and both Thomas Edison and Robert Louis Stevenson (among others) developed techniques for maintaining awareness in the hypnogogic state so as to enhance their creative output.

Hypnogogic states seem plainly to have been part of the basis for numerous forms of visionary experience in the past. Supplicants at the "temples of Asklepios" in ancient Greece, for example, apparently were in the hypnogogic state as they underwent their visionary experience. In this procedure, which is called "dream incubation," pilgrims journeyed to the temple in order to be healed of what we might today call a psychosomatic ailment, or even a neurotic conflict or "problem in living." They slept in the temple and were guided to have an experience during which their problems were resolved. Surviving descriptions of this treatment by supplicants sometimes specifically state that they had their visions "in the state between sleeping and waking."

There is historical evidence that hypnogogic states can occur in the form of collective outbreaks. In 150 AD in Miletus, many citizens reported "sightings of the gods," and — once again — these accounts frequently mention the hypnogogic state. I believe that the recent wave of reports by apparently sane individuals who claim that they were abducted by occupants of "UFO's" and given physical examinations bear many of the earmarks of hypnogogic experience.

Projected hypnogogic experiences can easily be studied by the simple and time-honored technique of "crystal gazing" (Moody, 1990). It has been known for thousands of years that many individuals will have vivid visions when gazing into the clear depth provided by some such speculum as a mirror, crystal, or even a bowl of water. Although this practice has fallen into disrepute because of its association with "fortune telling," there can be no doubt that the core phenomenon is real.

This technique may well have value in providing for the experimental study of the creative process. George Sand was among the many creative individuals who made use of this procedure. As a child, she was captivated by the visions she saw unfolding before her in a polished screen in her parents' home.

Pareidolia and Visions

"Seeing faces in clouds" is a form of illusion; that is, there is an actual external stimulus present, to which the mind adds an interpretation. However, unlike many illusions, those of pareidolia seem to persist even when we pay close attention to them.

Pareidolia seems to be part of the basis of a kind of collective visionary experience which even today is frequently reported in the popular press. Hence, when Jesus is reported to be seen by hundreds of people on the side of an oil tank in the Midwest, or in a towering kudzu vine in West Virginia, or on a formica top table in a small village in Texas (all actual recent happenings), we can be sure that pareidolia is involved.

Such events provide a naturally occurring laboratory for the study of the human urge to seek the transcendent. On-site investigation by social scientists during the episodes may well help us better to understand collective visionary experiences reported in historical times.

Pareidolia, like hypnogogic states, may also help to understand creative activity. It is said that Leonardo da Vinci took his students on cloud gazing outings in order to enhance their abilities to see as artists.

The Visionary Capacity in Relation to other Modes of Experience

There are numerous other known phenomena which may well help us more clearly to understand the famous and influential visionaries of the past. Individuals afflicted with migraine often experience curious visual phenomena such as lights, sparkles, squiggles and zig zag lines. It has been suggested that these were in part the basis of the visions of

Hildegard of Bingen, as revealed in the fascinating art works which she has left us.

Temporal lobe or partial complex epilepsy involves many extraordinary altered states of consciousness which may well be experienced as spiritual enlightenment by persons having them. Some believe that such luminaries as St. Paul and Mohammed suffered from such episodes.

Lucid dreams — a form of experience in someone is asleep and dreaming is nonetheless aware that this is so — may well have been the basis of some historical visions. It is plain from Descartes' (1641/1960) description of the experience in which he "received" his famous methodology that he experienced three separate lucid dreams during that fabled evening.

Finally, delirium — an acute organic mental syndrome which involves wandering attention and disorientation — is typically associated with vivid, often surrealistic, visual hallucinations. Delirium may be precipitated by a wide range of conditions including drugs, organ failure (of the heart or lungs, for example), fever or even sensory deprivation. Analysis of visionary experiences of historical importance could well yield clues (in certain instances at least) that delirium may have been involved. It is well known, for example, that psychoactive substances, social isolation and sensory deprivation, and fasting have all been used by persons on "vision quests" to facilitate such experiences.

In no case, however, is an allusion to any such phenomenon as the hypnagogic state, pareidolia, migraine, delirium, etc. sufficient in itself to account for visionary experience. In each case, one must also try to understand the social and cultural context of the experience, the personal and psychological history of the particular individual, and the outcome — that is, the way in which the individual having the experience put it to use for himself/herself and/or others. We also must consider the effect the experience had upon his/her life and that of others, and whether the person developed in such a way as to become a better and more fulfilled person. Finally, in certain cases — *The Book of Revelation in The Bible*, for example — we must also consider the form of literary expression into which the experience was finally cast.

Visions are by no means an extinct phenomenon. They continue to emerge — often in new forms — and continue to exert powerful influence on the lives of human beings. They are not susceptible to simple reductive analysis into pathological phenomena but require subtle consideration of numerous interacting factors. Close attention to the nature of these fascinating phenomena may well add to our understanding of historically important personages, events, and institutions.

It also may well yield practical techniques for enhancing creativity and facilitating self-understanding.

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Malignant Currency: The Psychosocial Aftershocks of the Exxon Valdez Oil Hemorrhage in the Lived World of Seward

Richard Alapack

The Gulf of Alaska was poisoned on Good Friday, March 24, 1989 (Meganack, 1989). Shortly after midnight, the \$125 million *Exxon Valdez* tanker rammed into Bligh Reef and oozed 10.8 million gallons of crude oil into the Prince William Sound. In the wake of this manmade disaster, life in Alaska capsized. Sea-death always ripples to the land and in the souls of the people. Damage assessment studies since 1989 have ignored people-related reverberations of this catastrophe despite the consequences it engendered. The subsistence way of life in native fishing villages is in peril, and profound social upheaval occurred in all Alaskan cities. The purpose of this phenomenologically based clinical and community study is to describe the psychosocial impact of the *Exxon Valdez* disaster on the citizens of Seward, Alaska.

Methodological Standpoint

I executed this research project while simultaneously directing the Seward Life Action Council (SLAC), an umbrella of clinical programs. My work included (1) co-coordinating response to the aftermath of the disaster with medical and law enforcement personnel, (2) doing

psychotherapy, (3) and supervising a team of substance abuse/mental health counselors and domestic violence sexual assault advocates. The (dis)(ad)vantage of my position was trying to comprehend the impact of that which I was simultaneously trying to heal and to change. This position gave me access to gather data from all respondents of the disaster: clinical clients, city officials, professionals, scientists, clergy, and members the governor's oil spill commission. Daily I gathered sheaves of conflicting evidence through a kaleidoscope of personal stories, public reactions, professional narratives, official spiel, and obvious propaganda. I selected some of my informants; others I encountered randomly.

My research task, not unlike someone who had blundered into an ambush, was to grapple with fanatic emotions, raw prejudices and vain opinions. It was necessary to hold in abeyance the split idea-forms about the disaster. Two groups were vying in Seward, each idealizing its viewpoint and deprecating the other. Environmentalists, loud in the politics of disgust and shrill in behalf of penitential ecology, were advocating reparation and trusteeship of the earth. Expansionists, equally shrill with sounds of progress and development, were linking natural resources such as gas, oil and timber to the creation of Alaskan jobs and to American self-sufficiency.

In order to balance passionate, committed praxis with sober reflection, I practiced an hermeneutical phenomenology. Stated somewhat differently, I bracketed my personal/theoretical presuppositions and continually criticized my own standpoint so that I might disclose objectively meaningful portraits of Seward. Since I did not "reduce" myself out of the landscape, but interpreted text/context from within it, my study is interpretive, not descriptive.

Results

Psychosocial findings about the Seward-specific situation must be contextualized, since the wider horizon of meanings about the catastrophe co-constituted them. These include (1) common images of the lands which the *Exxon Valdez* oiled, (2) the way in which the event has been named, and (3) public awareness about the oil- defiled sea, shore, animals and fish.

The Primordial North Country: A Portrait of the Unique Milieu

Not every mile of coastline is the same. To assess the magnitude and meaning of *this* disaster it is important to appreciate (1) the physical

beauty of this now tainted landscape: the Prince William Sound, the Kenai Fjords National Park, and the Gulf of Alaska are majestic jewels in magnificent settings; and (2) the psychological resonances of the northland: absolute permanence, sublime innocence, pristine silence, and primeval loneliness.

The massively rugged mountains, which cradle the Harding Ice field, are punctuated by scores of lakes, streams, and waterfall. The largest glaciers outside Antarctica and Greenland, "so beautiful they make you cry," inch down toward the sea from mountains capped by permanent ice fields (Lopez, 1987, pp 224-225). In their descent, they carve intricate fjords, and release to sea floating icebergs, implacable creatures of pale light, fearfully and austerely beautiful. The ice groans its prehistoric laments, the muted and forsaken moans of something deeply wounded and abandoned (Haines, 1989, p. 103). The waters of the Sound are abundantly fertile (1) with various marine mammals including humpback whales, Stellers sea lions, sea otters, harbor seals, and killer whales, (2) with fish and shellfish: pink salmon, sockeye salmon, Dolly Varden and cutthroat trout, Pacific herring, halibut, rockfish, (3) with large birds such as sea ducks, loons, pigeon guillemots, cormorants, and majestic bald eagles, and (4) with colonies of seabirds packed in breeding sites on cliff faces of the Chiswell and Barren Islands (such as tufted puffins, horned puffins, black-legged kittiwakes, murre, black oystercatchers). The vast wilderness is ample too with varied terrestrial mammals: brown bear, mink, black bear, Sitka black-tailed deer, and river otters. Our eerie ties to the wildlife, who live within this 850 mile arc, pulls at us like tidal currents, evoking root questions about our human ancestry" (Lopez, 1987, p. 33). Each summer lush blueberries and cranberries, fireweed and Forget-Me-Nots, punctuate the rough terrain with delicately fragile color. The aurora borealis, on wondrous occasions, unfurls its curtain of pale green and soft rose, then undulates gracefully across the winter sky. It throws the sky into a third dimension and draws the viewer with such awe-ful tenderness that self-pity is impossible (Lopez, 1987, p. 211).

The stark vastness of the Northland, its extreme and unpredictable weather, humbles us. Lopez (1987) describes the atypical and "numinous events" of this land: frostbite and permafrost, "a forgiving benediction of light, and a darkness so dunning it precipitates madness" (p. 7). He writes: "It is not that the land is simply beautiful but that it is powerful. Its power derives from the tension between its obvious beauty and its capacity to take life... and... from the feeling that this is the floor of creation" (Lopez, 1987, p. 351-352).

Dismantling Normative, Taken-for-Granted Terminology

For the sake of conceptual clarification and adequate formulation, it suits to deconstruct the normative notion that the *Exxon Valdez* made an "oil spill" in the Prince William Sound. First of all, that designation localizes and minimizes the catastrophe which affected 1,200 miles of coast along the expansive Gulf of Alaska and the lower Cook Inlet. The oiled coastline included portions of the Chugach National Forest, Alaska Maritime, Kodiak, and Alaska Peninsula/Becharof National Wildlife Refuges, Kenai Fjords National Park, Katmai National Park and Preserve, and Aniakchak National Monument and Preserve (Nicoll, 1991). Secondly, the common practice of baptizing occurrences like the *Exxon Valdez* with the name, "oil spill" is a ruse. Remember when your three year old knocked over her glass of milk? That was a "spill." Our often used English injunction not "to cry over it" implies triviality and invites putting the apparent crisis into perspective. The *Exxon Valdez* was not a spill; it was a *hemorrhage*, the worst discharge from a tanker into a body of water in U.S. history. Calling it by the innocuous word "spill" obscures the fact that 10.8 million gallons of oil, a black river rushing into the sea, is a raw tragedy, an environmental holocaust.

The meaning of the event is in the *spread* of the oil, not the *spill* of it. Caught by ocean currents and driven by 73 mph gale-force winds, it advanced relentlessly rapidly across 1,200 miles of coastline, a "suffocating blanket of death," a "spreading pestilence" of terrifyingly immeasurable devastation (Spencer, 1990, pp. 8, 133).

From an economic perspective, the ruptured crude threatens an \$130 million fishing industry. From an archeological viewpoint, the cleanup activities themselves endanger several cultural sites which mark the Native and Russian roots of Alaska. From an environmental perspective, the massive upset in a plethora of ecosystems jeopardizes entire regional ways of life in southcentral and southeastern Alaska. Viewed globally, the reduction of the event to simple "spill" condones the continuing processes which led to the above ruination. To loan a phrase from Herman Melville, the event of the *Exxon Valdez* is a transcendental horror.

Another "handy explanation ought to be dismantled. From the perspective of the oil industry, the event was simply an accident, the inevitable price tag of progress. Davidson (1990) describes the event with keener insight as a collision between the "politics of oil" and "our responsibility to the earth" (p. xi). Borrowing a ready-to-hand concept, he names the *Exxon Valdez* a story of addictions to power, money,

alcohol and energy consumption (Davidson, 1990 p. xi). This manmade disaster, however, is not an act of human foible reducible to personality characteristics or group dynamics. Addictions can be treated; mistakes can be averted; response plans can be formulated and implemented. Oil hemorrhages, twin-born with the essence of technology, are structurally inevitable. They will only vary temporally and spatially. Heidegger (1927/1962) has demonstrated that there is no "cause" of death except life itself. The That of death is *definite*; the When and How of death are *indefinite*. Fresh oil disasters will happen, inevitably, repeatedly, intermittently; the only surprises will be time, place and manner.

How should we designate an oil hemorrhage? It is analogous to a disease. Booth (1962) and Siirala (1981) have demonstrated that the eruption of a major illness is not an "accident": each bears a message to be heeded. My personality, character or lifestyle co-selects a "fitting" disease: heart disease, arthritis, cancer, tuberculosis, or AIDS. Colaizzi (1978) has also argued that each cultural epoch, by its way of life and thought paradigms, "invents" or solicits its peculiarly preferred disease. The Middle Ages, horrified by the flesh, suffered the black plague, a disease passed by touch. In the wake of the 1929 stock market crash polio was the privileged disease which revealed a crippled society. Cancer is the disease which expresses our post-modern culture's chaotic coil of technology, mounting bureaucracy, excessive proliferation/consumption of facts and "goods," and the uncontrollable encroachment on all freedoms.

The *Exxon Valdez* disaster, inextricably linked with technology, is a cancer within the earth's ecosystem. Rather than picturing a tanker bumping into a submerged rock and making a spill, imagine a vessel moving chaotically and destructively, bearing a heinous cargo. Each time the *Exxon Valdez* embarked from the terminal, it was carrying a plague.

Black Death of Mammals and Birds

A "notice of lodging of summary of effects" was filed at the United States District Court, District of Alaska on April 8, 1991, by the U.S. Department of Justice, Environmental Enforcement Section (Nicoll, 1991). The comprehensive scientific evidence of mortality rates and estimates of future causalities demonstrates the lethality of the *Exxon Valdez*. Excerpts from this document follow:

During 1989, a total of 1,011 sea otters carcasses were recovered in the spill area... The total number of sea otters estimated to have

been killed directly by the spill ranges from 3,500 to 5,500 animals... Two hundred harbor seals are estimated to have been killed ... One hundred and forty-four (144) dead bald eagles were found following the spill... More than 2,000 sea duck carcasses were recovered ... including more than 200 harlequin ducks... It is estimated that between 1,500 and 3,000 pigeon guillemots were killed... Approximately 36,000 dead birds were recovered after the spill; at least 31,000 of these were attributed to the effects of oil... No massive die-offs of adult fish were found following the spill, and adult salmon, for example, were able to migrate to spawning areas after it. However, fish are most vulnerable to oil contamination during the early stages of their life cycles. During 1991, scientists will begin to be able to assess affects on adult fish... that would have been exposed to oil as eggs or larvae... The full extent of short term injury to pink salmon cannot be assessed until after the 1991 run returns to spawn in the summer... Whether the adult population (of Pacific herring) has been affected by... larval injuries will not be determined until the 1989 and 1990 cohorts return to spawn in 1992 and 1993. (Nicoll, 1991, p. 6ff.)

Oil-Slicked Water, Beaches, Fish and Wildlife

From the original site of the hemorrhage at Bligh Reef, a black tide with death-tendrils spread inexorably across the Prince William Sound. By Easter Sunday the wind-whipped sea churned the oil into a large, flat, foamy, bubbly residue that locals called "chocolate mousse." Spencer (1990) describes the mousse as "a storm-beaten mixture of oil and seawater, reddish brown and very thick, full of debris, coiling around kelp and driftwood and shoreline like a boa constrictor" (p. 69). By the time the thickened crude washed ashore, it formed pools of "tar goop," "tar globs" or "black mayonnaise." Eventually as the lighter parts of the oil evaporated or were broken down by bacteria, they coagulated into a residue dubbed "tar balls." By the time the cleanup crews arrived, the balls had expanded into large, thick, crusted pancakes, two or three inches thick, one to two feet in diameter, commonly called "cow patties." Spencer (1990) describes them as the products of a "diarrhetic cow" who had "wandered the beach in confusion" (p. 77). The crude covered the rocks on the beaches with the consistency of "bearing grease, warm fudge, cold honey" or "blackstrap molasses" (Spencer, 1990, pp. 96-97). Endlessly the oil kept moving, spreading to new areas, leaving behind filthy footprints, returning to spots once cleaned, marking and staining the land, leaving scars. The cancerous oil, alternating between remission and relapse, would be cleaned from the beaches on

one day and washed back to the rocks and shale on the next. It could not be arrested: not by booms, nor skimmers, nor absorbent pads, nor by the experimental substances, Inipol and Corexit, used in the controversial process of bioremediation.

Psychosocial Portraits of Seward

Post-Calamity, Year One

Green Cancer within the Souls of the People. During the spring and summer of 1989 Exxon heaped \$2 billion on a mammoth and wasteful cleanup effort. This hemorrhage of funds from corporate coffers was the twin of the oil which gushed from the pierced tanker. As a result, a green malignancy metastasized in the souls of Seward's citizens. Seward (population 2,500), is one of the oil-slicked cities within the Gulf of Alaska. It is situated on Resurrection Bay, the gateway to the 669,541 acre Kenai Fjords National Park. From July, 1989 to July, 1990 the atmosphere in Seward shifted in four distinct spatio-temporal moments: (1) The summer: during the height of the flurry of the so-called cleanup activities; (2) After September 15: when Exxon halted operations; (3) During the dark winter months; (4) Near the anniversary date of the disaster, when renewed cleanup operations were anticipated. The following portraits of the psychosocial repercussions of the disaster on Seward reveal the effects of the cancerous currency

Summer: The Height of the So-Called Clean-up Operations. This city at "the end of the road" was hustle and bustle throughout the summer of 1989, swarming with life. Permanent residents had the disaster thrust upon them. An avalanche of transients, following the money, swelled Seward by 18%. Eventually they filled apartments and flooded the beaches with tents, vans, campers and trucks. By July there was no available lodging in Seward. People simply "crashed" into rooms partitioned into makeshift apartments. Most landlords charged exorbitant prices. Folks felt fortunate to be paying outrageous rent for mediocre lodging. I know of only one landlord who did not raise his rent in the face of the influx. The prices of purchasing houses was inflated too, partly since local real estate companies were able to rent them for top dollar. Seward was an hub of activity for cleanup efforts and for professional/scientific activities. By July it had been transformed from a quiet little, tourist town into a place of mayhem. The portable bird and otter rescue shelters concretely symbolized the physical changes. The helter skelter pace equally indexed ongoing chaos, havoc and pandemonium. Money was plentiful. The legitimate rate for workers, beach cleaners or

chambermaids, was \$16.69 per hour. By working overtime, folks typically earned \$1,750 per week. It was difficult for the locals to resist taking a "spill-related job." Angry shopkeepers and resentful innkeepers helplessly watched employees desert their posts to take advantage of the artificial wages. Veco, Exxon's contractor, paid \$5,000 per day to rent boats for the efforts on the water. At least one piper plane pilot was making \$90,000 per week. How was this money viewed? It wasn't "Texas Tea" or even the "Black Gold" associated with the infamous Alaskan pipeline. Day laborers, city officials and professionals shared the same belief: that the money Exxon lavished was cosmetic, part of an elaborate public relations campaign to solicit favorable press, to frame a good image, and to elude litigation. Nevertheless the malignant dollars, tainted, tarred, greasy, and smelly, affected everyone by their presence or absence. Sewardites are frequent eyewitnesses to frolicking otters, zany puffins, and majestic eagles. Now workers saw or had to handle the carcasses of these oil-coated creatures. Many simply walked away from the fiasco in disgust or for ethical reasons. Others cashed their big paychecks, but with reluctant eagerness. During the summer the city was xenophobic. Remarkable to report! Seward is a tourist town, accustomed to accommodating strangers and international tourists. Three months after the *Exxon Valdez*, however, resentment was festering towards those who had come to take advantage of the disaster. There was tension and violence in the air. The city was doing a slow burn on smoldering anger and impotent rage. Getting a post office box was a two week wait while the Postmistress checked to see if your address was a real domicile or just a spot on the beach. Arranging telephone service was tedious since the phone company was already frustrated by the futility of disconnecting phones faster than they could install them. The stranger, instead of being guest and potential friend (the Greek *hospice*), was viewed as either an Exxon "company man" or an opportunist chasing the "fast buck." The locals used a veritable lexicon of pejorative terms: drifters, scumbags, scavengers, bar flies, hooligans, sleazebags, rounders, riffraff, bozos, bimbos, dopesters, low-life, white-trash. The general expectation, and often the experiential fact, was that these homeless, chronically unemployed, drunken fugitives were going to ravage the city! Badmouthing was a common pastime. Exxon, Veco, and the Department of Environmental Conservation were favorite scapegoats. Much criticism was warranted. Sour grapes about not getting a job or large contract underwrote most complaints. By the summer Seward was in crisis. The phone company alerted us that our crisis line had the highest rate of busy signals in the city. We procured a new \$7,000

phone system. The police reported a soaring crime rate. The number of DWI charges referred for screening nearly tripled.

The Predicament of Civic Leaders. The mandate to respond to the disaster usurped the ordinary work-routine of elected civic officials, health/social service professionals, scientists, administrators of various agencies, and the police. By the summer they were living on adrenaline, suffering from our modern malady, stress. Frazzled by long, irregular hours and broken routine; harried by too little sleep and irregular, fast food meals, they were wearing chronically tired eyes. By late September they were edgy, jumpy, on the verge of collapse, suffering combat fatigue. Put differently, they were holding their grief to ward off psychic disintegration. The disaster wrenched them particularly because they knew its impact, implications and reverberations. Daily they faced the red tape of bureaucrats and the insincerity of securocrats. Daily they lived with the many levels of complexity and ambiguity related to the upheaval. They were brooding about the impossible tasks, the artificial situations, and the pseudo-problems. About the various ambiguities they were ambivalent. Brooding took different shapes: depression edging toward despair, punctuated by nausea, infuriation, bitterness, and rage. These emotional dispositions had no clear and distinct referents. Kugelmann (1985) describes the processes of diverting the passion of grief into seemingly productive work, of filling open-wounds of loss with busyness (p. 5). Each day their actions had the deceptive appearance of efficacy and goal-directedness. But caught in the whirlwinds of pressure, tensions, and frustrations, some were "not themselves." They were "vampires"! "The vampire is a blood addict... Stress is for people what blood is for vampires" (Kugelmann, 1985, p. 22). He continues: "Modern forms of stress/grief allow for no resolution... the position of loss keeps us energized, pining for we-know-not-what, feeling our inferiorities and helplessness and hence vulnerable to the demand that we take charge and flexibly adapt. So we willingly bite back on that which feeds us, hungry...." (Kugelmann, 1985, p. 29). These individuals could not have shed their stress; the price tag would have been collapse.

The Spillionaire. The disaster was also a boon. "Spillionaires," as profiteers were called, parlayed the tragedy into a bonanza. Some, who had prior standing in the community, and/or had financial resources, received preferential treatment. Not a few sold out, took payola, over-billed for services rendered, or otherwise made capital on the disaster. At least one boat owner "kickbacked" one million dollars to procure a contract worth millions. The general populace viewed spillionaires with

a mixture of envy and resentment. They gave living proof to Wertz's (1986) assertions that the human being and the rat are the only creatures who will take despicable advantage of the misfortunes of their own kind (pp. 145-146).

The Run-of-the-Mill Worker. Many ordinary workers made more money than they had ever imagined. Disposition of the unprecedented paychecks varied greatly. Some used it wisely: improved the present by paying bills, or buying a reliable vehicle; built for the future by saving for college tuition, or purchasing a fishing vessel. Too many squandered it on "adult toys," or wasted it on legal/illegal substances. More than a few awoke in Anchorage after a binge with nothing, or in Seward after a spree with a strange face on the adjacent pillow.

Unprecedented bonanzas do bring opportunity for fashioning new starts. But a new beginning is not a matter of gaining financial resources alone. Making a down payment on a house includes changing a way of life, not just modifying behavior. Too many could not muster the courage to turn a corner. They lapsed into familiar patterns, repeating waste and destruction.

The Darkening Days: Encounters with "Fierce Misfits"

Substance Abusers. After Exxon completed its operations on September 15, our substance abuse program was the first component impacted. The court sent us "hardcore" alcoholics whose sobriety had been sabotaged by pseudo-wealth. Others, who now had the bucks for an unusual period of partying, indulged in an equally extreme celebration. Several got "hooked" for the first time since it was the first time that they could afford the "hard stuff" or an expensive habit. The phenomenon of "easy come, easy go," not unlike gambling away summer wages, repeated the "boom or bust" attitude which has punctuated Alaska's history.

"Old Five and Dimers." The sudden confrontation with artificial wealth, with temporarily having income beyond one's wildest dreams, forced most to confront themselves in a new way. In the real or metaphorical mirror, people saw something about themselves which they had never realized. Faces now reflected new appetites. Eyes now oozed greed. The oil disaster changed people irrevocably.

Domestic Violence. After the cleanup activities ceased, the disillusionment of being "no better off" in spite of the inflated salaries took a heavy toll on marriages. When the wind blew and came the cold, the dark, and the holidays, all the seasonal issues of winter in Alaska were geometrically intensified. In the dark December days fierce misfits were

mixing their drinks with the "blues" about lost riches and missed chances. Simultaneously they were blaming others, lashing out, provoking each other, hitting new lows. The impact upon the children of these fierce misfits, especially the wee ones whose eyes were still sparkling and bright, was awful. The youth, caught in the middle of their parents' war games, showed themselves all too familiar with the marks and stains of violence and abuse. The police figures showed an 167% increase in violent crimes (from 32 in 1988 to 84 in 1989). These included three rapes and 17 cases of domestic violence. There were six rape exams conducted at Seward General Hospital in 1989 and four in 1990. The local Division of Youth and Family Services reported 14 cases of physical abuse. Our staff witnessed the truth of Soren Kierkegaard's assertion that no matter how low we humans sink, we can always sink lower.

Living Through an Ontological Revolution. The horror of the disaster provoked the negative phase of the "Ontological Revolution" (Alapack, 1984). Idealists, environmentalists and "political virgins," who naively trusted the System, experienced "crashes." At stake was the beginning of the end of innocence: coping with disenchantment at having witnessed the best and the worst in themselves and others. Typical dilemmas which erupted were: How to square the vision of the Whole with "the cold hard facts of life"? How to lose innocence without losing hope? How to integrate one's newly discovered rage? How to regain the capacity still to see innocence, to keep a place for it within one's lifespan?

White collar and blue collar workers alike were stunned by the horrors they witnessed. One woman's job was picking up oil-slicked birds, dead or alive. As the Summer of 1989 waned, her crew found less and less of the critters. She reported that she had been ordered to "slick" puffins so that their boat, which was making \$3,000 per day would not be docked. The obedient crew played "rodeo" with the puffins to increase its daily "count." But she, who considered herself jaded, who thought that she had witnessed or performed the worst acts of human nature, found herself infuriated and sickened. She was fired for vociferously protesting the "bounty hunting."

1990 Spring in the Sound: Anniversary Time

The interconnected and reciprocal impact among people within the community glared in the spring of 1990. The year had turned full circle. Civic leaders were no longer able to ward off grief reactions. The work of framing annual reports, and the efforts to leave an historically

accurate document of the events, activated memory. The reappearance of certain people, the publication of books about the event, the return of certain sights, sounds, smells, or hearing again certain words and phrases, also brought back memories. According to the phenomenon of the Zeigarnick effect, we remember best incomplete tasks. Everything about the *Exxon Valdez* was left in a state of irresolution. The crisis did not simply abate by the anniversary date. No issue pertinent to the disaster had been resolved yet; all matters were still one in a row and daily changing. The future looked thoroughly threatening in its vagueness. Questions about survival of the salmon plagued the anxious souls of the fishermen. Pervasive helplessness kept mounting. The sense of being victimized by gigantic corporations and by governmental bureaucracies kept multiplying. The single diagnostic label for all of the above is cancer. Those who had endured the unusual year, craved an elusive, impossible closure. In the spring of '90 few folks were proceeding smoothly through the normal phases of responding to a loss (Freud, 1917/1963) or to a natural disaster (Gist, 1989). They were coping instead with a terminal illness.

The anniversary time coincided with the decision about another round of cleanup efforts. How would Exxon conduct this one? In March, 1990, Seward was swelling again with drifters geared for another bonanza. Civic leaders, who were finally engaged with their grief-work, who were concerned that the now-sullied wilderness was vulnerable to further taint, were simultaneously aware of the unbridled greed and avarice of those who craved another dose of the malignant money. Words, spoken late at night in the bars, and written on the tavern toilets, were saluting Exxon for last year's dole, and hoping for another "spill"! Spring in Seward was tense. This time Exxon employed a select squadron of company workers in a focused \$2 million cleanup campaign. Our caseload, which had leveled in the early spring, increased dramatically in June and July. The ache for closure was colliding with swollen appetites; greed, shame, and indignation, kept rebounding off each other.

After Two Years: Deniers, Casualties and Survivors

Levinas (1969) offers us decisive words: "violence does not consist so much in injuring and annihilating persons as in interrupting their continuity, making them play roles in which they no longer recognize themselves, making them betray not only commitments but their own substance, making them carry out actions that will destroy every possibility for action" (p. 12).

The grief-work for those who suffered loss is not yet over. The various cancers are not even in remission. From the point of view of two years after the disaster, we at SLAC, a therapeutic agency, are cleaning up after the cleanup. We are just beginning to identify three groups: (1) deniers, who still refuse to recognize that the disaster created any profound aftershocks, (2) survivors, who have put into reasonable perspective all that the horror engendered, and have moved on with their lives, and (3) casualties, whose devastation by the ordeal shows in the shapes of substance abuse, domestic conflict, stress and depression. Many are still in "an emergency mode," unable to shift out of crisis-thinking. It is beyond the scope of this inquiry to anticipate the long term effects.

Discussion

A Philosophical Meditation on Technology

The conceptual framework necessary to ground our findings is in the works of Heidegger (1927/1962, 1950/1971a, 1952/1971b, 1962/1971c, 1953/1959). Simultaneously his texts offer a vision of an alternative "way" of thinking about technology.

From a Heideggerian perspective, the inevitability of the *Exxon Valdez* is inscribed in the history of Western thought. Technology, the culmination of Greek rationalism, carried with it a lapse into *forgetfulness*. We have forgotten what it means "to be"; we have lost track of time; we do not know how to think; and we are in denial about our mortality. In consequence, the coil of technology, scientism and capitalism continually ravages of the earth. Heidegger (1950/1971) names this menace *Gestell* (p. 84). What does this rich word connote? *Gestell* carries the senses of being "framed," "set up," or "duped." It connotes sterility, mendacity, concealed matters, or obscurity. It suggests scaffold, gimmick, and armature. The technological attitude blurs Being's radiance, renders it empty and tawdry. It underlies our provocative, imperial, dominating, engineering approach toward the natural world. We challenge nature, compel it. We rape the land, strip it of its ore and liquid; we move mountains; we try to coerce the sea; we aim to conquer space. Under the domination of technology, all beings whatsoever are disclosed as "stock": objective, calculable, quantifiable, and disposable. All beings are reduced to raw material or product, valuable only insofar as they serve the profit motive or contribute to the enhancement of corporate power. Not only "things" are at stake, but also the human spirit. The menace of this menace is precisely that the person is

reduced to a mere commodity, a piece for the stockpile (as 'human resources').

In our dual worship of profit and of efficiency for efficiency's sake, we harness, exploit and destroy everything which, by vocation, we should shelter and safeguard. We blitz and bully, but we forget. And we are oblivious of our very forgetfulness! Technology has become not only one point of view among others but the privileged perspective. As we are about to collide with the twenty-first century, the natural attitude is the technological attitude. Our belief in the ultimate power, value, and goodness of technological solutions is taken for granted.

This double oblivion has edged the human race to the brink of ecological devastation and political suicide. With it, however, emerges the possibility of new choices. Technology brings Western metaphysics to a "close." This "closure" puts us at a "turning." The "crisis" offers both opportunity and danger. A paraphrase of Heidegger's (1962/1971b) appropriation of Holderlin's poetry: "Where there is danger that is recognized precisely as danger, there grows the freeing strength of salvation" (p. 9).

Heidegger says, deadly seriously, that the future of the world might turn upon the proper apprehension of the verb "to be." Thinking alone will change the world. Heidegger insists we have not yet begun to think. The interlaced attitudes of science and technology are anti-thought. Thus Heidegger summons us to appropriate and surpass metaphysics so that we might save the earth.

The original Greek term for existents, for the things that are, was *physis*. The word denotes "the process of a-rising," the "self-blossoming emergence" of being, its "inward-jutting-beyond-itself," its power to endure (Heidegger, 1953/1959 p. 14). *Physis*, *logos*, and *poesis* were realized when something was brought forth from hiddenness, unfolded unto its proper being (Steiner, 1978/1987, p. 137). Originally *techne* had a pivotal place within this complex of meanings. Authentic technique signifies the ability to plan and organize freely, creating and building in the sense of pro-duc-ing (Heidegger, 1953/1959, p. 16). Terms like "craft," "cunning," "knack," and "flair" capture this original sense of technique. Under the rule of metaphysics, the vocation of authentic *techne* (to donate to the earth, to shepherd it, and to accept its harvest), was debased into the inauthentic provocation that Heidegger named *Gestell*. The fantastically successful Gulf War gives living proof to Heidegger's affirmation that what is most uncanny is that everything "works," and that successful functioning pushes ceaselessly further toward still more functioning.

Heidegger does not naively dismiss technology. "Salvation" will elude us as long as we either pursue technological solutions blindly, or "damn it as the work of the devil" (Poggeler, 1963/1987, p. 200). The truly redeeming act would be to re-forge the broken bond between *techne* and *poesis*. How? The two pivotal, balancing attitudes are *poeticizing* and *dwelling*. Originally thought was poetic. Poetry, rooted in *logos*, gathers and grounds, initiates and preserves. If we should begin to poeticize, we would think in an holy/wholly way: docile, obedient, letting-present/withdrawing in reticence. To poeticize is to think; to think is to thank; to thank is to dwell. If we, who are "ontologically excellent," would dwell poetically, then we would shepherd all creation. Our "buildings" would shelter all the manifold and wonderful springs of being: the fourfold of earth and sky, divinities and mortals. Only such authentic edification would support a genuine Homecoming.

The Government's Response

A document released by the Trustee Council of Alaska, a conjoint product of the State and Federal Governments, contains the official governmental response to the disaster (*The 1991 State/Federal Natural Resources Damage-Assessment and Restoration Plan for the Exxon Valdez for the Exxon Oil Spill*). It lists 72 studies performed in 1989, 50 undertaken in 1990, and 42 proposed for 1991. The studies are subsumed under ten categories: (1) Marine Mammals, (2) Terrestrial Mammals, (3) Birds, (4) Fish/Shellfish, (5) Coastal Habitat, (6) Subtidal Habitat, (7) Technical Services, (8) Archeological Resources, (9) Economic Studies, (10) Restoration. The document cites \$35 million worth of studies. Conspicuously absent is any completed/proposed study of the psychosocial repercussions of the catastrophe, or recognition of the web of psychic consequences/altered behaviors of those who coped with the calamity. What does this neglect mean?

This neglect is the crux of the matter of this particular inquiry. The malignant currency, identified in Seward, is just another name for the symbiosis between Alaska and the oil industry. It suits to address this neglect of psychosocial factors. (1) From a psychological perspective, minimizing people-related impact is not surprising. Lifton (1967), in his splendid study of the survivors of Hiroshima, unmasked the general reluctance of human scientists "to risk professional confrontation with great historical events which do not lend themselves to established approaches or categories" (p. 3). He also uncovered the phenomenon of "psychic numbing" or "psychic closing-off" (Lifton, 1967, p. 508-510).

A common tactic of survivors, in a post-disaster period, is to steel themselves against continually feeling the aftershocks of the horror.

(2) What about this current disaster? The beaches are not even cleaned yet, and already officially Alaska wants to forget! The terror of it all, and the horror are almost forgotten. It came and went, the "spill." The region of the Sound still *looks* magnificent. Abundantly it still houses puffins and otters, salmon and bears. Soaring eagles still cast their shadows. Uncannily, everything is *working* again! The government of Alaska wants to settle with Exxon, collect a large paycheck, and relegate the *Exxon Valdez* to the remote past. The State has elected, as a direct (albeit unconscious) backlash of the *Exxon Valdez* fiasco, a governor who wants to spend \$500 million in a public relations campaign to expand oil and gas exploration in a designated wildlife refuge (ANWR), and who also wants to build a freshwater pipeline from Alaska to California. Does this not constitute a double oblivion?

(3) From an historical perspective, Alaska both readily "forgets" and easily overlooks human suffering. The history of the Last Frontier is a series of exploitative bonanzas: fur from otters and seals; gold from the hills; silver gold from the salmon runs; black gold from the pipeline. Alaska was ripe for this disaster. The tale of the *Exxon Valdez* is a new version of an old edition: striking it rich at the expense of the Land or Sea.

(4) Reflection upon the human cost unmasks the *sine qua non* of this manmade disaster and the ongoing factors which foster forgetting. The *Exxon Valdez* is the inevitable consequence of the symbiosis between Alaska and the oil consortium, of which the 800 mile pipeline from Valdez to the North Slope is the concrete symbol. It suits to describe this symbiosis: (a) Between 1969 and 1987 the State of Alaska's oil related income totaled \$29 billion, or 80% of its total income. (b) In that same period \$400 million was distributed to Alaskan residents. (c) \$800 per year is the average amount given to each residents from a trust established by the oil consortium, the "Permanent Dividend Fund" which Alaskans fiercely want politicians to safeguard. (d) There is no State income tax or State sales tax (Davidson, 1990). (e) The *Exxon Valdez* created thousands of jobs in 1989, boosting the employment rate by 6.2 percent, and propelling Alaska out of a three year-old recession.

In the matter of the *Exxon Valdez*, the symbiosis drew a suffocating ring which encircled all respondents. Within that ring complacency had festered, perniciously neglectful. In the face of the disaster, no system was prepared. A quick and effective response was hamstrung. Everyone was limited by the ready-to-hand, dominant conceptual and existential

paradigms. Thus there are no demons in this affair. Power and dedication, sacrifice and avarice were the exclusive prerogatives of nobody. Both those who were victimized by gigantic corporations and governmental bureaucracies, and those who were supposedly in control of such organizations, were rendered helpless equally by the way of thinking which Heidegger has named *Gestell*. Even those who were apparently foes danced in the same ring, twins.

The Current State of Affairs

The symbiosis has assumed slightly different shapes since the "spill," but layers of unresolved issues linger. On March 12, 1991, a billion dollar "judicially supervised settlement of claims" was chiseled out between Exxon and State and Federal Trustees. A month of controversy ensued. To the average Alaskan, the plea bargain seemed a stroke of negotiation-genius on the part of Alaska's administrators. For the environmentally conscious, it was an unconscionable sellout. Alaskan Native groups insisted that it compromised their ability to collect from Exxon for irreparable destruction to their subsistence way of life. Appraisal was confounded because the State shrouded scientific studies in the secrecy of the phrase "litigation-sensitive." Eventually the Federal Government released summaries of the \$35 million worth of scientific investigations, material which revealed damage greater than had been projected or reported. Then, on April 24, 1991, U.S. District Court Judge Russel Holland shockingly rejected the proposed criminal settlement, calling it inadequate restoration for a happening which was "off the chart" compared to any other U.S. environmental disaster.

Now it is back to the bargaining table. Everything dangles. It may drag on for ten years. Meanwhile, Exxon has thirty days to withdraw its guilty pleas to four criminal misdemeanor pollution charges. Meanwhile the \$900 million civil settlement is in jeopardy. Meanwhile Alaskan Native interests have a chance to be represented. Meanwhile all Alaska lives in the meanwhile.

Concluding Reflections

Whatever humankind shall do in the inherently vulnerable ecosystem of this northern environment will engender irrevocable consequences for the earth as a whole. Thus this local manmade disaster is as a metaphor for the technological destruction of the planet. Whenever our earth is dismantled by our own technologies, then *Gestell* holds sway. This "way" of technology, as Heidegger shows, undergirded the Nazi Extermination, which is Lacoue-Labarthe's (1990) apt designation of

the Holocaust. *Gestell* also was the foundation for the death-in-life which followed the explosion of the atomic bomb. The Japanese used the word *hibakusha*, the "explosion-affected people" to describe the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. What about Chernobyl? On April 25, 1991, the eve of its fifth anniversary, Mikhail Gorbachev appealed to the world community to realize that tragedy has not become a thing of the past, that we are just beginning to realize fully the social, medical and psychological problems created by this catastrophe. Are we on the way to filling the earth with contaminated, disaster-affected people?

Ultimately the *Exxon Valdez* tragedy of 1989 will be remembered as a marker event in Alaska's history, as the "accidental spill" which could have been averted, as a happening which magnetized the resources of the citizens who, though victims, became their own rescuers. It will be a tale told to my children's children. Will the narrative unfold as another adventure story, a tale of heroics? Or will it unmask the oblivion, and call Alaska and the world to remember? Until the *Exxon Valdez*, the symbiosis between Alaska and the oil cartel may have been conscious only marginally. The disaster disclosed dramatically, however, (1) that all Alaskans had consorted in the unholy arrangement, and (2) that it is a menace to our homeland. Today we already see adumbrations of the judgment of history: the *Exxon Valdez* was another chapter in the volume of sacrileges against the environment.

Alaskan shame is the root phenomenon in this affair: present in those for whom the event was a revelation or an epiphany; present by its absence in those who, for whatever motives, steeled themselves against the horror. The *Exxon Valdez*, by sullyng "The Great Land," desecrated its holiness. Alyaska! Alakshak! Alaksu! Alaska! The Last Frontier will never be the same. The event earned the name which Eskimos have given the white man: "the people who change nature." We change society too, with malignant currency.

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The Playing Field Is the Laboratory: An Experiential Approach to Sport Psychology

James J. Barrell and Donald C. Medeiros

This chapter is based on fifteen years of applied sport psychology in many diverse settings. These applications have included work with Mark Davis, 1989 National League Cy Young Award winner; the 1984 University of Florida football team, which won their first and, to date, only SEC football championship; and the 1987 San Francisco Giants, National League West champions. This work has proven effective in helping coaches and players to maximize their potential and to improve their performance.

During the time the authors have been practicing and teaching sport psychology at the collegiate and professional levels, we have experienced a gap between academic and applied sport psychology and have found much of the information derived from carefully controlled laboratory experiments to be of very limited help in the applied setting. We believe this is because of the approach to scientific inquiry which has been adopted by "mainstream" sport psychology. Based on an approach originally developed by physics to study inanimate objects, this "natural science" approach, and its consequent methods, seems particularly limited for the study of human phenomena.

Most sport psychology research seems heavily influenced by the positivistic, reductionistic approach developed by 19th century physics. Developed to deal with inanimate objects, this approach was soon adopted by early psychological researchers and, to this day, continues to dominate the research methodologies most often used in American psychology labs, including sport psychology labs. The results of such an approach to the scientific study of people are readily apparent. People are studied as if they were mechanisms, machine-like in the way they function. This is most clearly seen in several major threads of sport psychology research and application. One such type of research is that done in the laboratory, far from the playing field. In many cases, these investigations take place in environments artificially constructed, with little or no connection to actual athletic events and use non-athletes as subjects. A second thread is the attempt to identify the personality attributes of successful athletes, perhaps in the hope that other, less successful athletes might become more "like" the successful ones. Finally, a third and very popular thread is the application of visual imagery and self-talk modification.

These threads have in common the assumption that certain techniques made to athletes will inevitably lead to improvements in performance. This is the mechanistic flavor of current research in sport psychology mentioned above. Certain mechanisms, such as personality, self-talk, visualization, etc. are assumed to be connected to behavior by physical laws of determinate causality. Alter the mechanism and behavior will predictably be altered as a result. This type of assumption concerning human functioning is a direct descendant of the behavioristic thought which influenced American psychology for so many years. Previously, it was stimulus and response which were connected by causal laws, as in the reflex. Supply energy or force and the reflexive behavior was inevitable, as in the knee-jerk reflex or the eye-blink reflex. It seems that sport psychology has simply substituted more complex terms, e.g., thoughts, emotions, personality traits etc. However, the person is still considered in the same manner. Make some change and, via laws of causality, the outcome is fixed and predictable. It is in this way that we see humans being considered as if they were machines.

The techniques of self-talk and visualization can help illustrate how sport psychology considers athletes (persons) in a mechanistic manner. In both of these instances, a particular aspect (albeit possibly important) of human functioning is isolated from the life-world of the athlete. From the richness and complexity that comprise the athlete's life-world, one particular facet is "extracted." "Negative" self-talk is identified and then

“removed,” to be replaced with “positive” self-talk, in the hopes that performance will be enhanced. Or, athletes are asked to visualize themselves as relaxed, being successful, coping with difficult situations, etc. Once again, a particular, small facet of the athletes rich, complex life-world is selected out for modification. Athlete’s are, in a sense, programmed to perform excellently. They are given the effective ways of thinking and visualizing. If they faithfully follow these prescriptions, laws of determinate causality will, within given probability levels, lead to enhanced performance. This is all reminiscent of a mechanic installing new spark plugs, or tuning up a car’s engine. Remove the defective part, add the right part, and the car will run as good as new.

We view psychology, and therefore, sport psychology, differently. We have a different conception of the goal of scientific inquiry. Therefore, our approach to scientific inquiry and our methods differ significantly from those of “mainstream” psychology. People are not cars. One part is not necessarily as good as another part. Certainly, spark plugs, brand new and in working order, would not optimize the performance of a Corvette if they were designed for a Chevrolet Nova. In the same way, self-talk sentences may not be equally helpful (or helpful at all) to different persons. Visualization may not necessarily help all athletes in the same way. It may not help some at all. We see people as non-completed projects, in a continual process of relationship with the world around them. People are continually shaping their reality and being shaped by it, and so may be described as a network of relationships, ever shifting. This stands in stark contrast to the view of persons as mechanisms which follow determinate laws of causality.

We are suggesting sport psychology needs to recognize that in order to help optimize athletic performance, we must adopt an approach and methods which more fully allow us to understand people. In order to more fully understand people, in all their richness and complexity, the natural science approach, which analyzes and synthesizes abstractly, is insufficient. Sport psychologists need to adopt an approach and methods which allow them to understand the concrete life-world of the athlete, the world as it is actually lived and experienced by the athlete. People do not experience their thoughts (self-talk) in isolation from their emotions; nor their values, expectations, desires, etc. These facets of human experience, treated as “isolated elements” or “mechanisms” by psychologists with a natural science approach, are experienced as a “whole” by persons. To use methods of elementistic stimulus—response analysis, to reduce this unified experience into isolated parts is to destroy the essential unity of the life-world. It makes

a faithful understanding of the athlete's life-world impossible. It makes optimizing performance much more difficult. In contrast, phenomenological approaches to sport psychology, such as Alapack (1973) and Pollio's (1982), yield deeper understandings of athletes and their lived-world.

What we have found to be particularly useful and effective in sport psychology is an approach based upon a different conception of science and psychology, an experiential approach. This human science approach has provided the basis for numerous research studies of motivation, stress, emotions and performance (Barrell, 1990). The conceptual foundations of this approach emphasize that human experience is the crucial factor in understanding human behavior, whether on or off the playing fields. The authors have enjoyed a great deal of success using this experiential approach. It provides the basis for a method which can disclose the athlete's experience, and thereby bridge the gap between the laboratory and the playing field for the practicing sport psychologist. This approach and the methods it generates meet the commonly accepted criteria for science broadly understood (Price & Barrell, 1980).

A Holistic Experiential Approach

We believe sport psychologists need to focus on persons holistically if we are to uncover useful information for the athlete to apply in competitive situations. Removing athletes from the playing field, in order to study them, destroys the basic unity of the athlete and the situation in which he or she performs. The situations in which athletes compete, as well as the experiences of the athlete in those situations, are all part of a unified whole. Attempting to break down this whole and to analyze it into its hypothetical 'separate parts' destroys the essential wholeness of the system with which we are working. In our opinion, it makes finding effective solutions to human problems, both on and off the playing field very difficult and is a primary reason much of the information generated from traditional laboratory research is of limited help in applied settings.

The experiential approach and method (Barrell, 1986, 1990) is objective in the best sense of that term. It requires that the sport psychologist include his or her own experiences as "data to be understood" rather than pretending they do not exist. The sport psychologist observes self as well as athlete. Moreover, this method is empirical in

the most faithful sense of that term. Observations and understandings are to emerge from the actual lived situations of athletes.

An important assumption of this approach, and its methodology, is that people are co-creators of their own experiences. Persons are not simply passive reactors to an external world which exists independently from them. Rather, we see persons as actively projecting meanings onto the many events in which they participate. A person's past history, current needs, desires, expectations, beliefs and values all help to constitute what a given situation will mean to that person, and, in turn, affect that person's behavior and performance.

Once we have arrived at the various meanings through which athletes live particular situations, we are able to utilize a set of principles from a comprehensive model of human emotions (Price et al, 1985) that has been developed through experiential research. This model describes the relationships between goals, intentions or desires, expectations and resultant emotions. For example, an intense desire to avoid missing a field goal in the last few seconds of a game (negative avoidance goal) and a feeling of uncertainty about this outcome (expectation) can create a great deal of anxiety for the field goal kicker. This, of course, can lead to decrements in performance (Barrell et al, 1986).

As the title of our article suggests, the playing field is where we conduct and apply our research. Our method requires the sport psychologist to become a co-investigator along with the athlete, a co-investigator in the search for the critical experienced meanings which help us understand how an athlete lives a particular situation. Another way of describing this process is that we are co-explorers who are trying to determine what meanings have been attributed to various events or situations by athletes. Once these meanings have been discovered, it is a relatively simple step, with the help of models developed from previous experiential research, for the co-investigators to arrive at various ways to either alter counter-productive meanings or strengthen helpful ones.

A key difference between our approach and others of which we are aware is the co-investigator role played by the athlete. Although the sport psychologist is the guide, using experiential knowledge built up from previous research, the athlete becomes a completely involved participant in the exploration and resultant understandings. Finally, models are continually in the process of development and further refinement. Co-investigators work with athletes serving as a data base to continually test the validity of conclusions and predictions.

Application to the Playing Field

Some examples from our work will help clarify this approach and method. A common concern we encounter in our work is that of “pressure situations” and how to improve performance in these situations. For some athletes, a pressure situation is seen as a threat: a possibility for something negative to happen, in the process of the contest or afterwards. Other athletes see the same situations as an opportunity for something good to happen and in some cases, this kind of situation may not even be a source of pressure for some athletes. We believe the difference lies in the meanings each of them projects onto the particular situation, or, in other words, how they “live” these situations.

These meanings represent the type of subject matter (data) we investigate along with the athletes. Once they understand how they co-create these meanings (along with the actual situation) and the accompanying emotional response (anxiety or excitement in this case) then it is relatively easy to help the athlete create alternate ways of viewing the situation, ways which are couched in the athlete’s own language. At no time does the jargon which seems to abound in much psychological research play a role in these discussions. The language used is the language of the athlete’s own experience, of his life-world.

We will now give specific examples of how we use the experiential approach and method. We were working with a major league relief pitcher who was concerned about his poor performance in what he termed pressure situations. The experiential method of research was explained to him. He came to understand that he was also going to be doing the work, as well as ourselves. He was going to be doing the discovering of how he was co-creating pressure in the situations he described to us. We discovered — along with the pitcher — that he felt he was a “failure” and was letting down his teammates, manager and coaches with his poor performances. Once the pitcher became aware of how this type of thinking led to his feeling nervous and “under pressure,” and in fact, hindered his performance, we set out to find alternate ways to view these situations.

To begin with, his current experiences needed to be noticed. How was this pitcher co-creating his pressure? Here is a description from one of his experiences on the mound in a tight situation.

I notice myself squeezing the ball and thinking, “OK, settle down! Don’t let this game get away like you did last night. Oh, damn it! There is my dad sitting behind home plate. Don’t look at him!

Concentrate!" I take a few deep breaths. I notice how I can hear individuals yelling out obscenities. I'm thinking "Wow! I can really hear these clearly since there are only a few people in the stands. Oh, well, here goes."

One of the important issues in this pitcher's experience was the nature of his negative avoidance goal. What was he afraid of? What was he trying to avoid? When the "bottom line fear" was clarified, we were able to discover what alternatives existed to counteract the negative effects of this fear. These alternatives, of course, would have to relate to the kind of person that this pitcher was and the way he experienced his life-world. For example, although he may have been taking things too seriously, there were at least three ways of reducing his excessive arousal (excessive in that it led to decrements in his performance): having perspective (it's only a game and only one game at that), playfulness (go have fun), and confidence (feeling on top of things). Because of his person type, for this particular pitcher at this time, the best choice was perspective: realizing that this was just a game and there was really nothing to lose.

In another example, we found it helpful to use images as a way of assisting a different player to view situations in a more constructive way. For this starting pitcher, one particular image was explored first. This was the image of a "surgeon," coming into the operating room, cool, calm and collected. The surgeon would then proceed to be analytical, figuring out what needed to be done and be accurate, in control, "slicing up the plate" or "cutting up the corners." However, after considerable discussion, the athlete felt that this image "wasn't really him." More discussion followed and yielded another scenario which he felt really "fit." This was the image of himself as a "warrior" or a "battler," a person who could come into a rough situation, be outnumbered, face overwhelming odds and pretty much take charge and overpower the opposition. The particular example he thought of was a Chuck Norris type, as opposed to the more clinical precision of a Bruce Lee. In this mental set, that of the "battler," base runners did not bother him. Instead of being upset by a fluke hit or two, the situation could be turned into one of challenge for the "battler."

When it became clear that this pitcher was comfortable with this image, that of the "battler," he was asked to take a few moments in tough spots, step off the mound, and think of himself as a Chuck Norris type battler. He could even imagine himself doing Chuck Norris type stunts. Then he was to get back onto the mound and proceed to take charge.

The use of this particular image was so successful that the pitcher's ERA dropped from 4.68 at midseason (before our work began) to 2.51 after we finished.

Performance enhancement work was initiated with Joel Youngblood (San Francisco Giants) during midseason 1985. Joel, batting only .200, was having a difficult time at the plate. Following dialogue with Joel, it was determined that he was putting a great deal of pressure on himself to break out of his slump. In an attempt to understand this problem and find a solution, he was trained in self observation. What was discovered was his preoccupation with trying to solve the problem through altering physical factors, such as his swing and stance at the plate. The game was stressful and no longer fun for him. Joel began to understand the difference between trying to make something happen and letting something happen. Moreover, the game needed to be put in perspective. Probably most significant was his increasing awareness of his own mental processes. For example, he would notice such thoughts as "Come on Joel! You have to do it this time," or "There you go again. Stop thinking!" Joel became amused at the mechanical and automatic nature of these thoughts. However, his ability to observe them without judgment enabled him to gradually begin to separate from them and their power over his performance. By the end of the season, Joel's batting average climbed seventy points and his .270 average led the team.

Multi-dimensional consulting work was performed for the Orlando Magic professional basketball organization. Services were offered that included personnel/player selections, performance enhancement, prescriptions for game sets and consulting across a broad base which included team building, communication, stress and pain management, etc. All this work was based on an approach that helped coaches, players and support staff understand human experience and make decisions based on this information. This work contributed to a highly successful season for this second year expansion club. The Magic exceeded all expectations in winning thirty-one games and finishing ahead of all the other expansion teams as well as many established teams in the National Basketball Association.

Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, an experiential approach was applied to problems related to sport psychology. Both the sport psychologist and the player were co-investigators. In one example, they shared their own experien-

ces of pressure and anxiety and in this way were better able to understand how the player created his own pressure. Moreover, experiential knowledge from an emotion model (Price & Barrell, 1984) enabled the sport psychologist to guide the exploration in such a way that it allowed for this particular athlete to discover that the nature of his goal rather than the uncertainty of what might occur in pressure situations was the major problem which needed to be addressed.

In still another example, there was a search for helpful images to guide the "re-structuring" of an athlete's thinking about pressure situations. It was the athlete's own experiences which determined what image was appropriate. It was his experience which decided that the image of a "surgeon" didn't fit and that of a "battler" did. Overall, these examples from our work emphasize the significance of feedback from the athletes' own experiences for the development of appropriate solutions.

In summary, we offer an approach and a method for conducting research in the field of sport psychology which yields psychological understanding that is demonstrably relevant to athletes and coaches. This approach provides ways in which the information may be used to help athletes and coaches improve performance. In that way, it offers a bridge, spanning the gap that exists between research findings in sport psychology and current attempts at applying these findings on the playing field.

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The West Georgia College Graduate Psychology Program

Christopher M. Aanstoos

The essays in this volume were written by the faculty of the psychology department at West Georgia College. This appendix is included for readers interested in learning more about the department's graduate program. It consists of sections about the faculty, the curriculum, departmental resources, and the students. These are preceded by an initial narrative, "The West Georgia Story." This story is not an official or comprehensive history of the graduate psychology program. To be complete, such a chronicle would have to take into account the perspectives of all the people who actually lived the events of that unfolding. It would contain the diversity, richness, common purposes, differing viewpoints, and conflicts of interpretations that we have lived conjointly in our real history together. The following narrative, instead, is strictly my own tale, my own 'love song' to and about the program.¹

1 I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues who, by sharing with me their own vision of the program and by commenting on earlier drafts of this section, contributed enormously to its final form. In particular I would like to thank Bob Masek for his patient assistance.

The West Georgia Story: A Personal Perspective

The West Georgia humanistic psychology graduate program began in 1967 with Mike Arons, who thought it up and made it happen. After a year establishing a humanistic program at the Prince of Wales College in Canada, Mike was asked by the psychology department at West Georgia to become its chair, and to initiate a humanistic emphasis. Those who invited him tell me they really had no idea what they were in for. They simply understood the need to make the teaching of psychology relevant to real life experience. They dreamt of a psychology education that spoke to students' lives. Jim Thomas, then one of the department's faculty, had read Rogers, Maslow and Combs. Through them, he saw an approach to psychology that embodied his dream. His persuasion won over his colleagues. Jim asked Maslow to suggest a new department chair, and Maslow nominated Mike.

Upon Mike's arrival, the curriculum was extensively revised. Even standard courses were revisioned and novel, non-traditional sources were often utilized alongside or in place of traditional textbooks. These included literary and philosophical texts, artwork, films, music and experiential exercises. In addition, thirty new courses were added, many never previously available anywhere in the country, and a humanistically oriented M.A. program established. It combined ancient Eastern and contemporary Western psychology. Courses such as *Holistic Psychology East and West*; *Phenomenology of Social Existence*; *Human Growth and Potential*; *Myths, Dreams, and Symbols*; *Values, Meaning, and the Individual, Will, Choice, and Belief*; *Phenomenology of Spatiality and Temporality*; and *Creativity* provided a rich smorgasbord that quickly made West Georgia a mecca for students and faculty starving for a psychology that addressed their human experience. Students and faculty understood this was not a psychology of the impersonal Other, but a psychology speaking to — and transforming — one's own Being. And it did transform — much as Hesse's Magic Theater transformed the Steppenwolf by opening him to the myriad possibilities by which he was himself. Those it touched have gone on to become not only psychologists and professors, but also city commissioners, college presidents, U.S. congressmen, computer wizards, and millionaires, as well as poets, magicians, mystics, theologians, and farmers. Essentially, they have gone on to become themselves. The West Georgia program provided the clearing (Heidegger's *anwesen* — a "coming-into-presence") within which one's own nascent self could emerge and thrive.

In the early years of the West Georgia program, its flourishing was invigorated by a willingness — even an eagerness — to be attuned to the forward edge of cultural developments as the cultural revolution of the 1960's swept across America. Courses on sensitivity, alienation, the psychology of women, and Buddhist worldviews (to pick just four exemplary cases) were already in place at West Georgia by 1968, at a time when their cultural impact was just beginning to be felt, and long before mainstream psychology evinced any awareness or interest.

The counterculture offered a trenchant critique of the 1950's banal and narrow-minded suburbanism. America's self-satisfied smugness concealed an anxiety-ridden, sexist, racist, homophobic, materialistic war machine, whose spiritual emptiness the counterculture relentlessly exposed. Rejecting the traditional 'psychology of adjustment' and its recommendation of "playing it safe" to win "the rat race," the counterculture opened a profound reevaluation of human possibility, freed from conventional stereotypes. Though inspirational to the West Georgia program, these cultural openings were not imbibed in a merely *ad hoc* or unreflected manner. Many of the faculty sought to critically evaluate the whole range of recent cultural-historical experience, and developed powerful critiques of the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's. In the main, however, our work and thinking was not motivated by political considerations, but by 'the truth of the lived.' The psychology program was receptive to cultural trends that liberated the farther reaches of human existence because they connected with the program's own deep appreciation of a holistic understanding of human existence.

The West Georgia program aimed to be mind-blowing, to encourage students to go beyond the presupposed, to the very ground of their existence. Nurtured by Tom Sills' facilitative deanship and by Mike's genius for fostering creativity by removing its obstacles, this atmosphere became a unique haven, the sheltering place within which one could ask *any* question, teach *any* course, explore *any* crevice of human existence. This openness did not preclude even traditional psychology, which was also taught on its own terms by some faculty, while it was being critiqued, revised, or ignored by others. In some classes, the changes were more in how the material was taught rather than its essential content.

The key to the specialness of the program lay in the diversity its openness fostered. Within such a large space, innovative approaches to psychological thought, too often constricted by the natural science bias in traditional psychology, found a home. Phenomenological, existential, hermeneutic, transpersonal, dialogal, experiential, perceptual, Jungian,

Gestalt, parapsychological, Oriental, and body psychologies all were not merely welcomed, but integrated, each cross-fertilizing the others. This integration did not mean everyone danced to the same tune. We have had outlaws, misfits, both authentic and reactionary rebels, hermits, and misanthropists under the same roof. The specialness was that all people and all viewpoints could co-exist here, as individuals, because no one person or viewpoint ever called the tune or even said we had to dance. What always came first was this wild respect for the individuality of others, and the view of this faculty as a community of individuals. We knew that the maintenance and respect of our individualities and freedom of space, this 'wildlife preserve,' had to come first, because without it all else fails. The genius of Mike Arons' chairmanship was that he provided that. He provided a special occasion where each individual could find a place. Once done, he let go, and deeply trusted that faculty and students alike would best grow and give their best if they simply had the unfettered space to do so. That ethos and form of 'leaderless leadership' was Mike's greatest gift.

The program quickly attracted students of all kinds from throughout the United States, as well as many other countries. Some were among the best by any standard, while others were those whom traditional graduate programs would have never given a chance. But admission has always been based on an intrinsic recognition between the applicants and the faculty that this was the sort of program they were seeking. A recognition, that is, of a shared sense of being.

They brought with them a remarkable assortment of talents. Among those I have taught, one had done statistical research that resulted in the rewriting of federal welfare laws; one was already a lawyer; another, a belly dancer; one was an anti-apartheid activist from South Africa; one came with a graduate degree in economics; another with a graduate degree in political science. For many students, coming to West Georgia meant a courageous change of direction from more traditional, seemingly safer ways to prepare for a career in psychology. For others, West Georgia was there just when they felt most in need of a change in their life's direction. Unbounded by concerns for safe choices, open to navigating the possibilities of what might be.

From this extraordinary gathering, a powerful sense of community emerged, a keen experience of existential ensemble. Students forged intense relationships with each other, and with faculty. Encounters and learning happened not only within, but also beyond the classroom: at meals, at parties, at retreats, during trips together to conferences. There

were gigantic celebrations, with hundreds of people, as well as small groups for zen meditation or shamanic drumming.

Over the years, many new faculty also became involved. They brought with them various currents relevant to humanistic psychology, from such centers as Duquesne, Brandeis, Florida, and California. Department members sought new faculty who would respect and flourish in our unique atmosphere of openness; those with 'a good heart.' We sought those whose own creativity, individuality, and willingness to probe deeply could enable students to grasp this range of human potential. It was this welcoming of diverse possibilities that gave the program its kinetic zing and, most importantly, its liberating ambience of unbridled intellectual freedom, the unfettered freedom to wholeheartedly pursue one's deepest intuitions about truth *as lived*.

Let me remember, as an illustration of that spirit, my own first glimpse of it. While still teaching at Penn State, I went to a convention in New Orleans, where I was a panelist on a very penetrating symposium about phenomenology. My co-panelists included two from West Georgia (Mike Arons and Bob Masek). Mike had driven there in a van, with about a dozen other West Georgia faculty and students. That evening, we all went out to the French Quarter together. Of course, we couldn't figure out how our collective dinner bill so exceeded the individual shares we'd each computed. But that didn't slow us down. That palpable sense of finding ourselves in a greater Gestalt lent the evening an utterly magical aura. At one point, we congregated in front of a bar, from which emanated some inviting music. People began to dance. Right there on Bourbon Street. Our mood was one of such infectious gaiety that soon the entire block of pedestrians had joined our dance. All except an elderly couple, very well dressed, who stood and watched, in wide-eyed amazement. Unfolding before their eyes was a great story to tell the grandchildren about back home of their visit to the French Quarter. The West Georgia students also noticed this elderly couple. Very gently and empathically, they approached the couple, and invited them to join the dance. The students' solicitation was so heartfelt that the couple did join in. And danced the night away. Right there on Bourbon Street.

That spirit of *living* our psychology has infused all my teaching at West Georgia, even my most difficult textual courses. I've taught courses centered on such demanding books as Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception*, Kierkegaard's *The Concept of Dread*, Foucault's *Madness and Civilization*, Sartre's *Transcendence of the Ego and Being and Nothingness*, Gurwitsch's *Field of Consciousness*, Boss's *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis*, Husserl's *Crisis of European Scien-*

ces and *Philosophy as a Rigorous Science*, and Heidegger's *Being and Time*. In every one, the figure of that elderly couple dancing in the street reminds me that ours is a psychology of *living experience*.

The Faculty

Currently the department includes twelve full-time faculty, or thirteen including one person filling in for a faculty member on leave for the year. All thirteen have earned doctorates, and many had extensive teaching, research or clinical experience prior to coming to West Georgia College. All arrived after Mike Arons had already established the department's humanistic program, attracted by the possibilities of contributing to its development. Below are brief biographic sketches of their accomplishments and interests. To provide an additional indication of their sources of inspiration, each was asked to identify ten to fifteen books that had most influenced the development of their own thinking, teaching, and writing. The list of the books they named is included at the end of each biographic sketch.

CHRISTOPHER M. AANSTOOS was born in 1952 on Saipan, in the Marianas Islands, and grew up in the Washington D.C. area, as well as in Austria, Germany, and Greece. After earning a B.A. degree from Michigan State University, he received his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in phenomenological psychology from Duquesne University. His dissertation, under the mentorship of Amedeo Giorgi, examined the phenomenology of thinking, and began his critical dialogue with cognitive psychology. That ongoing critique exemplifies his larger interest in the philosophical and methodological foundations of psychology. Many of Chris's publications are in this area, including his editorship of the 1984 volume of the *Studies in the Social Sciences* entitled *Exploring the Lived World: Readings in Phenomenological Psychology*. These interests are reflected as well in chapters he has contributed to such books as *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *Advances in Qualitative Psychology*, *Measurement and Personality Assessment*, *Imagination and Phenomenological Psychology*, and *Duquesne Studies in Phenomenological Psychology (Volume 4)*. This concern for psychology's conceptual foundations is also the root of Chris's participation in organizations such as the Human Science Research Association and the American Psychological Association, where he has served as program chair and on executive boards. He is also the editor of *The Humanistic Psychologist*, one of APA's division journals. Chris joined the West Georgia faculty in 1982, after teaching for three years at the Pennsylvania State University. Through his experiences with his children, Megan and Lucas, he has also enjoyed cultivating a specialty in developmental psychology, and

has edited the volume *The World of the Infant*. His teaching and research interests, when time permits, also extend across the broad spectrum of consciousness's tentative relations with the body, others and world, sampling such themes as spiritual experiences, dreaming, television advertisements, and existential transformation. The books Chris listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis* (Medard Boss), *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt* (Albert Camus), *Identity and the Life Cycle* (Erik Erikson), *Psychology as a Human Science: A Phenomenologically Based Approach* (Amedeo Giorgi), *Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized Society* (Paul Goodman), *Being and Time* (Martin Heidegger), *Steppenwolf* (Hermann Hesse), *Neurosis and Human Growth: The Struggle toward Self-Realization* (Karen Horney), *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (Edmund Husserl), *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (R. D. Laing), *Man's Search for Himself* (Rollo May), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *Nausea and Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (Jean-Paul Sartre), and *The Book: On the Taboo Against Knowing Who You Are* (Alan Watts).

RICHARD ALAPACK attained his M.A. and Ph.D. from Duquesne University, in Pittsburgh. During his graduate studies, while working with schizophrenic individuals and severely disturbed adolescents at Woodville State Hospital, he learned psychopathology and psychotherapy, and began a career that has braided clinical praxis/administration, university teaching, and qualitative research. Rich carried his doctorate across the border to Waterloo, Ontario, where he enjoyed a fourteen year tenure at the University of St. Jerome's College. In addition, he has taught at all the major U.S. person-centered psychology programs: Duquesne University (1971-72), the University of Dallas (October, 1973), Seattle University (1978-79 and Fall 1987), and West Georgia College, where he has been a member of the faculty since 1988. Rich has also lectured in Europe and Mexico, and he has worked with criminally addicted persons at the Iealese Institute for Forensic Psychology in Pittsburgh. Recently Rich has served at unique times in remarkable places. In the wake of the *Exxon Valdez* oil disaster, he went to Alaska to direct an umbrella of programs at the Seward Life Action Council dealing with the aftermath of the catastrophe. His chapter in this volume researches this maker event in Alaska's history. A summer's journey to South Africa, as "overseas research fellow" of the University of Pretoria and the Human Science Research Council, punctuated his work in Seward. Arriving on the very day Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk signed the agreement to begin dismantling the legal structures of apartheid, Rich spent seven weeks touring the country, lecturing not

only on the Alaskan oil disaster, but also his more longstanding teaching and research interests: adolescence and psychotherapy. He has contributed articles to such journals as *The Humanistic Psychologist* and the *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology* on the phenomenology of various adolescent experiences, including "the first kiss" and "leaving home," and some of his essays on these topics are collected in the volume *Milestones in Adolescent Relationships*. The books Rich listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *Becoming* (Gordon Allport), *I and Thou* (Martin Buber), *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Sigmund Freud), *Psychology as a Human Science: A Phenomenologically Based Approach* (Amedeo Giorgi), *Being and Time* (Martin Heidegger), *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (Carl Jung), *Either/Or* (Soren Kierkegaard), *Ecrits* (Jacques Lacan), *Women in Love* (D. H. Lawrence), *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (Emmanuel Levinas), *Existential Psychology* (Rollo May), *Phenomenology of Perception*, (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *On Becoming a Person* (Carl Rogers), and *The Little Prince* (Antoine de St. Exupery).

MIKE ARONS Cabbies, like bartenders and barbers, listen to and tell stories. The storyteller and listener are somehow personally implicated in these life stories, even when they are ostensibly centered on others. After years of factory work, sales and cab driving in Detroit, Mike started college and chose psychology as a major. No enterprise could have stood more starkly in opposition to the narrative perspective on the world than the field of psychology at the time. Yet — its claims to detachment and objectivity notwithstanding and, in fact, with these as its central themes — psychology revealed itself to the former cabbie as a story of particular intrigue: an ironic ongoing story that erases its fuller historical, cultural and existential meanings with the very "positivistic pen" it uses to itemize its achievements. Thanks to its exceptions, such as Jung, Campbell, Keen and Krippner, the particular truth-revealing potentials of myth are currently gaining coin even in this field that has prided itself on myth-busting. Mike's chapter in this volume reflects the way he has been present to psychology since he entered Wayne State University as a twenty-seven year old freshman. Graduated in 1961 with a degree in psychology, he went to the Sorbonne where, under Paul Ricoeur, he completed his doctorate on the subject of creativity research as expression of the implicit story of American psychology. He returned to the United States for post-graduate study under Abe Maslow, Jim Klee and George Kelly at Brandeis University, and then helped pioneer two humanistic psychology programs, the first on Prince Edward Island, Canada, and the second at West Georgia College, which he has been chairing for the past two decades. Mike has published or presented over a hundred papers in such areas as creative

and intuitive processes, human science research, psi phenomena, and humanistic and transpersonal education and psychology. He participated in the creation of three, and currently serves on the executive boards of five, national associations. At West Georgia, he offers courses in Creativity, Intuition, Hermeneutics, the History of Psychology, Human Growth and Potential, Myths and Symbols, and Personality and Motivation. Mike listed as most important to the development of his own thought the following books (in addition to lots of comic books and fairy tales): *Creativity and Psychological Health* (Frank Barron), *Creative Consciousness* (Henri Bergson), *L'Invention* (Rene Boirel), *The Myth of Sisyphus* (Albert Camus), *Notes from Underground* (Fyodor Dostoyevsky), *From Death-Camp to Existentialism* (Viktor Frankl), *Siddartha* (Hermann Hesse), *Freedom and Culture* (Dorothy Lee), *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Abraham Maslow), *The Courage to Create* (Rollo May), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *The Meeting of East and West* (F. S. C. Northrup), *Freud and Philosophy* (Paul Ricoeur), *The Little Prince* (Antoine de St. Exupery), and *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (Jean-Paul Sartre).

JAMES J. BARRELL was born in Glendale, California in 1937. Sports was a prominent interest for him through high school. After years of work as a mail carrier, landscaper, electrostatics researcher and amateur boxer, Jim started back to school to pursue a Ph.D., which he earned in experimental psychology from the University of California at Davis. Since 1980 he has been an associate professor of psychology at West Georgia College, after having also taught at the University of California and the University of Florida. Jim's teaching, writing, research and consulting interests are in the areas of phenomenology, existentialism, human science and humanistic psychology. His major work has centered around the development of a qualitative research methodology he has called the experiential method. From this method, Jim has evolved comprehensive models of human emotion and motivation. Details of this research have been presented in numerous journal articles, at professional conferences, as well as in three authored texts: *People: An Introduction to Psychology*, *A Science of Human Experience*, and *The Experiential Method*. As a professional sports consultant, Jim has successfully applied information from these models to such organizations as the San Francisco Giants and 49ers, the Detroit Lions, and currently the Orlando Magic. He has also served as a senior research psychologist in areas related to pain and stress management for the National Institutes of Health, the Medical College of Virginia, and the Stanford Research Institute International. Graduate courses Jim especially likes to teach include Human Growth and Potential, Research

Explorations, and Values, Meanings, and the Individual. The books Jim listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *On Method* (David Bakan), *Psychology as a Human Science: A Phenomenologically Based Approach* (Amedeo Giorgi), *The Transparent Self* (Sidney Jourard), *The Flight of the Eagle* (J. Krishnamurti), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *The Fourth Way* (P. D. Ouspensky), *Gestalt Therapy Verbatim* (Fritz Perls), *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* and *The Transcendence of the Ego: An Existentialist Theory of Consciousness* (Jean-Paul Sartre), *The Stress of Life* (Hans Selye), *Zen Mind, Beginners Mind* (Shunryu Suzuki), and *Phenomenological Psychology* (Erwin Straus).

KAREEN ROR MALONE was born in Atlanta, Georgia, where her father, in conjunction with Carl Whitaker, was developing an experiential approach to psychotherapy. For better or worse, she hung around adults who brought in Zen masters for retreats and listened intently to late night conversations with many local and national humanistic psychotherapists, affiliated with the American Academy of Psychotherapists. She received her M.A. from Duquesne University and her Ph.D. from the University of Dallas. Her interest for many years has been supplementing the traditional approaches of psychology through phenomenology and through alternative paradigms developed by other disciplines. Using tools provided by postmodern theorists and feminists, Kareen's research illuminates the manner living and breathing flesh is transformed into functional and rather predictable manifestations of sexual difference. Most of her professional energy, whether in teaching or writing, is directed toward articulating the way, to purloin Foucault, "the self is made flesh." This means very careful attention to how the body is brought into meaning and involves the study of Lacanian psychoanalysis and post structuralist literary theory. Kareen's aim is to de-technologize psychology and understand the pre-personal body which inhabits us. Kareen's manuscript *Phallus as Copula between Body and Culture* is presently being considered by Routledge for their Critical Psychology series. Since her arrival at West Georgia in 1990, her graduate courses have focused on cultural psychology, especially on various aspects of postmodern theory in relation to psychology. The books Kareen listed as most important to the development of her own thought include: *Nightwood* (Djuna Barnes), *Roland Barthes by roland barthes* (Roland Barthes), *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1* (Michel Foucault), *Fragment of a Case of Hysteria* (Sigmund Freud), *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (Sigmund Freud), *The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis* (Jane Gallup), *Being and Time* (Martin Heidegger), *Ecrits* (Jacques Lacan), *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (Jacques Lacan), *Economic and Philosophic*

Manuscripts of 1844 (Karl Marx), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), and *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (Jean-Paul Sartre).

ROBERT J. MASEK grew up spending the winters in San Francisco and the summers in Chicago. His father was a jazz musician, a tenor man, and jazz has been an enduring influence and presence throughout his life. Bob received his B.A. in psychology from the University of Oregon, his M.A. in clinical psychology from Duquesne University and his Ph.D. in clinical psychology from the University of Regina, Canada. His post-doctoral work includes study with Ralph Reitan in the area of clinical neuropsychology and two summer sessions at the Harvard Medical School concerning psychotherapy with narcissistic and borderline disorders. Bob is a former editor of *The Human Science Newsletter* and is a Consulting Editor for the *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*. His publications reflect a long standing interest in the power of phenomenological thought to stand as reference point for clarifying the clinical praxis, theoretical self understanding, and visions of disorder in schools of clinical psychoanalysis. His last two papers, including the one in this volume, are critical evaluations of Kohut's Self Psychology, as approached through Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology. Work in preparation includes a paper comparing psychotherapeutic listening to musical listening, and a book titled *Phenomenological Psychoanalysis*. Bob has been a faculty member of West Georgia College since 1970, and he held a joint faculty appointment as clinical supervisor and graduate faculty member at the University of Regina from 1975-1976. He teaches courses on psychoanalytic thought and practice, phenomenological psychology, and clinical practice. The books he listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Sigmund Freud), *Psychology as a Human Science* (Amedeo Giorgi), *Schizoid Phenomena: Object relations and the Self* (Harry Guntrip), *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (Edmund Husserl), *Collected Works* (Carl Jung), *The restoration of the Self* (Heinz Kohut), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Thomas Kuhn), *The Politics of Experience* (R. D. Laing), *History and Class Consciousness* (George Lukacs), *Existence* (Rollo May), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *Collected Papers on Schizophrenia and Related Topics* (Harold Searles), *The Idea of Dialogal Phenomenology* (Stephen Strasser), *Divided Existence and Complex Society* (J. H. van den Berg), and *The Quest for Identity* (Alan Wheelis).

DONALD C. MEDEIROS received his B.A. from the University of Santa Clara in 1965 and his doctoral training in a behavior modification oriented program at Arizona State University. Early on, however,

he showed evidence of a natural interest in understanding the experience of others. He was noticed eating the standard pellets fed to laboratory rats and pigeons, seeking to understand what it was like for these animals when they were reinforced. Upon graduation, he served four years as a clinical psychologist in the U.S. Army, directing children's treatment services at various Army medical facilities. Again, his curiosity about what it was like for his clients in play therapy led him to spend numerous hours on the floor of the play therapy room, trying out paints, crayons and toys. After military service, Don worked for two years as Director of Children's Services for the San Luis Valley Comprehensive Community Mental Health Center. In 1976 he began teaching at the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley. It was here that he first became acquainted with the work of Maslow, Rogers, and Rollo May, which led him to further study of phenomenologically oriented psychologists. Don arrived at West Georgia College in 1981 and began working in the area of sport psychology, assisting with the women's basketball program. This has evolved to the point that he now coaches the men's and women's cross country teams, as well as the nationally ranked women's tennis team (for which he was named the Gulf South Conference "Coach of the Year"). His hobbies include listening to and playing country, bluegrass and blues music. He also enjoys cooking, although not quite as much as eating. Don has co-authored three books *Children under Stress*, *Beyond Burnout*, and *Self Actualization: Theory, Research and Practice*, as well as numerous articles, including, most recently "The Experiential Method." The books Don listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *Theory and Methodology of Training* (Tudor O. Bompas), *Training Distance Runners* (Peter Coe and George Martin), *Disclosing Man to Himself* (Sidney Jourard), *The Ultimate Athlete* (George Leonard), *Personality and Motivation* (Abraham Maslow), *The Farther Reaches of Human Nature* (Abraham Maslow), *Fighting to Win* (David Rogers), *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (B. F. Skinner), *Existential-Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology* (Ron Valle and Mark King), and *Up from Eden* (Ken Wilber).

RAYMOND MOODY was born in Porterdale, Georgia in 1944. He studied at the University of Virginia, where he received a B.A. with Honors in 1966, an M.A. in 1967, and a Ph.D. in philosophy in 1969. After serving as a philosophy professor at East Carolina University from 1969 to 1972, Raymond entered the Medical College of Georgia, and received his M.D. degree in 1976. He served a residency in psychiatry at the University of Virginia Medical Center from 1980 to 1983. Next, he was staff forensic psychiatrist at Central State Hospital in Georgia from 1984-1986. Since 1988, Raymond has been an associate professor

of psychology at West Georgia College. Raymond's chief teaching and research interest is altered states of consciousness. He is the author of three books on near death experiences, *Life After Life* (Bantam, 1976), *Reflections on Life After Life* (Bantam, 1977) and *The Light Beyond* (Bantam, 1988). He has also contributed numerous articles to medical journals and a book on the medical aspects of laughter and humor. The books which Raymond listed as having most influenced his life and thinking include: *The Comedies* (Aristophanes), the *Donald Duck* and *Uncle Scrooge* comics of the 1940's, '50's and '60's (Carl Barks), *Dandelion Wine* and *Martian Chronicles* (Ray Bradbury), *Across the Space Frontier* (Wernher von Braun), *An Essay on Man* (Ernst Cassirer), *When Prophecy Fails* (Leon Festinger), *Collected Works* (Sigmund Freud), "Concerning formally undecidable propositions of *Principia Mathematica* and related systems" (Kurt Godel), *The History* (Herodotus), *The Principles of Psychology* and *Varieties of Religious Experience* (William James), *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (Charles MacKay), Plato's *Dialogues* (especially *Apology*, *Phaedo* and *The Republic*), and *Philosophical Investigations* (Ludwig Wittgenstein).

ROBIN POWERS received her B.A. from Drew University with a major in psychology and a minor in religion, and her M.A. in general experimental psychology at Hollins College. Next, at the University of Missouri-Columbia, Robin spent the first year and a half of her doctoral program studying physiological psychology, and then completed her Ph.D. in counseling psychology. After doing full-time therapy and training with part-time teaching for seven years at the University of Oklahoma, she came back east to Pembroke State University to do full-time teaching and part-time therapy — a combination she continues at West Georgia College, where she has been an assistant professor since 1988. Robin's interests are broad ranging and include the psychology of women, women's spirituality (which includes deep ecology), psychoneuroimmunology, and transpersonal psychology. Her work is informed by her lifelong desire to understand our experience of the world and our relationship with all parts of the world combined with our experience of the spirit that infuses us. Robin is active in many professional organizations, including the American Psychological Association, the American College Personnel Association, the Personality Assessment System Foundation and the Association for Transpersonal Psychology. She currently is the associate editor for the Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group Newsletter and is on the editorial board of the Personality Assessment System Foundation Journal. Some of the books, plays and poetry important in the development of her current thinking include: *Joan of Lorraine* (Maxwell Anderson), *On Method*

(David Bakan), *The Stream of Behavior* (Roger Barker), almost all of Bruno Bettelheim's books, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Joseph Campbell), *Changing of the Gods* (Naomi Goldenberg), *Schizoid Phenomena, Object Relations and the Self* (Harry Guntrip), *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (Marilyn Ferguson), *The Art of Growing* (Robert Nixon), *Equus* (Peter Shaffer), *Boundaries of the Soul* (June Singer), *Dreaming the Dark* (Starhawk), and the poetry of Yeats and Eliot among others.

KAISA PUHAKKA came to the United States in 1965, fresh from high school in her native Finland. She intended to study psychology, but fell in love with philosophy and Eastern thought. Abandoning her original plan to return to Finland with a B.A. in psychology, Kaisa stayed on for an M.A. in philosophy, another in psychology, and eventually a Ph.D. in experimental psychology, all from the University of Toledo. Unable to make her intellectual and spiritual home within the narrow confines of experimental psychology, Kaisa later obtained a postdoctoral diploma in clinical psychology from the Institute of Advanced Psychological Studies at Adelphi University in New York. For a number of years after that, she worked in private practice as a licensed clinical psychologist, doing psychotherapy and forensic consultation. But she continued her scholarly research in Eastern and comparative philosophy and psychology, phenomenology, and transpersonal psychology, and has published numerous articles and a book in these areas. Kaisa is an active contributor to the conferences and publications of the Human Science Research Association, the Association for Humanistic Psychology, and the American Psychological Association, including serving as a member of the editorial board of the journal *The Humanistic Psychologist*. This year, she is also a founding editor of a new international journal dedicated to qualitative studies of religious experience, the *Journal of the Psychology of Religion*. Kaisa has taught philosophy, psychology, and religion at Mary Washington College, the University of Helsinki (Finland), the Medical College of Ohio, Adelphi University, and the New York Institute of Technology. Since 1990, she has been an assistant professor of psychology at West Georgia College. Her research interests center upon human experience and knowing in the context of religious and spiritual quest as well as other aspirations for wellbeing and transcendence. These interests are reflected in her courses in Buddhism, Hinduism, Self as Spirit, Personality Disorders, Psychotic Styles, and Psychotherapy. The books Kaisa listed as most important to the development of her own thought include: *Understanding Schizophrenia* (Silvano Arieti), *The Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana with the Commentary of Sankara* (Badarayana), *Psycho-analytic Studies of the Personality* (W. R. D. Fairbairn), *Formal and Transcendental Logic* (Edmund Husserl), *Varieties of Religious Experience* (William James),

Critique of Pure Reason (Immanuel Kant), *Conceptual Thinking: A Logical Enquiry* (Stephan Korner), *Commentaries on Living* (J. Krishnamurti), *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (R. D. Laing), *The Philosophy of Consciousness without and Object* (Franklin Merrell-Wolff), *The Meeting of East and West* (F. S. C. Northrup), *Nagarjuna's Philosophy as Presented in the Maha-Prajnaparamita-Sastra* (K. Venkata Ramanan), *Time, Space, and Knowledge* (Tarthang Tulku), and *Through Pediatrics to Psycho-Analysis* (D. W. Winnicott).

DONADRIAN L. RICE received his B.A. in psychology from Wofford College, M.A. in clinical psychology from Western Carolina University, and Ph.D. in psychology from Saybrook Institute. Prior to coming to West Georgia College in 1978, Don taught at Auburn University and worked as a therapist in mental health in Lee County Alabama. He also was a laboratory assistant to Stanley Krippner at the Maimonides Medical Center Dream Laboratory in Brooklyn, New York. During the summer of 1978, Don had the experience of being with R. D. Laing and his colleagues at the Philadelphia Association in London. His Ph.D. dissertation, entitled *An Exposition of Existential-Phenomenology as a Grounding for Humanistic Psychology with Application of the Dialectical Method to Psychotherapy*, was an attempt to apply an aspect of Laing's thinking and approach to an understanding of non-psychotic experience and behavior. Currently Don is an associate professor of psychology, teaching a variety of courses including Psychology of Dreams, Clinical Hypnosis, Psychology of the Body, Psychology of Communication, and Transpersonal Psychology. He is the editor of the Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group Newsletter, and co-editor (with Peter Columbus) of the book *Psychology of the Martial Arts*. He is a member of the American Psychological Association, the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis, the American Association of Counseling and Development, and the Florida Society of Clinical Hypnosis. Don holds the rank of black belt in the World Taekwondo Federation Chang Moo Kwan style, and brown belt in the Japanese martial art of Aikido. Don is a licensed psychotherapist and maintains a limited private practice and consulting business. The books Don listed as most important to the development of his own thought include: *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (Gregory Bateson), *A Separate Reality* (Carlos Castaneda), *The Leaves of Spring* (A. Esterson), *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (Otto Fenichel), *Psychology as a Human Science: A Phenomenologically Based Approach* (Amedeo Giorgi), *The Neurotic Personality of our Time* (Karen Horney), *Cartesian Meditations* (Edmund Husserl), *The Paris Lectures* (Edmund Husserl), *Think on these Things* (J. Krishnamurti), *Self and Others* (R. D. Laing), *Sanity, Madness and the Family* (R. D.

Laing and A. Esterson), *Phenomenology of Perception* (Maurice Merleau-Ponty), *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (Jean-Paul Sartre), *Psychology East and West* (Alan Watts), and *The Spectrum of Consciousness* (Ken Wilber).

ANNE C. RICHARDS was born in 1943 in the Boonton, New Jersey area. She earned a B.A. degree in psychology from Brandeis University in 1965, a Master of Science in Teaching (M.S.T.) degree from the University of Chicago in 1966, and an Ed.D. in Psychological Foundations of Education from the University of Florida in 1971. In the course of her academic work, Anne has had the good fortune to study with such contributors to the development of humanistic psychology as Arthur W. Combs, Franz Epting, Sidney Jourard, James B. Klee, Ted Landsman and Abraham Maslow. For the past sixteen years Anne has been teaching at West Georgia College, where she is currently a professor of psychology. She has primarily taught courses in Personal Relationships and in Growth and Development, along with a required seminar designed to be a culminating experience in the undergraduate program for students majoring in psychology. Anne's broad range of interests in the field of psychology is reflected in her professional publications, which include such topics as "Humanistic Perspectives on Adequate and Artificial Research," "Marriage Vows to Grow On," "Goals of Educational Psychology in Teacher Education," "Evaluation in a Humanistic Classroom," "Overcoming Jealousy," and "The Primary Goals of Helping: Some Contributions of Abraham H. Maslow." She and her husband, Fred Richards, worked with Arthur W. Combs on the revision of *Perceptual Psychology: A Humanistic Approach to the Study of Persons*. This book describes a theory for understanding persons that highlights the relationship between an individual's experience and his or her behavior. Anne is presently engaged in several writing projects related to her teaching at West Georgia. She is also interested in issues at the interface of psychology and law as well as exploring the relationship between Perceptual Psychology and Buddhist or Native American perspectives. The books Anne listed as most important to the development of her own thought include: *The Process of Education* (Jerome Bruner), *Humanistic Psychology and the Research Tradition* (Irvin Child), *Individual Behavior* (Arthur Combs and Donald Snygg), *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Erving Goffman), *Encounters with the Self* (Don Hamacheck), *Radical Man* (Charles Hampden-Turner), *Language in Thought and Action* (S. I. Hayakawa), *Intelligence and Experience* (J. McVicker Hunt), *Black Psychology* (Reginald Jones), *An Application of Psychoanalysis to Education* (Richard Jones), *The Transparent Self* (Sidney Jourard), *A Theory of Personality* (George Kelly), *Elements of Psychology* (David Krech and

Richard Crutchfield), *Motivation and Personality* (Abraham Maslow), *Artifact in Behavioral Research* (Robert Rosenthal and Ralph Rosnow).

The Curriculum

At present, the only graduate degree offered by the Psychology Department is the Master of Arts degree. West Georgia College has recently petitioned for a change to university status which, if approved, would allow the department to develop a prospective doctoral program. At this time it is impossible to know whether or when such a change may occur. The M.A. degree in psychology can be earned by either of two options. Students may take either twelve five-credit courses, or else they may take eight courses and write a Master's thesis. In either case, the only required courses are two quarters of *Human Growth and Potential*. In addition, students must demonstrate or earn proficiency in a foreign language, or the understanding of a foreign culture. Beyond these requirements, they are encouraged to design their own program, best suited to their own individual interests, from a wide range of courses, practica, and independent study options.

The curriculum offered by the department consists of two types of courses. The first are those included in the college's graduate catalog. These are permanent courses offered on a repeating basis. The titles of all these courses are given in the first list below. Most of these are taught by psychology department faculty, though a few are cross-listed with other departments and also taught by faculty from those departments (specifically the Sociology, Philosophy, English, and Counseling & Educational Psychology departments). In addition to its regular courses, however, the department also offers several special *Horizons Seminars* each year. These are nonrepeating courses that examine a special topic at the forward edge of some development of particular interest to faculty and students. In the second section below are the titles of those special topics courses that have been offered in the past six years.

Permanent Courses Included in the Catalog

Quantitative Perspectives	Psychology of Thinking
History & Development of Psych	Psychology of Dreams
Phenom. of Will, Choice, Belief	Psychology of Myth and Symbol
Group Dynamics	Phenomenology of the Unconscious
Holistic Psychology: East & West	Psychology of Women
Tests and Measurements	Psychology of Love
Adv Organizational Development	Parapsychology
Research Explorations	Phenomenology
Behavior Modification	Introduction to Addictionology

Explorations into Creativity
 Selected Topics in Abnormal Psy
 Psychology of the Body
 Seminar in Phenomenological Psy
 Psych as a Human Science
 Psychology of Community
 Transactional Analysis
 Neurotic Styles
 Psychotic Styles
 Addiction and Families
 Advanced Philosophical Psych
 Advanced Experiential I, II, III
 Introduction to Human Services
 Seminar in Madness
 Hypnosis
 Theoret. Individual Psychotherapy
 Phenomenology of Social Existence
 Principles of Marital Therapy
 Psychological Appraisal
 Practicum
 Psychotherapy and Counseling
 Psychol Projective Assessment
 Directed Reading in Psychology

Personality and Motivation
 Values, Meaning, and the Individual
 Practicum: Exper. in Human Services
 Seminar in Literature and Psychology
 Human Growth and Potential I, II, III
 Gestalt
 Advanced Parapsychology
 Personality Disorders
 Approaches to Helping Addicts
 Psychological Approach to History
 Advanced Existentialism
 Colloquium
 Seminar in Human Services
 The Clinical Interview
 Psychology of Human Communication
 Principles of Family Therapy
 Pathology of Childhood/Adolescence
 Theory/Practice of Clinical Assessment
 Counseling Methods
 Group Counseling
 Advanced Practicum: Human Services
 Independent Project
 Thesis

Recently Offered Special Topics Courses

Self and Spirit
 Psychology and Law
 Applied Intelligence
 Transpersonal Psychology
 Psychology of Community
 Phen. of Transformative Dreams
 Unusual Psychological Disorders
 Psychology of Meditation
 Psychology of Carl Jung
 Clinical Parapsychology
 Phenomenology of Spirituality
 Lacan and Psychoanalysis
 Psychology of Belief
 Seminar in Freud
 Body Therapies
 Daseinsanalysis
 Perceptual Psychology
 Parapsychology and the Self
 Sports Psychology
 Zen and Psychology
 Violence and the Individual
 Memory and the Body

Phenomenology of Consciousness
 Dispute Resolution
 Psychology of Humor
 Buddhism
 Gender and Sexuality
 Psychology of Murder
 Women's Spirituality
 Love and Transformation
 Phenomenology of Development
 Seminar in Self Psychology
 Phenomenology of Disasters
 Psychology of Men
 Applied Human Science
 Thinking in Chess
 Psychology of Listening
 Hermeneutics
 Ricoeur and Freud
 Psychology of Martial Arts
 Psychology of Strange Phenomena
 Personal Mythology
 Intimacy
 Psychology of Religion

Departmental Resources

As a consequence of the Psychology Department's prominent role in the development of humanistic psychology, it has acquired a number of unique academic resources. Among these are special library holdings of private collections relevant to humanistic psychology that were donated to West Georgia College. These include: the Hooks Collection of books on parapsychology, spirituality and metaphysics; the Jourard Collection, containing the personal library and the published and unpublished papers of the late Sidney Jourard; and the Weisskopf-Joelson Collection, containing the papers and books of the late Edith Weisskopf-Joelson.

Beyond such valued physical resources, the department has also been graced by visits from a wide range of eminent scholars, who have presented their work at our departmental colloquium. In recent years, these visiting lecturers have included: Eggert Peterson (University of Aarhus, Denmark); Richard Asarian (Ielase Institute, Pittsburgh); Roger Brooke (Rhodes University, South Africa); Stanley Krippner, (Saybrook Institute, San Francisco); Clark Moustakas (Center for Humanistic Studies, Detroit); Steinar Kvale (Aarhus University, Denmark); Amedeo Giorgi (Duquesne University, Pittsburgh); Robert Hutterer (University of Vienna, Austria); Maurice Friedman (San Diego State University, San Diego); and Ulric Neisser (Emory University, Atlanta). Also, our own alumni who have become renown in their fields often offer visiting lectures. These have included Cathy Bennett, who pioneered a new means of jury selection procedures based on principles of person-centered interviewing, and Daryl Conner, whose work in organizational development has successfully aimed at humanistically based organizational transformation. Additionally, the department has recently established the Jim Klee Forum, in honor of Professor Emeritus Jim Klee, who retired in 1987 after teaching for two decades in our department. This forum is designed to bring outstanding speakers to West Georgia College. Huston Smith's appearance in April 1991 inaugurated the series. Stanislav Grof is scheduled to appear in September 1991. Such visits not only enhance the intellectual richness of the department, they likewise provide our guests with a taste of that unique ambiance. Roger Brooke, who visited in April 1991, subsequently wrote to us that "you seem to have been successful in creating an area of play, feeling, imagination and thought such as I have not encountered — or frankly even imagined — anywhere."

Yet another departmental resource is its close ties with the major organizations relevant to humanistic psychology. Many of our faculty have served in leadership roles in these organizations. Examples include the department's connections with the Division of Humanistic Psychology of the American Psychological Association. Mike Arons is a past president of that division, a member of its executive committee, and the editor of its directory on humanistic and transpersonal graduate programs. Anne Richards is a past program chair, and Chris Aanstoos is the current editor of its journal *The Humanistic Psychologist*, as well as a member of its executive committee. As for the Association for Humanistic Psychology, Mike has been a member of its executive committee, and Mike and Chris both serve of the board of editors of its journal, the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. Concerning the Human Science Research Association, the department hosted its 1984 annual meeting at West Georgia College, with Chris serving as program chair, Mike as conference coordinator, and Bob Masek as a member of the program committee. Bob has also been the editor of its newsletter. Faculty have also been central to the Association for Humanistic Education. Indeed, it had its origins at West Georgia College, where it was founded in 1976 and where many of its early meetings were held. Mike has served as a past president, Don Medeiros as past editor of its newsletter *Celebrations*, Anne as past executive officer and program co-chair of its 1985 meeting, held at West Georgia College. The Symposium for Qualitative Research in Psychology, a mostly European group, also has been influenced by faculty from West Georgia. Chris served as program chair of its 1987 meeting (in Perugia, Italy) and both Mike and Chris have contributed chapters to its books. Don Rice is the editor of the newsletter of the Transpersonal Psychology Interest Group, and Robin Powers is its associate editor. The Depth Phenomenology Circle has also benefitted from involvement by our faculty. Bob hosted its 1986 meeting.

The Students

Over one thousand students have earned their M.A. degrees from the West Georgia program since its inception in 1967. They have come from every state in the United States, as well as from many other countries, such as France, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Wales, Ireland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Brazil, Columbia, Peru, Barbados, Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, Israel, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Guam, Mexico, and Canada.

They have brought with them a range of talents too diverse to summarize here, and likewise carved out for themselves many different paths after leaving West Georgia. They have enriched our community in countless ways, and any overview of the program should include their perspective as well. The next section consists of brief descriptions by twenty alumni about their experience of graduate study at West Georgia. They were selected to cover all phases of the program's history, and individually asked to respond in writing to one open-ended, nondirective question: simply to recount (in a page) what was significant of their time here. Every description that was submitted is included below, in the author's own words.

Following these narrations, the final section offers a glimpse of a different sort of profile of student interests. It provides a list of the titles of all completed M.A. theses. As part of their studies, many students wrote Master's theses though, as one of two options, theses are not required.

Alumni Retrospectives

In the Fall of 1969 pursuing a Master's degree at West Georgia required that one suspend many fundamental American norms and values and explore new personal and social alternatives. Around forty of us, from all over North America, converged in rural Georgia to experience a radical form of education in an environment that partially insulated us from the forces of conformity. We could not pass ourselves off to the local residents as eager young college boys and girls working on advanced degrees to could get a merit step in pay. The graduate students they knew were not studying Eastern religions, existential phenomenology, ESP, bio-energetics, or myths, dreams and symbols. The program, by its nature, cast us as envoys from the social fringe — foreign invaders. Privacy was an early casualty of the West Georgia experience. Our "orientation" session turned into an all-night encounter group, so there were no strangers to be found on the first day of classes. The interpersonal openness and honesty were a profound shock. We were challenged to drop our facades and wrestle with our identities. Among us there were quiet people and noisy people, passive people and bossy people, spontaneous people and cautious people, courageous people and frightened people. Everyone's little idiosyncracies seemed magnified but, over time, we all learned to be tolerant, and to tone down some of our most irritating traits for the sake of harmony. Many of the social barriers that traditionally insulated faculty from students were obliterated. We did not simply call our teachers by their first names, but

we went to their homes, knew their families, shared social lives, and learned all about their dreams and fears in the many encounter groups and therapy sessions. Their courage enabled us to in some ways see in them reflections of our own futures. Issues of freedom and responsibility permeated our lives. Mike Arons knew that the program he envisioned wouldn't work if we were all required to take pre-specified courses, and merely take tests on our accumulated knowledge. We had to adopt a new outlook on learning. It took a few months, but we gradually learned that knowledge was a tool for shaping our lives. We were seldom told what to think, jsut bombarded with alternatives until we discovered visions that complemented us. Alternate 'final truths' were hard to come by. Those who wished them were left to ferret them out for themselves. Our classes were not flashy productions: if we wanted pedagogical fireworks we had to set them off ourselves. Everyone engaged in a mass conspiracy to trivialize grades. We took what we wanted or needed, and ignored the rest. Our studies ran twenty-four hours every day. We even formed our own laboratory, a community of thirty-five people living together in the country. If one of us developed an interest in a subject like zen meditation, geodesic domes, gestalt therapy, spelunking, or film making, he or she would instigate a movement in its favor. A study group would form, and a new class would be running. Not for credit or a grade, but who cares. For the first time in our lives, learning was part of life, not an institutional demand. Much of what we learned at West Georgia was acquired outside the classroom. These cumulative experiences transformed us into activists, people who did things rather than just talked about them. It took more than a decade, but I eventually came to realize that my time at West Georgia was the pivotal experience of my life. Every important challenge I have accepted since then — earning my doctorate, choosing to teach, building a house, recording an album — has been a choice for me because of what I learned with my friends at West Georgia. (Lee Hunter)

"We have always had the tolerant, the pluralists, and sensualists and life affirmers among us, what Snyder (1969) calls 'outcroppings of the great Subculture which runs underground through all of history.' This Subculture... is in all that is funky and liberating; it's even in Carrollton." This passage from the Master's thesis I wrote in 1972-73 in the humanistic psychology program at West Georgia, brings back for me the flavor of that place and time. In retrospect I'm sure we didn't seem totally sane. We were simultaneously coming unglued and creating rationales for our actions — after all, we had to write about something for "Values, Meaning and the Individual" and "Frustration, Death and Suicide" — two of the courses

on my transcript. For me, and I suspect others, our time in Carrollton was as much an encounter with the bucolic and pastoral as it was with therapeutic, philosophical, political, and psychological ideas. We did experience not only Mike Arons' requisite day of silence at Whooping Creek, but also creek walking and fish fries. This idyllic was shadowed for many of us by it being the later years of the Nixon presidency and the last years of the interminable Vietnam War (some of us were veterans, some dodgers). We were both escaping and wrestling with some real nightmares. In all this tumult, fervor and exuberant growth, I remember we were richly mentored and befriended, watched and worried over by the faculty. Looking back, I feel it was a time of great growth for me — intellectually, psychologically, interpersonally. At no time before or since have I ever made so many lifelong friends. I don't agree with everything I thought and did then. Some of the papers I wrote then make me wince now. Though hindsight is always clearer, I still like what I wrote then at the conclusion of my thesis: "If I have seemed in this paper to romanticize the rebellious and unsavory, it is not without awareness that I am throwing my weight on one side, but with the purpose of redressing the balance. Human nature has been badly over-controlled in our culture, and the radical and freak movements are both specifics for and reactions to this imbalance. The trickster energies have been denied and projected, or at best sublimated, too long; now it is time to live them out, to break taboos, but not without the hope of a higher order, one which will not ignore our human frailty and the chaos at the heart of the universe... The trickster can never disappear, for it is implanted in human action as firmly as the polarities of chaos and order, creation and stagnation, life and death." (Gus Kaufman)

In reflecting on my experience at West Georgia College, I feel an immediate surge of excitement and warmth. I graduated fifteen years ago and worked for the next three years as a psychologist in a state run correctional facility. Since then I have been in private practice. Being sensitive to the insidious deadening effects of institutional thinking which pervades our culture, my appreciation of the quality and spirit of the West Georgia Psychology Department deepens every year. It is this quality and spirit which sets West Georgia apart from the mainstream. I experienced the quality of the program quite personally. First, I was continually confronted at the very core of my assumptions about what it means to be fully human. This came not only from the courses I took, but also out of relationships with teachers and fellow students who were passionately engaged in their own questioning. Second, I was challenged to respond

with freedom, originality and integrity. The spirit was one of a genuine community of learning, in contrast to the impersonal structure of an institution. The community, shared by students and faculty alike, was alive, turned on to learning, and one in which I felt respected as a unique being. Far from other "learning" environments in which I had been bullied into adapting to conventional thinking, at West Georgia I was set free to explore my own experience of knowing and ground that with intellectual rigor. It is difficult to convey the essence of the program briefly because, true to its phenomenological orientation, it is a rich contextual process into which we as students were invited to immerse ourselves. I remember twice while taking a course on the phenomenology of the unconscious, the entire class voted to meet after hours (the teacher on his own time) because we were so excited about the material and just couldn't get enough! I remember playful and impassioned discussions which ranged from the role of pain in spiritual awakening, to feminism, to the hidden contradictions of social activism. I remember the challenge, "if you really want to understand madness, start by knowing yourself." I remember at the end of one particular course, "Unconventional Modes of Experience," our final exam was to be a group oral exam. So we ordered out pizza and shared food as well as ideas, not as competitors but as friends. I could speak endlessly of such experiences. Joseph Campbell defined a "calling" as that where one's deepest gladness and the world's hunger meet. The deepest gladness was in sharing the pursuit of genuine understanding about the human condition. Surely, the world hungers for such an understanding. In my estimation, the West Georgia Psychology Department embodies this calling. (Leland "Chip" Baggett)

As I recall my attendance in the graduate program during 1976-1977, I think fondly of the psych department family. Those days were the last fading vestiges of "hippiedom," of freedom, of do-your-own-thing, and of searching for "truth." I had done my time in the regimentation of the military and an undergraduate degree of behavioral psychology; the psych department was such a welcome respite. I remember my first colloquium. The room was crowded with about a hundred students, their mates, children and pets. The room smelled of incense and garbanzo beans. Students sprawled on the floor, mothers suckled infants, and Jim Klee moderated the proceedings from his special chair. The discussion of the day concerned sexism in the department. Open debate ensued with a heated discussion of feminist issues, prejudice, and injustice. But throughout it all there was a sense of dialogue, passionate argument, and a loving respect for ambiguity. There was no sense of unresolvable differen-

ces, but rather a sense of loyalty, camaraderie, and community; that here something special was happening, something almost sacred. The day ended in a celebration of meditation, food, and music. This place was like no other in the world (at least not that I had been). A place where one could truly Be. That first colloquium was thematic of my entire experience in the psych department, and one which I carry with me today. Education out of the stodgy confines of the classroom, into the meaningfulness of experience and self-direction. I prospered in developing my own educational growth and life path; a very real rite of passage. Today, those nurtured values still provide the infrastructure of an unfolding life. I am moved to recall the story of Iron John as told by Robert Bly. For me, the experiences of graduate school at West Georgia gave me the impetus to "steal the key from beneath the mother's pillow" in order to leave the castle to learn to become a wildman in the forest. I trust that the department will endure as a viable life-force. (Phil Mengel)

I came to West Georgia's psychology program in 1976 as a result of various accidents and impulses, the kind that are chaotic as they are lived but which, in retrospect, seem laden with wisdom. At the time, I was mid-20's and confused about my future in the field of psychology. I had working experience in 'psychology jobs,' but always felt that 'their' ways of explaining and understanding the human condition were pretty lame. I found little opportunity for questioning and learning, and was frustrated by running into the constraints of inadequate theory and assumptions about what is true for people. I was about to can it (and go to architecture school) when I wound up in Carrollton, Georgia (of all places) instead. In my time in the WGC program, I had my first experience in which academics allowed for curiosity. I found people who had considerable experience with the very ideas and questions which I had stumbled onto for myself. I found a atmosphere of chaos, in which all ideas were fair game (qualification: except the conventional ones), and in which disagreement and 'stretching the boundaries' was encouraged. The lack of imposed structure allowed those who were self-directed to flourish, and those who weren't to float and maybe flounder. For me, the experience was both challenging and affirming. I didn't have to be careful about my questions, and the truths that I did see were accepted at face value. Every answer lead to another question. And every question made life curious and alive. During and after my time in the WGC program, I went out to do the best psychology work of my life. I 'hit my stride,' and began to know what I was about. For a while. The last straw came while I worked as clinical director for a unit within a state hospital in Atlanta. I ran out of

gas, couldn't do it anymore. In reaction, I took a left turn out of psychology and went into computer science. This was a sheerly pragmatic decision at the time, but has proven to be a magnificent one. Computer science is a place where the hard stuff and the soft stuff meet. It's a place where questions about technology and consciousness abound. It's a place where I'm having an effect. These days, I'm on the faculty of Georgia Institute of Technology's College of Computing and am involved in a educational reform effort there. I'm happy, and I'm having a blast. I'm no longer a psychologist in my title. But the kind of psychologist I became at West Georgia allowed me to leave psychology behind and to carry the psychologist in me everywhere I go. It's a big reason why the stuff we're doing at Georgia Tech is going to work. It seems that lots of people leave West Georgia and, by mysterious processes, bounce into exactly the right place. I'm one of them. The West Georgia psychology thing is one of the best things I've ever done for myself. My life wouldn't be what it is without it. (Russell Shackelford)

In 1976 I had the option of attending graduate school in several places. I went to my mentor and asked for advice. "You can attend that school on your list and learn a lot about how to obtain high GRE scores, or you can go to the next one and learn a great deal about the training of rats, or you can go to West Georgia College and learn something about yourself" (thank you Jerry). Loaded with questions, I set out for a one year stay in Carrollton. I have been here fourteen years now. There was an air of academic freedom and permissiveness of style. I was offered an opportunity to compete with myself and never encouraged to see that I lost. Something was encouraged in this learner-based environment that was not merely the regurgitation of facts and figures some board or agency wanted. I was permitted the freedom to discuss the facts, figures, and MY relationship to the facts and figures as I experienced them (and even learn from bubbles as they pop! — thank you Pat DeSercey). I saw the faculty as individuals who all went their separate ways as far as content but were involved in the process of seeing themselves as being 'on the bus together' (thank you Henry). Of these individuals, I once wrote a paper on how I saw the professors as "nineteen mavericks" who were all left handed bastards. I believed the school was the largest collection of left handed bastards I had ever encountered and, being one myself, felt this was the place to test my mettle. One professor I encountered was Jim Klee. I was stunned at the depth and breadth of material that he was capable of sharing with his class. I believe that everyone who comes into contact with this man knows that he is an intellectual powerhouse. But I also learned

how much compassion, empathy and love this great big guy could offer me. I made a particularly tough personal journey in one of Jim's classes and, when no one else would meet me eye to eye, there was Jim. He looked at me with eyes that I experienced as warm, spirit-filled, and compassionate. He said "any time you want to talk about it I will be there" (thank you Jim). (Bill Liggin)

They say psychologists and caretakers, in general come from traumatic childhoods and are, many times, looking to heal themselves through being a healer. This is true for me. I went to West Georgia College "looking for myself," coming from a troubled childhood which was continuing into adulthood. The study of psychology intrigued me and in humanistic psychology I found the inspiration for my pursuit. I was twenty-three when I arrived at the Psychology Department in 1977. Now, that seems so young. Then, I felt so old and knew everything. The openness and encouragement to learn that I found there fed my fire and my life began a never-ending learning process. My education became relevant in my life for the first time. The words of the writers and the teachers made sense through the intellect and through the heart. This was the difference. The learning inspired more exploration and humanistic psychology provided a conceptual framework that always pointed me back to my self. At West Georgia, psychology is about Life; about our individuated Life. In the common experience of our searches, we students bonded and the bonds seem to grow stronger over time. This quality of experience is transforming as the inner balances the outer, and not without struggle. "Being human" is real. The transmission of this felt knowledge occurred as a result of the love that those who taught us felt in its dissemination. I am eternally grateful for their commitment. Opening the door to learning about my self through the study and experience of humanistic psychology has provided me with a foundation for Life that makes sense and feels good. I have discovered that I am the heart and mind of a humanistic psychologist. No one told me that. I was encouraged to become my self and these are my own discoveries. For that, I thank you, West Georgia Psychology Department. (Jeannie Lagle)

Prior to arriving at the Master's program in 1979, I was in existential transition, looking for a new womb and a new language. My Bronx mythology quickly eroded as I began to absorb this new culture of people and ideas. My most memorable impression is how easy it was to begin friendships. When I began the "program" it was anything but programmatic. My appreciation of this grew as I realized the opportunity I had for directing my own education. It was a challenge to define a path of study

that would be relevant. I was glad to accept that responsibility rather than be directed by behavioral objectives. I found my language in phenomenology and began research that continues today on the problem of embodiment. It was inspiring to be exposed to people studying such diverse issues in psychology. And it seemed that most students found mentors or friends in the faculty with mutual interests. Some of the most exhilarating classes came out of the "Horizon Seminars" where the edge of new material was explored. I am particularly thankful for the profound experiences I had in the course titled "The Psychology of Inner Space." Several students and faculty designed the course to research the experience of being in a sensory deprivation tank. The department's acceptance and encouragement of student ideas has surely led to some adventuresome learning. I take offense with any who might try to ridicule the rigorousness of the program. I challenge them to take home an exam in a course on Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenology of Perception or sit through hours of self-reflection during an oral exam at Whooping Creek. It soon becomes obvious that one gets out what one puts in. I thank all my professors and fellow students for the dialogue we encountered by reading and struggling with direct sources from the literature. What more could we really ask for? I have just reviewed the autobiographical sketch I wrote as a requirement of admission into the program. At the time, I had written "I hope to gain new ideas of humanistic/existential viewpoints that will help develop my clinical style as well as enrich my personal life." Well, this did occur, but more important were the seed ideas sown and nurtured during my years in the program that ripened and now reflect my current perspectives in psychology. I concluded that autobiographic statement with the remark, "I would imagine there to be a certain intimacy among members of a humanistic program that would inspire learning and friendships." I found this true, and a primary reason for my having stayed in Carrollton. The changing nature of the psychology program seems consistent with life itself. (John Lebowitz)

In 1981, I drove into Carrollton, Georgia, U-Haul in tow. I had no place to stay, no friends, had never even been to Georgia. My t-shirt bore the words "Expect Nothing." Excellent advice, since with no expectations there can be no disappointment. By the end of the first day I had a place to stay and numerous friends, from alumni to faculty to the owner of the U-Haul station. I sought and received excellent advice from faculty members as to what courses a new grad student with an undergraduate degree in English should take. I did not expect therapy from this program; yet I grew tremendously from my experience. I did not expect to be relieved of all my neuroses; yet I became so much more aware of the psychological

games I play. I did not expect to become a world-class therapist with Master's degree in hand; but I learned so much about caring and listening, and removing the judgments I put on others and the world. Where else but at West Georgia College could I both be schooled in Freudian Psychoanalysis and Transactional Analysis? My right brain got a work-out through dream analysis, hypnosis, and creativity exercises. My left brain got stretched and strained from the dissection of phenomenology readings and testing procedures. Above all, the cohesive sense of family that was created made this new place and culture home to me. It's been eight short years since I graduated and here I stay. I have a farm, a husband, and three dogs. I also still have my extended family from the West Georgia College humanistic psychology program. Without expectations I was open to receive so much. (Wendy Crager)

This is the story that wanted to come forth about the West Georgia College Psychology Department. In 1981, I was living in Boston working three jobs to pay for a trip to Europe, and researching graduate programs in psychology in my 'spare' time. In true logico-empirical fashion, I sent away for information from forty schools and diligently read through mountains of paper. The only thing I was sure of in regards to graduate school was that I wanted to go somewhere totally new. As I was getting some information out of the Graduate Programs in Psychology in the United States book, it fell open to the West Georgia College description. "Georgia, hmmm, Georgia doesn't even exist" I thought. After reading the description of the program I thought "well, at least I can send off for information." I felt good about it. Ten days later I was once again in the middle of a pile of papers. I was feeling discouraged, and my brain was tired from trying to decide what to do. I stopped for a moment, and knew there was something in the mailbox. I saw the glowing orange brochure with a spiral mandala on it, and I knew I wanted to go to West Georgia. During my two years in the program, I had the opportunity to study, write, and think about the stuff I cared most deeply about: the interconnections of body, mind and spirit. What a gift! My remembrance of West Georgia is a jewel in my heart. (Christine Eagen)

From my arrival in 1981, I saw the psychology program at West Georgia College as a lush island of creativity standing above a sea of icy reductionism and fragmentation within the general field of psychology. It is a place where relationships and contexts had the opportunity to shine forth. A place where body, emotion, and mind danced in unison around flaming campfires which burned in the deep forest nights. It is a melting pot where the conservative and the liberal could discuss, disagree, and

then toast to life over a cold beer. It is a place where faculty were also mentors and friends as well; willing to spend time, be available, and to guide us into new spaces when we were ready to take a jump. The program used structure as a flexible container for the spirit to explore. A program in which knowledge gained by an individual could be used to empower the community soul; in which self trust could grow, old friends meet, new comers could find comfort. It was an atmosphere where European philosophy engaged western psychology; where art and science informed each other, and where heart met mind. It was as one student stated so succinctly: the yin and the yang, the tao and the chi, the whole nine yards. (Howie Whitehouse)

I came to West Georgia College's Master's program in psychology in 1982, after graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Northwestern University. While my studies at Northwestern concentrated on experimental psychology and memory research, when it came time to choose what to do next, I decided to follow my heart and continue my studies in the area to which I felt called: transpersonal psychology. I learned of the psychology program at West Georgia in a synchronistic way, decided to attend, and have never regretted it. At West Georgia, I found a wealth of classes that were truly interesting, a wide variety of people and possibilities, and a sense of community which is difficult to describe. It became and continues to be an important part of my life. The further I go into, and the more I discover about the academic world, the more impressed and inspired I am that there is a place like the program at West Georgia, where there is a true openness to new ideas and where individuality, creativity, and the questioning of authority and tradition are not merely allowed, but encouraged. I am currently completing my Ph.D. in an interdisciplinary program at Emory University and I feel that the learning and growing I did at West Georgia — intellectually, socially, spiritually — have helped me tremendously in my subsequent academic undertakings and in many other areas in my life. The West Georgia psychology program is constantly changing, with new professors and visiting speakers bringing their areas of expertise, and new students bringing new ideas and interests, yet the whole always turns out to be much more than the sum of the parts. It's not always smooth sailing, and it's not all sweetness and light, but the Master's program is exciting, inspiring, innovative, challenging, nurturing, and much more. (Wes Webster)

One of the reasons I found the program so special was the overall atmosphere. It was that the program was personal: I felt very welcome, very grounded and very at home. People in the program were truly friendly.

It was apparent to me from the start that these people considered each other "extended" family. I have another distinct memory of one afternoon, walking and thinking "I am at home, and this is the perfect place for me to be." I don't have that kind of feeling very often. I knew I had made the right choice for the type of education I wanted. I had first heard about the psychology program at WGC from a professor I had had at the University of Northern Colorado, Dr. Don Medeiros. He had left the year before to teach at WGC. I ran into him in 1982, two days before I was to leave Colorado to move back home to Hawaii. I told him that I had applied to several "traditional" programs because I didn't know where to find the kind of material I wanted to study, which was a combination of phenomenology, clinical psychology and the psychology of women. As it turned out, WGC is one of the very few programs in the country that specializes in a phenomenological approach to clinical psychology. Between Drs. Aanstoos and Masek, I was really able to round out my program and get more than I could possibly expect. I am still amazed at how perfectly the situation worked out for me in terms of finding a program that teaches these two disciplines together; definitely not mainstream. But, then again, that's part of what makes the psychology program so special. I was able to make my program what I wanted it to be, while remaining rigorous in my education. This was/is very important to me. There seemed to be a tremendous amount of freedom in the program to follow our "heart's desire." We, as students, were not limited by traditional rules dictating what we must and must-not learn. I found the program special for several reasons. I could study non-mainstream material in a very rigorous manner; the professors were genuinely interested in the students; I could get a good, serious education without sacrificing my integrity; and I had a chance to meet a lot of very interesting people. The psychology program at WGC is truly a diverse program: from the student body to the subject material offered. Because the program is so diverse, people from all over the world come to study at WGC. It is rarely boring, offering not only a good education but one of maturity, tolerance, acceptance, and open-mindedness. It was a great experience. It is amazing how it all fits together; not always perfectly, but it seems to work out. I know I would not have gotten this kind of education anywhere else. Even with all of the program's faults, I am very grateful I had the opportunity to study at WGC. It certainly opened my eyes and changed my life. (Katy Garrabrant)

I began the graduate psychology program at West Georgia in 1983, though I feel I am only beginning to understand what it is they teach. My interest in the study of psychology came from a longing to make contact

with what it meant to be human. This longing to understand human nature had been my constant companion for as long as I can remember. So, when I went to college, I chose psychology as my field of study. The university I attended as an undergraduate had the sort of psychology department sometimes referred to as a "traditional program." The chairman taught such classes as "Animal Behavior" and "Statistics" in large lecture halls. I learned what I could as I tried to memorize what would be on the test, and I wondered what this had to do with being a human being. When I came to West Georgia, I had vague notions of terms like humanistic psychology, transpersonal psychology, and parapsychology. My first class was with Mike Arons. I remember it well: a student asked how many classes we were allowed to miss and Mike responded by saying something like "if there is something else more important to you than coming to class, by all means you should do it." He was not being sarcastic. I came to see attendance as an opportunity rather than a requirement, and I learned to be present in the fullest sense of the word. The course was experiential, so I was a participant rather than exclusively an observer. My next class was with Jim Klee, who had an amazing ability to discuss seemingly unrelated concepts and then somehow weave them together with a thread of consciousness, a reminder that at some level nothing is truly separate from anything else. Jim made translations of esoteric eastern philosophy available to anyone who was really listening. From phenomenology, I learned to ask who is inhabiting this body, and living this life, and what is the experience of being alive. Human science has taught me the centrality of investigating our subject's experience in order to understand their behavior. From parapsychology, I did not learn for certain whether these phenomena do in fact exist, but to dwell in the ambiguity and embrace the unknown while cultivating a deeper appreciation for the great mysteries that need not always be explained away. I have not gotten answers to most of the questions I brought to West Georgia, but I have learned to ask better questions. I am aware that these concepts are neither new nor exclusive to West Georgia. What separates that psychology program from many others is the faculty: a collection of individuals from diverse perspectives whose underlying quality is perhaps that they are passionately driven to help their students explore their professional and personal potential. That is not to say that year after year the department soldiers on in an orderly, cohesive fashion. One need only attend a faculty meeting or be in the general vicinity to hear the impassioned arguments as the department struggles to find its own direction and purpose. (Larry Schor)

Describing my experience of West Georgia College reminds me of the tale of the blind men describing an elephant. Memories of widely disparate events come to mind, no one of which accurately portrays the West Georgia psychology program. Memories of the closest, most loving friendships are juxtaposed with those of a class trip to a slaughterhouse. From memories of performance art creativity projects to sensual massages, to answering phone calls for ghost busters, to long intellectual discussions over popcorn — memories run the gamut from the bizarre to the sublime. In trying to make sense of them, the genius of Mike Arons becomes apparent. They are, of course, all parts of the gestalt that is West Georgia's psychology program. As a graduate student from 1983-1985, I felt that much of the ordinary day-to-day routine of American society was set aside, giving students the freedom to participate in a great ongoing experiment: keeping alive what was good and life affirming from the 1960's. The people of West Georgia's psychology program stand out vividly in my experience. Most of us had come to Carrollton as searchers. From that common ground we melded and clashed and formed various connections. We challenged and encouraged, provoked and infuriated each other. Learning was never left in the classroom. We were twenty-four hour a day students. I often felt as though I were experiencing another childhood in a nurturing yet independent-oriented environment. I sometimes felt an almost physical sense of growth after some revelatory experience. Education felt alive at West Georgia. I felt I had found education in its truest sense. Exposure to new ideas, alternative perspectives and ways of being, questioning encouraged, ambiguity allowed. West Georgia College psychology was not career training, not even life training. It was the process of life itself: experience, discovery, love, and growth. (Debbie Powell)

There is no single moment I can pinpoint and say "Oh, this is when the change occurred" or "this idea has changed the meaning of life for me." Yet that is what happened. I entered the program in humanistic psychology in 1987 with the intent of improving my employment potential. I was in a state of transition and it was very confusing and painful. My children no longer needed a full-time mother and I no longer needed to be one. But I really didn't know what else to be. How do you know what you want if you have never had an experience that defines what you need? West Georgia's program provided the experience that I needed but could not define. I could not have known at the time that I wanted to be more authentic in resonating with the context of my existence. I thought the context of my existence was the problem, not the solution. I had ceased owning my existence, because I had retired as the subject of that existence.

I had shaped the habits of my life according to what I thought others wanted from me. I had hammered myself into a mold, an object, called wife-mother. Mike Arons was the first human contact I made at West Georgia. He had a frustratingly insidious way of opening you to the possibility that you are more than you thought you were, and responsible for the way you chose to perceive and handle the events around you. He never gave you answers, he always left you with questions. His questions were not the hippy-dippy New Ageism genre; Mike haunted you with questions like "is truth absolute or relative?" "is naivete the prerequisite to experience?" These questions all reflected upon the meaning of human experience. I began to reconstitute much of my experience in terms of its significance as a human transaction. I began to see the context of my life and the relative and absolute meaning others contributed to that context. I cannot tell you how strange it felt. The first class I attended is a frozen moment in my psyche. Mike taught a course called "Human Growth and Potential." It was devised by the department as the only required course. I walked into an immense room, filled with exotic people. Mike insisted that we actually pair off and converse with another person, face to face. I broke into an almost toxic sweat. I hated this request, but felt I had to do it — everybody else was doing it. I didn't want to talk to some stranger. I was a stranger. I was strange. Mike was strange. I felt sick. I felt sick with strangeness. What was this human growth and potential? How can you grow from talking to strangers. I figured the only thing that could make it worse would be for Mike to make us get up and dance. He did. We never know how experience will change us until we are somehow changed. Today I face my students in my own classroom, and the first experience I have with them is face to face. I force them to talk with one another. At first they hate it. Then I notice by the third or fourth week of the semester they enter the room talking with one another. They tell me they have come to college to improve their employment potential. I hope they find what they need. Thank you West Georgia for helping me find the experience I needed in order to seek what I wanted. (Becky Phrydas)

It happened around my 'orals.' Chris Aanstoos, Mike Arons and Paul Phillips had graciously agreed to be my committee. Having established a time when everyone would be available, I followed instructions by entering this information into Mike's desk diary. Later, upon seeing Mike one day, I said "see you Thursday, if not before." Mike (frowning, puzzled), "what's happening on Thursday?" Den (smiling) "Um, my orals. You remember, we talked about it." Mike (puzzlement changing to consternation), "Thursday? Nooo, that can't be. I have an all day exam on Thursday."

Den (smiling, but with increasing strain), "But I wrote it into your diary." We checked. I had. Mike, "Then there's a problem, 'cause all these people in that class, you know, I can't change it." And so there was indeed a problem. I can discern the humor in it now, but at the time I was miffed, irritated, hurt. This was, after all, my orals — the culmination of my academic course, the moment of reckoning regarding what I had made of WGC and what it had made of me, since my arrival there in 1987. I mean, what kind of program was this? Apart from the raw difficulty of coordinating another meeting time, there was the serious problem of being close to that 'final date' which would determine whether I would graduate then or three months later. Mike, "well then, how about Saturday morning at my place?" The other members of my committee agreed. And so the day came. It was getting out of my car at Mike's place that I began to gain a sense of recognition, a special and unmistakable knowing. Walking down the driveway leading to Mike's house, I was suddenly present to all the other times I had walked over that ground. I remembered how my whole family had come to the Fall party my first quarter, wondering (with some trepidation) what this whole event/community was about. And then the party itself (and all the subsequent celebrations): alumni, teachers, students, their friends, lovers, children — all talking and fooling and munching, sparks leaping up in the dark... Mike's place, I suddenly realized, was not simply Mike's place. It was in some way the manifesting of a center which was usually invisible. It was from that immaterial point of departure that Mike's class investigating Time had waded upstream and downstream. It was there that Chris's class in the Phenomenology of Spirituality had sat around a fire one night and explored the teachings of Starhawk and others... Of course, events in many other 'classroom settings' also gravitated around that same center, but what I understood 'with my lived body' was that the generosity of the Arons family, and the generosity of the extended family which comprised the psychology department, had allowed me to somehow know what I had experienced in a way that was virtually tangible. When I came into the house, I saw that Mike had laid the table with a white table cloth, glasses, shining cutlery, and there was the chairperson himself, sleeves rolled up, toiling over the range, rustling up a breakfast feast for the celebration. What suddenly moved me was recognition of a special opportunity our psychology department provided. Although the date for one's orals might be forgotten, this made it possible for something much greater to be remembered. Yes, we might mess up spectacularly, and certainly this would lead to instances of inefficiency unthinkable in other places. Yet this very unfinishedness allowed for gestures between persons which could never happen in other places. Those departments of psycho-

logy that function like the German railway system exact a human cost which remains unspoken because it is 'the way things properly are.' By contrast, what our department allowed for was intimately connected to the timing of personal growth, to the forgiveness which encompasses the marvelous and exasperating occurrences between persons, to the creativity which enables one to take a mess and let it become something of wonder. As to the orals itself, I remember only a few key moments. Many of the questions put to me were surprisingly probing. At one point I was talking about the wish that moves us, that vector of desire which (I hold) has its fulfillment only in the divine. "But," Paul interrupted, "what do you mean by God?" "Well," I responded (not having the vaguest idea of what I was about to say next), "here are four faces of God at this table." For a second, we just looked at each other and, it seemed, we saw. Then, someone nodded, someone laughed, someone whistled soundlessly... and the conversation took another tack. I want to suggest this: whatever immanence-in-transcendence we may have known in that moment was made possible by the whole web of interactions which comprise the psychology department at West Georgia. And if there are holes in that web (by common definition of what passes for efficiency), then these holes make possible the emergence of an unusual fullness which otherwise would have no way of being re-membered. (Denis Rphaely)

While an undergraduate studying philosophy, I retained my interest in ideas, but became increasingly more drawn to understanding experience, mainly from a personal perspective. I was fascinated with dreams, parapsychology, consciousness. And I had a desire to teach and write. I searched for various graduate programs where I could cultivate these pursuits, but had little luck. One afternoon, one of my philosophy professors called me into his office. Much to my surprise, he told me about this "strange" program he thought would interest me because I was so "strange." A few months later I was at West Georgia, living in one of Jim Thomas's infamous cabins and taking classes. I met so many new people and established solid relationships with them. After my first quarter, Fall 1988, I worked for awhile for financial hardship reasons and, upon leaving the area thought I would not return. During the year I was absent from the program, I dreamed of it as well as of several of the people I met, and finally I returned. I continued learning, living, understanding, and being for the next seven quarters, until I graduated. I could have graduated sooner, but I did not want to leave! Sometimes I feel as if I could stay around here forever, as I love these people so much, but there comes a time when one has to move on. It is difficult to describe how I feel about

the M.A. program, the students, and the faculty. Plato's Allegory of the Cave serves as an apt metaphor. The prisoners are chained in the cave, wherein reality for them consists of shadows cast upon the walls of the cave by their keepers. They are released and led out of the cave into "reality" — viewing the sun and other things of nature for the first time. I feel as though my experience in this "strange" place was similar, in that I left a reality I had lived and was led, by classes, faculty, and friends, into another reality — a reality in which I felt I was experiencing warm sunlight for the first time. A reality in which I stood in awe of the world around me. A reality which was always there for me, only I had to accept being free to go with the possibilities that awaited me. Now I am embarking on another adventure. I am beginning a Ph.D. program in the Humanities. I leave behind this reality of warm, nurturing growth, and walk alone into the forest. But I carry with me the provisions I need to sustain me in my new life. From being here, I have found courage and strength. The psychology department is an engaging place, a place inhabited by heroes and heroines, an immortal place where life and death are opposite sides of the same coin. (Niles Reddick)

Do you believe in fairy tales? Are you sure?... Well this little story definitely involves one. It concerns a little boy. Like many children, his life centered in a family situation over which he had no control. His brothers and sister were great company while growing up in their rural setting. Living in the swampy area of Louisiana offered many opportunities to explore the rich wilderness life of his domain. Wonderful treks helped develop a sense of belonging to the earth and the creatures who lived there. Most everything seemed to be where it should be and how it should be; but somehow, something was wrong. At about the age of six, he began to look around and know that the atmosphere he saw in many homes did not seem to exist in his. There was an element which was thunderous in its absence. A life long search was undertaken to ascertain why he felt unworthy and unable to accept and give love. He felt emotionally castrated. He could see it in himself and in his brothers. He was without the ability to be emotionally responsible. He knew it, but was still helpless to perform. After forty-seven years of struggle and failure, our little friend received a message in meditation. It told him to leave his cultural and ancestral homeland and go to a place where he had never been before. Here he would meet people who would help him heal and grow. He went to this strange land and found an enchanted castle near and enchanted forest. With enchanted people living in the castle. He knocked on the door and a voice from inside said, "you may enter, however... there is one rule."

The boy waited, trembling at the thought of once again not being worthy. "You must be willing to face who you really are... and who you can truly become." A tear glistened in the corner of his eye. He knew the voice from his meditation. He knew that he had found his healing place. A gush of emotion surged up in his being. The healing had begun. Two years later he had found the person he could truly be. His search was over; his quest was to begin. The psychology program of West Georgia College (1989-1991) was the place. (Allen Dufour)

I am Chandra Nagireddy from India. At the point I came to West Georgia College, in 1989, I was at a very critical phase of my life. Both my professional work and personal life had lost the sense of purpose and joy. All I faced was helplessness and pain. There was immense suffering in my family, both moral and psychological. In the midst of this, I had only one overpowering desire — to understand the nature of pain and suffering and to become a helper and healer. After two years study in the Psychology Department at West Georgia College, the emptiness has dissolved into a semblance of purpose. I am one with my desire. Gaining admission into the Ph.D. program in Marriage and Family Therapy at the University of Georgia marks the beginning of an adventure. It is not what I learned in terms of knowledge that is unique in my experience here. Rather, it is the integrative experience, the philosophical quest and tapping the 'true' desire. This is not merely a place to acquire an education, but a place of healing, both of one's ignorance and pain. Such an experience is not facilitated by an education where the teacher knows what is best for the student or has all 'the truths.' The immense freedom and nurturance the teachers provides here can, at times, be hard to live with. Since the program does not dictate the direction of one's quest, I had to struggle to find one. It is hard to imagine that a small department as the one here nurturing passion for so many pioneers in human science. The opening up of the world of ideas can be bewildering, since nobody here asserts what is 'the truth' or what is 'right.' One is left with oneself to discover the relevance. But an education that fails to breed doubt and arouse one's passion is not for me. This department is for those who will not settle for such an education. (Chandra Nagireddy)

M.A. Theses Completed**1968***Entertainment Induced Emotional Arousal*

George Marvin Martin

A Study of the Relationships Between Personality Factors, Creativity, and Student Achievement of Freshmen Enrolled in Composition Courses at West Georgia College

Michael Timothy McCord

Symbols: An Inquiry into their Origins and Meanings, their Relationship to Mythology, Art, Dreams, and Humanistic Psychology

Ruth Mary Lacey

1969*An Investigation of Relationships between Associations and Creativity of students in an Introductory Psychology Course at West Georgia College*

Forrest Gordon Hutchings

Personality Characteristics of Prospective Elementary, Secondary, and Special Education Teachers as Measured by the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire

Carole Bomar Royals

Personality Variables Associated with Non-Attendance of Class at the College Level

Carlton L. Lanier

The Psychological Implications of Audiogenic Seizure of Convulsive vs. Non-Convulsive Hooded Rats during Embryonic Development

Douglas Wayne Lavender

1970*A Cross-Cultural Study of Musical Rhythm Discrimination of White, Afro-American, and African Children*

Jimmy Eugene Jordan

Determination of Factorial Composition of a Purported Measure of Self-Concept to Determine Feasibility of Further Development and Validation as a Self-Concept Measure

Charles Edward Kennedy

The Encounter Movement

Edward Francis Rankin

An Inquiry into the Relationship of Labeling to Human Growth and Potential

Jack Clifford Hord

Growth and Prejudice

Michael Calvin Braswell

An Investigation of the Marathon Encounter Experience as a Method for the Relieving of Loneliness Anxiety

Paul Ellsworth Ganyard

An Investigation of the Relationship between Affective and Cognitive Characteristics of Classroom Teachers Regarding the Exceptional Child

Robert Gregory Litaker

The Marathon Encounter: An Analysis of the Process of Change

John Alan Rodd

Perceptions of Death in Children

Jack H. Melton

Several Aspects of Hope in the Recovery of a Mentally Ill Patient

Ben Crowell Stewart

Suicide

Peter Michael Baglin

Toward an Understanding of Homosexuality through Psycho-Analytic Perspectives and Empirical Observations

Randall Taze Thompson

Unconventional Healing Methods Based upon Faith in Carroll County, Georgia

Thomas Coody Bohn

1971

Attitude Change as a Function of Comparative Methods of Inducing Cognitive Dissonance

Albert Floyd Burkhalter

Cognitive Hetrodyming

Charles Frederick Forsyth

Creativity and Innocence

Roger Knight Nielson

An Evaluating Survey of the Center, a Tax-Supported Rehabilitation Facility in Savannah, Georgia

Daniel Hickey Grant

An Experimental Mathematics Psychology Program

Harvey Lee Shapiro

Human Growth as a Function of the Basic Encounter Group Marathon

James John Cotten

Hypnotic Susceptibility and Religious Experience

James Edward DeJarnette

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STUDIES IN HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY

edited by

Christopher M. Aanstoos

The essays in this collection are the work of the faculty of the Psychology Department of West Georgia College. For the past quarter century, that department has sustained an innovative graduate program in humanistic psychology. These essays offer examinations of important current issues that are the focus of the faculty's teaching and research interests. They analyze such topics as: the place of creativity in the conceptual foundations of psychology; how the therapist perceives the patient in psychoanalytic psychotherapy; the essential facets of knowing and how these can be lost and reclaimed; the psychological dynamics of the family; the impact of desiring on sexuality and gender; the existential phenomenology of human embodiment; the pedagogical significance of sharing secrets; a typology of visionary experiences; the psychosocial repercussions of ecological disasters; and an experiential approach to athletic performance. The authors relate their work not only to key western thinkers, such as Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Laing and Kohut, but also to Buddhist traditions as well, in the process demonstrating the reach and scope of contemporary humanistic psychology. Such studies are especially timely at this crucial juncture, as humanistic psychology makes the always difficult shift from the generation of the founders to those that will carry on that project.





