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WKU Honors Program

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PREFACE

As the new editor of the Student Honors Research Bulletin, I wish to explain briefly how papers were selected for this issue. I proceeded on the assumption that all of the papers which professors nominated were either pretty good or were outstanding. In other words, I didn't presume to judge the technical accuracy of papers dealing with such matters as water treatment plants in Bowling Green or business management customs in Asia. I studied any comments which the professors may have included with their nominations, and then I determined how many major and minor corrections—structural, grammatical, and bibliographical—had to be made in each paper. When everything else was equal, I selected papers representative of the variety of scholarly research conducted at W.K.U. Once the papers were in their final form, they were arranged in alphabetical order based on the author's last name. Such was my method of procedure and, I understand, has generally been the method followed by previous editors.

Although many colleges have student literary publications and student newspapers, I know of no other college that has a publication designed solely for the encouragement of students' scholarly research. As a complement to other university publications, the research bulletin offers an opportunity to recognize students for the very work that occupies so much of their academic time and intellectual energy.

Finally, I wish to congratulate the students whose work is represented in this issue. The papers provide readers with a tantalizing smorgasbord of information: the subjects range from an analysis of a literary work to an examination of a primitive culture, from a study of sludge to a study of XYY chromosomes, and from a look at Gandhi to a look at Sergeant York. A special note of appreciation is due Susan Sparrow, who drew our cover, and Jacqueline Wyatt, who typed the manuscripts.

Walker Rutledge, Editor

Summer 1978
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Mountain speech is usually considered incorrect, its speakers thought of as illiterate, and its pronunciation called hillbilly or backwards. When speaking of dialect, a comparison is necessarily suggested. But when Appalachian speech is involved, it is more like discussing a language entirely different from Standard English. The Appalachian language follows its own specific patterns, uses many Shakespearean words, and is much more descriptive than Standard English.

The Appalachian pronunciation of many words is often said to be a lazy form of speaking. Actually, it is different because of a set pattern of vowel changes or the insertion of extra letters. The vowel changes most common to the Appalachian area are a to e, a to o, and i to a. These are, however, reversible. For example, the e sound in queer is made an a (quar) in the Appalachian’s pronunciation. However, the a’s in care and chair change to e’s (keer and cheer). The a in wrap changes to the o in wrop, while the o in crop changes to an a in crap. The letter i is very commonly changed to an a, such as in the words arn, tarred, and far, which are translated as iron, tired, and fire.

In many cases, the pronunciation is not altered by the substitution of one letter by another, but by the addition of a letter. The letters most commonly added to words are y and r.

The insertion of y is seen in the words hear and heard more often than any others, and they become hyer and heyerd. The addition of r changes water to warter, ought to to orter, and after to arter. The words ought not become unique by this system, as can be seen in "your ortent to leave." The systems of vowel changes and letter addition can become much more complicated by combining them. A very good example of this is the pronunciation of the word hear. It has already been used as an example for the addition of the letter y, which makes the pronunciation hyer. However, this word is sometimes pronounced hyar, which indicates not only the addition of the letter y but also the change of the vowel sound e to that of an a.

Many words in the Appalachian language are not different pronunciations of Standard English but are completely different words. For example, "muxin' and gaumin'," "runnin' and muckin'," "twidlin' away" or "dwidlin' away" or "foolin' away" (his time), "pidlin' around," "ginin' around," "joanyin' about," and "mully-
"grubbin'" are all phrases describing "doing nothing." To be "bumble-footed" is to be awkward or clumsy. A "crocus-sack" is a burlap bag. A "do-less" is a lazy person. To be "lunchy" is to be hungry at lunch time. An "infare" is a wedding reception given by the groom's family.

The making of superlatives and comparatives in Appalachian speech is one of the most fascinating techniques of the language. The favorite way to make a superlative is to use a present participle as a superlative. Some examples of this method are "chair-flingingest boy," "money-makingest people," and "knittingest woman." More examples of the Appalachians' very descriptive superlatives are "workin'est man," "speakin'est man," "preachin'est man," "banjo-pickin'est man," and "weavin'est woman."

Comparatives are usually made by adding an ier to any descriptive word. "Liza is talkier than Susie," and "Log houses are a heap endurabler," are two examples of this method. The Appalachian people often invent compound words to add to the exactness of a word. These are very interesting. Some examples are "rifle-gun," "rock-clift," "man-person," "granny-woman," "church-house," and "biscuit-bread." Critter is a word for animal, but it is made more exact by adding words to it. For example, there are "ridin'-critters," "pettin'-critters," "jumpin'-critters," and "varment-critters." Certain words in the language denote a particular activity. One calls the children, but one wheps for the dogs.

Unevenly cut material is haggled. The verb forms of the Appalachian language are among the most descriptive parts of that language. Verbs are made from nouns and phrases to make them "more graphic than that employed in more conventional circles." In the sentence "The children prank with the dog," prank is used as a verb. This word is defined as a noun, but it is so descriptive in this sentence that it is not considered incorrect. This same point can be made in the phrase "been journeying nearly a year." Two more vivid examples of verbs made from nouns are "He's been a-devillin' me all morning," and "The moon fulls tonight." Another pattern followed in forming verbs is that of shortening a phrase. Some examples of this technique are "We gotta wood-in fer the winter," "I ain't a-gonna bed-it no longer; I gotta git up and git busy." and "I knifed-out the bullet." There are two words commonly used in Appalachian speech that are uncommon to Standard English in that use. The word reach is used as a verb meaning to hand an object to another person. This is easier shown in an example. "Reach me the shovel" means both getting the shovel and giving it to the speaker. It may best be paralleled with the word fetch. The other word used in this way is go. "I didn't go to hit him" can be paralleled with "I didn't mean to hit him." In these sentences, go and mean are translated as intend. Of the two, go is more common than mean in Appalachian speech.

The Appalachian language is often considered a slang version of Standard English. However, many words can be traced to the times of Shakespeare. The reason for this is explained in this quote:
The mountain man clings to Shakespearean words, not because he considers them better than modern words, but because he does not know the modern words.  

The Appalachian language may be bad English grammar, but it is possibly one of the most descriptive languages. Mountaineers have one gift that modern speech has largely lost, the ability to make phrases and even words to fit the needs of the occasion, to express the fresh thought or feeling while it is fluttering over their minds.
FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid.


5 Ibid.

6 Raine, p. 106.


8 Jackson, p. 151.


10 Ibid., p. 9.

11 Ibid., p. 13.


14 Ibid.

15 Raine, p. 102.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 105.

18 Jackson, pp. 154-155.

19 Ibid., p. 151.

20 Ibid.
21 Campbell, p. 144.


24 Raine, p. 104.

25 Jackson, p. 152.

26 Ibid.


29 Ibid.

30 Raine, p. 96.

31 Ibid., p. 101.
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Late in the 19th century an Italian criminologist by the name of Cesare Lombroso compiled a list of physical characteristics by which a criminal could be detected. He cited several characteristics such as "lobeless and small ears, receding chins, low foreheads and crooked noses." Evidently these physical traits were thought to indicate a "predisposition to commit crimes." While Lombroso's theory is not implemented in criminology today, it is nonetheless representative of various attempts to stereotype individuals according to behavior which is deviant from the norm.

In the mid-sixties, a condition of the sex chromosomes in males was associated with aggression. Males with this condition were found to have an extra Y chromosome, resulting from non-disjunction during the formation of gametes. Non-disjunction occurs in the second meiotic division of gamete production, producing a YY sperm. Sperm containing XX or no chromosomes may occur, but these cases are related to other conditions. Abnormal chromosome separation in "the early stages" of mitosis may also produce an XYY individual.

When this condition was first associated with aggression, the press was quick to elaborate on the few stories of men "who had or were presumed to have an extra Y chromosome or who had committed serious crimes." The Y chromosomes were associated with "aggressive tendencies in males" and the presence of an extra Y supposedly added to the individual's aggressiveness. Many reports were based on single cases, but these reports still managed to stir interest in the scientific circles as they were "one of the most tangible leads for connecting genetic constitution with behavior in man."

Mental and Physical Features

"Major physical abnormalities do not occur in XYY individuals for the reason that the Y chromosome carries relatively few genes." However, such persons are unusually tall, usually over six feet in height in adulthood, and suffer from acne during adolescence.
A wide variety of IQ's has been observed in XYY's, but most studies found the average to be between eighty and ninety-five. A study by Griffiths "found the average IQ of twelve XYY prisoners to be ninety-five compared to a mean of 108 in twelve controls matched by age and height." 7

"Abnormal electroencephalographic recordings and a relatively high incidence of epileptic and epileptiform conditions, suggest a wide spectrum of brain dysfunction." 8 While studies show that the EEG's of most XYY's are abnormal when compared to those of XY's, "the frequency of clinical epilepsy" among XYY's is about the same as that of XY's. 9

Most XYY's display normal sexual development. Also, one study found the XYY's maternal parent's average age to be 28.9 years, not significant compared to that of XY's.10

Genetic Theories

Genes show their effects only after a long series of metabolic processes. The final outcome depends upon the interaction of genes with the environment of the individual. Thus, says Montagu, genes do not form a predetermined personality, but are influenced and changed by the environment.11 Another researcher, E. B. Hook, agrees in saying that the chance that an "XYY newborn" will have "deviant behavior probably depends" on the environment he was born in, but he goes on to say that "the XYY genotype and presence in (a) mental-penal" institution have a "definite association."12 However, their actual relation has not been discovered.13

To dispute the above claims, three hypotheses dealing with direct genetic influence will be employed. The hypotheses involve "three variables of particular interest": height, intelligence, and aggression.14 Since these variables, except possibly aggression, are directly related to heredity, they are best used in demonstrating how heredity plays a part in deviant behavior.

The first of these is labeled the "height hypothesis." Since "extreme height" is a characteristic of XYY's, it may be a contributing factor to their aggressiveness. Also, their height may cause others to think them dangerous. If this is true, "they are more likely than shorter men to be suspected of crimes, to be pursued and apprehended, and, when tried, to be convicted."15 Height may also play a role in adapting to society. During childhood, an XXY boy may be teased because of his height. This feeling of rejection may be transformed into "withdrawal or aggression." He may think physical aggression his only "means of adaptation."16 This is highly feasible as several children studied with the XXY condition were taller than ninety-five percent of their age group.17

The second theory is the "intellectual hypothesis."18 Heredity
is a major factor in determining an individual's intelligence, and many criminals are known to have low IQ's. Chromosomal abnormalities often result in some impairment of the intellectual processes, as is believed to be true in the case of XYY's. It is likely that if a person with such "impaired intellectual functioning" commits a crime, he is "more likely to be apprehended than" is a criminal of "normal intelligence." Furthermore, a low IQ might allow the person to be tricked into crime by smarter individuals.

Hereditary is also involved with determination of the EEG pattern. Many studies point out that criminals have a higher rate of "EEG abnormalities and borderline abnormalities...than in the general population." In some studies, the rate was found to be as high as seventy-five percent. The EEG pattern is "associated with poor impulse control and bad judgment"; thus, the fact that XYY's have abnormal EEG's supports the intellectual hypothesis.

The third hypothesis is the "aggression hypothesis." It is born from the belief that the "extra Y chromosome increases aggressive tendencies" which lead to increased criminal behavior. If true, this would suggest that "crimes committed by XYY men" would be of a more aggressive nature than those of men with normal XY composition.

The aggression hypothesis is perhaps the most abstract of the three hypotheses. The relationship between the XYY condition and aggression cannot be totally explained by "innate or inherited aggressive tendencies." Contrary to the hypothesis, XYY's don't seem to be concentrated "among the most dangerous, violent, and physically aggressive inmates." Instead, "increased impulsiveness" and not "greater aggressiveness" seems to be the rule.

As this hypothesis proposes a direct link between heredity and aggression and does not consider environment, it is no wonder that it does not always hold true. According to Montagu, the expression of the XYY genotype, dependent on environment, varies from "normal to varying degrees of abnormality." While some XYY's indeed display normal behavior, other XYY's "seem to be driven to their aggressive behavior as if possessed by a demon." Although the aggression hypothesis is far from being flawless, it provides an important concept to be considered in further research.

Studies

The estimated rate of XYY's in the newborn population varies from 1 in 500 to 1 in 1000 births, but most agree that the XYY condition is "one of the more common forms of chromosomal anomaly." In search for XYY men, many research pitfalls have been discovered. Most studies have been carried out in populations likely to contain XYY's, "such as institutionalized men and tall men."
Also, several studies are based on "a single case or just a few cases." However, since height and institutionalization are the very factors that the research is investigating, what better place is there to start?

As of 1973 there had been approximately thirty-five studies done of XYY's in "mental-penal setting." Twenty-one of these showed a positive trend toward XYY's. That is, their findings supported the theory of a higher frequency of XYY's in these settings than in the general population. Seven studies exhibited negative trends. However, four of these seven studies involved small populations. The remaining seven studies allowed no decision to be made.

Studies of either mental or penal settings have not shown "such striking or consistent results as those of combined settings." Of twenty-six penal studies, nine were positive, twelve were negative, and five made no conclusion. Studies of mental background are few and "no consistent trend has yet emerged."

Since the types of populations studied vary, the frequency of XYY's "among tall criminal or psychopathic males" is found to range from three to twenty-four percent. Thus the type of population studied should be kept in mind when one is evaluating the results of these studies.

Scotland provides some of the better research areas for the XYY studies because of the complete records it keeps for its population. Of the several studies based there, that of Patricia A. Jacobs is the most well known.

In December of 1965, Jacobs and her colleagues were doing research at Western General Hospital, a prison hospital in Edinburgh, Scotland. It was this research which first connected the XYY condition with criminals. Of 197 mentally disturbed patients tested, 7 had the XYY condition, 1 had XXYY, and 1 was XY/XYY mosaic. It was this 3.5 percent incidence rate of XYY's in the prison population that drew attention to a possible link between the XYY condition and deviant behavior.

Further study by Jacobs revealed only five XYY's in 3500 consecutive births of male infants "and no XYY's in 2040 'normal' adult males" studied for various reasons. This meant that the normal rate was only .14 percent, hardly enough to explain the 3.5 percent incidence in prison populations by probability alone.

Moreover, Jacobs found the average height of the XYY patients to be six feet one and one-tenth inches, while normal males displayed an average of only five feet seven inches. This finding is in keeping with the height hypothesis.

A second study by Price and Whatmore in 1967 was conducted in a Scotland "maximum security hospital." The population used was composed of patients for which no cause for "personality disorder" was known. Nine XYY's were found in this group, while eighteen males were also selected from the group to act as a control. The
researchers found three very interesting differences between the XYY's and the control.41

The first difference lay in the fact that the crimes of the XYY's involved "fewer crimes of violence against persons." The nine XYY's had been convicted a total of ninety-two times. Eight (8.7%) were crimes against property. The control was found to have been convicted of 210 crimes, but with rates contrasting to those of the XYY's. Forty-six (21.9%) of the control's crimes were against people, and 132 (62.9%) were against property.42

The second difference was that XYY's exhibited "disturbed behavior...at an earlier age." The mean age for the XYY's at their first arrest was 13.1 years while the mean for the control was 18.0 years. This finding is significant at the 5 percent level.43

Third, when comparing the families of the groups, it was found that the crime rate among "siblings of the XYY patients was much less than in the families of the controls. There was only 1 conviction in 31 siblings for the XYY's but 139 convictions for 12 of sixty-three siblings of the controls. This is a major argument against the theory that deviant behavior is influenced by a home environment.

The XYY's were also found to have poor response to "corrective measures," resulting in "prolonged detention...at an earlier age than is usual for offenders of" that type.45

Other studies of Scottish "mental-penal" institutions supported Jacob's finding of higher rates for XYY's than in the normal population. Likewise, in accordance with Price's findings, studies of "groups which were either penal or mental, but not both," had much lower rates of XYY's, "none markedly greater than that of newborns."46

A study carried out in Denmark centered on the aspects of the three previously mentioned hypotheses. A cut-off point for height was established so as to keep the population at a feasible size. Of 4139 men tested, 12 were found to be XYY and 4096 to be XY.47

The XYY group was "significantly taller than the XY control groups," but a striking observation was made. Non-criminals, with an average height of 187.1 centimeters, "were slightly taller... than criminals," average height 186.7 centimeters, a finding which does not support the height hypothesis.48

Intelligence was measured according to scores on the BPP (an army selection test) and the educational index. The average score for the control was "significantly higher than the means" of the XYY group, a finding which supports the intelligence hypothesis.49

When the crime rate among the 2 groups was investigated, it was found that "41.7 percent of the XYY's...and 9.3 percent of the controls had been convicted of one or more criminal offences."


The researcher found the difference between the two groups to be "statistically significant."\textsuperscript{50}

To test the theory that environment determines whether an individual has deviant behavior regardless of genetic composition, probabilities of individuals placed in circumstances of similar intelligence, "parental socioeconomic status," and educational background were computed. With XY individuals used as a control, XYY individuals with the same backgrounds were compared to the control. As is plainly seen, the observed quantity of 5.0 differs from the predicted value of 2.06; thus, more than environmental factors came into play in influencing the XYY's behavior.\textsuperscript{51}

Related studies of XYY's in other countries support the findings of the studies already described. A study by Melnyk of 79 "mentally disordered sexual offenders" found 7 which were of the XYY genotype, a frequency of 8.9 percent.\textsuperscript{52} "In a maximum security prison in Melbourne, Australia, Saul Weiner" found 4 XYY's in a population of 34 tall prisoners, "all between 5 feet 9 inches and 6 feet 10.5 inches in height." This is a frequency of 11.8 percent.\textsuperscript{53} In 10 related studies, 52 of a total of 3345 criminals were XYY, a low percentage of 1.55 percent but which is still higher than the frequency in the general population.\textsuperscript{54}

No extensive research has been done on aggression among non-white males, but a small study by W. Fattig involving "100 negro prisoners, all over six feet tall" was conducted.\textsuperscript{55} Fattig's study found no XYY's, and thus two theories were proposed: 1)The frequency of non-disjunction differs from human populations and 2)the "sociological factors which lead" to imprisonment of black males "differs from those of other groups," thus masking the true frequency of "criminal incidence" of the XYY condition.\textsuperscript{56}

A related theory of McWhirter postulates "that different types of stabilization have developed" among the major ethnic groups of man and "that they are not of equal efficiency."\textsuperscript{57}

**Single Cases**

Most of the interest in the XYY condition has stemmed from specific cases with which the XYY condition was related. With "Born to Raise Hell" tattooed across his chest, Richard Speck was the center of public attention when he was found to be an XYY.\textsuperscript{58} Speck was convicted of murdering eight nurses in Chicago in 1966. "Tall, mentally dull, with an acne-marked face and a record of 40 arrests," he is a classic example of the XYY genotype.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1969, "Daniel Hugon was charged with the murder of a prostitute. Following his attempted suicide," he was found to be an XYY. Hugon's lawyer "contended that he was unfit to stand trial because of his abnormality."\textsuperscript{60}

These examples of deviant behavior among XYY individuals may
be shrugged off as being influenced more by environment than by their genetic make-up. But what of the following case reported in March of 1968 in London:

The first-born, wanted child of a mother aged 23 and a father aged 25 was referred at the age of four and a half years to a psychiatrist because he was unmanageable at home, destructive, mischievous, and defiant. He would smash his toys, rip the curtains, set fire to the room in his mother's absence, kick the cat and hit his eight-month-old brother. He was over-adventurous and without fear. At two years of age, he began wandering away from home, and was brought back by police on five occasions. He started school at five years and at once developed an interest in sharp objects. He would shoot drawing compasses across the schoolroom from an elastic band, and injured several children. In one incident, he rammed a screwdriver into a little girl's stomach.

At the age of eight years, seven months, he was 4 feet 9 inches tall, handsome, athletically proportioned, and of normal appearance. He is of average intelligence, and often considerate and happy. His electroencephalogram is mildly abnormal. Both his parents and his brother have normal chromosome complements, but the boy is of XYY constitution.61

Could this mean that the 'mean streak' which so many mothers talk about so often is actually the result of genes and not environment? As said before, it is these specific cases which lead to hasty conclusions from insufficient data. Thus, much more research is needed to find all the hidden aspects of the XYY genotype. But will this research be allowed to continue?

**Opposition to Research**

From 1968 to 1975, psychiatrist Stanley Waltzer screened "all baby boys born at the Boston Hospital for Women...for chromosomal aberrations." The screening operation was shut down because of pressure from "advocacy groups that oppose(d) XYY screening."62 The leaders of this opposition were Jonathan Beckwith of Harvard and Jonathan King of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.63

Beckwith and King claimed "the study was unethical and harmful to its subjects who would be stigmatized by being labeled XYY."64 Many opponents of the screening agreed in believing that if Waltzer labeled children as being XYY, implying aggressiveness, that the children would be molded into what they are expected to be.65 Beckwith and King argued further that "since there is no XYY syndrome and no possible therapy for a nonexistent syndrome, no benefit (could) accrue to the family."66 While Waltzer agreed
that the XYY does not contain a "criminal chromosome," he thought that some XYY's have "reading problems and other learning dis-
abilities" as well as "behavioral difficulties." 67 Waltzer finally
gave up the research, not because he did not believe in his work,
but because of emotional pressure on him and his family. 68
Shortly afterwards the pioneer of XYY research, Pat Jacobs, wrote:

The adversaries of XYY screening have succeeded in
suppressing a research project which was deemed...to meet
the rigorous ethical and scientific standards rightfully
required of all research involving human subjects. 69

Since the extra Y chromosome does not insure deviant behavior,
the question arises as to whether the parents or the XYY infant
should be told of his condition. 70 Or more precisely, "those parents
who want information on the sex chromosomes of their infants are
entitled to have it and the investigators must be entitled to
provide it for them." 71

There are several reasons for which an individual might want
to know if he is XYY. For example, he may be worried about fathering
an XYY son, although the risk of this is small. Secondly, he may
wish to use his genotype in "legal defence," but this is highly
unlikely at the moment. 72

As has been seen, many studies support the "early finding(s)"
of a high frequency of XYY males "in penal-mental institutions,"
but none of them have clearly stated if an "XYY syndrome" exists
"of which antisocial behavior is a prominent component." 73 Perhaps
someday researchers will be allowed to continue their studies and
sort through the various theories and hypotheses to discover what
effect, if any, the XYY genotype has on determining the degree of
an individual's deviant behavior.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 371.

3 Ibid., pp. 373-4.


6 Ibid., p. 374.


11 Hook, p. 146.


13 Witkin, p. 548.

14 Ibid., p. 548.


16 Hamerton, p. 41.

17 Witkin, p. 548.


19 Witkin, p. 548.

20 Rosenthal, p. 23.
21 Ibid., p. 236.
22 Witkin, p. 548.
23 Ibid., p. 548.
25 Hook, p. 146.
26 Ibid., p. 146.
28 Ibid., p. 375.
29 Rosenthal, p. 238.
31 Ibid., p. 220.
32 Witkin, p. 548.
33 Ibid., p. 548.
34 Hook, pp. 140-2.
35 Ibid., p. 142.
36 Hook, p. 142.
37 Hamerton, p. 41.
39 Hook, p. 139.
42 Ibid., p. 69.
43 Ibid., p. 69.
44 Ibid., p. 69.
45 Ibid., p. 70.
46 Hook, p. 139.
47 Witkin, p. 550.
48 Ibid., p. 550.
49 Ibid., p. 550.
50 Ibid., p. 550.
51 Ibid., p. 550.
52 Hamerton, p. 501.
54 Rosenthal, p. 238.
55 Hook, p. 144.
56 Fattig, p. 10.
58 Hook, p. 146.
60 Ibid., p. 372.
61 Ibid., pp. 375-6.
63 Ibid., p. 1284.
64 Ibid., p. 1284.
65 Ibid., p. 1284.
67 Culliton, p. 1284.
68 Ibid., p. 1284.
70 Hook, p. 147.
71 Beckwith, p. 298.
72 Hook, p. 148.
73 Witkin, pp. 547-8.
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by
Brooks Bell

Countless pens have gone dry as a result of all the writers who have incessantly explored and explained the faults of Willy Loman in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman. On the other hand, Linda Loman, Willy's wife, seldom gets any attention from writers because of her rather insignificant role in the play. In fact, one critic describes Linda as a character "without strikingly luminous qualities."¹ This insignificance, however, somewhat decreases as Linda's character is examined in greater detail. Linda possesses one main fault and one main virtue in the play. Ironically, her main fault and her main virtue just happen to be the exact same thing - her interminable love for Willy Loman.

Linda's love for Willy is evident from the very beginning of the play. As the stage directions indicate, "...she more than loves him, she admires him..."² This love is manifested in Linda's giving her utmost loyalty to Willy; indeed, she seems to be the only person who really believes in him. When he is enthusiastic, she hastens to encourage him:

Willy: Gee Whiz! That's really something. I'm gonna knock Howard for a loop, kid. I'll get an advance, and I'll come home with a New York job. Goddammit, now I'm gonna do it!
Linda: Oh, that's the spirit, Willy...It's changing, Willy, I can feel it changing!³

Another characteristic of Linda's love for Willy is her complete sympathy toward him and the irreversible path of destruction that his life is on. Her feelings toward Willy are somewhat similar to those expressed by Robert Frost's Mary in "The Death of the Hired Man":

He never did a thing so very bad
He don't know why he isn't quite as good
As anyone. He won't be made ashamed
To please his brother, worthless though he is.⁴

Both Linda and Mary insist upon upholding their husbands' self-respect, despite the men's mistakes and failures.⁵ As another writer explains Linda's feelings, "His wife knows only that he is a good man and that she must continue to love him."⁶

Linda's love, unfortunately, when pushed to its extreme, is very
damaging to Willy. She loves him too much to criticize him, even constructively, and in this way she only encourages him to dream. She is as frightened of Willy's facing the truth as she is of the truth herself. In the beginning of the first act of the play, Linda makes one attempt to obtain some answers from Willy:

Linda: Willy!
Willy: It's all right. I came back.
Linda: Why? What happened? Did something happen, Willy?
Willy: No, nothing happened.
Linda: You didn't smash the car, did you?
Willy: I said nothing happened. Didn't you hear me?
Linda: Don't you feel well?
Willy: I'm tired to the death. I couldn't make it, I just couldn't make it, Linda.
Linda: Where were you all day? You look terrible.
Willy: I got as far as a little above Yonkers. I stopped for a cup of coffee. Maybe it was the coffee.

Regrettably, Willy has no answers. Linda, acting out of her unending love for him, now endeavors to make excuses for him, as a replacement for answers. A sudden change occurs in Linda as the preceding dialogue is continued.

Willy: I suddenly couldn't drive anymore. The car kept going off onto the shoulder, y' know?
Linda: Oh, maybe it was the steering again. I don't think Angelo knows the Studebaker.
Willy: No, it's me, it's me. Suddenly I realize I'm going sixty miles an hour and I don't remember the last five minutes. I'm - I can't seem to - keep my mind to it.
Linda: Maybe it's your glasses. You never went for your new glasses.

More serious than her knowledge of Willy's mental lapses is her knowledge of his suicidal urges. Yet, as she reveals to her sons, she does not wish to confront Willy with this truth, either. As she explains,

Linda: There's a little attachment on the end of it. I knew right away. And sure enough, on the bottom of the water heater there's a new little nipple on the gas pipe.
Happy: That - jerk!
Biff: Did you have it taken off?
Linda: I'm ashamed to. How can I mention it to him? Every day I go down and take away that little rubber pipe. But, when he comes home, I put it back where it was. How can I insult him that way?

In this case, Linda definitely takes her love and respect a little too far. It appears she loves him too much to "insult" him. This suggests that Linda thinks that to help Willy would be a disgrace to him. This kind of love can only be interpreted as an insane type of love. Is it not both stupid and unethical for a woman in love with a man to encourage him to deceive and lie to himself?
A woman's love for her husband has always been considered an admirable trait in a wife. Linda Loman can be admired from that point of view. On the other hand, this love is also a severe flaw in her character. She loves Willy with all of her heart; unconsciously, however, she continually abuses him with this same tremendous love. She wants only that which will help her beloved husband. Of this overwhelming love, lamentably, Willy and Linda are both the tragic victims.
FOOTNOTES

1 Irving Jackson, "Family Dreams in Death of a Salesman," American Literature, XLVII (May, 1975), 251.


3 Ibid., p. 74.


5 Ibid., pp. 106-107.


7 Guerin Bliquez, "Linda's Role in Death of a Salesman," Modern Drama, X (Feb., 1964), 384-386.


9 Ibid., p. 13.

10 Ibid., pp. 59-60.

11 Parker, in Robert Corrigan's Arthur Miller, p. 107.
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MOTIVATING WORKERS THROUGH JOB DESIGN

by
Janice Danhauer

Job design affects both productivity and worker motivation and morale. This paper deals with motivating workers through job design. Historically, scientific management methods were used as the main criteria to motivate workers to high levels of productivity. Scientific management theories, developed around the beginning of the century, were built into management practice and to some extent still exist today.

"Beginning with the Hawthorne plant studies in the 1920's, industrial psychologists became seriously concerned with the measurement, interpretation, and implications of employee motivation in the organization."¹ In the late 1950's and early 1960's, Professor Frederick Herzberg developed his "motivation-hygiene" theory. He asserted that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction are caused by two different means. According to Herzberg's studies, job satisfaction is caused by certain motivational factors while job dissatisfaction is caused by certain maintenance or hygienic factors. "As a result of Herzberg's work, many feel that the answers to employee motivational problems are to be found in the design of the work itself."²

Job Design Defined

"Job design means specification of the contents, methods, and relationships of jobs in order to satisfy technological and organizational requirements as well as the social and personal requirements of the jobholder."³ Work can be designed to satisfy organizational and individual objectives at the same time. When engaging in a job-design program, a major motivational factor involves making the work more meaningful to the employee. It must be noted, however, that all individuals will not respond to a job in the same way. This is a difficulty organizations must deal with when designing jobs. The basic problem of proper job design is similar to one present in a manager's job. It is necessary to treat everyone the same, while at the same time not to treat everyone the same.⁴

Several job design techniques exist. Job rotation, work simplification, job enlargement, and job enrichment are general classifications of approaches to job design.

In job rotation, workers are given different jobs without changing the organization or structure of the work or the job itself.
Work simplification has to do with the idea of scientific management; the work process of a job is simplified by breaking it down into units. One example of this would be the work performed on an assembly line. Job enlargement expands the scope of a job. A worker, or a group, has responsibility for several operations. Job enlargement is related to job rotation in that it introduces more variety. Job enrichment enlarges the content of the job by adding more planning, controlling, and decision-making to it. It gives a more total view of the relationship between work and product, including the economic aspect. Another technique involves an independent work group which is given collective responsibility for certain planning, work flow, and control decisions. The group may use the techniques described above to varying degrees.

The consulting firm of Roy W. Walters and Associates developed an approach to job design which includes concepts used to evaluate a job in terms of its motivational potential:

1. Natural units of work: Appropriate tasks should be grouped together in order to enhance the worker’s responsibility for and ownership of the job.

2. Client relationships: The user of a service or product should be linked, as closely as possible, with the worker providing it.

3. Task combination: The pieces of a job should be put together so that the whole job has more readily recognizable outcomes and greater variety.

4. Vertical loading: The objective is to increase autonomy and responsibility by the planning, control and decision-making aspects of the job. This principle is probably the most important in terms of motivation potential.

5. Task feedback: Performance feedback should be built into the job itself rather than be provided by management. This will lead to greater satisfaction, self-collective efforts and personal growth of the worker.

6. Task advancement: The job should provide for increasing levels of responsibility and proficiency.

People are motivated to work in different ways. Intrinsic or extrinsic rewards may satisfy them, but satisfaction on the job may not necessarily motivate a worker.

Job satisfaction is an attitude and feeling that measures how much an individual is willing to expend on his job. A motivated worker is willing to put effort and energy into performance and productivity goals; a satisfied worker may or may not. Managers should be less concerned about whether or not job design increases morale and satisfaction and more concerned about whether or not it increases motivation to perform effectively.
Intrinsic and extrinsic motivators are used in job design. These aspects are discussed in the next section as they relate to motivation theory and job design.

Motivation Theory and Job Design

Current efforts at job design have moved more from the scientific management approach to methods that make better use of worker motivation. This is not saying that scientific management is never used. Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" is dealt with here on how motivation is tied to attempts to satisfy basic needs. According to Maslow, until the more basic needs (physiological, safety and security, belongingness and love) are fulfilled, a person will not try to meet his higher needs (self-esteem, self actualization). He also states that full satisfaction of the higher needs seldom occurs. Thus, it would seem that from his model, people would always be motivated to reach higher needs, but this is not always true because everyone has a different level of aspiration.

Herzberg's "motivation-hygiene" theory is a theory of satisfaction and motivation, both of which were discussed in the closing paragraphs of the previous section. In his research, Herzberg has identified those factors that are motivators (recognition, achievement, responsibility, advancement, growth, and work itself) and those that are maintenance or hygienic factors (company policies, working conditions, interpersonal relations, pay, and job security). The theory suggests that the primary determinants of employee satisfaction (motivators) are factors intrinsic to the work that is done. Dissatisfaction is seen as being caused by hygienic factors that are extrinsic to the work itself.

Herzberg asserts that as more motivators are introduced into the job content, the employee becomes more satisfied with his work and more productive. His theory of work incentives places intrinsic reward above extrinsic reward in the motivation of human behavior. Both Maslow and Herzberg come to the same position through different paths. Intrinsic motivators are generally more forceful than extrinsic motivators. However, this can never be true for everyone.

"Job-design researchers maintain that jobs must provide feedback, involve a meaningful piece of work, and allow the employee to control both how the job is done and the pace to which he or she works." Extrinsic rewards also do not motivate everyone, but they are probably the most feasible reward systems in organizations.

In order for rewards to be effective motivators, people must value them. "They not only must find work a rewarding place to be, but also must perceive that important rewards depend on them performing well. There are different approaches for creating a motivating work environment:"

1. Cooperative labor and management projects. A number of major corporations and unions in the U.S. have
recently undertaken cooperative ventures aimed at making the workplace more satisfying and rewarding. Most of these projects have redesigned jobs to give employees more decision-making responsibility and more challenging jobs.

2. Individual reward systems. Organization reward systems must recognize that all employees don't want the same things. Individualized reward systems are a necessity if the reward systems of organizations are to fit the broad diversity of present-day employees.

3. Realistic job previews. One major reason why some employees are dissatisfied with their jobs and are not motivated to appear for work is that their jobs do not provide the rewards they expected when they were hired. People make job decisions partly on the basis of the rewards offered.

4. New technology analysis. New technologies can and should be reviewed in terms of the motivational impact before they are adopted. This evaluation should consider the nature of the employees who will use the equipment or process, as well as the impact the technology will have on intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.

5. Individualized job design. To be motivating, a job must be designed to set the values and needs of the people performing it. Because of the diversity that exists in work forces of most organizations, any approach to motivation that uses the same approach to job design for all individuals is likely to fail to motivate and satisfy many employees.

6. Subunit design. It is particularly important for large organizations to use approaches that will reduce the motivational problems caused by large size. Although this exact approach may not work in all situations, approaches to organization design that give individuals in a large organization a meaningful subunit to identify with probably can be found for most situations.9

Behavioral research has shown that people are motivated and satisfied when their job produces three critical "psychological states": the experience of meaningfulness, the experience of responsibility, and the knowledge of results.10 These "psychological states" are discussed in the next section with the aid of a job characteristics model of work motivation developed by J. Richard Hackman and Greg R. Oldham.

Job Characteristics Model of Work Motivation

The three "psychological states" are the core of this model. (See next page) The experienced meaningfulness of work is the
extent to which the worker experiences the job as being meaningful, valuable, and worthwhile. The experienced responsibility for work outcome is the extent to which the worker feels responsible for the outcome of the work he performs. Knowledge of the results is the extent to which the worker knows, on a regular basis, how well he is performing the job.\textsuperscript{11}

The core job dimensions are defined as follows:

Skill Variety. The degree to which a job requires a variety of different activities in carrying out the work. It involves the use of a number of different skills and talents of the person.

Task Identity. The degree to which the job requires completion of a "whole" and identifiable piece of work, that is, doing a job from beginning to end with a feasible outcome.

Task Significance. The degree to which the job has a substantial impact on the lives or work of other people, whether in the immediate organization or in the external environment.

Autonomy. The degree to which the job provides substantial freedom, independence and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out.

Feedback. The degree to which carrying out the work activities required by the job results in the individual obtaining direct and clear information about effectiveness of his or her performance.\textsuperscript{12}

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The job characteristics model of work motivation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORE JOB DIMENSIONS</th>
<th>CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL STATES</th>
<th>PERSONAL AND WORK OUTCOMES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skill variety</td>
<td>Experienced meaningfulness of work</td>
<td>High internal work motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task identity</td>
<td>Experienced responsibility for outcomes of work</td>
<td>High quality work performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task significance</td>
<td>Knowledge of the actual results of the work activities</td>
<td>Low absenteeism and turnover</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hackman and Oldham
According to the job characteristics model, internal work motivation should be highest when the job is high on at least one of the job dimensions leading to experienced meaningfulness, high on autonomy, and high on feedback. Intrinsic motivation is a key point in the job characteristics model of work motivation. Since people's needs are different, the way they react to their work depends on their need level. People with a high need for personal growth and development will respond better to a job high in motivating potential than will people with a low growth need.

Summary and Conclusion

The design of jobs is very important in motivating workers. The history of job design has moved from a scientific approach to a more humanistic approach. Intrinsic and extrinsic rewards play an important role in job design. Maslow's "hierarchy of needs" theory and Herzberg's "maintenance-hygiene" theory suggest that people are more likely to be motivated by intrinsic motivating factors than extrinsic motivating factors. Although these theories are based on facts obtained through research, it must be noted that facts cannot be based on these theories.

It can thus be concluded that intrinsic "motivators" used in job design are more likely to motivate workers, but with such a diversity among individuals in the work force, this cannot always be true. As the need theories suggest, people with high levels of aspiration will more likely respond more positively to an intrinsic motivating job design than those with low levels of aspiration. Jobs can be designed to meet certain needs, but until a certain person fills a job, it is difficult to determine what needs must be met. Organizations can only design their jobs according to their particular working environments and the types of employees they plan to hire.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 34.


4 Ibid., p. 385.

5 Roy W. Walters and Associates, Job Enrichment for Results (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975).


7 Information concerning Maslow's and Herzberg's theories has not been directly referenced because the same material is present in several articles listed in the bibliography. Basic information on the theories can be located in the Beach text.


9 Ibid., p. 27.

10 Woodman and Sherwood, p. 385.


12 Ibid., p. 257.
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THE TRANSFORMATION OF A MAN
INTO A MAN OF UNDERSTANDING
IN MURINBATA SOCIETY

by
Barbara Davis

The Murinbata are an aboriginal people who live in the northwestern part of the Northern Territory of Australia, which is one of the most favorable environments on the continent. Their society seems a well-adjusted one, which rises above the tragedies which inevitably color human life. W.E.H. Stanner, in his series of articles entitled "On Aboriginal Religion," with first-hand knowledge posits that the Murinbata are the product of a religious society and so have learned, through rites and especially through the symbols evoked in those rites, an intuition of freedom, of dependence, and a remarkable acceptance of the world as it is, fraught with suffering and with pain. In order to gain an understanding of this relationship between religion and rite, and because the Murinbata worship no spiritual being as an all-good, creator god, the definition of religion upon which this relationship will be based must be given. Clifford Geertz's definition of religion, which is not theistic, will provide the mold wherein I shall place the religious consciousness of the Murinbata. Religion, according to Geertz, is

...a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of the general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

Stanner contends that a powerful symbol of the Murinbata which actually transforms men into men of understanding is the bullroarer, which represents the Old Woman who was sacrificed so that youths might be reborn and so gain the wisdom necessary to comprehend the "general order of existence," which, among the Murinbata, is based upon a perpetuation of the traditions of the ancestors. The Old Woman is responsible for the suffering of man, for in the beginning of time she made a 'wrongful turn'; now, all men must accept the consequences of her evil deed. The symbol of the bullroarer enlightens man, enabling him to realize that the bad is, out of necessity, interwoven with the good. The condition of the good is bad as a result of the 'wrongful turn' of the Old Woman.

The dangers of aboriginal life and man's moral imperfection are relieved by the enactment of rituals which insure a continuity
of the tradition, thus correlating social life with the plan of the cosmos. Only initiation and death rites are performed, not marriage and birth rites, for the Murinbata are not concerned with origins, but instead choose to concentrate on preserving the traditional way of life as practiced by the ancestors. This paper will concern itself with the third initiation rite in Murinbata society, the rite of Punj (the public name) or Karwadi (the secret name) and how this rite forms the religious consciousness of those who become initiated. The first initiation, Djaban, occurs between the age of eight and ten; its intent is to instil fear of the unknown, of man, and of life into the hearts of young boys. The next initiation, circumcision, done at puberty, disciplines the boys by exposing them to pain. The last initiation rite, which is my concern, is Punj, the rite of a boy at sixteen years of age, who, at that age, is characteristically egotistical and in danger of breaking the norms set by tradition. While circumcision makes a boy into a man, Punj takes that man and actually transforms him into a man of understanding, who, as a potential leader of the tribe, can now perceive the core of the Murinbata religion. The symbols of the rite "establish powerful, pervasive and long lasting moods and motivations in the initiates" by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence." It is primarily through this rite, then, that the boys learn to be religious.

The rite is liturgical in form and sacramental in effect; a possible equivalent, but one which I will not pursue, is baptism, the sacrament in which one is illuminated, and subsequently considered a new man. Instead, I will present Stanner's contributory idea which holds that the rite is a kind of sacrifice, consisting of four stages: 1) setting aside from normality, 2) destruction, 3) transformation, and 4) return (Article II, p. 258). In the previous paragraph, the Old Woman was said to have been sacrificed so that men might be reborn. Although this is a confirmation that the rite is sacrificial, it is not what Stanner has in mind when he makes this comparison. Rather, Stanner intends these four stages to describe what happens to the initiates as they go through the rite: they die to their former selves and now live on a new spiritual level, a level on which they happily recognize their dependence on the spirits. These four stages will be treated more specifically after a study of the rite and the myth behind the rite; they better divide the myth than do the three stages of the 'rites of passage' described by Arnold Van Gennep.

The Rite of Punj

Karwadi is the secret name of the sacred rite of Punj and also denotes the spirit of the Mother-of-All, or the Old Woman. Many secrets are revealed in this rite; one is the emblem of Karwadi, the Old Woman, which is the bullroarer, and another is the name of Karwadi herself. Stanner informs us that the rite, which takes place once a year, takes from one to three months to complete and includes
both public and secret events. Boys are not forced to participate, as they were in the two previous initiations, but are offered the chance, as a method of improving status, to undergo Punj a few years after circumcision.

When parental consent is given, the initiated men take the youths away from the main camp to a more secluded spot. Here they are gathered into a tight circle of initiated men who sit, facing inward, while repeatedly singing a sacred song. They finally end the period with an invocation to Karwadi, and so reveal her secret name to the initiates. At sundown the youths return to the main camp and are placed within a huge circle of nuclear families (note the importance of the circle; it symbolizes unity) but are moderately isolated: their only contact is with the kadu punj, the initiated men. When the morning star appears, they are again led to the secret camp, and from now until the end of the rite they are in extreme isolation from anyone not directly concerned with the rite; at this point the procedure changes somewhat.

Singing is resumed when all are gathered, but at the same time, a custom called Tjirmumuk, a kind of horseplay, is performed by the kadu punj while the youths look on. During Tjirmumuk the circle is broken and all is disorder. Stanner explains that they "push and jostle one another, snatch away small personal possessions, pluck at each other's genitals, and in a laughing voice shout things which would ordinarily be obscene, embarrassing, or hurtful" (Article I, p. 112) When everyone tires of Tjirmumuk, the youths are again gathered into a circle and again they sing the songs of yesterday.

In addition to fitting the pattern of a sacrificial rite, Punj, which is a rite of passage, can also be broken up to conform to the three stages set forth by Arnold Van Gennep in his Rites de Passage. The preceding material describes the 'separation' stage, and the following data seems to express the 'liminal' or 'marginal' stage, in accordance to what both Victor Turner and Arnold Van Gennep describe. The third stage of the rite of passage, that of 'aggregation,' is the same as Stanner's fourth stage, the return, and is simply the replacing of the youths back into society.

Next, around midday, the initiates are led to an even more secret and hidden place where they must stay until they are told to leave. From this time onward the initiates' names are not used, their personal adornments and clothes are disposed of, they are symbolically no longer human, and they are referred to as 'ku were,' meaning "flesh," or "wild dog." The youths have been told (in a myth later to be explained) that they are to be swallowed alive by the Old Woman and then vomited up. But now as they anxiously await this strange experience, they are ignored and told nothing more; their intense fear at such a fate is apparent. Soon a kadu punj, the escort, leads the initiates to the heavily decorated and painted kadu punj who are crouched, facing inward, in a circular excavation in the ground. The men now perform the mime of the blow fly:
They alternately bend until their heads touch, each man being on his knees—and then sit erect to quiver their shoulders in a quick, rhythmic unison...giving out all the while a low, murmurous hum (Article I, p. 113).

The significance of the mime is not explained to the youths; in fact, no one seems to be able to interpret it. The mime is to start the proceedings of each day. Tension mounts as the initiates are told to stand in front of their potential wives' brothers, who smear them from head to foot with what the youths believe to be the blood of the Old Woman, but which is, in actuality, the blood of their potential wives' brothers (who are to be blood relatives). It is now near sundown of the second day, and all return to the less secret camp, but not to the main camp. The naked, blood-caked initiates are isolated from the older men who again carry out the custom of Tjirmumuk.

The climax is reached on the third day: the proceedings follow the same pattern as the second day until the time of the anointing with blood. At this point, kadu punj, hiding in nearby bushes, begin to sound bullroarers, the symbol of the Old Woman. A series of cries goes out with increasing intensity and simulated fear; they cry "Karwadi! Karwadi! The Old Woman is calling." Weakened by fear of the unknown (the emotional stress must be unbearable), the initiates expect to be swallowed by the mysterious and dreaded Karwadi at any moment. But very soon the men with bullroarers come out of hiding and the initiates then learn that, in essence, they were tricked. What they knew literally will now be known symbolically. The initiates were not to be swallowed by the Old Woman, but were simply told so in order to create such fear that it did not matter whether they were actually swallowed or not. The incident is didactic: directly after the ordeal the youths are considered to be men who 'understand.' The atmosphere of fear and mystery gives way to one of joy, but the structure of the ritual remains somewhat the same; each day Tjirmumuk and the mime of the blow fly are performed, and the initiates remain blood caked, until they are finally, but gradually, placed back into society.

Thus a philosophy of life is taught. The lesson is mainly conveyed through the use of symbols, which, Stanner suggests, are not backed by doctrine and are clearly not understood by the aborigines (Article I, p. 126). Symbolically, then, the initiates die (swallowed by Karwadi) and are born again (vomited out by Karwadi). Other symbols are incorporated into the rite which reconcile the positive and negative aspects of life and which allow the aboriginal mind to comprehend paradox. One such symbol is the circular excavation where the initiates cluster to see the manifestation of Karwadi. This circular excavation is called either 'the nest' or 'the wallow'; the nest is a symbol of family and sociability, while the wallow connotes just the opposite. The word 'wallow' is usually used in connection with the buffalo, in their region a solitary wanderer who seeks a wallow to protect himself from the heat or from pests and parasites. Thus, Stanner
contends, the excavation is an ambiguous symbol which contains both good and bad elements; "at the center of things social, refuge and rottenness are found together" (Article II, p. 246). Another dualistic symbol, the Mother's blood, represents both life and suffering, and has a very powerful effect indeed. The custom of Tjirmumuk can also be interpreted symbolically. Instead of describing the custom as a profanity in direct contrast to the sacred character of Karwadi, I wish to maintain that both Karwadi and Tjirmumuk are religious, for they are the symbols which effect the "long lasting moods and motivations" described in Geertz's definition. But Tjirmumuk is definitely disorderly and hostile in comparison to the unity and sanctity of Karwadi; the circle, the symbol of unity, is broken when Tjirmumuk commences. Stanner explains the symbol to be of "consciously symbolic intent and of consciously patterned conduct" (Article II, p. 109). Tjirmumuk, like the circular excavation and the Mother's blood, is a symbol which allows the mind to associate the good with the bad, the tragic with orderly, and death with life. Many more symbols are present in the rite which Stanner admits he can in no way decipher, for they would require a thorough morphemic analysis of the language of the Murinbata. The rite is virtually steeped with symbolism; I have barely scratched the surface.

The joyous rite of Punj is understood by Stanner to be a reinactment of the primordial tragedy, as rationalized in the myth of the Old Woman, Mutjinga, the most sorrowful myth of the Murinbata (Article III, p. 117). Stanner is perplexed by the relationship of the myth to the rite, but he believes the myth to be derived from the rite because the rite is "obligatory and constant" while the myth is "discretionary and variable" (Article II, p. 248). The myth, unlike the rite, is not secret, but it does hold a special significance for initiated men. Given now, in summary form, is the myth:

A couple left their children with Mutjinga, the Old Woman. She took them swimming and then they slept. Then Mutjinga took one child and looked for lice in his hair. She swallowed the child. Then she said to the second child, "I will make you sleep."; this child was swallowed like the other. Eight others were swallowed in like manner. The man and his wife returned, but to their avail could not find the children. They found the Old Woman's tracks which led to the water; many people, including a mature man, Left Hand, heard their cries and aided them in their search. Mutjinga was believed to have crawled along the river; finally "they saw big eyes coming and out came the Old Woman...". Left Hand threw his spear. Mutjinga cried "from whose is this?" Left Hand answered "from yourself, yours was the fault." After they broke Mutjinga's neck, they found her belly moving, cut it open, and found in it the ten children, alive. They were pulled out, washed, and painted with ochre, and on their foreheads were put the marks of the initiated. Then they were returned to their joyful mothers.
The myth, along with the rite, may be broken down into the four stages set by Stanner: 1) setting aside, 2) destruction, 3) transformation, and 4) return. In the first stage, the setting aside, or consecration, the youths in the rite are put under the care of the kadu punj and are made nameless and as "wild beasts." The children in the myth are put under the care of the Old Woman, and become nameless, in essence, for they are without their parents. The young initiates are then anointed with blood and are symbolically swallowed, which is the stage of destruction; the corresponding stage in the myth consists of the actual swallowing of the children by Mutjinga. The third stage, which is the transformation, is perhaps the most significant stage, and encompasses the time, in the myth, which the children spend in the Old Woman's stomach. Transformation in the rite is more difficult to pin down, but can be said to be the hearing of, and the presentation of, the bullroarers. The final stage is simply the formal return to the mothers, in both rite and myth. The returned youths now belong to a new locus; they have new life. It must be emphasized that these four stages are in no way absolute but have been dealt with as such so that the reader may recognize the sacrificial bent in both the rite and the myth. The myth both gives the reason for the connection of the suffering with the good and the remedy for that condition. Mutjinga swallowed the children for no apparent reason, which is the "wrongful turn" which gives life its tragic character, and she provides the means whereby the youths can be reborn: she symbolically swallows the youths and vomits them back out both now and forever, so that they may live effectively and even joyfully in their less than perfect condition.

To recapitulate, then, the rite of Punj and its corresponding myth insure, through their symbolic content, that men receive "conceptions of a general order of existence." I have applied W.E.H. Stanner's comprehensive study of the third initiation rite of the Murinbata, the rite of Punj, to Clifford Geertz's definition of religion and have found them to be compatible; the Murinbata consciousness may well be plugged into what Geertz calls religion, even though the aborigines worship no god, have no churches or priests, and are not concerned with sin or salvation.
1Stanner was born in Sydney, Australia, and studied at Sydney University and the University of London, where he received his doctorate. He did field research with the tribe under study and even underwent the initiation rite described herein.


4Stanner, not discriminating between rite and ceremony, consistently calls Punj a ceremony, perhaps to emphasize its joyous character. He does, though, state that technically it is a rite; this is what I shall call it.

5In reality, though, the social and even spiritual pressures act to force the boys to participate in Punj (Article I, p. 112).


7This is characteristic of the Murinbata religion: the aborigines are not analytical and accept much as mystery.

8It is this phase that Stanner calls the 'liminal' period, because it is here that the youths are supposedly in the belly of the Old Woman. He identifies the wild animal stage with the first phase, that of separation (Article VI, p. 239).

9Notice the role psychology plays in the Murinbata religion.

10After the notion of Emile Durkeim and Robertson Smith.

11Stanner believes both the Karwadi and Tjirmumuk aspects of Punj to be mundane, and not either sacred or profane (Article II, p. 109).

12The rite is actually a most happy one and is the occasion for much singin, dancing and celebration.
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Linguists and modern speech scientists today share the belief that language and culture arise at the same time. Groups of people who share common experiences develop a means of communication. This communication often gives rise to appropriate new words. Members of trades and professions, such as nurses, medical doctors, and librarians, share a common vocabulary of specialized words and phrases called "argot" or "cant." ¹ An argot is a specialized vocabulary spoken by a group, trade, or profession. Although the term "cant" originally referred to the special vocabulary used by persons of low or disreputable character, the terms "argot" and "cant" are now used interchangeably. ² The language of an argot is unintelligible to individuals not closely associated with the group. ³ An argot reflects the lifestyle and culture of those using the argot through the language it employs. In the United States, the dominant culture is heterosexual. A homosexual is described as a person who finds his main or exclusive sexual gratification in sexual relations with members of his own sex. ⁴ Since the sexual practice of the homosexual places him outside the dominant culture, he has formed his own subculture. The argot of the homosexual reflects this subculture.

The practice of homosexuality is an ancient one and can be traced to the early Greeks and Romans. In the United States, the practice of homosexuality can be traced to reports by early European settlers concerning American Indians. ⁵ In most Western societies, the practice of homosexuality is publicly disapproved. In the United States, however, this disapproval goes even further: The behavior is considered a criminal offense in most states. ⁶ Participants actually found committing a homosexual act may be arrested on sodomy or oral copulation laws. Or they may be charged with lewd or lascivious behavior if arrested short of the sexual act. If found merely loitering around an area of homosexual activity, they may be charged with vagrancy. ⁷ Although the danger of criminal prosecution is a real threat to the homosexual, it is not the only one he faces. Any person displaying homosexual tendencies may be dismissed if he is a federal employee. He may be rejected at draft induction or be separated from the military with less than honorable discharge. If he is an immigrant, he may be deported. ⁸ The homosexual also faces the threat of blackmail. Because of legal and other threats, most homosexual activity is carried on in secret. This makes the homosexual an excellent target for blackmail if his activity is discovered. The threat of blackmail
also makes the homosexual a poor security risk for federal jobs.\textsuperscript{9}

The threat of criminal charges, discrimination, and the danger of blackmail are problems constantly faced by the homosexual. Most homosexuals live in fear of detection and as a result are insecure. The following statement by a homosexual indicates some of this fear:

The thought that you are "gay" is always with you and you know it's there even when other people don't. You also think to yourself that certain of your mannerisms and your ways of expression are liable to give you away. That means there is always a certain amount of strain.\textsuperscript{10}

In the United States, a stigma has always been attached to the homosexual. The concern of the homosexual for secrecy determines the extent and type of relationships he develops with other homosexuals within the subculture. Large cities provide more opportunities for specialized groups of homosexuals to exist. In smaller cities, the opportunities include mostly restroom sex.\textsuperscript{11} The homosexual subculture has developed an argot because of the need for secrecy. Any homosexual who acquires a knowledge of this argot does so through a conscious effort. Knowledge of the argot signifies membership in the group and serves as a method of unifying the members.\textsuperscript{12} It is obvious the argot and the subculture of the homosexual developed at the same time.

Although the subculture of the homosexual is distinct, the homosexual must operate within the dominant culture much of the time. Hence, the need for secrecy is paramount. The argot of the homosexual reflects this desire to go undetected in the heterosexual world. In the homosexual argot, "passing" means to conceal one's homosexuality. "To pass" means to be accepted as being heterosexual. Covert homosexuals refer to the attempt to pass as being "on stage."\textsuperscript{13} A more literal attempt at secrecy is the phrase "taking cover," which means zipping the fly in the homosexual argot.\textsuperscript{14}

The homosexual must function in both the homosexual world and the world of the dominant culture; therefore, the argot of the homosexual describes both worlds. "Gay" and "straight" are terms used to divide the worlds into Us and Them. Both words have cultural and sexual meanings.\textsuperscript{15} Some people, however, do not fit entirely into either of these categories. "Wise" refers to straight participants in gay communities. The term means that although heterosexual, these individuals can interact with the gay community with positive feelings.\textsuperscript{16}

The homosexual community is a close association of members of the subculture. Relationships within the community are defined by terms in the argot of the homosexual. It is interesting to note that several of these terms also describe social kinship in the heterosexual world. These terms include "mother," "auntie," and "sister." "Mother" describes one within the community with whom members have a special relationship. He is usually an older man who is extremely camp and very sociable. "Auntie" is an aging, effeminate homosexual who attracts a younger circle of men. He offers
advice, money, and shelter. "Sisters" are those in a formalized, close relationship within a clique. 17

Relationships between individual homosexuals are also described by the homosexual argot. The term "lover" is used in much the same sense as it is used in the heterosexual world. A homosexual "lover" is a partner in a long-term relationship. "Husband and wife" is also used to describe the same relationship. 18 "Gay marriage" is used to describe a paired relationship which lasts for a period of time. 19

Members of the community also have a term to describe one who is a leader. "Queen" denotes the leader in a covert group of homosexuals. A member of a covert group describes the function of the queen as follows:

A queen really means the leader of the group. You see how that is in a small town where there are not many people who are gay and willing to admit it. She knows who's who and what's what. 20

The term "queen" also has another meaning. In the homosexual argot it may also mean an individual, not necessarily homosexual, who preys on children or engages in activities not accepted as part of the norm of the group for sexual activity. 21

The dominant heterosexual culture disapproves of the behavior of homosexuals, and this disapproval contributes to the clannish behavior of homosexuals. Homosexuals tend to congregate at special locations. The argot of the homosexual reflects this tendency to meet with other homosexuals. A "tearoom" refers to an establishment which gains a reputation as a place where homosexual encounters occur. A "tearoom" could be a public toilet, a balcony of a movie theater, or an automobile. To become known as a "tearoom," the location must be readily accessible to the male population. 22

The argot also contains terms which refer to tearoom activity. A "watch queen" is the lookout in a tearoom. This term denotes the homosexual's need for secrecy while also exhibiting his protective attitude towards members within the community. 23 "Trickling" refers to engaging in a one-time sexual relationship and usually occurs in tearooms. 24 In the homosexual argot, "cutting out" means giving up on the game of seeking a sexual partner in a tearoom. 25

The behavior of homosexuals differs noticeably from that of members of the dominant culture. The homosexual argot contains terms to describe some of this behavior. "Camp behavior," "camping," and "carrying on" describe behavior of homosexuals which is non-serious fun and a parody of femininity. 26 "Drag" is the term used to describe the practice of wearing female clothes. It is done in the spirit of camp and is acceptable in social settings of the gay community. 27 A "drag queen" is one who wears drag fairly often, but still only on appropriate occasions. A female impersonator in a show is an example. 28
The homosexual must live both in and between his world and the world of the dominant culture. His individual need for secrecy influences his choice of profession. Occupations of covert homosexuals cover all fields and include such professions as medicine, law, bookkeeping, and so forth. The overt homosexual who does not feel the need for secrecy tends to fall into occupations of a much lower status such as being a bellhop or counterman. Within the homosexual community, "hustlers" are those who provide a subsistence for themselves by engaging in homosexual activity for a charge. The hustler often denies his homosexual tendency and justifies his action as merely a means of providing a living.

The homosexual displays an attitude toward time which indicates a difference from the dominant culture. The gay community exists within the limits of leisure time since stigmas prevent the extension of the community into work time. The gay world is a world of leisure time which is structured by the concept of leisure and play. For the homosexual, this gives a value to free time beyond that of simple relaxation. The homosexual argot contains terms which reflect the importance leisure time holds for homosexuals. "Cruise," walking the street or frequenting homosexual gathering places looking for a partner, "number," a casual pickup, and "meat market," a street where homosexuals gather to cruise and pickup tricks, all relate to the homosexual's particular conception of time. During leisure time within the homosexual community, the narration of sexual experience and gossip about sexual exploits of others provide a major form of recreation. "Dish" in the argot means to engage in malicious gossip.

Space also takes on a special meaning for homosexuals. Like gay time, gay space tends to secrecy. Gay space which is spent in gay space, such as a gay bar, gains a highly exclusive and valuable character by its very secrecy. For the homosexual, gay space provides a place where the true self can be allowed to surface. In the argot, "letting down my hair" and "being myself" reflect this feeling of freedom provided by gay space. The invasion of gay space triggers reactions which include either ignoring the newcomers, routing them, or being overpowered by them. To the gays, territorial invasion may mean gay people in straight places or straight people in gay places.

The attitude of homosexuals toward bisexuals is reflected by the argot. Homosexuals express the idea that masculinity is more desirable to femininity. "Sissy" in the argot refers to one who is overly feminine. "Butching it up" refers to the attempt of an individual to be overly masculine even though his feelings are actually feminine. Within the homosexual argot, bisexuals are referred to as "bi," "AC/DC," or "switch-hitters." A "nelly" or "nelly queen" is one who is overly effeminate and flamboyant enough to endanger the secret status of his homosexuality. He is referred to as "she" or "her," denoting the disapproval of the community, and is given a feminine name linked with his own man's name, such as Erica for Eric.
The argot of the homosexual can be divided into two sections: a core vocabulary which includes terms known by homosexuals in all the different areas of the country, and a fringe vocabulary which is known only by homosexuals in certain geographical areas. Since the homosexual culture is quite transient, fringe vocabulary can quickly become a part of the core vocabulary. Examination of the argot has shown that the core vocabulary has stability and is the part of the lexicon which functions most frequently in homosexual communication. The core vocabulary of the argot consists of the following terms:

Are you prepared?, Are you ready?, basket, box, bulldyke, butch, camp, closet queen, drag, drag queen, dyke, femme, gay, Mary!, Mercy!, Mercy Mary!, one night stand, queen, rough trade, straight, Too much!, trick.42

The core vocabulary also contains words which describe different sexual behavior. They include "blowing," for sexual intercourse, "browning," for anal intercourse, and "golden shower," for urination with sexual implications.43

The fringe vocabulary contained within the homosexual argot is much larger than the core vocabulary. Unlike the core vocabulary, it consists of terms largely unknown by the heterosexual community. The fringe vocabulary also reflects the difference in slang from metropolitan areas--where specialized homosexual communities exist--and the slang used in smaller cities and towns--where sexual opportunities are mostly one-night stands.44 Words contained in the fringe vocabulary of the homosexual are of six varieties: Compounds ("closet queen," "size queen"), rhyme compounds ("chichi," "shishi," "peek freak"), exclamations ("Mary!" and "Too much!") puns ("Give him the clap!") blends ("bluff" from "butch" and "fluff"), and truncations ("bi," "homo," and "hetero").45

The homosexual subculture has undergone quite a few changes in the past few years. A drive for recognition of gay rights has begun. Organizations such as the North America Conference of Homophile Organizations and the Gay Activists Alliance have been established to promote the rights of homosexuals.46 Although much progress has been made in the fight for gay rights, the argot of the homosexual has neither disappeared nor been reduced. The homosexual subculture does not wish to become a part of the dominant culture. Rather, they only ask for freedom to live as they desire. The argot of the homosexual functions to unite members of the homosexual community, and as long as the community differs significantly from the dominant culture, the argot will live.
FOOTNOTES

2 Ibid., p. 555.
3 Ibid., p. 556.
8 Weinberg, p. 19.
10 Ruitenbeek, p. 163.
11 Weinberg, p. 11.
13 Weinberg, p. 177.
14 Humphreys, p. 79.
16 Ibid., p. 113.
17 Ibid., pp. 109-110.
18 Ibid., p. 110.
20 Ruitenbeek, pp. 170-171.
21 Stanley, p. 51.
22 Humphreys, p. 2.
23 Ibid., p. 27.
24 Ibid., p. 16.
25 Ibid., p. 79.
26 Warren, p. 105.
27 Ibid., p. 103.
28 Ibid., p. 107.
29 Weinberg, p. 199.
30 Ruitenbeek, p. 167.
33 Stanley, pp. 57-59.
34 Ruitenbeek, p. 164.
36 Ibid., p. 32.
37 Ibid., p. 33.
39 Warren, p. 113.
40 Ibid., p. 107.
41 Stanley, p. 46.
42 Ibid., p. 50.
43 Warren, p. 111.
44 Stanley, pp. 51-52.
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Mr. and Mrs. Howard Lowery allocated enough time for an interview while they were at work. That interview revealed pertinent facts that made Sergeant York the true hero of World War I and of his home at Pall Mall, Tennessee. The Lowerys then allowed me to visit their home to look at family scrapbooks portraying Sergeant York.

What better sources could there be than the people who shared the life of the subject of the entire study of this paper? Through Mrs. York's help and the Lowerys' help, I came into contact with primary sources that I would not have been exposed to through basic research. Thanks again to Mrs. Alvin C. York and Mr. and Mrs. Howard Lowery for their help to this particular study.
THE LIFE STORY OF

THE HERO OF WORLD WAR I--SERGEANT ALVIN C. YORK

A "hero" is a mythological or legendary figure, often of divine descent, endowed with great strength or ability; an illustrious warrior; a man admired and emulated for his achievements and qualities; and the central figure in an event or period. From a cabin back in the mountains of Tennessee, a young man who was untutored in the ways of the world went to World War I to fight for the principles that the United States held in high esteem. That young man was later known as the hero of World War I. His name was Sergeant Alvin Cullum York from Pall Mall, Tennessee.

Alvin C. York, the third oldest of eleven children, was born in 1887 in a one-room log cabin in Pall Mall, Tennessee. His father was William York, a great hunter and blacksmith by trade, who disciplined himself and his children to the theory that contentment was to be found in the square deal and honest labor. Because of the large family of eleven children, Alvin had to quit school in the second grade and go to work for his father at the blacksmith shop. Even then at the age of 16, Alvin was a huge man, standing six feet tall, tipping the scale at 205 pounds.

Alvin's mother was the former Mary Brooks, a pioneer in courage and faith as she undertook her tasks with determination in hope that the Almighty God was mindful of her needs. "Mother York" was certainly the heroic type as she was forced to rear eleven children alone. Her husband, William, passed away in 1911, and the responsibility for this large family fell on her shoulders. Alvin was only 24 years old at that time, and his father's death brought him many problems also.

However, "Mother York" loved her family, and it was from her teachings that Alvin York formed his attitudes toward life. Her simple, homemade philosophy was ever urging her boy to "think clear through whatever proposition was before him, and when in a situation where those around him were excited, to slow down on what he was doing, and think fast." The ideals that "Mother York" held in high esteem were very influential in Alvin's future life. As she said,

I hain't [sic] had much o' [sic] the larnin' [sic] that comes out o' [sic] books, but I brung [sic] up by the hair of the head, all alone, in a one-room log cabin, eleven red-headed kids; and they're all alive and well today; and that [sic] larns [sic] you somethin'[sic] about livin'.

49
Alvin always listened to "Mother York's" guiding words of gentle and simple truths.

However, Alvin went through a brief period of wildness in young manhood. When his father passed away, the responsibility for the large family brought Alvin many problems from which he sought relief by drifting along with a wild crowd of fellows. Alvin was a typical Saturday night hell-raiser around Tennessee's tiny Cumberland Mountains towns. He got his recreation in gambling and drinking. But he finally saw how his behavior was upsetting "Mother York." Alvin gained one of the greatest victories a man can hope to achieve in 1915 when he conquered himself. What great inner awakening had occurred to inspire him to make such a tremendous change in his life? His mother, of course, influenced such a change. However, at the mere sight of a church-going girl, Miss Gracie Williams, whom he wanted to marry, Alvin put away his jug and became a member of the Church of Christ in Christian Union.

Joining this church meant more than it may have seemed to Alvin. The rules were exceedingly strict, and unless a person had true religious convictions, he would not be able to live according to its tenets. Alvin was determined to follow those rules to the utmost. Above all, he took to heart and he hoped to live by the Ten Commandments, stressing mainly the Sixth Commandment: Thou Shalt Not Kill. Yes, Alvin York had been "saved" as he expressed it, and his "wild" days were over. He often gave testimony of his religious experience:

I abandoned the old life completely and forever, because I jis' [sic] kinder [sic] realized I was missing the finer things of life; and when you miss the finer things of life, you might jis' [sic] as well be a razorback hog grubbing for acorns on the mountain side.

As mentioned before, no one was happier about the great change in Alvin's life than a beautiful, young mountain girl, Miss Gracie Williams. She had frowned upon Alvin's drinking and gambling, Miss Gracie simply would not have anything to do with Alvin until he had begun to lead a decent life. He rose rapidly in the church as he used the Bible as a guide for living. He taught a Sunday school class, led the choir, and was even called the singing elder because of his pleasing tenor voice when he became second elder of the church. Alvin York preferred to live in peace and to love and be loved, to marry Miss Gracie, the girl that he picked out when she was a baby as (she was 12 years younger than him), and to settle down in the little valley of Fentress County, Tennessee.

In addition to his religious commitment, Alvin also committed himself to becoming an expert marksman. Shooting matches were held on Saturday near the rural community of Pall Mall, Tennessee. It took prompt action to score a hit on a turkey-shoot range because the marksman would have to wait for the untimed appearance of the bobbing head. Alvin became a phenomenal shot with his long-barreled rifle as he developed a keen sense of hunting. At the same time,
Alvin developed an extraordinary skill with a pistol. He could toss it from hand to hand, and at full gallop, shoot with deadly accuracy. Alvin probably never suspected that he would be making use of those expert marksmanship skills in his future. Was Alvin York destined to become a hero or an illustrious warrior?

Meanwhile on the world-wide scene, war had broken out in Europe. Alvin, like most mountaineers, was only mildly interested before there was talk of the United States' entry into such a war. The wounds of the Civil War had healed, but the scars that it left were deep. The thought of another armed conflict meant more to the old people than it did to the younger generation. Alvin did not want to fight because he had found comfort in religion and happiness in love. "If the world would only let him alone, he would be well content in turn to let the world alone," Alvin once said to Miss Gracie.

When the draft came along and reached out for Alvin, he was in a difficult situation. He had become second elder of the church, and he often led the services. He was very much in love with Miss Gracie, and she had agreed to marry him. There was only one thing that Alvin could do when he received his registration card in 1917. He claimed exemption from the draft as a conscientious objector. His duty to his country pointed one way, and his religious convictions pointed another way.

In 1917, York twice appealed for exemption from the World War I draft as a conscientious objector. Pastor R. C. Pile urged Alvin frequently to request exemption on the grounds that his mother, faced with the prospect of losing the head of the household at a time when her health was not robust, needed him at home.

Of course, Alvin had been taught by the Church of Christ in Christian Union that killing was sinful. He had given up drinking and gambling to abide by the rules of the church to which he was admitted. Therefore, Alvin pleaded for exemption from the World War I draft on the grounds that he had religious scruples against war. He wrote:

August 28, 1917

To Local Draft Board,
County of Fentress.

I, Alvin Cullum York, Serial Number 378, hereby certify that I am 29 years of age and reside at Pall Mall, Tennessee. I hereby respectfully claim discharge from selective draft on the following ground, that I am--

(1) a person who was a member of a well-organized sect or organization, organized and existing May 18, 1917, whose then existing creed or principles forbade its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious principles are against war or participants therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said well-recognized sect or organization.

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However, the local draft board thought differently about York's religious principles against war. They knew that Alvin York was a big, strong man, a deadly shot, and the type of man who would make a good soldier. Their denial of his appeal for exemption was as follows:

LOCAL BOARD FOR THE COUNTY OF FENTRESS
STATE OF TENNESSEE
JAMESTOWN, TENNESSEE

Serial Number 378
Order N. 218

ALVIN CULLUM YORK

Denied, because we do not think "The Church of Christ in Christian Union" is a well-recognized sect, etc. Also, we understand it has no creed except the Bible, which its members more or less interpret for themselves, and some do not disbelieve in war—at least there is nothing forbidding them to participate.

Alvin appealed against their decision, and again he was denied. He had twice appealed for exemption from the World War I draft board, and he had been twice denied his appeal. Alvin then went over the heads of the County Board and petitioned the Board for the Middle District of Tennessee to exempt him. When they refused his petition, he wrote a personal appeal to President Woodrow Wilson, who turned the letter over to the War Department, where it was not acted upon.

Therefore, Alvin York had to go to war. He was not the killer type nor the fighting type. Nevertheless, Alvin went to war because he was drafted and he was forced to go. He registered for the draft at Pastor R. C. Pile's store in Pall Mall, Tennessee. Alvin was physically examined and passed the test as he was in top physical shape. He weighed around 180 pounds and stood over six feet tall. Hunting and blacksmithing had toughened his body until he was a man of steel and hickory, and his movements were quiet, quick, and panther-like.

Alvin Cullum York was inducted into the army and assigned to the 21st training battalion at Camp Gordon, Georgia, on November 14, 1917. He was later sent to Company G, 328th Infantry, 82nd Division. This was the "All America" Division, made up of selected men from every state in the Union, and in its ranks were the descendants of men who came from every nation that composed the Allies that were fighting Germany. Alvin was a good soldier and enjoyed basic training; he quickly won the notice of his superiors—Captain E.C.B. Danforth, Jr., the company commander, and Major George Edward Buxton, the battalion officer. Captain Danforth wanted to promote Alvin to corporal and possibly to sergeant, but the cloud of being a conscientious objector hovered over him, and he remained a private.

Even though he had proven to be a good soldier, he had entered
the Army in a state of mental and spiritual perplexity. He knew that he needed to serve his country. Nevertheless, he had been taught that it was wrong for Christians to fight and kill one another, and the more that he studied the Bible, the more he was convinced of it. His conscience kept pestering him until he finally went to Captain Danforth, who in turn took his case to a higher officer. Major George Edward Buston was a Bible student, and in self-defense, he had searched out for himself passages of God's word that permitted man to fight for his country. He was impressed with Captain Danforth's story of this good soldier, diligent and obedient, but with religious practices that would not let him kill. An interview was scheduled between Major Buxton and Alvin.

During the interview, Alvin talked to Major Buxton of his activities in the Church of Christ in Christian Union in Tennessee. He told how the creed of the church was the Bible and how he believed the Bible was the inspired Word of God and the final authority of all men. With his Bible in his hand, Major Buxton explained that there were times when it was a man's obligation to fight in order to protect his rights. He quoted Old Testament passages to Alvin to convince him of the legitimacy of a just war. The Major quoted Ezekiel in the Old Testament:

When I bring the sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman;

If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people;

Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head.

He heard the sound of the trumpet, and took not warning; his blood shall be upon him. But he that taketh warning shall deliver his soul.

But if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned; if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand.

Alvin listened carefully and was impressed with the Major just as Major Buxton was impressed with the intelligent sincerity of Alvin. Major Buxton ordered a 10-day furlough for Private York to go home and think over the situation.

Alvin went home and discussed the problem that he was being burdened by with his family, with his friend Pastor Pile, and with Miss Gracie. Two days before his leave expired, he did something which revealed his deeply religious character, something which in this skeptical age should be held up to every man, woman, and child.
in America as a Rock of Gibraltar of faith. Unable to solve the problem himself and unable to receive the help he needed from his friends and loved ones, he put the problem up to his God. For two days, he knelt on the mountain side and prayed for guidance just like Moses and Joshua of the olden days. When he came down from the mountain, he was satisfied because he had received assurance from God. He made his declaration that it was right for him to go to war, and as long as he believed in God, not one hair on his head would be harmed. With faith as strong as Alvin had developed, he was invulnerable. Was Alvin York again destined to become a hero or a man endowed with great strength or ability as an illustrious warrior?

When Alvin made his decision to go to war, that decision led to his becoming the most celebrated G. I. in America's military history. In May of 1918, the 82nd Division arrived in France to be given British rifles, helmets, and gas masks, and to be sent on to training areas. Alvin was convinced that it was his duty to fight for his country. Once his religious scruples were laid aside, he devoted himself to the business of soldiering with that same definite and dominant purpose which characterized his life in the mountains. The earnest young private soon won promotion to the rank of corporal in Company G, 328th Infantry, 82nd Division in the month of September.

However, the essence of Alvin York's life was compressed into four hours on October 8, 1918, in the mud and blood of the Argonne Forest during the Meuse-Argonne Campaign of World War I. Shortly before daylight on October 8, 1918, the 82nd Division, wet to the skin and nearly exhausted, climbed a small hill marked 223 on the war maps and took over a sector of the front line where the exact position was almost nine miles in front of them. At dawn, the attack was to begin where the big, red-headed mountaineer from Pall Mall, Tennessee, in the Cumberland Mountains was to write a thrilling and almost unbelievable page in the military history of the United States Army.

In order to describe the battle of the Argonne Forest, it seems necessary to give two versions of the story that were told by Alvin C. York. The first account of the battle was as follows:

On the 7th day of October we lay in some little holes on the roadside all day. That night we went out and stayed a little while and came back to our holes, the shells bursting all around us. I saw men just blown up by the big German shells which were bursting all round us.

So the order came for us to take Hill 223 and 240 on the 8th.

So the morning of the 8th just before daylight, we started for the hill at Chatel Chehery. Before we got there it got light and the Germans sent over a heavy barrage and also gas and we put on our gas-masks and just pressed
right on through those shells and got to the top of Hill 223 to where we were to start over at 6:10 A.M.

They were to give us a barrage. The time came and no barrage, and we had to go without one. So we started over the top at 6:10 A.M. and the Germans were putting their machine guns to working all over the hill in front of us and on our left and right. I was in support and I could see my pals getting picked off until it almost looked like there was none left.

So 17 of us boys went around on the left flank to see if we couldn't put those guns out of action.

So when we went around and fell in behind those guns we first saw two Germans with Red Cross bands on their arms.

Some one of the boys shot at them and they ran back to our right.

So we all ran after them, and when we jumped across a little stream of water that was there, there was about 15 or 20 Germans jumped up and threw up their hands and said, 'Comrade.' The one in charge of us boys told us not to shoot, they were going to give up anyway.

By this time the Germans from on the hill was shooting at me. Well I was giving them the best I had.

The Germans had got their machine guns turned around.

They killed 6 and wounded 3. That just left 8 and then we got into it right. So we had a hard battle for a little while.

I got hold of a German major and he told me if I wouldn't kill any more of them he would make them quit firing.

So I told him all right. If he would do it now.

So he blew a little whistle and they quit shooting and came down and gave up. I had about 80 or 90 Germans there.

They disarmed and we had another line of Germans to go through to get out. So I called for my men and one answered me from behind a big oak tree and the other men were on my right in the brush.

So I said, 'Let's get these Germans out of here.' One of my men said, 'It's impossible.' So I said, 'No, let's get them out of here.'

When my men said that, this German major said, 'How many have you got?'
And I said, 'I got a plenty,' and pointed my pistol at him all the time.

In this battle I was using a rifle or a 45 Colt automatic pistol.

So I lined the Germans up in a line of twos and I got between the ones in front and I had the German major before me. So I marched them right straight into those other machine guns, and I got them. When I got back to my Major's P. C. I had 132 prisoners.

So you can see here in this case of mine where God helped me out. I had been living for God and working in church work sometime before I came to the army. I am a witness to the fact that God did help me out of that hard battle for the bushes were shot off all around me and I never got a scratch.

So you can see that God will be with you if you will only trust Him, and I say He did save me.50

The next account of the battle was written in the following version:

Sergeant Harry M. Parsons was in command of a platoon of which my squad was a part. This platoon was the left support platoon of G Company, my squad forming the extreme left flank of the platoon. The valley was covered by machine-gun fire from the right (pointing at the map), from the front, and from the left front. Machine guns from the left front were causing a great deal of damage to our troops advancing across the valley. Sergeant Parsons was ordered to advance with his platoon and cover our left flank. As the fire was very hot in the valley, we decided to skirt the foot of the hill on our left and thereby gain some protection. We had advanced a little ways up to about here (pointing at the map) when we were held up by machine guns from our left front here (pointing at the map). Sergeant Parsons told Sergeant Bernard Early to take two squads and put these machine guns out of business; so my squad, being the left squad, was one of those chosen.

We advanced in single file. The undergrowth and bushes here were so thick that we could see only a few yards ahead of us, but as we advanced, they became a little thinner. In order to avoid frontal fire from the machine guns, we turned our course slightly to the left, thereby working around on the right flank of the machine guns and somewhat to their rear, which caused us to miss these forward guns (pointing at the map). As we gained a point about here (pointing at the map and designating a point somewhat in the rear of the machine guns), we turned sharply to the right oblique and followed a
little path which took us directly in rear of the machine guns. As we advanced we saw two Boche with Red Cross bands on their arms. We called to them to halt, but they did not stop and we opened fire on them. Sergeant Early was leading and I was third.

As I said before, we were proceeding in single file. We immediately dashed down a path, along which the Boche were running, and crossed this stream (pointing at map). The Boche then turned to the right and ran in the direction from which we had come. When we reached the point where they turned, we stopped for half a second to form a skirmish line. I jumped about four paces away from a sergeant and we told the other men to scatter out because we thought there was going to be a battle and we did not want to be too close together. As soon as we formed our skirmish line, we burst through the bushes after the Boche.

This little stream of which I spoke runs through a gulch into the valley. On either side of the stream there was a little stretch of flat, level ground, about twenty feet wide, which was covered with extremely thick bush. On the east bank of the stream was a hill having an exceedingly steep slope. The hill was somewhat semicircular in shape and afforded excellent protection to anyone behind it. Along the top of the hill were the machine guns firing across the valley at our troops.

We burst through the undergrowth and were upon the Germans before we knew it, because the undergrowth was so thick that we could see only a few yards ahead of us. There was a little shack thrown together that seemed to be used as a sort of P. C. by the Germans. In front of this, in a sort of semicircular mass, sat about seventy-five Boche, and beside a chow can, which was near the P. C., sat the commanding officer. The Boche seemed to be having some kind of conference.

When we burst in on the circle, some of the Boche jumped and threw up their hands, shouting 'Kamerad.' Then the others jumped up, and we began shooting. About two or three Germans were hit. None of our men fell.

Sergeant Early said, 'Don't shoot any more. They are going to give up anyhow,' and for a moment our fire ceased, except that one German continued to fire at me, and I shot him. In the meantime, the Boche upon the hill with the machine guns swung the left guns to the left oblique and opened fire on us. I was at this time just a few paces from the mass of Boche who were crowded around the P. C. At the first burst of fire from the machine guns, all the Boche in this group hit the ground, lying flat on their stomachs. I, and a few other of
our men, hit the ground at the same time. Those who did not take cover were either killed or wounded by the Boche machine-gun fire, the range being so close that the clothes were literally torn from their bodies. Sergeant Early and Corporal Cutting were wounded, and Corporal Savage was killed. In this first fire we had six killed and three wounded. By this time, those of my men who were left had gotten behind trees, and two men sniped at the Boche. They fired about half a clip each. But there wasn't any tree for me, so I just sat in the mud and used my rifle, shooting at the Boche machine gunners. I am a pretty good shot with the rifle, also with the pistol, having used them practically all my life, and having had a great deal of practice. I shot my rifle until I did not have any more clips convenient and then I used my pistol.

The Boche machine-gun fire was sweeping over the mass of Germans who were lying flat, and passing a few inches over my head, but I was so close to the mass of Germans who were lying down that the Boche machine gunners could not hit me without hitting their own men. There were about fifty Boche with the machine guns, and they were under the command of a lieutenant. By this time, the remaining Boche guns had turned around and were firing at us, and the lieutenant with eight or ten Germans armed with rifles rushed toward us. One threw a little grenade about the size of a dollar and with a string that you pull like this when you want it to explode, at me, but missed me by a few feet, wounding, however, one of his own men.

I just let the Boche come down the hill and then poured it into them with my pistol, and I am, as I said before, a pretty good shot with a pistol. I shot the lieutenant, and when he was killed, the machine-gun fire ceased. During the fight I kept hearing a pistol firing from the midst of the Boche who were lying on the ground. This was evidently the commanding officer shooting, as he was the only one in the crowd armed with a pistol, and all of his clips were empty when I examined them later.

When the machine guns ceased firing, the commanding officer, who spoke English, got off the ground and walked over to me. He said, 'English?' I said, 'No, not English.' He said, 'What?' I said, 'American.' He said, 'Good Lord!' Then he said, 'If you won't shoot any more, I will make them give up,' and I said, 'Well, all right, I will treat you like a man,' and he turned around and said something to his men in German, and they all threw off their belts and arms and the machine gunners threw down their arms and came down the hill.
I called to my men and one of them answered me over here, another from over there, and another here (they were pretty well scattered), and when they all come to me, I found that there were six left besides myself.

We searched the Boche and told them to line up in a column of twos. The Boche commanding officer wanted to line up facing north and go down through the valley along the road which runs by the foot of the hill, but I knew if they got me there it would be as good as they wanted on account of the machine guns on the opposite slope, so I said, 'No, I am going this way,' which was the way I had come, and which led through the group of machine guns placed here (pointing at the map), which seemed to be outpost guns. We had missed this machine-gun nest as we advanced, because we had gone further to the left.

When we got the Boche lined up in a column of twos, I scattered my men along and at the rear of the column and told them to stay well to the rear and that I would lead the way. So I took the commanding officer and the other two officers and put one in front of me and one on each side of me, and we headed the column. I did that because I knew that if I were caught on the side of the column, the machine gunners would shoot me, but that if I kept in the column, they would have to shoot their officers before they could kill me. In this manner we advanced along a path and into the machine-gun nest which is situated here (pointing at the map).

The machine-gunners, as I said before, could not kill me without killing their officers, and I was ready for them. One aimed a rifle at me from behind a tree, and, as I pointed my pistol at him, the commanding officer said, 'If you won't shoot any more, I will tell them to surrender.' He did and we added them to our column.

I then reported with the prisoners to the battalion P. C. They were counted there and there were 132 of them. I was there ordered to deliver the prisoners to brigade headquarters, which I did, and returned to my company the next morning.\textsuperscript{51}

To simplify the two above versions of the battle of the Argonne Forest, it seems necessary to draw several conclusions. As was mentioned before, the dawn of October 8, 1918, found Corporal York's company on Hill 223 near Chatel Chehery, France, with the assignment of advancing on a railway two miles in front. As the company moved toward the objective two miles away, they were met by withering machine-gun fire. Most of the first wave was killed or injured, leaving 17 men in the second wave to finish the battle. The commander was Sergeant Bernard J. Early with Corporal York ranking next to
Sergeant Early. The detail moved forward and came up on the side of a machine-gun battalion which fired on the Americans from every direction, killing 10 of the 17 men, including Sergeant Early.52

Six of the remaining seven men took cover with Corporal York remaining in his position. He picked off 18 Germans with 18 shots.53 Apparently, his marksmanship skills that he learned at an early age proved to be very valuable to him and to the United States.

Corporal York was then charged by seven more members of the German battalion. He shot them with his pistol, whereupon, the commander of the German troops surrendered.54 Corporal York then collected his own men and marched the prisoners back to American territory. He had captured 132 German prisoners, including 128 enlisted men and four officers, and he also killed 20-25 others and silenced 35 machine guns.55

Corporal York's feat of World War I won the highest praise of military leaders. Marshal Ferdinand Foch, the commander of Allied Forces in World War I, called Corporal York's exploit in the Argonne Forest "the greatest thing accomplished by any private soldier of all the armies of Europe."56 General John J. Pershing called Corporal York "the greatest civilian soldier of the war."57

Corporal York was promoted to Sergeant on November 1, 1918, and became for all time to come, "Sergeant York," the title that all but replaced his first name.58 He was soon recommended for the Congressional Medal of Honor and taken out of the front lines. The Armistice was signed shortly afterwards. After the signing, Sergeant York, along with staff officers and war correspondents, returned to the battlefield. The ground was carefully photographed and measured, and his own affidavit and those of other eyewitnesses were taken, for the feat seemed so incredible that the officers could not believe it. Investigation after investigation was held until every single doubt had been removed and every claim made on Sergeant York's behalf substantiated.59 Officers exclaimed that it was not human for a man to do what Sergeant York had done in the Argonne Forest; on the other hand, Sergeant York would not take any credit for what he did either — he felt that God deserved all of the credit.60

Nevertheless, Sergeant York came out of World War I and returned to a hero's welcome in the United States. He was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, America's highest decoration for bravery; the Distinguished Service Cross; the Medaille Militaire; Croix de Guerre with palm; the French Legion of Honor; the Croce di Guerra of Italy; the War Medal of Montenegro; and many other medals.61 Also, after the Armistice, each United States Division sent one enlisted man and one officer to Paris to discuss the organization of a civilian veterans group to continue the friendships they had made and to look out for the veterans' interests. Sergeant York, representing the 82nd Division, became one of the charter members of the American Legion in 1919, and he remained a Legionnaire until his death.62
In May, 1919, Sergeant York returned to the United States. The newspapers had already printed countless reviews of Sergeant York's exploits, and as Sergeant York stated jokingly, "By the time they had finished writing about me in their newspapers, I had whipped the whole German army single handed." He was given a tumultuous welcome, a wild hero's welcome in New York where he was honored by a great parade down Fifth Avenue. The New York Stock Exchange suspended business, and members carried the war hero around the trading floor on their shoulders. He was also given a standing ovation by Congress in Washington, D.C. Since Sergeant York received the biggest reception ever given to a home-coming American of that time, with the single exception of the glorious colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, should he be considered a hero or the central figure in an event or period?

Sergeant York received his discharge on May 29, 1919, and was immediately besieged by offers for lecture tours, acting assignments, and other public appearances amounting to as much as $500,000 in show business. Yet he declined all of the offers because he felt it would violate his religious convictions to capitalize on his war record. He turned them down, saying, "This uniform ain't for sale" and returned to Tennessee with his family and friends.

Sergeant York was greeted warmly by the people of Tennessee, as they had developed a great deal of pride in the World War I hero. As soon as he reached Pall Mall, he stated, "I didn't do any hunting for a few days. I'm telling you I went hunting Gracie first." Sergeant York and Gracie soon announced plans to be married. The wedding of Alvin Cullum York and Gracie Williams was performed by Governor Roberts of Tennessee on June 7, 1919, on a hillside near a spring where the two had met in their courtship days, with around 10,000 people attending the event. Sergeant York and Gracie settled down on 400 acres of land that were given to him by the state of Tennessee; here he continued blacksmithing, hunting, and farming as he had practiced before he went to war.

However, if Sergeant York had hoped to fade away as some old soldiers do, he did not take into account the public's capacity for hero worship. For years and years to follow, a steady stream of tourists found their way to the York home where they usually found the war hero in the fields or working on farm buildings. It became obligatory for politicians of Tennessee running for office to pose for campaign pictures with Sergeant York. Are the statements above the makings of a hero or a man admired and emulated for his achievements and qualities?

Even though Sergeant York had already served his country well, he was still wondering what he could do for his people since they had been so generous to him. Before the war, he had never been out of the mountains, and he had no idea what the outside world was like. After the war, two things that he had witnessed throughout the world had made a lasting impression on him. These two things were education and roads. The nearest high school was 50 miles away, and the mountain trails and creek beds were no comparison to the roads and highways he had seen in his travels. Therefore,
he traveled to Nashville and requested a grant for a road through the mountains. The York Highway was then constructed from Knoxville right through the heart of the mountains to Nashville. 74

Sergeant York's fight against one of the world's greatest evils, ignorance, had also begun to take shape. He had the opportunity of capitalizing upon his bravery in World War I by appearing on stage or in the movies, but instead, he asked that no gifts be made except those in the form of money for an education fund. 75 The result was the York Foundation, a non-profit-sharing organization that was to build and operate schools for the mountain children. In connection with each school, there was farm land tilled by the students; besides providing instruction in agriculture, the farm was to aid in the support of the school. Then, as each unit became self-supporting, another school was established in a new district. 76

Before the idea of the York Foundation came into being, Sergeant York refused to cooperate in the writing of anything about his life until the early 1920's when two books were published, Sergeant York and His People by Sam Cowan and Sergeant York--Last of the Long-hunters by Tom Skeyhill. 77 Any money that was made from the sale of these books went toward the school that was probably Sergeant York's biggest accomplishment after the war, the York Agricultural Institute. 78

By lecturing across the country, he earned $15,000, which he used to help build the Institute. Other contributions came from the Tennessee Legislature ($50,000) and a lumber company (1,000 acres of land). 79 Upon completion, the York Agricultural Institute consisted of a large modern building and several smaller buildings, a gymnasium, a football field, and a modern farm. Sergeant York served as president of the school until 1936 when the Prohibition party nominated him for Vice-President, a nomination which he turned down. 80

Even though Sergeant York was surrounded by fame, he remained simple and dedicated to the people of the mountains. He won and held their pride not only as the greatest soldier of their time, but also as a citizen in peacetime, living quietly on his farm at Pall Mall, Tennessee. For many, fame would have produced a proud spirit, a feeling of elevation and selfishness; however, wealth gained by Sergeant York through fame was used to educate the boys and girls of the Cumberland Mountains. 81

Sergeant York wondered what more he could do for his people. As mentioned before, he was a deeply religious man who loved to read the Bible. Teaching a Sunday school class, he realized that many people did not understand the Bible. He then remembered that almost every year, the motion picture producers urged him to allow them to make a picture of his life. 82 He decided that if producers would make the picture exactly as his life had been, it might teach many good things, and he could raise money to build a Bible Institute at Pall Mall.

Therefore, he made several more guest appearances at events such
as state fairs to raise money for the Bible Institute. In 1941, the motion picture Sergeant York was made with Gary Cooper portraying the war hero. Cooper later won an Academy Award for his role, and the movie itself totaled one of the largest box office records ever made. Sergeant York made various trips to Hollywood to make sure the producers were not getting carried away. According to Betsy (York) Lowery, Gary Cooper portrayed her father well and would have resembled the pictures of her father in uniform if he had worn a moustache. Another member of the family, Miss Gracie, would not allow any Hollywood actress to portray her who smoked or drank, and even then, she was less than satisfied with Joan Leslie's portrayal because she insisted, "She was too feisty to suit me." With Sergeant York's share of the money from the movie, he built a beautiful stone building in Pall Mall that housed the York Bible Institute where Bible teachers came to teach all those who wished to learn more about the Bible. Again, the form of Sergeant York rose out of the valley, above the mountains, and the sunlight of the nation's approval fell upon it.

Meanwhile, Sergeant York was still interested in what was happening on the national scene relating to domestic and foreign policy. In his infrequent public appearances, the sergeant asked for increased military preparedness. He wrote a daily newspaper column during World War II that appeared in a Memphis, Tennessee, newspaper under the title of "Sergeant York Says." He talked of planes, missiles, and atomic bombs, and he believed that they must be used in any war. "But," the old soldier said, "you can't fight a war without the foot soldier. You can't take territory and keep it without the foot soldier. You can't hold territory with missiles."

Sergeant York then tried to enlist in World War II when he heard that some Tennesseans were turned down by the Army because of illiteracy. He thought that the nation's draft boards rejected too many men who would have been good infantrymen. He said that although a man may not have enough education to fly an airplane or a missile, he may still be a good foot soldier as "they're the best soldiers in the world." The War Department agreed and appointed Sergeant York president of his local draft board, and in 1942, the War Department commissioned him a major. However, Sergeant York failed to pass the physical tests for enlistment in World War II; subsequently, he was placed on the retired list.

In the early 1950's, the movie that had brought Sergeant York huge royalties also brought him huge income-tax troubles. Having received $150,000 from Warner Brothers for the movie rights, he paid his tax on a capital gains basis, for which the tax is figured on only 50 per cent of the profit. In 1951, the Internal Revenue Service claimed that he had not paid all that he owed on the $150,000, and the interest had then piled up until his tax debt amounted to $172,000, greater than his original royalties. Part of Sergeant York's tax troubles began because he gave a lot of money to the Fentress County schools and roads without the contribution being receipted through an agency listed with the Internal Revenue
Service. Sergeant York denied the charge and said firmly, "I paid 'em [sic] the tax I owed 'em [sic], and I don't owe 'em [sic] no more." The accusations against Sergeant York by the Internal Revenue Service upset him very much. He made the following statements in reference to his contributions:

I didn't have any money, but I went to work to raise it when I came back from the war. I went from Maine to California speaking and I had packed houses everywhere. What I talked about was schools. On the first tour, I raised $10,000. I guess the most money I ever made on a speech was in St. Louis, Missouri, when I passed the hat Methodis style and got $4,000. I've been in every state in the Union except Alaska and Hawaii and I've spoken to 35 general assemblies in that many states. I'm known [sic] everywhere. I couldn't get away with nothing [sic] no use of me trying.96

After 10 years of legal battling, the Internal Revenue Service agreed to accept $25,000 in full settlement of their $172,000 claim. Word of Sergeant York's tax troubles brought a nationwide drive led by Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn, a Democrat from Texas but born in the Tennessee Hills.97 The people of the United States wanted to contribute to Sergeant York's tax fund as he was receiving only $135 a month from his Veteran's pension, $32 a month from Social Security, and $10 a month as a Medal of Honor winner.98 Contributions came in from everywhere to the Help Sergeant York Fund, ranging from pennies and nickels to $1,000 checks. Finally, in 1961, Tennessee Representative Joe L. Evins, treasurer of the York tax fund, announced that funds had been raised amounting to $50,000 to pay off Sergeant York's indebtedness and to establish a trust fund for him.99 In the same year, 1961, S. Hallock du Pont, a Wilmington, Delaware, financier, set up a trust fund that paid the sergeant $300 a month for the rest of his life.100 This surely demonstrated the high esteem in which Sergeant York was held.

During the time in which his tax troubles were heightening, Sergeant York suffered a series of strokes, and by 1954, he was confined to a wheelchair. His last public appearance was in August, 1957, when he traveled to Jamestown, Tennessee, for ceremonies in which the 82nd Airborne Division, the successor to his old unit, presented him with a new black automobile and wheelchair, commemorating the 82nd's only living Medal of Honor winner of the 1917-18 era.101 The car was made so that Sergeant York's wheelchair fit in the space where the passenger's seat would have locate.102 Also, in 1960, the American Legion gave him a circular push-button bed so that he could move around despite semi-paralysis and almost complete blindness--maladies due to a war injury which he never reported.103

Despite his ill health, Sergeant York maintained a lively interest in national and world affairs. He was better informed and closer in touch with international affairs than most city dwellers half his age in the 1960's. His chief concern was a man called Fidel Castro; he was convinced that the United States would have to go to war with
Russia eventually, but "we're gonna have to go down there and clean Castro up first." He liked to talk politics, especially anything having to do with the Democratic Party, and he felt that the United Nations was helping to ease world tensions. Sergeant York was a man who was dedicated very much to the well-being of the United States.

Sergeant York's family and friends continued to take sincere pride in the World War I hero. In 1960, the Fentress County Music and Arts Festival depicted the life of "Sergeant York--The Hero of World War I" in a series of sequences by eight county elementary schools. Then and now, Sergeant York's family regard him as their father, not the hero of World War I. They are proud of him, but he never talked with his family about his war exploits, even though he was a very patriotic individual all of his life. He never commercialized his fame, and he always brought credit to his uniform.

The old soldier was bedridden for 10 years and suffered dearly. From 1962 until September 1964, he fought off death in 10 trips to the Veterans Administration Hospital in Nashville; his wife, Gracie, was always at his side. At one time, he was a huge man who weighed as much as 289 pounds; however, age and disease withered his body when he developed a urinary-tract infection from which he never recovered. He was survived by his widow and his seven children--five sons and two daughters. The family wanted to keep the funeral small and quiet, but that was impossible.

Sergeant York chose to come back home after the war to the small town of Pall Mall, Tennessee, and his family chose to have his funeral and burial there, also. The funeral was held at York's Chapel on September 5, 1964, with around 8,000 attending. It was a civilian funeral with full military honors for one whose exploits on the battlefield had won him an honored place in the military history of the nations. President Lyndon B. Johnson was represented by retired General Matthew B. Ridgway, former N.A.T.O. commander and the first wartime commander of the 82nd Airborne in World War II. Units of the 82nd Airborne Division honor guard and color guard stood at present arms as the firing squad gave a 21-gun salute over the casket at the burial place of Wolf Creek Cemetery.

Even though Sergeant York had joined the immortals of history on September 2, 1964, he has always been remembered for his courageous deeds, both at war and at home. It was not because he was highly educated, not because he had an understanding of world conditions, not because of the influence of culture--for his life had been lived under the most primitive conditions--but because of a deep religious spirit that this man came forth out of the mountains and epitomized the gallantry of American fighting men and their sacrifices in behalf of American freedom.

Of course, a hero plays a difficult role, for he is subjected at all times to the pitiless glare of publicity, and his virtues and vices are at all times subjected to distortion. Sergeant York was a
prime object of hero worship as people continued throughout the years to praise his exploits in World War I. However, the American public also realized that he was one hero who was greater in peace than in war and was a legend in his own time.115

After his death, the public continued to honor the World War I hero. The York Grist Mill at Pall Mall, Tennessee, was restored and dedicated as a park to the memory of Sergeant Alvin C. York on October 8, 1968, the year marking the 50th anniversary of the famous deed that Sergeant York performed in France during World War I.116 The York Mill was and is now cared for by the state of Tennessee, open daily to tourists from all over the United States.

Also, the city of Jamestown, Tennessee, was the center of memorial ceremonies on May 30, 1977, honoring Sergeant York with a parade and gravesite services.117 Of course, Mrs. Gracie York and several of the children attended the services.

Mrs. York still lives in the two-story farm house at Pall Mall, Tennessee, with the children paying her frequent visits.118 Tourists still flock to the York home to visit the York Grist Mill across the road, the burial site a mile away, the York Agricultural Institute approximately 10 miles away, and simply to visit Mrs. York. When she is asked about Sergeant York's exploits of World War I, she repeats the following statement just as Sergeant York once stated, "He only did his duty to God and his country, and every man should do this. It was through God that he accomplished what he did."119

In conclusion, Sergeant Alvin C. York was a hero in every respect. He was all of the following: a mythological or legendary figure, possibly of divine descent, endowed with great strength or ability; an illustrious warrior; a man admired and emulated for his achievements and qualities; and the central figure in an event or period.120 He was a legend in his own time, and his title that came along with the movie in 1941, "Sergeant York," lives on today.

All in all, Sergeant York sincerely believed in what he had accomplished. He wanted to improve the culture of the mountain people by building roads and schools for them and he was dedicated to raising money to see his ideas fulfilled. He believed that his bravery in World War I was due to God's being with him. He did not believe in killing, but he did believe that he had to fight for the principles of the United States. Since he did turn down the gifts that were offered to him after the war, many people asked him this question, "What did it ever get you?" He appropriately answered:

It got me 23 years of living in America where a humble citizen can stand on the same platform with the President of the United States. The thing that people forget is that liberty and democracy are so very precious that you do not fight to win them once and stop. Liberty, freedom, and democracy are prizes awarded to people who fight to win them and then keep fighting eternally to hold them.121

2 Sam K. Cowan, Sergeant York and His People (New York, 1922), p. 11.


4 Humble, p. 14.; "Conscience Plus Red Hair are Bad for Germans," The Literary Digest, LXI (June 14, 1919), 45.


7 Humble, p. 15.

8 Ibid.; Cowan, p. 175.


12 Jungmann, p. 64.


14 Humble, p. 20; Skeyhill, p. 146.


17 Skeyhill, p. 149; Interview with Mrs. Gracie Williams York, April 13, 1978.
Interview with Howard and Betsy (York) Lowery, March 23, 1978; Interview with Mrs. Gracie Williams York, April 13, 1978.


Skeyhill, p. 142.


Skeyhill, p. 150; Cowan, p. 218.

Humble, p. 21; Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal, September 4, 1964; Jungmann, p. 64; Skeyhill, p. 150; Cowan, p. 220.


Jungmann, p. 64; Memphis (Tennessee) The Commercial Appeal, August 28, 1960; Skeyhill, p. 151.


Skeyhill, p. 152.

Ibid., p. 152.

Ibid., p. 153.


Humble, p. 21.

Skeyhill, p. 154.


Skeyhill, p. 156.


Ibid., p. 25.

40 Skeyhill, pp. 163-164.


42 Skeyhill, p. 167.


45 Polmsbee, Corlew, and Mitchell, eds., p. 293; Cummings, p. 648; Dykeman, p. 157.


49 Skeyhill, p. 195; Humble, p. 29.

50 Cowan, pp. 245-249; "Sergeant York's Own Story," The Literary Digest, LXXIII (May 13, 1922), 42.


54 Ibid.


59 Skeyhill, p. 223.


68 Humble, p. 36.


72Skeyhill, p. 232; Cowan, p. 286.

73Ibid.

74Skeyhill, p. 233.


76"Sergeant York's Own Story," p. 42.

77Grinstead, "Memory Lingers."


82Weddle, p. 190.

83"Tennessee and Its Resources," Speech delivered by Sergeant Alvin C. York at the California State Fair, Sacramento, California, September 3, 1939. Original in the home of Howard Lowery, Bowling Green, Kentucky.


93 Sparks, p. 32.


96 Sparks, p. 32.


99 Sparks, p. 32; Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal, September 3, 1964; Humble, p. 38.


102 Interview with Howard and Betsy (York) Lowery, March 28, 1978.


105 Jamestown (Tennessee) Fentress County Leader-Times, October 12, 1967.

106 Jamestown (Tennessee) The Upper Cumberland Times, April 21, 1960.


110 Ibid.; Sparks, p. 7.

111 Ibid.


113 Ibid.; Weddle, p. 192.


115 Skeehill, p. 238.


118 Interview with Mrs. Gracie Williams York, April 13, 1978.

119 York, p. 4; Interview with Mrs. Gracie Williams York, April 13, 1978.


121 Humble, p. 37; Weddle, p. 192.
CRITICAL ESSAY ON SOURCES

The two most important sources for this study of Sergeant Alvin C. York were two biographies of his life--Tom Skeyhill, Sergeant York--Last of the Long Hunters (Philadelphia, 1930) and Sam K. Cowan, Sergeant York and His People (New York, 1922). Sergeant York--Last of the Long Hunters proved to be an invaluable biography of Sergeant York's life from the time of birth in 1887 until the 1940's. The biography contained material that was actually taken from Sergeant York's personal diary that he kept during World War I, and it also contained excellent illustrations.

Sergeant York and His People was not a war biography, but the tale of the making of a man. It was produced under wartime conditions; therefore, the major portion of the book was devoted to the battle in the Argonne Forest that made Sergeant York famous.

Two other biographies were used for this study. They were Reverend R. G. Humble, A Christian Patriot--Sergeant Alvin C. York (Circleville, Ohio, 1966) and Ethel H. Weddle, Alvin C. York (New York, 1967). A Christian Patriot--Sergeant Alvin C. York was also based on above-mentioned diary, but the religious implications were over-emphasized to a certain extent. Alvin C. York, found in juvenile literature, was a simple biography, providing a great deal of interest for the children of America.

The two interviews conducted throughout the study of Sergeant York were important sources in that they were primary sources which revealed pertinent ideas about the subject of this paper. The interview with Howard and Betsy (York) Lowery, March 23, 1978, revealed facts relating to the war story and the family life of the Yorks.

The interview with Mrs. Gracie Williams York, April 13, 1978, was very interesting as she told of their courtship, marriage, the war story, and the ideals that Sergeant York lived by throughout his life.

The articles that were most useful in describing the battle of the Argonne Forest were "Conscience Plus Red Hair are Bad for Germans," The Literary Digest, LXI (June 14, 1919), 40-42; A. M. Jungmann, "What Did Alvin C. York Do?," Ladies Home Journal, XXXVI (October 1919), 64; "One Day's Work," Time, LXXXIV (September 11, 1964), 26; "Taps for a Quiet Hero," Reader's Digest, LXXV (December 1964), 131-133; Robert J. Maddox, "The Meuse-Argonne Offensive," American History Illustrated, X (June 1975), 22-35; and "York's Heroic Deeds of World War I are Reprinted," Advocate, LIX (October 8, 1964), 6-8.
All of the above articles revealed valuable information about Sergeant York's heroic deeds of World War I and the honors that he received as a hero.

Several articles contributed a great deal of information that related to Sergeant York's coming home from the war and his accomplishments in religion, education, and world affairs. Andrew Sparks, "Sergeant York is Still a Fighter," The Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine (May 14, 1961), pp. 6-8, 29-32, had vivid illustrations of Sergeant York, his home, and the surrounding area of Pall Mall, Tennessee. Sparks did an excellent job of telling about York's burdens after the war.

"Child of Nature and of Grace," The Literary Digest, LXI (June 21, 1919), 33-34, and W. W. Loveless, "Fall Mall Church in Tennessee Started," Advocate, LVIII (August 13, 1964), 7-11, tended to emphasize the religious aspects of Sergeant York's heroic deeds. Both articles stressed that Sergeant York could never have accomplished his World War I feat by simply relying on his marksmanship skills; instead, he was helped through it by God's protection.

Two of the better articles that emphasized Sergeant York's deep interest in the development of educational facilities for the mountain people were "York to Uplift Mountaineers," The Literary Digest, XC (August 30, 1919), 35, and "Sergeant York's Greatest Fight," The Literary Digest, XC (July 3, 1926), 26. These articles revealed that Sergeant York actually believed that he owed the people of Pall Mall, Tennessee, for their sincere pride and gratitude in him as the hero of World War I.

As with any other great hero, world-wide coverage was given to the death of Sergeant York. The obituaries that were released in the Louisville (Kentucky) Courier-Journal, the New York Times, the Jamestown (Tennessee) Fentress County Leader-Times, and the Jamestown (Tennessee) Upper Cumberland Times contained a great deal of valuable information about Sergeant York's life. The New York Times obituary was probably the best source for a short biography of his entire life.

Two articles that proved to be very helpful in understanding how Sergeant York's family reacted to the hero-worship of the head of their family were Brenda Grinstead, "Memory Lingers," Bowling Green (Kentucky) Park City Daily News, February 6, 1976, and an article that appeared in the Memphis (Tennessee) Commercial Appeal, August 28, 1960.

Several tributes were written in behalf of Sergeant York by his family and friends. The ones that were helpful to this study included the following: Reverend and Mrs. R. G. Humble, "A Tribute to Our Friends," Advocate, LIX (October 8, 1964), 3; "A Tribute by President Johnson," Advocate, LIX (October 8, 1964), 4; Reverend George E. York, "A Tribute to My Father," Advocate, LIX (October 8, 1964), 4; and Reverend Randolph Graham, "I Attended the Funeral of Sgt. Alvin C. York," Advocate, LIX (October 8, 1964), 9-11.

Of limited use to this study were the following items: Stanley
Moral persuasions have found expression in the literature of all peoples and times. Man appears unable to resist commenting upon the actions of his fellow men, making the distinction between right and wrong, and encouraging others to seek the morally just life. Authors follow this passion for defining right and wrong through a variety of forms. This is evident from the earliest religious and mythological writings to the most current of present-day genres. But as the early Greek philosophers discovered, morality is relative to its cultural context. There are, of course, certain universal ideas in the history of man's moral speculations. The Golden Rule, or Kant's Categorical Imperative, has as many guises as there have been cultures, but each literary and philosophical movement brings new priorities, or rearranges the old ones, and morality is recast to conform with them. In the Western World, new interpretations were brought by the growth of Christianity and the advent of Humanism. The Age of Reason elicited a greater emphasis on man's individual and social responsibility and was advocated by such writers as Voltaire, Pope, and Byron. Political and social revolutions changed men's ways of apprehending morality. But with every new posture came the same problem: most men knew how they should live, but human nature with its attendant weaknesses allowed otherwise. Man seemed almost a fool, knowing to do right but continuing to do wrong. How then could writers upbraid a weak and venal humankind without first acknowledging this foolishness? Admonishment or the strictest censure had to begin by defining man's folly.

This, then, was Sebastian Brant's purpose in writing Das Narrenschiff. The ship of fools as a literary motif was old long before Brant's book was published in 1494. The image recurs with a persistence due in part to its universal appeal as a microcosm of the human experience. The symbolism is both simple and direct, lending itself with proven facility to an author's intentions or a critic's exegesis. And as may be evinced from the works of Katherine Anne Porter and Sebastian Brant, the motif is quite flexible. The framework of this conceit may enclose styles and techniques as dissimilar as the novel and a compilation of sermons.

Brant was almost certainly influenced by his predecessors who used this metaphor, but we have a direct acknowledgement of Brant's influence on Katherine Anne Porter in the prefatory remarks to her
novel. She states that after reading Das Narrenschiff she adapted the image to her novel "as the ship of this world on its voyage to eternity." Proceeding from this preface, it is my purpose to interpret Katherine Anne Porter's Ship of Fools in terms of Sebastian Brant's moralizing in his Das Narrenschiff. This is a necessary interpretation, for Miss Porter's novel is most often cited for its failures. It is my contention that an appreciation for her book can only come from an admission of Brant's influence; that Katherine Anne Porter, like Brant, focused attention on a large group of foolish individuals to show in contrast those few characters possessing moral consciousness.

Brant was above all a moralist, anxious about his world's condition, and intent upon seeing it improved. He took for his responsibility the education of the common people to the sin of folly. Writing in the vernacular, Brant's grave didacticism often degenerated into carping for he leveled his poetic cannon at human foible and atrocity alike. His was a democratic religion and an egalitarian hell. His lack of proportion stemmed from what Edwin H. Zeydel termed "the Brantian idea that all sins are reducible to forms of folly." 

Brant's deprecations range from the foolishness of useless books to patients who do not heed their doctor's counsel, from those people who spend their days in hope of receiving a legacy to the amorous who sing serenades at night, through one hundred twelve chapters. But Brant not only condemned, he also exhorted. He was deeply religious and convinced that there was a right way for men to live. If his tone was sometimes captious, this was due to the puritanical ambience of his upbringing and the seriousness with which he viewed his world's situation. It was not mere priggishness that motivated Brant, but rather a fearful sense of impending doom. The Ottoman Turks were advancing on Eastern Christendom during Brant's lifetime and this threat was of apocalyptic proportions in his opinion. Believing that morality was God's main criterion for sending or delivering from punishment, Brant upbraided, and sometimes prudishly, in a thankless attempt to save his world from the wrath of God. From peccadillo to perversion, Brant castigated the weaknesses of human nature as he sought to reveal the wise path for men to follow. If originality was not his strength, then neither did he possess a historical perspective, but as a metrical technician his rhyming couplets have delighted readers for over four hundred years. If he failed to distinguish between the follies of adultery and making noise in church, his convictions that men could live rightly redeems him for this oversight.

And if there is a correlation between Brant's sermonizing and the theme of Miss Porter's novel, it must also reveal this wise and proper path for men to follow. But the repeated criticism of Miss Porter's novel is her failure to develop any wholly good character. Folly is not foolish if there can be no wisdom. Without a symbol of moral righteousness, her novel is a mere statement of condemnation. Without any intimation that men may act rightly or nobly, her novel is a grim appraisal of an utterly base and hypocritical humankind. But Miss Porter denies this dismal outlook with the introduction of
the steerage passengers. Indigent and ignorant, they are striking contrasts to the first-class passengers, who are not only physically elevated above the steerage decks but are also socially and economically above the steerage passengers. Secure in their advantage, the first class passengers assume an existential superiority, and yet the moral consciousness of these privileged few is so suffused with falseness and narrow egoism that Miss Porter implicitly raises the question of whether they are truly alive. The moral distinction between the first class passengers and those in steerage is as pronounced as that difference between Brant's fool and wise man.

Beginning her book at the ship's port of embarkation, Veracruz, Mexico, the author immediately sets a tone of prejudicial absurdity in the descriptions of the Veracruzanos and their attitudes toward foreigners. The natives of Veracruz see the tourists as mules from which the last penny must be wrung. These foreigners are cowed and submit to the slights and indignities as was consonant with their feelings of alienation and loss of identity in a strange land. Their overwhelming desire is to board ship and embark as quickly as possible. Fears mount and rumors fly until the ship arrives and they regain their identity from luggage and other personal articles. Stripped of these devices and refused a status normally accorded them in familiar surroundings, these people had been reduced to ineffectual anxiety. This is how Miss Porter presents her first-class passengers. William Denny, a mayor's son from a small town in Texas, tried to maintain his status through condescension to the Veracruzanos: "He had begun by feeling broadminded: after all, this was their country, dirt and all, and they could have it -- he intended to treat them right while he was there." But as is revealed in this attitude, Denny cannot escape his prejudices. When the Veracruzanos fail to adopt a role that recognizes Denny's racial superiority ("he had taken the proper white man's attitude towards them and they had responded with downright insolence," he concludes that, "damn it all, they are inferior -- just look at them, that is all you need.""

The ethnocentricity with which Miss Porter introduces her novel is the first example of pride and selfishness found in many of her characters and throughout the book. It is by no means the extent of the consciousness exhibited by her other characters. While Fran Rittersdorf, who "knew well there is ever and always only one true way of looking at any question," could think only so far as who should be allowed to sit at the Captain's table, Dr. Schumann, the ship's doctor, revealed a penetrating insight during the course of his rambling moral speculations. He stands out as the character capable of rising above the pettiness of the other passengers and members of the crew. These other characters rank themselves beneath him in varying degrees of moral awareness.

After the self-effacing experience in Veracruz, the rigidly defined roles of behavior are the focus of attention on board ship. The first-class passengers devote themselves to acquiring status and deferential treatment from their fellow voyagers. They gossip, they argue, and they scheme. Almost without interruption, the author exposes the reader to one act of petty selfishness after
another. And while these self-centered individuals comprise the bulk of Miss Porter's characters, she has a few others together with whom are revealed three major attitudes toward their various roles: (1) to fulfill the role; (2) to abandon the role; or (3) to exploit the role.

Admittedly dull, Dr. Schumann seeks to fulfill his roles as ship's doctor, faithful husband, and believer in the Real Presence. There seems to be a distinction between his behavior not as the role defines it but as he defines the role. This springs from his social overview. His responsibilities may be determined by his roles but not his importance. His nature exists outside of role portrayal as contrasted with William Denny who, while in Veracruz, felt "exhausted from his efforts to maintain his identity among strange languages and strange lands."

La Condesa is a lady of the nobility being deported from Cuba to Tenerife for political crimes. Amoral and sensually indulgent, she has completely abandoned her roles as an aristocrat and mother. Her interests seem only to be in sexual promiscuity and the pleasurable use of drugs. She is equally indifferent both to deference and contempt. Her character is neither strong nor resilient, but with no qualms or conscience she successfully fulfills her desires and alludes to a contentment that infects Dr. Schumann with doubt. During their conversations she scoffs at his dull sense of responsibility, but admits admiration for his earnest and solid morality as she is, all the while, causing the erosion of this same morality.

As was shown in Veracruz, the majority of the passengers could not sustain their identity without role reinforcement. And lacking moral responsibility of Dr. Schumann, they therefore exhibit their roles to satisfy their acute senses of self-importance. The ship's captain is a notable example of this category. His authority is so based on fantasies of wartime command that he overreacts to minor disturbances and leaves his subordinates thinking his directions are as much whimsical as prudent.

It is the concentration of role portrayal to the confines of a ship that reduces social interactions to piddling opportunism and egregious snobbery. Herr Wilhelm Freytag, on his way to Germany to get his wife and then return to Mexico, notes that "people on voyage mostly went on behaving as if they were on dry land, and there is simply not room for it on a ship." Whether the question is who shall have the bottom berth or who shall sit at the captain's table, these passengers employ deception or demand justice as each best serves his ends. Their actions often contradict their vouchsafed beliefs, yet convinced of their own rightness, the passengers never question their shabby situational ethics.

With the emphasis on the role consciousness of the first-class passengers and crew, Miss Porter then introduces the steerage passengers in radically different terms from her earlier descriptions. Several hundred of them are standing on the pier in Havana waiting to board the Vera. Unemployed because of the failure of the sugar market, they are being deported by the Cuban government back to
their native countries. Speaking of the mass standing quietly on
the pier, Miss Porter notes the "reek of poverty," but goes on to
say that "the people were not faceless: they were all Spanish,
their heads had shape and meaning and breeding, their eyes looked
out of beings who knew they were alive."10 This is the highest
accolade given to any character in the book, and an abrupt departure
from the pompous and sterile first class passengers. Contrasted
with the earlier character introductions, the steerage passengers
become the conspicuous embodiment of Miss Porter's wholly good
character. Lizzie Spockenkeiker had been initially presented as
"screaming like a pea hen,"11 the Zarzuela dance company chattered
"like a flock of quarreling birds,"12 and Herr Rieber is pig-
snouted and "strutting like a cock."13 Even Dr. Schumann is described
first for his handsome Mensur scar, a sign of good breeding and
status, an obvious accessory to his role. But the steerage passengers
are beneath all class consciousness except the simple principle
that either a person is one of them or one more privileged. They
live their lives with a vitality and appreciation that belies the
transparent pity felt for them by the first class passengers. These
steerage passengers are ignorant of self-seeking roles among
themselves. They worship their God and celebrate festivals with
animation and sincerity. They are the background of Miss Porter's
novel to show in sharp relief the false fronts and hypocrisy, the
needless complications and internecine struggles, of her first-class
passengers.

These privileged passengers are intimidated by the quiet mass
as they stand waiting on the pier. Their nebulous fear seeks
definition in wild rumors of overcrowding and disease. Social
distinctions are forgotten for the moment as the first-class
passengers question one another about this intrusion. No one knows
anything about the steerage passengers. And so it continues
throughout the cruise. The steerage passengers hold a peculiar
fascination and pose an uncertain threat to the upper-level
passengers. These people often gaze down at them during the voyage
and speculate about their condition. But they cannot comprehend
their lives nor their meaning. Every action by the steerage
passengers is misinterpreted by those on the upper levels, because
the first-class passengers can only interpret the quarrels and
festivities that occur on the lower decks in terms of their own
class consciousness and role portrayal. Interestingly enough, the
only quarrels that do take place are caused by the anonymous man
in the cherry-colored shirt, and he is an intruder among the steerage
passengers. He is there only after being exiled from the upper
decks, the indication being that the single subversive element among
the steerage passengers is this fat man with a misplaced class
consciousness. He is a rabble rouser and preaches the need to
escape class bondage.

The first quarrel took place during a Sunday morning mass for
the steerage passengers. The fat man's conduct was blasphemous,
and one worshipper could not ignore the outrage. The various
comments made by the upper-level passengers concerning this quarrel
illustrate their inability to grasp the situation. When Professor
Hutten mentions to Captain Thiele that he was sorry to hear that

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the argument had been about religion, the Captain retorts, "Religion? What do they know about that?" Arne Hansen, a Swede who had a dairy farm in Mexico, declares while sitting over his beer: "When they are all starving, in rags, shipped like cattle only not with such good care, can you guess what they find to fight about? Religion. My God. They give each other bloody noses because one man kneels and another does not." To which someone rejoins, "Maybe religion is the only subject on which they have opinions." 

The idea of unaffected religious reverence is denied the steerage passengers by the first-class passengers because it is they who engage in false compliance to propriety. It is they who worship fatuously and with one eye on their neighbor's conduct, and therefore cannot credit the lower class with any sincerity because of their own shallow sense of middle-class superiority. And in truth, the religious beliefs of the first-class passengers would be incomprehensible to the steerage passengers, but only because of the hypocrisy and contradiction. The lower-level passengers could never understand a God that winks at their transgression and sternly reproves another's sin. The irony in this situation is explicit. Miss Porter uncompromisingly reveals the inconsistencies of her upper-level passengers against the background of meaningful lives on the lower decks.

Responding to the quarrel with the alacrity of an eager midshipman, Captain Thiele orders that the steerage passengers be disarmed to reduce the risk of further disturbances. His men take all knives and sharp-edged tools. One man among the steerage passengers was a wood carver who made small animals for the children or to sell to the first-class passengers. "When the officer asked him for his knife, he somehow thought he was lending it." When he realized the knife wouldn't be returned and that his plans for earning some money or pleasing the children were dashed, he sat on the lower decks and cried. His plight was the subject of much sentimental discussion by the upper passengers. One lady even suggested to the Captain that he have the woodcarver's knife returned. The Captain answers her, "please do allow me to advise you that I act from the gravest motives of responsibility." His exaggerated politeness was due to his conviction that women should not question his authority and is an extant illustration of his role exploitation.

Later in the book when the Huttens' bulldog is pushed overboard by the malevolent Spanish twins, Ric and Rac, this same woodcarver leaps into the sea to rescue the animal. The dog is saved, but the woodcarver drowns, and again the action of a steerage passenger is misconstrued by the upper-level passengers. Because they are chained to their prejudices, the comments they make on the woodcarver's sacrifice are detestable examples of their own inhumanity. With the woodcarver drowning, Fran Hutten can only weep for her sea-sick dog. When Professor Hutten is told that his dog was rescued by the woodcarver, he expresses disbelief and asks if it is possible that any man could be such a fool. He then speculates about the woodcarver's motives: "The hope of reward -- of course, but that is too simple. Did he wish to attract attention to himself, to be
regarded as a hero?"19 Another passenger says of the woodcarver that "it is stupid thoughtless people like that who make all the trouble for others."20 Father Garza, a Catholic priest, asks Dr. Schumann: "Can you imagine anything more absurd than this, that a man jumps from a moving ship at night in mid-ocean and is drowned, a deed of carelessness reprehensible to the last degree?"21 This question is a particularly apt one for Dr. Schumann. He has a weak heart and must avoid all excitement or sudden movement, yet earlier in the book he had just managed to prevent Ric and Rac from throwing the ship's cat over board. After the twins scurried off and the ship's cat was safe, Dr. Schumann had felt his racing pulse and asked himself the same question. Duplicating the woodcarver's selfless act, he could frankly question his motives. Indeed, he is the one free moral agent aboard the Vera able to reflect on his moral responsibility. The other first class passengers and crew members are fools. Only Dr. Schumann can consciously choose a meaningful existence. He is the upper-level character who can infuse his life with the vitality of the steerage passengers; he could share in their living celebration, but he is infected with the renunciation of La Condesa, and his mental peregrinations become more and more embittered as the book progresses. "His agitation grew as he felt the oppression of the increasing millions of sub-human beings, the mindless grave stuff not even fit to be good servants, yet whose mere mass and weight of negative evil threatened to rule the world."22

If Katherine Porter has stipulated her steerage passengers as the wise and proper way for men to live, the antithesis of this is not the narrow-minded and prejudiced first-class passengers. They are just men and women caught up in the fabric of their social patterns to the exclusion of identity. The antithesis is not the fat man in the cherry-colored shirt. He is a source of confusion, but not evil. The antithesis of Porter's humanism is La Condesa. She is evil aware of itself on this ship of fools, and therefore spends her time in moral seduction of Dr. Schumann, the pivotal character around whom the entire scheme revolves. She undermines his staunch morality by entreating him for drugs. She lies to him and laughingly admits it. She defends the incestuous coupling of Ric and Rac and cites her own childhood when she says she had all the joys of sinning with none of the guilt. She blatantly propositions every young man in the ship's crew and allows the Cuban medical students to mock her in their half-concealed gestures and conduct. She is thoroughly without scruples and seeks only sensual gratification. But she was a noble woman and an aging beauty. Dr. Schumann is deferential to her because of this, but by the time he discovers that she has abandoned the attendant responsibilities of her status, she has already succeeded in planting the seeds of rejection in his consciousness. By the end of the book, Dr. Schumann has removed all kinship with mankind. In the final passage devoted to him, he thinks: "Let them live their own way and their own time, so much carrion to fill graves."23

Miss Porter allows her pilgrim, Dr. Schumann, to be corrupted. She commends her truly alive characters but allows them to be disturbed by the nameless fat man. And between these evil forces at work and
the genuine people on the steerage decks, she inserts the rank and file fools, the first-class passengers. They sail blithely along with little concern outside of their own significance. They learnedly discuss history, politics, and philosophy, but it is with a particularly middle-class detachment, for they can only feel authentic concern for themselves. These are the people whom Brant would upbraid for reading useless books or spending their days in hopes of receiving an inheritance -- ordinary people with an over-developed sense of their own importance.

Miss Porter's first-class passengers are tailored to the sermons of Das Narrenschiff. Her characters are illustrations to its chapters, and she is as unstinting in her rendering of the vain and pretentious aspects of human nature as was Brant. The Zarzuela Company responded to an affront to their dignity by leaving unsigned notes on the ship's bulletin board. In these notes they slandered the other passengers and instigated a general disharmony to satisfy their need for vengeance. In chapter seven of Das Narrenschiff, Brant deals with those who would cause such discord and begins by saying:

Who twixt two millstones put his frame
And many people would defame
Will suffer hurt, will suffer shame. 24

Lizzi Spuckenkieker congratulated herself for not having married a man who later lost all his wealth, and to her Brant says:

Who weds for naught else is fain
Than growth of property and gain
Will suffer quarrels, woe, and pain. 25

In chapter thirty-four, which Brant entitles "Fools Now As Before," he speaks to all the characters in Ship of Fools:

Some think their wit is very fine,
Yet they are geese right down the line,
All reason, breeding they decline. 26

Brant dealt harshly with his fools. He rigidly defined their sins and gave as the only alternative a total abandonment of folly. Katherine Porter followed his example. She took a large segment of her "world's" population and with Brant's inflexibility described them as fools busily engaged in constructing their own hell.

Since Das Narrenschiff appeared in 1494, there has been an average of one edition printed every six years for a period of nearly four hundred fifty years. 27 A book this old must necessarily speak in preterite metaphors (for instance, flattery is represented as blowing flour from one's mouth), but it does not become dated in relevance. The book's remarkable longevity is due not only to its witty and quotable distichs, but also to its timeless application.

It was in 1932 that Miss Porter read Das Narrenschiff, one year after her first European cruise. As her plans to write a novel were
formulating, she took the same motif that Brant had used, and her
Ship of Fools was published in 1962. Acknowledging Brant's further
influence on her novel, we can explain the humorless rendering of
moral pettiness as stemming from this influence and not from her
hopeless resignation to a paltry existence. It can then be said
about Miss Porter as it has been said about Brant: "... the
keynote, then, of Brant's attitude is not contempt but concern for
it (the world), and a burning desire to teach people to live in it
more wisely."28

Katherine Anne Porter spans half a millennium in
creating characters that live the lives of Brant's fools, and in
doing so she reinforces the continuity of that human condition,
saying with Brant, "Fools Now As Before."
FOOTNOTES


5Porter, p. 24.

6Porter, p. 24.

7Porter, p. 34.

8Porter, p. 24.

9Porter, p. 132.

10Porter, p. 57.

11Porter, p. 12.

12Porter, p. 13.

13Porter, p. 12.

14Porter, p. 159.

15Porter, p. 160.

16Porter, p. 160.

17Porter, p. 175.

18Porter, p. 176.

19Porter, p. 321.

20Porter, p. 325.

21Porter, p. 318.

22Porter, p. 317.
23 Porter, p. 469.
24 Brant, p. 76.
25 Brant, p. 182.
26 Brant, p. 140.
27 Brant, p. 24.
28 Zeydel, p. 76.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


LAND APPLICATION AS A SLUDGE DISPOSAL ALTERNATIVE

by

Marilyn J. Maerker

Ultimate disposal of wastewater sludge is a continuing problem of balancing economics with environmental compatibility. There is no universal solution; each wastewater treatment plant must evaluate the alternatives that are available which best meet these two constraints.

Considerations for disposal depend, to a large extent, upon the composition of the sludge. Sludge composition varies with the nature of the wastewater from which it is collected and with the treatment process by which it is obtained. Raw sludge results from primary sedimentation and has a solids concentration of six to eight percent. It is coarse and dewateres well but needs further treatment to stabilize organic decomposition. Humus from the secondary settling of a trickling filter is partially decomposed, more homogeneous in texture, and more dilute than raw sludge. Activated sludge solids are even more dilute and finely divided and relatively stabilized by aerobic decomposition.

Concentration of solids may be accomplished by sludge thickening. Greater concentration is desirable to save storage space in the digester, provide longer digestion, save pumping capacity, reduce heating requirements in heated digesters, and save on heat and power requirements for other types of sludge treatment. Gravity thickeners are often used for primary and trickling filter sludges, while dissolved air flotation is commonly used for thickening waste activated sludge and aerobically digested sludge. Aerobic digestion oxidizes sludge organics to a stable end product.

Further treatment for gravity thickened sludge or unthickened raw and trickling filter sludge is anaerobic digestion, whereby sludge is decomposed and stabilized by bacteria in the absence of oxygen. In the process of digestion, bound water is released and the resulting sludge is more concentrated.

Further removal of water is accomplished by a variety of methods. Conditioning with chemicals such as ferric chloride, lime, and polyelectrolytes, or heat and freezing conditioning makes the sludge easier to dewater. Natural dewatering occurs when stabilized sludge is withdrawn to specially constructed and drained drying beds or to simple excavated lagoons. Evaporation and gravity draining removes water over a period of time depending on the weather conditions, leaving a sludge cake of about thirty percent solids. Mechanical means of dewatering include vacuum filtration, centri-
Subsequent treatment may be sludge drying, which uses auxiliary fuel to evaporate water. This is often coupled with incineration, whereby sludge is burned to an ash, greatly reducing the volume for disposal and destroying any pathogenic organisms. Scrubbers must be used to prevent the emission of particulate matter into the air. Several cities in the United States have had success in composting digested sludge with bulking material, which in some cases "transforms the material into an essentially pathogen-free compost valuable as a soil conditioner."\(^2\)

Final disposal of solids, which could be digested sludge, air-dried septic solids, heat-dried solids, incinerated ash, or compost, is limited to a very few alternatives. Ocean dumping by coastal cities will probably be curtailed by 1981.\(^3\) Sanitary landfills are currently used by many cities for solids disposal. Land application of sludge includes use on crops or pasture, and land reclamation.

Selecting the method of disposal must be decided by every wastewater treatment plant. Economics is one of the primary factors in considering the various disposal alternatives. This includes evaluating the "cost of producing the form of sludge for disposal, pre-transport storage cost, solids transportation costs to the disposal site, site storage costs, application costs, and environmental protection and monitoring costs."\(^4\) An analysis of the solids composition and its impact on the environment must also be made. There are three potential environmentally beneficial uses of by-product solids: organic matter in sludge may be used to improve soil quality; sludge nutrients such as nitrogen, phosphorous, and potassium could supply nutrients for growing vegetation; or the heat content of sludge might be usable as a fuel supplement for nearby industry.\(^5\) Each disposal alternative must be evaluated and compared on an economic and environmental basis.

Ocean disposal has been used by coastal cities because it has been the least expensive alternative, transportation being the primary expense. However, nutrients and organic matter are not directly recoverable, and the environmental effect of sludge on the ocean is mostly unknown. Some form of treatment is generally required before disposal, and some type of monitoring is now being required at the site of dumping.

Landfilling is used for solid sludges and incinerated ash. Potential hazards include decomposition of organic solids which could result in odors and soil settlement, surface water contamination from insufficient soil cover, and leaching of sludge components to the groundwater through infiltration of surface water caused by faulty grading and compaction. Monitoring of underground water in the vicinity of the landfill should be done before, during, and after the filling operation. Benefits from the nutrients and organic matter are effectively buried.

Land application is the only disposal alternative, besides burning as a fuel supplement, in which effort is made to recover some of the potential benefits from wastewater sludge. For agricultural
production, the basic consideration is to supply the nutrient requirements of a crop. The sludge, with a typical analysis of 5/2.5/0.4 (nitrogen/phosphorus/potassium ratio) probably does not have the proper proportion of nutrients to meet the needs of the crop, so commercial fertilizer must also be used. Dry sludge may be applied with plowing to row crops during preparation of the seedbed, or between harvesting and planting a new crop. For forage crops, dried sludge may be applied on the soil surface of a crop that has been harvested or grazed heavily. Liquid sludge can be applied to crops or forage at other times by field machinery during dry field conditions, by a traveling sprinkler with single nozzle volume gun, by center-pivot irrigation machines, and by other conventional irrigation methods. Incorporation or injection devices used with a disc harrow make the sludge less subject to erosion and runoff; they also control the odors to an extent.

For land reclamation, the primary purpose of using sludge is to increase the soil organic matter. Sludge organic matter ranges from twenty to sixty percent, while good agricultural soil has about three to six percent organic matter. It takes from fifty to one hundred tons of dry sludge per acre to raise the organic content of one acre-foot of soil by one percent. Liquid or dry sludge may be applied, but for liquid sludge, the soil must be permeable enough to accept high rates of application. Residual solids should be tilled into the soil because runoff may carry large amounts of nitrogen and phosphorus to surface waters. The soil should have sufficient capacity to prevent nitrogen contamination of the groundwater.

Potential deleterious environmental impacts from land application can be divided into several categories. First, there is concern about pathogenic organisms, such as viruses, bacteria, helminths, and protozoa, which may be surviving in the sludge. Next, toxic element concentrations in sludge with a large industrial component can be very great. These elements include arsenic, boron, cadmium, cobalt, chromium, copper, mercury, molybdenum, nickel, lead, selenium, and zinc. Also, sludge can be a repository for persistent toxic compounds, such as pesticides. Finally, excessive nutrients from too heavy an application can cause environmental harm. These constituents of land applied sludge can be transmitted by run-off contamination of surface water, infiltration pollution of groundwater, air carriage of spray irrigated aerosols, and crop uptake of toxic elements along with direct transfer of sludge which clings to the plant. This in turn can affect the animals that use the water, breathe the air, and feed on the vegetation.

To date there has been no universal consensus for guidelines that can be used to determine safe application rates of sludges and to estimate the significance of toxic element concentrations. Guidelines are constructed using different criteria for assessment; for example, there are guidelines that identify "acceptable sludges" by setting standards of maximum toxic element concentrations that can be allowed in sludges destined for land application. Other guidelines define acceptable application rates for sludges on unamended
soils (soils that have never received toxic element loads) or amended soils. Still other guidelines are designed to help determine whether toxic elements or nutrients, especially nitrogen, are limiting. Guidelines that address the issue of cadmium applications make up a fifth category.9

Studies have been made to determine the beneficial effects of sludge on plant growth and the amount of uptake by different parts of the plant. Much more research needs to be done in these and other areas in order to establish reasonable guidelines for sludge application on land. Different parts of the country will have different soil and climate conditions which will affect the feasibility of land application.

Assuming that sludge composition, soil, and climatic conditions are amenable to land application, a wastewater treatment plant must still assess the economics that are involved with this disposal alternative. If the closest disposal site is too distant, transportation cost could make it prohibitive.

Still, if it is cost-effective, land application is the most favorable disposal alternative for sludge because of the possibilities for resource reutilization. However, the site must be carefully managed, and monitoring must be done to prevent contamination of air, soil, and water, and subsequent toxicity to plants and animals.

The Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago has been disposing of a portion of its sludge on previously strip-mined land in Fulton County, since 1972. The waste-activated sludge and small percentage of raw sludge is digested in heated, high-rate digesters for fourteen to fifteen days. Then it is pumped to barges, transported two hundred miles down the Illinois River to Liverpool in Fulton County, and pumped through a 10.4 mile pipeline to three holding basins at the reclamation site. The sludge is distributed by a large traveling "big gun" spray vehicle or incorporated into the soil with an injection disc or plow.

Each field has a landscaped berm and drains to a field runoff retention basin which has a capacity to handle the hundred-year storm for that area. The field runoff retention basins are usually maintained in a drawn-down condition. After a rainfall, samples are taken to determine the total suspended solids, BOD, and fecal coliform concentrations. If the results are within the Illinois EPA limits, the basin contents are discharged to the receiving stream. If not, the water is held until the concentration drops beneath the limit.

In addition to testing the run-off from sludge-amended lands, the District also monitors 25 groundwater wells on the site and 18 surface-water sampling points. From 1971 to 1974, samples from the major stream which drains the project, above and below the area of sludge application, actually decreased in nitrites and nitrates, phosphorus, ammonia nitrogen, and fecal coliform after passing the site. No evidence of groundwater contamination was detected. Virus levels monitored at three surface water locations, from 1972 to 1974, were not influenced by sludge applications. During the same period,
fish populations in reservoirs that receive discharges from sludge amended fields, were not affected. Also, after three years of sludge application, corn grown on the amended soil showed no significant increase in heavy metal levels from corn that was grown on non-sludge fertilized fields.\textsuperscript{10}

These results show an encouraging environmental impact of sludge disposal by land application. However, monitoring must continue in order to determine the long term effects of land disposal. Many of the municipal wastewater treatment plants in south-central Kentucky allow their sludge to be hauled away and spread on farmland. But, there is no systematic analysis of the sludge composition and no monitoring of the disposal site. Under the 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, the EPA is charged with setting solid waste standards and compliance levels. Eventually, guidelines for sludge disposal will be established, as they have been for wastewater effluent discharge.
FOOTNOTES


4Technical Practice Committee, Water Pollution Control Federation Operation of Wastewater Treatment Plants (Washington, D.C.: Water Pollution Control Federation, 1976), p. 365.

5Ibid., p. 359.

6Ibid., p. 361-362.

7Ibid., p. 369.

8George A. Garrigan, "Land Application Guidelines for Sludges Contaminated with Toxic Elements," Journal Water Pollution Control, XLIX, xii (December 1977), 2380.

9Ibid., p. 2381.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


During the Indian struggle for independence from British colonial rule at the beginning of this century, Mohandas K. Gandhi gave leadership to what he called "experiments in truth"; in the course of these experiments large numbers of Indian citizens together offered non-violent resistance to government decrees in a struggle for Indian self-rule. Out of this struggle emerged a technique for effecting social change which Gandhi called satyagraha. "Satyagraha," writes Gandhi, "is literally holding onto Truth; it means, therefore, Truth-force...It excludes violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth, and therefore, not competent to punish." Satyagraha was for Gandhi far more than a political tool; it was also an expression of his religious existence, for in his view, "Religion that takes no account of practical affairs and does not help to solve them, is no religion." His discovery of non-violence came to him in the course of his search for God, or Truth, a search which he engaged in as a believing Hindu. His life-mission as he understood it was to spread "the religion of non-violence," which he believed to be "the root of Hinduism." Satyagraha thus grew out of Gandhi's understanding of his own Hindu faith, particularly the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. But satyagraha is not exclusively Hindu, for it is also the result of Gandhi's study of other faiths, including Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. Gandhi was influenced as well by the writings of such men as Ruskin, Thoreau, and Tolstoy (the last of whom he went so far as to designate "the greatest of satyagrahis"). But ultimately, satyagraha is not dependent upon any of these, for it expresses the very nature of God; "satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within...latent in every one of us," while the spirit within each of us participates in that "living Force" which is God.

Thus, whatever satyagraha's origins in the way of Indian or Western religious traditions and values, and however important

*I use the term "God" here and throughout this essay as Gandhi would use it; for a brief discussion of Gandhi's concept of God, see note, pp. 4-5.
their contributions are, it ultimately transcends these as it is eventually formulated and applied in the life of Gandhi. In this paper, I have tried to clarify the essential components of satyagraha, both as a religious quest and as a political tool. Then in light of the Hindu religious heritage to which Gandhi claimed allegiance, I have sought to determine the extent to which Gandhi retained the original use and meaning of the practices and concepts which he took over from this tradition, and the ways in which he modified them in the process of applying satyagraha to the struggle for Indian independence.


Satyagraha: Religious Quest and Political Tool

Gandhi first coined the term "satyagraha" in South Africa to distinguish it from the method of "passive resistance" which does not exclude the use of violence as a matter of principle, but is rather a "weapon of the weak" to be used only when violent means are not feasible. Satyagraha is the vindication of Truth by bearing suffering oneself rather than inflicting it on one's opponent; it is, therefore, "a weapon of the strong" in that it requires utmost inner strength. In the political sphere, satyagraha will often take the form of resistance to unjust laws; therefore, it "largely appears to the public as Civil Disobedience." The civil resister is one who ordinarily obeys the law, not out of fear, but because it is good for society. When he considers a law so unjust that he cannot obey it in good conscience, then he breaks it openly and quietly, patiently suffering the penalty for his disobedience.

But while all civil disobedience is a branch of satyagraha, not all satyagraha is civil disobedience for satyagraha is essentially "an inward and purifying movement." It begins with self-purification and penance on the part of the satyagrahi, who "will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, himsa (injury) by ahimsa (non-injury). There is no other way of purging the world of evil." The aim of the satyagrahi is never to coerce, but to genuinely convert the wrongdoer by appealing to his humanity; in order to do this he must believe firmly in "the inherent goodness of human nature, which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering." If he is not able to convert the wrongdoer through reasoned persuasion, the satyagrahi will seek to persuade his opponent through his own suffering; if the opponent still remains hardened, the satyagrahi may resort to such tools as civil disobedience. For satyagraha to be successful, however, the satyagrahi must harbor no hatred whatsoever in his heart, and he must be willing to suffer till the end for the sake of his cause.

The purity of a satyagrahi's motives and the strength of his character are important in any type of satyagraha, but they are absolutely essential in satyagraha that claims to be religious in nature. The means must be every bit as pure as the goal, and every participant must be a practitioner of the particular religious observance for which the movement is launched. Because it is first and foremost
"a process of self-purification," then "absolute belief in ahimsa and in God is an indispensable condition of such satyagraha."16 An example of religious satyagraha is that which was undertaken in Travancore, South India, in 1924-25 to obtain permission for "untouchables" to use certain roads around the Temple there.17 Concerning this campaign, Gandhi writes, "I would ask you to forget the political aspect of the programme...It is a struggle deeply religious for the Hindus. We are endeavoring to rid Hinduism of its greatest blot."18

There were, however, many Indians who accepted satyagraha solely on a pragmatic basis without adhering to any religious beliefs. For early experiments with satyagraha in South Africa had demonstrated the effectiveness of non-violent resistance against entrenched authority, and as Gandhi continued his experiments in India, more and more people recognized satyagraha's effectiveness as a tool for bringing about social, political, and economic change. Gandhi himself in 1925 agreed to omit that portion of the satyagraha pledge which read, "With God as witness, I..." to accommodate those who could not recite it in good conscience.19

There is, however, a sense in which all satyagraha is religious,* for as Gandhi states, "Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth."22 Because He is the Force of which our lives are a part, then "he who denies the existence of that great Force denies to himself the use of that inexhaustible Power, and thus remains impotent."23 However, if a man fears God, he will come to realize his dignity as a human being, so that unjust laws will no longer enslave him; this, for Gandhi, was the key to swaraj or self-rule, by which he meant political independence for India.24 Gandhi claimed that for him, there simply were no politics without religion, and that he entered politics because he was a religious man.25

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*In saying that "there is a sense in which all satyagraha is religious," I recognize that Gandhi did not always require religious belief on the satyagrahi's part. It would seem, however, that if, as Gandhi himself says, "Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth," then every satyagrahi must be in some sense "religious," if not in the narrow sense of conscious assent to a religious creed. This broad definition of "religious" is grounded in Gandhi's definition of God: "To me God is Truth and Love: God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness...and yet He is above and beyond all these. God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist"; He is "One without a second, and beyond description."20 Gandhi's statements are reminiscent of the Vedic scriptures and early Upanishads, in which the essential self of man (Atman) was identified with Brahman: "the One, the totality of the existent and the nonexistent...the underlying truth of all that exists...beyond specification."21 Therefore, God as Truth is latent in every individual, whatever religious belief he does or does not profess, and Truth may manifest itself in many different ways to many different individuals.
But whether or not the participants adhere to a specific religious creed, a resistance movement must meet certain criteria in order to qualify as genuine satyagraha; otherwise it may be what Gandhi termed duragraha, or "stubborn persistence." The difference between satyagraha and duragraha lies not in the degree of success with which stated objectives are reached, but in other essential characteristics. For example, true satyagrahis will exhaust all possible channels for settling a dispute before offering civil disobedience, and will make persistent efforts to achieve an agreement without in any way humiliating or harming the opponent. Furthermore, a satyagraha campaign will include positive efforts to serve not only its members and the public, but even the opponent. Finally, there will be a readiness to accept the penalties for any illegal actions, with the resort to legal defense being unusual. Duragraha may well succeed in achieving certain limited objectives; but no campaign can be assumed to be satyagraha simply because it employs no overt violence. For in satyagraha, non-violent action must have "the cooperation of the heart." 26

Satyagraha vis a vis Traditional Methods of Resistance

There are some methods of resistance known to the tradition which do not involve the use of overt violence, a couple of which Gandhi employed as tools of satyagraha. But to understand fully how Gandhi employed these methods and what meanings he gave to them, we must examine how they were originally employed and understood. Three such methods are dharna, hartal, and fasting.

The word dharna means literally "holding out." This method was often used to bring pressure to bear upon a debtor until he had acknowledged the debt. "Sitting dharna" involved "sitting at the door of an opponent with the resolve to die unless the alleged wrong was redressed." Actually, this method is violent, because it is based on the belief that, should one die, one's spirit will remain to torment the unbending opponent. And even if the creditor were not harboring hatred for his opponent, the opponent's capitulation could be only a triumph of duragraha, for "a satyagrahi is always unattached to the attainment of the object of satyagraha; one seeking to recover money cannot be so unattached." 29

The method of dharna was, because of its basically violent nature, unacceptable for use as a tool of satyagraha. Unlike dharna, however, hartal was a method which Gandhi found suitable for use in its traditional form as a tool of satyagraha. Hartal, which involves the closing of shops and suspension of work, was often used in India during times of mourning. It resembles a strike, but its objectives are different; as it was used in ancient India, it was intended to draw the attention of the Prince or King to the unpopularity of an edict or governmental decree. But like dharna, hartal lacks essential elements of satyagraha, for although it does not employ overt violence, nevertheless its emphasis is primarily upon withdrawal of cooperation rather than upon finding a solution which
would benefit all parties concerned.  

Another ancient practice is that of fasting; when it is used specifically as a method of resistance, or in an attempt to persuade someone to adopt a certain attitude, then fasting is dangerous in that it may cause the opponent to capitulate against his will, without having been genuinely convinced of the moral superiority of the fasting opponent's position. Gandhi was well aware of this danger, and insisted therefore that fasting as a form of satyagraha be used only as a last resort. In order for a fast to qualify as satyagraha, it "must be a genuine confession of the inner fast, an irrepressible longing to express truth and nothing but truth." Its motivation must be love for one's opponent, without a trace of selfishness, impatience, or anger. A fast of this nature is "coercive," but only in the sense that, as a spiritual fast, it inevitably influences all those who come within its zone of influence. This, says Gandhi, is because through a spiritual fast tapas* is generated, a force which purifies not only the one who is fasting, but also those around him. Although Gandhi distinguished satyagraha fasts from those which are undertaken solely for spiritual purification, nevertheless the fast undertaken as a tool of satyagraha requires such inner strength and purity that previous discipline and preparation are a necessity. In fact, there is ultimately "only one basis for the whole ideal of fasting, and that is purification."

There are some basic similarities between satyagraha fasts and those known to Hindu tradition. For just as fasting had been used by the Vedic priest to purify himself for the ritual sacrifice; just as the sannyasin who had renounced all worldly ties engaged in austerities in order to generate tapes within and to withdraw himself from this world, so also Gandhi could say that "a complete fast

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*Tapas, literally "heat" or "fervor," was conceived in some ancient Rig Vedic hymns as the creative force at the basis of the Universe. It was identified originally with the performance of the fire sacrifice, through which the entire Universe was ritually recreated. Gradually there developed the belief that the fire sacrifice could be performed mentally with no loss of creative power, and hence, there was a virtual identification of the worshipper with the sacrifice. The worshipper himself was now the source of tapas, capable of recreating the Universe within himself; tapas was generated through meditation, celibacy, fasting, and other austerities. The concept of tapas had by this time transcended the idea of literal heat, and was associated with purification as much as with creative power.
is a complete and literal denial of self.* It is the truest prayer... All fasting, if it is a spiritual act, is an intense prayer or a preparation for it."37 Hence, because a true satyagraha fast is also a spiritual fast, then it will be of as much religious significance as those undertaken by the Vedic priest or the sannyasin seeking direct release from the world.

We have seen that another use of fasting known to the tradition was that of an attempt to persuade an opponent of one's own position (dharna, for example). Satyagraha too was undertaken for the sake of persuasion; however, fasting's traditional use as a method of persuasion differs in essential ways from a satyagraha fast. First of all, fasting was often used for personal gain, for example, to recover money from a debtor. However, such a motive would automatically disqualify any fast from being worthy of the name satyagraha. Moreover, coercive fasting in its traditional sense was sometimes used as a substitute for violence when violent means were not available. But the very object of a satyagrahi when he fasts is to vindicate truth by bearing suffering in himself rather than inflict it on another; for if his cause is just, he believes that the opponent's eyes will be opened to the truth by his suffering (the power of tapas). However, if he turns out to be mistaken, he will have fulfilled the law of love by having spared another from suffering.38

As Joan Bondurant observes, the very fact that Gandhi used traditional methods of resistance in order to teach the people of India about satyagraha may have prevented many of them from grasping its full implications. Such traditional methods as hartal, dharna, and fasting already carried with them certain connotations, including the ideas of coercion, ill-will, and the satisfaction of personal ends. These associations were bound to obscure for many the principles essential to satyagraha: truth-seeking, love for one's opponent, and the refusal to expect visible gain from one's efforts.39

Satya: Truth

As we have seen, satyagraha was for Gandhi an expression of his search for Truth or God. Says Gandhi:

*The meaning of the phrase "denial of self" can perhaps be best understood in light of the fact that the realization of the true self, or atman, is the highest goal of a faithful Hindu. Given this ultimate goal, "denial of self" will not be understood as denial of the true self, atman, but in the sense of tapasya, or self-suffering, which in satyagraha is an expression of one's commitment to Truth and ahimsa in an imperfect world; self-denial in this sense is actually self-realization. For my discussion of tanasyla, see Satya: Truth.
The word Satya (Truth) is derived from Sat, which means 'being'. Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why Sat or Truth is perhaps the most important name for God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God than that God is Truth.\[40^*\]

We might say that for Gandhi, Sat is the "most" essential of the essential attributes of the Godhead, for only where there is Truth can there be true knowledge (cit), and only where there is true knowledge can there be true bliss (ānanda). "Hence," he concludes, "we know God as Sat-cit-ānanda, One who combines in Himself Truth, Knowledge, and Bliss."\[42^\]

Gandhi's identification of God with Truth has clear ethical implications, for God, says Gandhi, "is the very image of the vow. God would cease to be God if He swerved from his own laws even by a hair's breadth."\[43^\] Therefore, an important part of a satyagrahi's training will be adherence to vows, such as ahimsa (non-injury), chastity, and non-possession. Adherence to such vows is a necessary step on the path to self-purification and self-realization (i.e. the realization of God within one's self). Once one has devoted his life entirely to Truth, then obedience to all other rules for correct living will come without effort.

Truth was understood in ethical terms by early Indian philosophers as well: Satyannasti paro dharmah, "There is no religion or duty greater than Truth." In Manu's classification of duties, satya is listed among the sadharanadharmanas (duties of universal scope and validity) and is understood as "veracity." However, one difference between Gandhi's satyagraha and Manu's formulation of truth in terms of ethical precepts is that the early sadharanadharmanas tend to emphasize the perfection of the individual alone. According to Sushil Kumar Marta, "There is practically no recognition...of the social duties in a positive sense...Even veracity does not necessarily imply positive social service and it may be practiced purely...as absolute self-dedication to Truth."\[44^\] However, it is important to note that according to Manu, even the sannyasin who renounces all worldly ties in order to seek final release, taking such vows as veracity, non-injury, non-possession, and celibacy, must first have lived a full and successful life as a householder (cf. Manu VI.2). Thomas Hopkins, in his book The Hindu Religious Traditions, attributes to Manu the view that "householder life is the most important of all the āstamas [stages in life] because it alone leads to the production of offspring and the support of society."\[45^\]

Gandhi's pursuit of truth through social action relies significantly on his understanding of the Baghavad Gita; the Gita, says

*The second component of the word, graha, means "firm grasping"; it is a noun made from the verb agraha, which is the root grah, "seize, grasp," with the verbal prefix a, "to, towards."\[41^\]
Gandhi, teaches that every word, thought, and action should be in the nature of yajña (sacrifice), "directed toward the welfare of others, without desiring any return for it, whether of a temporal or spiritual nature."46 This is because everything we have is a gift from the Lord of the Universe, given us in order that we may serve all Creation with it. Yajña as a way of life leads to renunciation of the world. However, "renunciation does not mean abandoning the world and retreating into the forest. The spirit of renunciation should rule all the activities of life."47 And the capacity for the spirit of renunciation is, in turn, made possible by the practice of bhakti-yoga.

Hopkins tells us that bhakti-yoga, "discipline of devotion," was one of three paths to the realization of God* known to the tradition at the time of the Gita (ca. 200 B.C.- 200 A.D.), the other two being jñana-yoga, "discipline of knowledge," and karma-yoga, "discipline of action." While the Gita does not reject the way of jñana-yoga, it emphasizes the way of karma-yoga, "performance of actions without regard to their fruits," for it is not the actions themselves but the desire for worldly gain that keeps one bound to this world. The capacity to renounce the fruits of one's actions comes not only through knowledge, but also through bhakti, single-minded devotion to God. Bhakti is the key to selfless action, because the fruits of one's actions are dedicated to the Lord.49

For Gandhi, true bhakti is the pursuit of Truth,50 and hence, satyagraha is true bhakti. Gandhi's formulation of satyagraha in terms of the laws of Truth and ahimsa, or love, was a direct outgrowth of his attempt to consistently enforce the teaching of the Gita in his own life. For he writes that "when there is no desire for fruit, there is no temptation to untruth or himsa. Take an instance of untruth or violence, and it will be found that at its back is the desire to attain the cherished end."51 Thus, only by following the laws of truth and ahimsa can the satyagrahi remain unattached to the object of satyagraha. The longer he follows Truth and ahimsa, the more detached he will become from worldly achievement and "freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth."52

*The realization of God was often spoken of in terms of the release of man's essential, spiritual self, or ātman, from the continuous cycle of birth, death and rebirth. Bondage to this cycle was the result of actions (karma) performed in the desire for self-aggrandizement. The path of jñana-yoga emphasized in the early Upanishads involved the attainment of knowledge, the awareness that one's true self is actually Brahman: "the One, the totality of existent and non-existent...beyond name and form." Once this awareness had been attained there could be no desire for continued existence in this world, so that at death, one's ātman would return to Brahman rather than be reembodied.48
Ahimsa: Non-Violence

If Truth is the end of the satyagrahi's striving, then ahimsa* is the means to that end.\(^{53}\) Ahimsa, writes Gandhi, "is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but...a positive state of love, of doing good to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong or tolerating it with passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love, the active state of ahimsa, requires you to resist the wrongdoer by dissociating yourself from him even though it may offend him or injure him physically."\(^{55}\) The attainment of a mental state of non-violence requires rigorous daily discipline until one's thoughts, actions, and speech are in proper harmony; it will also involve a great deal of mental struggle as well, but this struggle leaves one stronger as a result. Therefore, non-violence is truly a "weapon of the strong," springing from neither fear nor weakness, but from courage and strength.\(^{56}\)

Ahimsa is an essential component of satyagraha\(^{4}\) for "...without ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth."\(^{57}\) This is because Truth is to be found within the seeker; also within him, therefore, are the enemies he must overcome: hatred, ignorance, and attachment to this world. The practice of violence against external foes can do nothing but remove him further from the Truth. Furthermore, Absolute Truth is unattainable in this life; what is needed, then, is a standard by which to test relative truths. For Gandhi, this standard was ahimsa or love. Gandhi's belief in God or Truth as the all-pervading Brahman, the One who is even "the atheism of the atheist," may have been what led him to an awareness of the fundamental unity of all human beings. When the world is viewed from this perspective, then the criterion for distinguishing Truth from untruth in the social sphere will be human needs.

Gandhi's debt to the Hindu tradition in this regard may be seen from the following passage in the Brihadaranyak Upanishad. Speaking of one who has come to know the sole reality of Brahman, Yajnavalkya says: "He looks upon everyone as it[Brahman]. Everyone comes to be his Self; he becomes the Self of everyone. He passes over all evil; evil does not pass over him."\(^{58}\) Once one has realized that he participates ontologically in the very same reality as every other individual being, living or non-living, then it becomes unthinkable that he should inflict injury on any living thing.

The term ahimsa is mentioned as early as the Chandogya Upanishad, and is listed as one of the five ethical virtues, the other four of which are almsgiving, austerity, uprightness, and veracity.\(^{59}\) Later it is classified by Prasastapada as a universal duty "not simply in the negative sense of mere cessation from harm or injury, but also

*Usually translated as "non-violence," ahimsa is made up of the negative prefix a plus himsa, loosely meaning "injury." "Himsa is... derived from the sanskrit root hins, 'to injure, kill, or destroy.'\(^{54}\)
in the positive sense of a definite resolve not to hurt a living being."60 Furthermore, the Mahabharata, one of the great epic poems through which a great deal of religious teaching was handed down (and of which the Gita is a part), teaches not only that satyannasti paro dharmah ("there is no religion greater than truth") but also that ahimsa paro dharmah ("ahimsa is the greatest religion or duty").

Tapasya: Self-Suffering

Just as Truth includes ahimsa within itself, so also does ahimsa include within itself the third essential element in satyagraha: tapasya,* or self-suffering. Says Gandhi, "Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering...The test of love is tapasya and tapasya means self-suffering."63 In an imperfect world, where there is injustice and untruth, where one human being is exploited by another, then dedication to Truth and non-violence will often necessitate self-suffering. Self-suffering differs from the practice of tapas or austerities primarily for the pursuit of one's own salvation insofar as it is "directed...towards the moral persuasion of the one because of whom it was undertaken."64 When there are age-long prejudices based on supposed religious authority, appeal to reason does not always work. Therefore, "reason has to be strengthened by suffering, and suffering opens the eyes of understanding."65 In order to be fully consistent with the principle of ahimsa in the sense of active love, then self-suffering must not be used indiscriminately. In other words, Gandhi insists that "submission to humiliation should be strictly resisted and where necessary, the greater self-suffering of the body, even unto death, should be invited." For the law of ahimsa dictates that the spiritual integrity of others and oneself must always take precedence over physical well-being.66

Gandhi states that the law of suffering is "an indispensable condition of our being...The purer the suffering, the greater the progress. Hence did the sacrifice the Jesus suffice to free a sorrowing world."67* When used in the course of a mass resistance movement, self-suffering results in less loss of life than if violence were used. And not only does it ennoble those who lose their lives, but it also "morally enriches the world for their sacrifice."68 The ideas of suffering, sacrifice, and purification are all closely

*See note p. 5 of this report.

*While I have no desire to contest the purity of the suffering of Jesus, it should perhaps be noted here that this interpretation of the efficacy of Christ's death is Gandhi's own understanding of that event, rather than the author's, and that no attempt is being made to put forward his interpretation as normative.
related, having begun with the ritual fire sacrifice in the Vedic period which generated the creative "heat" or tapas that sustains the entire Universe. As the ritual was internalized, the sacrifice was identified with the worshipper himself, who through self-imposed suffering was able to generate tapas, the source of creative, purifying power. This power could then benefit those around him as well, and this seems to be the idea Gandhi is expressing when he speaks of the "law of suffering."

Swaraj and Brahmacharya: The Ideal of Self-Rule

Closely related to the idea of tapas as renunciation and self-imposed suffering is that of swaraj, or self-rule. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, swaraj means "autonomy of the moral self... where strict control is exercised over the senses." The word Gandhi uses to denote self-rule in the sense of moral autonomy is brahmacharya, normally translated "chastity" or "celibacy." Brahmacharya means, for Gandhi, far more than mere sexual restraint. Rather, "...it means complete control over all the senses. Thus, an impure thought is a breach of brahmacharya; so is anger."* 

However, Gandhi does at times speak of brahmacharya specifically in terms of sexual restraint: "All power comes from the preservation and sublimation of the vitality that is responsible for creation of life. If the vitality is husbanded rather than dissipated, it is transmuted into creative power of the highest order." This statement reflects an ancient Tantric notion that "loss of semen is loss of power." After all, semen is tapas, because it is a creative, vital force. The preservation of this force is the function of chastity. As tapas, however, semen is more than physical power, for it can be "transmuted into creative power of the highest order." A Tantric idea underlying this statement is that through the retention of semen, one can not only retain semen, but one can transform it into spiritual power. The Tantrics achieved this through special ritual procedures, or sadhana. For example, through breath-control and meditation, a Tantric yogin could activate the cosmic forces latent within him (of which semen is the manifestation), raising them to the "thousand-petalled lotus" in the head where pure truth, consciousness, and bliss were attained. A somewhat less "orthodox" method employed by some sects was the sexual sadhana, in which sexual intercourse was engaged in without seminal discharge, by which means semen was raised upward through the body to the brain, the seat of

* Says Gandhi: "Charya means course of conduct; brahmacharya conduct adapted to the search of Brahma, i.e., Truth. From this etymological meaning arises the special meaning, viz., control of all the sense."
pure consciousness and bliss.* In this way, the experience of the worshippers was transformed from physical to purely spiritual. Against this background, it makes sense for Gandhi to say that through sexual restraint one can transmute vitality on the physical level into "creative power of the highest order."

However, although Gandhi's formulation and practice of brahmacharya clearly reflect certain Tantric ideas, nevertheless the purpose for which he engaged in brahmacharya as a satyagrahi was different in significant ways from that of the Tantric yogin who practiced sexual restraint. First of all, the importance of brahmacharya as part of a satyagrahi's training lies in its usefulness as a preparation for selfless service and for fulfilling his commitment to Truth and ahimsa in the social sphere: "As faith in God is essential in satyagraha, so also is brahmacharya. Without brahmacharya, the satyagrahi will have no lustre, no inner strength to stand unarmed against the whole world." As the search for God as Truth, satyagraha has as its ultimate end direct knowledge of Him. This goal is shared by the Tantric yogin and the satyagrahi; however, for the satyagrahi, the preservation of his vital energy through brahmacharya has also an intermediate goal, which is the search for ways to test relative truths in the socio-political arena. Furthermore, we have seen that for Gandhi, brahmacharya means not just sexual restraint, but total purity in thought, word and deed. Tapas is dissipated by evil or disorderly thoughts, but "...perfectly controlled thought is itself of the highest potency...If man is after the image of God, then he has but to will a thing and it becomes." Thus, the power of the satyagrahi to exert moral force in the world, and to persuade those in error of the truth in terms of justice and human dignity, is directly related to the purity of the satyagrahi's life in every sphere without exception; this is why brahmacharya is so essential to satyagraha.

The ideal brahmachari has achieved a state of complete moral autonomy or self-rule; this is the traditional meaning of the term swaraj. Gandhi, however, used the term swaraj primarily to refer to

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*Semen was believed to be raised upward through a conduit running from the base of the spinal cord to the brain, known in Tantric terminology as the susumna. Connected by the susumna were a number of primary centers called cakras or "circles," each one shaped like a lotus with a certain number of petals. Each lotus was the seat of symbols, gods, and "seed-mantras" which could bring forth certain cosmic realities. This scheme describes not a physical structure, but a "subtle body" discovered by Yogic meditation. Nevertheless, the susumna and cakras represent real cosmic forces existing in the body in latent form, which need only to be realized and activated for man to realize his full humanity, i.e. his divinity (Hopkins, p.127).
the ideal of political independence or self-rule for India, and it was for Gandhi part of the Truth he was seeking as a satyagrahi. Swaraj in the sense of moral self-rule is closely associated with tapas as renunciation; swaraj in the sense of political self-rule is similarly related to tapasya or self-suffering. Bondurant observes that "as swaraj came to connote the political objective of Indian independence, so tapas came, in the Gandhian interpretation, to mean willingness to suffer in oneself to win the respect of an opponent." This serves as an example of the way in which the meanings of a number of traditional concepts informing satyagraha were in varying degrees both retained and modified in accordance with the concrete socio-political realities with which Gandhi lived and the corresponding socio-political objectives which he sought.

We have seen, for example, how Gandhi was willing to use the traditional methods of hartal and fasting as tools of satyagraha, but only in such a way as to remain faithful to the laws of Truth and ahimsa as he understood them. Gandhi's understanding of Truth in ethical terms had ample precedent in Indian religious thinkers before him, just as his pursuit of Truth through social action was rooted in the teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. Indeed, satyagraha was for Gandhi the truest bhakti, the epitome of a life of sacrifice and renunciation of worldly gain. Moreover, ahimsa, though independent, in Gandhi's estimate, from the presence or absence of scriptural sanction, was also a real expression of the knowledge of Brahman as the underlying reality of the Universe. Tapasya as the dynamic expression of ahimsa is both a reflection of the ancient practice of tapas through austerities for purification and release, and an extension of this quest into the social sphere as a means for moral persuasion and social change. And as a central theme informing all of satyagraha, we see the important principle of swaraj as moral autonomy being expressed in the totality of human experience, in this case, through political autonomy for the nation of India. We have seen that for Gandhi, satyagraha is "the root of Hinduism," an expression of his search for Sat-cit-ananda in terms of concrete solutions to a political reality full of untruth, ignorance, and suffering. It is, therefore, both a religious quest and a political tool which roots itself in and yet transcends Hindu religious traditions.
FOOTNOTES


3 *Young India* (May 7, 1925), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*.


5 *Young India* (Aug. 11, 1920), as quoted in Bondurant, p. 112.


8 *Young India* (Dec. 26, 1924), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 176; *Harijan* (July 20, 1947), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 352.

9 Gandhi, *NVR*, pp. 6-7.

10 Ibid.

11 *Young India* (July 14, 1927; Jan. 1, 1920), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 69.

12 *Young India* (Aug. 8, 1929), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 77.


14 Bondurant, p. 11.

15 *Harijan* (March 31, 1946), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 382.


17 Gandhi, *NVR*, Editor's note, p. 177.

18 *Young India* (March 19, 1925), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 192.

19 *Young India* (March 5, 1928), as quoted in Bondurant, p. 128.

20 *Young India* (March 25, 1925), as quoted in Bondurant, p. 152; *Harijan* (Nov. 26, 1938), as quoted in Gandhi, *NVR*, p. 348.

22 Young India (Dec. 26, 1924), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 176.

23 Harijan (July 20, 1947), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 352.

24 Indian Home Rule, Chapter XVII, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 18.

25 Young India (July 19, 1924), as quoted in Bondurant, p. 151.

26 Bondurant, pp. 42-44.

27 Harijan (July 8, 1939), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 299.

28 Bondurant, p. 118.

29 Young India (Sept. 30, 1926), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 314.

30 Bondurant, p. 119.

31 Harijan (April 21, 1946), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 323.

32 Harijan (May 6, 1933), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 319.

33 Ibid.

34 Harijan (April 21, 1946), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 323.

35 Hopkins, pp. 25-26, 33-36, 49.

36 Harijan (Oct. 13, 1940), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 323.

37 Harijan (July 8, 1933), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 315; Harijan (April 15, 1933), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 318.

38 Indian Home Rule, Chapter XVII, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 17.

39 Bondurant, p. 119.

40 Yeravda Mandir, Chapters I-III & VI, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 38.

41 Bondurant, pp. 11-12.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid.


45 Hopkins, pp. 82-83.

46 Yeravda Mandir, Chapters XIV-XV, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, P. 47.
47 Ibid., as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 48.
49 Ibid., pp. 91-95.
50 Yeravda Mandir, Chapters XIV-XV, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 39.
51 Yeravda Mandir, Chapters XIV-XV, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 42.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
55 Yeravda Mandir (Aug. 25, 1920), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 16.
57 Yeravda Mandir, Chapters I-III & VI, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 42.
58 Brihadaranyada Upanishad, pp. 24-28, as quoted in Hopkins, p. 48.
59 Chandogya Upanishad, III, as quoted in Bondurant, p. 111.
60 Marta, pp. 7-10, as quoted in Bondurant, p. 111.
61 Harijan (July 13, 1940), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 375.
62 D.G. Tendulkar, Mahatma (Bombay: Jhaveri and Tendulkar, 1952), II, 312, as quoted in Bondurant, p. 121.
63 Young India (Aug. 11, 1920; June 12, 1922), as quoted in Bondurant, p. 26.
64 Bondurant, p. 27.
65 Young India (March 19, 1925), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 194.
67 Young India (June 16, 1920), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 194.
68 Gandhi, Non-Violence in Peace and War, as quoted in Bondurant, p. 27.
69 Bondurant, p. 114.
70 Harijan (July 23, 1938), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 97.
71 Yeravda Mandir, as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 45.
73 Hopkins, p. 128.
74 Dimock, pp. 172, 177.
75 Harijan (Oct. 13, 1940), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 95
76 Harijan (July 23, 1938), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 47.
77 Young India (Dec. 26, 1924), as quoted in Gandhi, NVR, p. 176.
78 Bondurant, p. 114.
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A MAHAYANA BUDDHIST THEORY OF HUMAN PERSONALITY

by
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Of all the facets of the intellectual dialogue between West and East, perhaps the most promising is the exchange of ideas between Western psychology and the Buddhist philosophical tradition. Most related literature to date has concerned itself almost exclusively with drawing parallels between the Zen Buddhist tradition and Western theories of psychotherapy. Works by Jung, Benoit, Watts, DeMartino, and Fromm rank among the most significant. But apart from these tentative explorations, Western psychology has not yet integrated Buddhist ideas into mainstream psychological theory as is beginning to happen in the East, for example, with the growth of Japan's Morita Therapy.

It seems probable that this situation is due to the Western lack of familiarity with the broader world-view inherent within the Buddhist philosophical tradition. Psychologists in the West appear to need a wider conceptual frame of reference to allow them to make better use of Buddhist ideas. Western interpreters of Buddhism have all too often resembled the proverbial blind man who grasped the elephant's tail and subsequently pronounced the elephant to be like a rope. A more comprehensive view is required for a better understanding.

This paper is addressed to the need within Western psychology for a more comprehensive understanding of the view of human personality inherent within the Buddhist philosophical world-view. Several qualifications must be made before proceeding to the main body of the paper. First, this paper concerns itself with the philosophical tradition of the Mahayana branch of Buddhism as opposed to the older Theravada branch, primarily because it is Mahayana ideas that are currently receiving the most attention from Western psychologists. Second, the view of human personality expressed in this paper is the result of an approach that treats the Mahayana philosophical tradition as an organic whole and therefore cannot be wholly identified with any one particular Mahayana school. This approach is entirely in keeping with the Mahayana tradition itself which has long recognized the vital interrelatedness of its own various schools of thought. Significantly, the central text for this paper is Asvaghosa's *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, a fifth-century Buddhist attempt to formulate a synthesis of Mahayana philosophical themes into an organic whole.

Perhaps the most important feature of the Mahayana view of human
personality developed in this paper is that its main focus is on a post-adult development toward an ideal sort of psychological maturity. Although this view does not ignore the earliest periods of the individual's life, abstract phases such as "infancy," "childhood," and "adolescence" are simply not one of its concerns; anyone looking for alternatives or parallels for Freud's psychosexual stages will not find them here. The emphasis, instead, is on a sort of movement of the personality along a path of growth that cannot be regimented into the familiar developmental phases of Western theories.

Also, conscious and deliberate activities such as meditative practices are an integral part of the growth of the human personality as described in the Mahayana view. This element of deliberateness should not detract from the "naturalness" of the Mahayana view of personality growth any more than the deliberateness of "trial and error activities" should detract from the "naturalness" of Piaget's developmental theories. The individual is rarely passive in any significant theory of personality development, and the Mahayana view is no exception.

Finally, there will be no attempt in this paper to offer any sort of empirical research or evidence to make the Mahayana view of human personality a formidable contender among Western personality theories. That is a task for other papers. Also, it is obvious that the Mahayana view of human personality as presented in this paper is by no means as comprehensive or intricate as any Western theory of personality; the task of this paper is not to elevate the Mahayana philosophy to the status of authentic psychological theory. The purpose of this paper is to provide a much-needed conceptual framework into which Western psychologists may fit Mahayana Buddhist ideas concerning human personality.

The central focus of the Mahayana Buddhist view of personality is a development toward a special sort of psychological maturity that transcends mere socialization. The Mahayanists recognize the existence of the popular belief that human personality reaches "maturity" sometime in early adulthood when the internal conflicts of adolescence have abated and the person is comparatively "free" to operate in a consistent and socially acceptable manner. Even English's Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytic Terms includes among its definitions of "maturity," "steady and socially acceptable emotional behaviour" and "the mastery of effective social techniques." This, of course, is not to say that all contemporary Western psychology accepts this definition of maturity as socialization; it is only to describe the sort of prevalent popular opinion that the Mahayana psychological tradition is in reaction against.

Mahayana Buddhism contends that the acceptance of this popular conception of the "mature" human personality is a grave error. This sort of socialized maturity is not the final phase in healthy personality development in that it constitutes a relationship between the individual and the environment that is inadequate, unharmonious, and ultimately destructive for both the individual and the
environment. This state, roughly speaking, is known to Mahayana Buddhists as "nonenlightenment." There are, according to Mahayana Buddhism, further stages of personality development that are necessary in order for the individual to achieve a truly adequate and harmonious relationship with his environment. Generally, these further stages are known within the Mahayana tradition as "enlightenment." It is toward the description and cultivation of these further stages of human personality — toward the description and cultivation of enlightenment — that Mahayana Buddhism directs itself.

The primary philosophical theme that provides the groundwork for a Mahayana Buddhist theory of human personality is known as "causation by common action influence." This radically organismic principle asserts that the entire universe is wholly correlative and interdependent. Since all things are produced by a combination of causes, nothing has absolutely independent existence; there are no independent things. All things exist mutually dependent on each other in that they are the cause for other things and also undergo the effects of the existence of other things. This is also the meaning of the Mahayana term "void" or, in Sanskrit, "sunya"; all things are "void" of independent existence.

The theme of causation by common action influence may be crudely illustrated in this fashion —

A human being can exist only in a certain type of climate which requires a certain type of atmosphere. This atmosphere, in turn, can only exist on a certain type of planet that must occupy a specific role within a certain type of solar system. Likewise, this solar system requires a particular type of sun which, in turn, depends upon an infinite number of interdependent factors.

Mahayana Buddhism accepts the logical consequence of adopting such a radically organismic viewpoint; it sees the entire universe as an organism. Although it is not the task of this paper to build a case for the empirical veracity of the Mahayana philosophy, perhaps it would be important at this point to interject a response to one particular possible criticism of the theme of causation by common action influence. If the radically organismic Mahayana viewpoint is to be criticized as being "far-fetched," such criticism will be strictly anthropomorphic. If one's own actions and the actions of the start seem "remote" from one another, this remoteness will be the product of a wholly relative human conception of spatiality and temporality; the cow would no doubt consider the relationship between the grass that she eats and the milk that she gives to be "remote" and "far-fetched" as well.

On a more immediately familiar level, causation by common action influence has great significance for the development of human personalities. As the formation of human personality is primarily an attempt to come to terms effectively with the environment, whatever form the personality takes will depend largely upon the nature
of the environment. Likewise, because humans possess the ability to influence their own environment, they can ultimately exert great influence over their own personalities.

Other humans constitute a major part of the environment for the developing personality. Thus, the actions and attitudes of others exert great influence on the development of our own personalities, not only during childhood but throughout our entire lives as well. Likewise, our exerting a vital influence upon the personalities of those around us, in turn influences the manner in which these other personalities influence our own, and so on.

Thus, within the radically organismic viewpoint of Mahayana Buddhist philosophy, all human personalities are ultimately interdependent. This idea is expressed in the much-misunderstood Buddhist concept of "no-self" or, in Sanskrit, "pudgalasunyaata."10

"No-self" is the logical result of subjecting the human self to the principle of causation by common action influence. This sub-principle does not deny the efficacy of individual human volition or the logical privacy of mental events. Indeed, there is a sense in which Mahayana Buddhism does not rule out the existence of the self at all; what it does rule out is the existence of a self that is completely independent. Thus, the "individual self" is seen as a convenient abstraction imposed upon the absolutely organismic state of all existence.

The most important motivational concept within Mahayana Buddhist philosophy is the principle known as "Serenity of Mind."11 In the phrase "Serenity of Mind," the word "Mind" is not meant to denote any particular individual self. It is, instead, a verbal symbol for the entire fathomless complex of interdependent entities and events of which all "individual" human minds are an organic part. This principle asserts that this universal Mind, like any other organism, naturally seeks a state of equilibrium, quietude, and harmony. It may be possible to see Serenity of Mind as a sort of logical development of the Freudian constancy principle in the light of causation by common action influence; just as all "individual organisms" strive to avoid stress and maintain a state of inner harmony, the "absolute organism" also strives to maintain a state of equilibrium.

Obviously, the principle of Serenity of Mind may allow the human personality to achieve a comprehensively harmonious relationship with its environment. Unfortunately, Serenity of Mind is not typically allowed to actualize itself fully, and a truly adequate individual/environment relationship is rarely achieved. To better understand the reason for this unfortunate state of affairs, it would be helpful at this point to examine the two fundamental modes of human experience recognized by Mahayana Buddhism.

The first mode of experience may be described as analytic and is known as "discrimination" or, in Sanskrit, "vijnana."12 The Mahayanists recognize that much of the way in which we experience
the world is constructed to suit our immediate needs. For the purposes of immediate biological survival, a distinct subject-object differentiation is required. We therefore learn to experience the world as a collection of separate and more or less independent things. We develop abstract systems of language and logic that both come from and reinforce this analytically atomistic view of the world by symbolically making events and entities distinctly separate. The analytic world-view grasped by vijnana is known in Sanskrit as "samsara." Once again, the purpose of this analytically atomistic mode of experience is immediate, individual biological survival.

The second mode of experience recognized by Mahayana Buddhism may be described as holistic and is known in Sanskrit as "prajna." The Mahayanists contend that we are not limited to the analytic mode of experience. Since the analytic mode of experience is largely constructed or "learned," the Mahayanists contend that it can be "un-learned" (though not discarded entirely) for a vital existential experience of the vital interdependence of all things. Through various mental and physical disciplines which will be discussed later in this paper, the capacity for holistic experience is cultivated, giving a deep sense of existential urgency to the need to avoid violating the organic relationship between all entities and events.

Existence in its essentially holistic and pre-categorical state is known as "Suchness" or, in Sanskrit, "Tathata." The world-view in which prajna grasps tathata is known in Sanskrit as "nirvana." Whereas the purpose of the analytic mode of experience is immediate and individual survival, the purpose of the holistic mode of experience may be seen as long-term, comprehensive, corporate survival and harmony.

An important maxim of Mahayana Buddhism states that "Mind is where Suchness engages the realm of being." This is a statement of the existential dilemma of humanity; human consciousness exists at the intersection of the analytic and the holistic modes of experience. We necessarily participate in Suchness — the absolute holism — but largely owe our existence to analytic consciousness. The task of reconciling these two modes of experience is not easy and is rarely accomplished in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner.

Mahayana Buddhism accounts for this widespread failure in terms of the principle of "ego-clinging," known in Sanskrit as "advidya." Ego-clinging is best defined as the human tendency to remain in an unenlightened state because of an erroneous sense of total identification with the analytic mode of reality.

The analytic mode of experience does not, however, in and of itself constitute nonenlightenment; it is the erroneous sense of total identification with analytic consciousness (vijnana) and the analytic mode of existence (samsara) that constitutes nonenlightenment.

Thus, the ego-clinging personality is the result of an over-
emphasis on vijnana and a severe neglect of prajna. But rather than representing a "deviation" as understood by much of modern psychology, ego-clinging is the norm for the vast majority of adult human personalities and is therefore not a "deviation" in the common sense of the term. Even so, it is still unhealthy in that it causes the human personality to stop short of developing a comprehensively adequate relationship with the environment.

But how is it that human personality so consistently becomes arrested at this ultimately unsatisfactory stage? Exactly how does ego-clinging work in the human situation?

Humans group together and establish societies in order to relate more effectively to their environment. Unfortunately, human understanding of the world is typically at a primitive and unrealistic level at the time during which these societies are being initially formed. Therefore, each society often develops with many practices, institutions, and presuppositions at its core that are ultimately in conflict with the society's vital relationship with the environment.

Ideally, as the society matures and human knowledge about the world becomes more sophisticated and realistic, the society should change those central principles that place it in conflict with the world; specifically, it should abandon the illusion that it is somehow autonomous — it should seek a more comprehensively adequate relationship with the environment.

But, unfortunately, this is not typically the case. Despite the intellectual understanding that many of its practices and attitudes are destructive to both itself and the environment, a society will typically continue in those practices in order to avoid the immediate sort of stress and anxiety involved in a radical alteration of its fundamental and familiar principles.

The situation described above concerning an entire human society may be understood as a macrocosm of the individual human personality engrossed in ego-clinging. Just as societies are initially formed in order to relate effectively to the world when human knowledge about the nature of the world is primitive and unrealistic, the individual human personality also begins its formulation at a time when the individual's knowledge about the nature of the world is immature and faulty. Thus, the individual personality develops with many principles at its core that are in conflict with the vital individual/environment relationship. Like the hypothetical "ideal society," the individual should change these aspects of his personality that contribute toward inadequate and destructive means of relating to the world as soon as he rationally perceives the inadequacy of these immature beliefs and behaviours.

But human personality tends to become self-serving or ego-clinging in the way that societies do, working to reinforce its initial assumptions about the nature of reality by either manipulating or ignoring the environment. Western psychology has long recognized
that "neurotic" individuals will continue to cling to the most obviously destructive attitudes and behaviours rather than face the immediate anxiety of altering principles that occupy foundational and familiar roles in their personality. But Mahayana Buddhism considers all human personalities to be "neurotic" and "destructive" insofar as they are not yet enlightened and free of ego-clinging; nonenlightened behaviour is not as immediate and obvious in its destructiveness as is classical "neurotic" behaviour, but once again, this lack of "obviousness" and "immediacy" is a strictly anthropomorphic and relative judgment.

Let us now look at the nature of enlightenment, the true maturity of human personality, and how it occurs.

There is widespread agreement among scholars of Buddhism that the most significant concept of the Mahayana tradition is the "Buddha-nature" or "awakened-nature," known in Sanskrit as "tathagata-garbha." As its name indicates, the "Buddha-nature" or "awakened-nature" represents the innate human potential for enlightenment, for renewed identification with the holistic mode of existence, for comprehensive integration of the analytic and holistic modes, for achieving true maturity. It is toward the awakening and actualization of the "Buddha-nature" that Mahayana Buddhism directs itself.

But how is enlightenment possible? Exactly what is it within human personality that allows identification with the holistic mode of experience and its subsequent integration with the analytic mode? The answer given by Mahayana Buddhism is that "original enlightenment makes final enlightenment possible."21

"Original enlightenment may be interpreted in two ways. First, it may refer to the fact that the "essence" or "ground" of every personality is Suchness, the absolute holism. Another sense of "original enlightenment" may be a reference to a chronologically distinct period in the individual's life, specifically the pre-analytic mind of the infant. Since the non-enlightened mind bears a powerful conviction that there is no reality beyond the analytic mode of experience, the nonenlightened mind may well be shaken either by an objective appeal to the existence of the pre-analytic mind or by actually awakening subjective memories of pre-analytic experience within the nonenlightened individual. However, the final enlightenment sought by the Mahayanists should in no way be confused with any sort of regressive return to infantile consciousness. This point will be discussed later in this paper.

The process of becoming enlightened, known to Mahayanists as "the process of the actualization of enlightenment,"22 has two fundamental causes — "primary cause" and "coordinating cause."23

The primary cause of the actualization of enlightenment is known as "permeation through manifestation of the essence of Suchness."23 This refers to the influence of one's own Buddha-nature struggling to be actualized from within.
The Buddha-nature manifests itself within the individual in the feeling known to Mahayanists as "paravritti" or "revulsion." This feeling is the product of an innate human quality of intense distaste for alienation and separateness, coupled with a profound longing for unity, organization, and wholeness. This feeling is the expression of Serenity of Mind which inclines the organism to seek a state of equilibrium and harmony. When fully awakened, "paravritti" provides the impetus for setting out on the process of the actualization of enlightenment.

The coordinating cause for the actualization of enlightenment may be identified as the environmental factors that serve to awaken and reinforce the Buddha-nature from within.

Once the primary cause of enlightenment is enacted through the awakening of "paravritti," the coordinating cause of enlightenment takes over in the form of external influences meant to cultivate the Buddha-nature.

These external influences take the form of practices performed by beings in the process of the actualization of enlightenment. These enlightenment-cultivating practices are known as "paramitas." Though the precise list of paramitas varies from school to school within the Mahayana tradition, all such practices tend to fall into three basic categories that reflect the Mahayana concern for a holistic approach.

The first category involves practices of a primarily emotive character. These practices take the form of altruistic ethical practices that stress the vital interdependence of all things. These emotive paramitas are meant to cultivate the influence of Serenity of Mind within the emotive realm of one's personality.

The second category of paramitas involves practices of a primarily intellectual character. These practices take the form of intense philosophical reflection on the vital interdependence of all things. These paramitas are meant to cultivate the influence of Serenity of Mind within the intellectual realm of one's personality.

The third and final category of paramitas involves practices that can perhaps best be described as "trans-rational" in character. These practices most often take the form of meditative disciplines that are designed to suspend the workings of the analytical consciousness and allow the individual briefly to experience existence in its pre-categorical, holistic state (tathata). This unique experience is known as "samadhi."

It is important to recognize that the meditative experience of samadhi is not identical with enlightenment or "nirvana" itself. Mahayana texts are full of attacks upon those who become infatuated with the unique meditative experience of samadhi, mistake this experience for enlightenment itself, and then reject the analytic mode of experience as "false" or "illusory." According to Mahayana
philosophers, this is an irresponsible error that arrests the development of personality at a premature and inadequate state.27

The real purpose of the trans-rational experience of samadhi is to bring about a vital and life-changing sort of existential realization of the vital interdependence of all things. It is this life-changing realization that brings about the effective integration of the analytic and holistic modes of experience that constitutes final enlightenment. Real enlightenment does not involve the neglect or rejection of the analytic mode of experience. More will be said concerning this later.

A Mahayana doctrine that provides a good outline of the process of the actualization of enlightenment is known as "the Triple Body of the Buddha" or, in Sanskrit, "Trikaya."28 The three distinctions drawn in "the Triple Body" are meant to represent the world-views experienced by humans at three major stages in personality development from the ego-clinging adult stage to the stage of full enlightenment.

The first of these world-views is known as "Nirmanakaya" or "the Transformation Body."29 This is the world-view of the average adult human prior to beginning the process of the actualization of enlightenment. For the nonenlightened individual, the world is seen as a collection of separate and more or less independent things, perhaps organized but not necessarily organic. At this stage, pravritti is not yet awakened, prajna is dormant, and there is no effective relationship between the analytic and holistic modes of experience. The influence of ego-clinging is great.

The second world-view is known as "Sambhogakaya" or "the Bliss Body."30 This is the world-view of the "Bodhisattva,"31 one who is engaged in the process of the actualization of enlightenment but not yet fully awakened. At this stage, paravritti has been fully awakened, prajna has been initially awakened, but a comprehensively adequate integration of the analytic and holistic modes of experience has not yet been attained. This may be due in part to an unhealthy fixation on purely holistic experience and a reaction against analytic experience as was discussed earlier in this paper. In any case, the remaining influence of ego-clinging prohibits an adequate integration of vijñana and prajña; enlightenment is not complete. The Bodhisattva may engage in many fully-enlightened behaviours, but he still does so largely through methodical effort and not with the pure sort of spontaneity that comes with full enlightenment.

The third world-view is known as "Dharmakaya" or "the Essence Body."32 This is the world-view of the "Buddha," "the awakened one."33 At this stage, paravritti has found fulfillment in that vijñana and prajña have been comprehensively integrated. The Buddha-nature has been actualized, and Serenity of Mind is allowed full and uninhibited expression.

Perhaps it would be helpful at this point to say a few things
about what enlightenment or nirvana is not. Enlightenment or nirvana is not an obliteration of the senses or the discriminatory faculties. It is not any sort of withdrawal from the external or objective world. Enlightenment is not the attainment of a radically altered sensory-cognitive state, nor does it involve the obliteration of the subject-object distinction. Enlightenment does not involve the attainment of "mystical" or "psychic" powers such as the ability to "read thoughts" or to alter or obliterate sensations such as pain. All such misconceptions, according to Mahayana philosophers, are due to the failure to realize "the oneness of samsara and nirvana," the interrelatedness of the analytic and holistic modes of existence. This somewhat startling claim is meant to call attention to the fact that real enlightenment is a process of integration, not of neglect or rejection. What then are the results of this final enlightenment? What are the characteristics of a Buddha, a fully mature human personality?

One of the most important characteristics of the fully enlightened individual is known as "pristha-labda-jñana" or "the wisdom that functions spontaneously in the world." This "spontaneous wisdom" may be understood as the uninhibited action of Serenity of Mind as it actualizes itself within the life of the fully enlightened individual. This uninhibited actualization of Serenity of Mind creates a radical transformation of the psychological motivation for altruistic ethical acts and attitudes. Along with the vital existential realization of the absolute interdependence of all things, there also is realized a radical sense of identity between one's own well-being and the well-being of others. Altruistic ethical concerns are expressed by the fully enlightened individual with a radical spontaneity and consistency that cannot possibly be achieved through an ethical motivation that is merely emotive or intellectual in character.

Thus, through comprehensively cultivating the underdeveloped and imbalanced relationship between his analytic and holistic modes of experience, the fully enlightened human personality achieves the most comprehensively adequate and harmonious relationship possible with his environment and thereby achieve maturity in the most complete sense of the word.

There are obvious problems with the view of human personality that has been developed in this paper from the philosophical themes of Mahayana Buddhism. Perhaps the most obvious deficiency of the view described in this paper is that it offers little if any explanation for individual differences. We are left wondering how the Mahayanist would account for the existence of the submissive personality, the aggressive personality, and a host of other personality types. Perhaps the most appropriate response to this criticism is simply to say that the Mahayanist is just not interested in the psychology of individual differences, at least in the contemporary sense of the term. Though the Mahayana philosopher certainly does not deny the reality of such varied human personality types, he is interested above all in the possibilities of all human personality—in further states of human personality that have not yet become
popular objects of study.

Apart from such methodological criticisms, there are also several philosophical objections of an ethical nature that may be brought against the Mahayana view of human personality. The Mahayana view seems to place a very high value on conformity to one's circumstances. If this is so, certain arguments proceed, then would not the Mahayana Buddhist consider swift and utter compliance to even the most despotic form of government and the most despicable human conditions to be a sign of "health" and "enlightenment"? Does the enlightened personality practice such indiscriminate conformity for the sake of conformity itself? The answer is an emphatic "no."

As was discussed earlier in this paper, the Mahayanist recognizes the tendency of large social structures to become trapped in ego-clinging modes of behavior, deny their vital interdependence with all things, and thus fall into a destructive relationship with the environment. Since a natural product of full enlightenment is comprehensive altruistic attitudes and behaviors, the rank denial of such attitudes and behaviors within any social structure would be abhorrent to the fully enlightened individual.
FOOTNOTES


3Fromm, p. 78.


7Asvaghosa, p. 23.


9Watts, pp. 48-49.


11Saunders, p. 127.

12Asvaghosa, p. 49.

13Ibid., p. 31.

14Ibid.

15Ibid., p. 12.

16Ibid., p. 72.

17Ibid., p. 12.

18Ibid., p. 52.

19Ibid.

20Ibid., p. 13.
21 Ibid., p. 37.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., p. 70.
25 Asvaghosa, p. 67.
26 Ibid., p. 96-100.
28 Asvaghosa, p. 69.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 93.
32 Ibid., p. 69.
33 Ibid., p. 67.
34 Suzuki, p. 129.
35 Ibid., p. 130.
36 Asvaghosa, p. 54.
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