

Southern Anthropologist



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Southern Anthropologist

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Editor's Corner

Gifford S. Nickerson

Members who attended the 1990 Annual Meeting in Atlanta were treated to a well organized and worthwhile meeting. The many individuals who were responsible for its success—too numerous to mention, but especially the Program and Local Arrangements Committee members—are to be commended for their efforts, which can, unfortunately, easily be taken for granted. We can look forward with some anticipation to a unique and rewarding 1991 Annual Meeting next April in Columbia, South Carolina. The plans are already unfolding for that event, as the update in this issue indicates. The SAS has gone well beyond coming of age, due to the hard work and dedication of excellent officers and their judicious selection of others who devote time and energy to the Society; each year's annual meeting seems to be an improvement over the previous one, and this clearly does not just "happen."

Holly Mathews' first "President's Column" in this issue continues the thoughtful discussions initiated by Tony Paredes and followed by Andy Miracle. These columns I see as important personal communications which convey interesting insights into some thoughts and goals of the President of the SAS. Holly's current contribution is a case in point. While teaching increasingly has become an onerous task to members of many disciplines—something to be avoided in order to accomplish "more important" (i.e., more rewardable) activities, Holly encourages an increased emphasis on this crucial aspect of academic anthropology in the context of annual meetings, both formally and informally. It is not my intention to summarize her comments; however, I do call attention to them because of their immediate relevance to SAS members.

The winning entry by Susan Turner in the 1990 Graduate Student Paper Competition, "The Influence of Syphilis on Attitudes Toward Women in Victorian England," is included in this issue. It is published as submitted, with minor editing (spelling, style, bibliographic references). I anticipate that the Fall issue will include details of the 1991 Student Paper Competition, which will be chaired by Andy Gordon, University of South Carolina. It would be a good idea to pass the word along early to students about the competition, so that they might give some thought to possible submissions.

As usual, I encourage you to send along items for publication, including anything of interest to members of the SAS: essays, meetings, announcements, comments, etc.

President's Column

Holly F. Mathews

I was delighted to discover, upon opening my summer issue of *American Anthropologist*, an article by Amelia ("Mimi") Rector Bell on subjectivity, gender, and language among Creek Indians. While the topic was fascinating, my immediate delight stemmed from my association with the author. Mimi and I were anthropology undergraduates together at Georgia State University in the early 70s. We were part of a group of students who literally lived and breathed anthropology. Inspired and encouraged by our teacher and mentor, Dr. Carole Hill, we took courses together, developed group research projects, presented papers at professional meetings, and, as Pam Dorn, another of our fellow students put it, "... talked about anthropological theory until all hours of the night." It was an exciting time for us, and the bonds we formed then endure today as many from that undergraduate class went on to complete graduate study and pursue careers in the field.

I have often thought back on those days at Georgia State and wondered just how Carole managed to inspire such enthusiasm for anthropology in her students. Clearly she was and still is an outstanding teacher. Yet good teaching is something we in academia find very difficult to define, and as a result, we tend to devote relatively little time to considering the ways in which we might benefit in our teaching from the examples of others.

I was reminded of this when I chanced to hear, at the recent annual meeting, a paper by David Johnson of North Carolina A&T University, on a technique he had developed in conjunction with an archaeologist for simulating an archaeological dig in the classroom. He played a videotape illustrating the technique and talked about its usefulness in helping students unfamiliar with the discipline to visualize what archaeology is all about. His technique involved assigning students to "excavate" squares in a grid consisting of cardboard boxes containing layers of artifacts. The students were challenged individually to recover the remains from their "squares" and, as a group, to produce an account of the lifeway of the people inhabiting the site.

As I listened to David discuss the project, I was flooded with ideas for adapting the

technique in my own courses. It was the first time I had felt excited about teaching introductory anthropology in a long time, and I realized that we should do more of this type of sharing and talking about teaching at the annual meeting. After all, most SAS members are teachers first and foremost. As teachers, moreover, we are responsible for recruiting and inspiring the future generation of professional anthropologists as well as for reaching all students with the important messages of the discipline. Methods for performing this role more effectively should be of interest to all of us as well as to our graduate students who will one day stand in front of their own classrooms.

I would like to issue a call to our members to consider organizing and participating in sessions on teaching at the 1991 annual meeting in Columbia, South Carolina. Such sessions could address a variety of topics including, for example: Approaches to Teaching Introductory Anthropology; The Use of Ethnographic Film in Anthropological Teaching; Methods for Incorporating the New Scholarship on Gender into the Anthropology Curriculum; Teaching Anthropology in the Secondary Schools; Approaches to Teaching Medical Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Physical Anthropology, Human Evolution, Anthropological Theory, etc.; Organizing Student Fieldschools and Research Projects; Anthropology's Role in International Studies programs, Honor's programs, Humanities programs, etc. In addition, sessions could be organized and structured in innovative ways. Participants might wish to demonstrate teaching techniques, exchange syllabi, present teaching exercises and materials, or develop panels involving interchange between teachers and students. The possibilities are limitless and the prospects exciting.

I would welcome your ideas or suggestions about how such sessions might be organized. Please send them to me in care of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858. After I see the level of interest expressed, I will proceed to invite different members to organize specific sessions. I would anticipate placing calls for papers in the fall or winter issue of the newsletter. Please send me your feedback.

It is also important to remember that many of our members are not only outstanding classroom teachers but are also mentors in the true sense of the word. They devote a great deal of time to helping students develop a sense of professionalism and involvement with the discipline. The annual meeting has always been an important avenue for students to gain such professional experience. Dr. Tim Wallace of North Carolina State University has done an outstanding job in organizing the annual student paper competition at the meeting. Under his leadership, the contest has expanded. We now award prizes to both the top graduate and undergraduate papers, including a cash award of \$200 to each winner as well as a selection of recently published anthropology books. These

papers are then published in the *Southern Anthropologist*. Clearly this type of competition provides students with an opportunity to participate in a professional meeting, practice presenting their research ideas to an audience of colleagues, and gives them the chance to meet and speak with anthropologists and students from other universities. Our goal is to continue to increase the level of student participation in this contest each year, and I encourage those of you with promising students to begin working with them now on possible papers.

It was wonderful to see so many examples of student involvement at the most recent annual meeting. I remember running into Pat Beaver, Chair of the Anthropology Department at Appalachian State University, at the registration desk on the second day of the meeting. She and a group of students had just arrived in Atlanta after a long van ride from the mountains of North Carolina. Even though they were exhausted from the trip and from spending several hours in a gas station waiting for a part to be fixed, they all rushed to attend the session at which one of their fellow students, Melissa Schrift, was presenting the winning undergraduate paper. It was also a delight to attend the session on health and wellbeing in Costa Rica organized by Jim Carey and Carole Hill of Georgia State University and the one on the cultural construct of place organized by Emily M. H. Lee of Louisiana State University.

A number of students presented papers on their own research in both, and it was clear to those of us listening that they had carefully prepared and practiced their presentations and were well prepared to answer some tough questions from the audience. Their enthusiasm for anthropology was refreshing to see. Equally appreciated were the efforts of countless student volunteers from Spelman College and Georgia State University who worked with the registration desk, setting up audiovisual equipment, and assisting with meeting preparations. They helped make the meeting successful for all of us.

We need to continue to involve our students in the annual meeting by encouraging them to attend, participate in sessions, and enter papers in the competition. In addition, we might also begin to think of other ways to reach to students. One idea raised by a colleague of mine concerns the possibility of sponsoring an afternoon poster display/informational session on graduate programs at the annual meeting. Member institutions in the SAS would be invited to bring a display of some type and to have a representative present to talk with the students about the offerings of the department. In this way, undergraduate students could find out more about the various options before making applications in the next year. Similarly, the Society might explore the possibility of some type of organized social activity for students so that they could meet and talk with one another.

er. Again, there are many possibilities, and I would appreciate receiving your suggestions.

Finally, I think it important that we begin to recognize the outstanding teachers and mentors among us. We are currently giving awards to students for their papers and are moving toward resuming the Mooney Award for an outstanding book. We also began the precedent at the last meeting of awarding a lifetime membership to those with outstanding service to the Society. It would also seem crucial that we recognize the contributions made by those outstanding teachers who have helped to recruit and nurture future generations of anthropologists. I will ask the board of directors to consider the idea of developing a way to recognize and honor society members who are outstanding teachers. I know that most of us are professional anthropologists today because a past teacher/mentor inspired us. It would be fitting for the Society to recognize these individuals for the important contributions they have made to the furthering of the aims of the discipline.

In the meantime, as you begin teaching again next month, I hope you will do so with renewed enthusiasm for the importance of the undertaking, and perhaps with the memory in mind of that one teacher who inspired your love of the discipline. Who knows, there may be a budding anthropologist sitting in the front row of your classroom waiting to be discovered!

Mooney Award Update

At the annual meeting in Atlanta, the board of directors recommended that the Mooney Award Committee strive to present the first award in the new series at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1991. The award will go to the best book on the South or Southerners written from an anthropological perspective and published during a time interval to be specified by the committee. The board also recommended that both the winning author and the winning press be recognized in some way and asked the committee to decide what the specific awards should be.

Dr. Gilbert Kushner has resigned from the Chairmanship of the Committee due to a heavily committed schedule. His service to the Committee during his term is much appreciated by the Society. The two remaining members are Hester Davis (Arkansas Archaeological Survey) and Malcolm C. Webb (University of New Orleans). Anyone with an interest in serving on the committee or as a possible reader of manuscripts should contact Holly Mathews, President of the SAS, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858 (919-757-0107).

**Presentation to Asael T. Hansen
at Southern Anthropological
Society Meeting
April 27, 1990
by
J. Anthony Paredes**

I'm not sure how it came about that I'm making this presentation, but I am very pleased to do so.

While the name of the person we are about to honor here might not be as widely recognized as that of other influential anthropologists of his generation, his work is known by virtually all American anthropologists, and many, many sociologists as well. For it was his study of Mérida, Yucatán, that provided the empirical anchorpoint for perhaps the most famous of conceptualizations to emerge from anthropology, namely Redfield's folk-urban continuum.

I speak, of course, of Asael T. Hansen.

Hans has done many things interwoven with the modern history of American anthropology, but we honor him today for his signal role in the founding of the Southern Anthropological Society—some details of which are recounted in the most recent issue of *Southern Anthropologist*. And I pause on that note to thank Gifford Nickerson, editor of *Southern Anthropologist*, and Hans' friend Shelby Zeanah, who unfortunately cannot be with us today, for helping to prepare this tribute.

Hans was one of that hardy band of intrepid pioneers of the post-World War II era who brought modern social and applied anthropology to the South—and, he took it into the very "heart of Dixie": Alabama. Among those anthropologists, Hans more than any other monitored and tracked the growth and development of anthropology in the region and doggedly pursued the formation of a professional anthropological association in the South.

Therefore, I am pleased to announce that last night the Southern Anthropological Society executive committee established the Award of Honorary Life Membership, to be bestowed henceforth as deemed appropriate, and selected as the first recipient Asael T. Hansen.

Already, at the behest of President Andrew Miracle, this commendation honoring

Hans had been prepared. I ask Asael Hansen to come forward to receive it.

Before reading this to you, Hans, I want you to know we also put our money where our mouth is, so I hand you this refund check for your registration fee for this meeting.

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

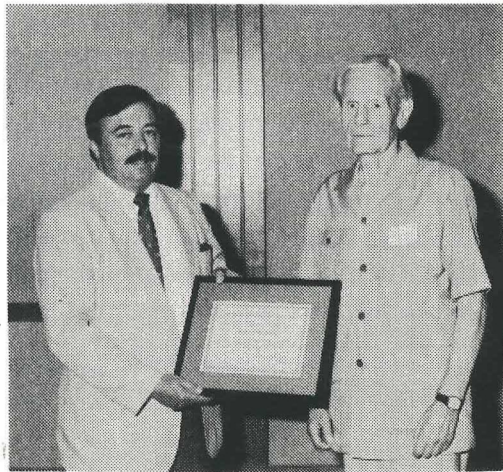
On the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, conducted 26 April through 28 April 1990 at the American Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, the officers and members of the Society hereby proclaim their respect and admiration for the first president of the Society, elected in 1966,

ASAEL T. HANSEN

and, on behalf of all their predecessors and colleagues, express deep appreciation to him for his pioneering work in establishing anthropology as an academic discipline in the South, for his encouraging and inspiring countless anthropology students from the South, for his leadership in organizing the profession of anthropology in the South, and for his unflagging support of the Southern Anthropological Society as charter member, as officer, as program participant, and as ordinary member.

Presented this 27th day of April in the year A.D. 1990

Andrew W. Miracle,
President 1989-90



*The Influence of Syphilis on Attitudes Toward Women in Victorian England**

Susan A. Turner

*Department of Anthropology
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Abstract

Both the presence and threat of syphilis polarized 19th century, middle class perceptions of women. Emphasis, in this study, is placed on the tendency of Victorian writings to analogize an individual's infection with the pathogen itself and the greater social infection with prostitution, the institution that was perceived as its container. Exploitation of working-class prostitutes by middle-class men created a bridge between the two classes and served as a conduit for infection. Perceptions of women shifted in response to a desire to preserve the gap between the classes and the ideals that they embodied

Introduction

The social structure of Victorian England was highly stratified. Roles of men and women were clearly delineated according to the classes by which they were defined. In this paper I will focus on the distinctions between the middle and working classes and the way in which disease, specifically syphilis, disrupted the social order. In the first part of the analysis I will present some background information on 19th century England and examine the ideals and realities of middle and working class life. Following a discussion of the prevalence and pathophysiology of syphilis, I will look at how the disease

*Winning entry in the Southern Anthropological Society's 1990 Graduate Student Paper Competition

affected the lives of individuals, the status of classes, and finally the attitudes toward women.

The Victorian Era: Prosperity, Insecurity and Affectation

The Victorian Era in England was a time of tremendous excitement and upheaval in virtually every respect. Fueled by the wealth and influx of raw materials that resulted from its aggressive colonization of Asia and Africa, England launched into the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century. By the dawn of Victoria's reign, England was experiencing an almost unprecedented surge of economic prosperity and scientific advancement. The results were both invigorating and unsettling.

In this new age of the 19th century, traditional agrarian social structures and values seemed no longer applicable. The pace of life racing to quench a growing appetite for material acquisition and social status never before possible, speeded on the wings of its latest technological innovations such as the locomotive, the steamship, the electric telegraph and the penny post (Trudgill 1976). Stakes in the business world were high and failure always loomed as a dreaded possibility. "Throughout the whole community we are all called to labour too early and compelled to labour too severely and too long. We sadly live too fast. Our existence in nearly all ranks is a crush, a struggle, and a strife" (Greg 1851 from Trudgill 1976). Most especially in London one was subject to the stresses of large-scale urban life—noise, pollution, and a degree of anonymity unimaginable to previous generations. In short, life was, if not more exhausting, then tiring in a new way which was perhaps more taxing on the minds and souls of people.

The roar of scientific advancement was not only heard as it churned out manufactured goods or speeded them across Europe to eager consumers. In classrooms, churches and neighborhood pubs a din of debate evoked by Darwin in 1859 rang out loud in anger or fear. In *The Origin of Species* Darwin presented a theory of evolution unacceptable to many. "The mechanistic Darwinian universe, ruled by chance, made the Bible unfactual, prayer illogical, man a mere animal or human automaton" (Trudgill 1976). The center of the universe belonged to humans no longer. Darwin's theories, of course, quickly won the applause and support of a large part of the scientific community, and eventually was incorporated into ideology of the middle-class, albeit somewhat selectively, but initially it was seen by many as an affront. Darwinian theory, coupled with the growing emphasis on worldly wealth, threatened to undermine the last stronghold of tradition in Victorian England—religion.

In this atmosphere of rapid change, it is no wonder that people looked to religion for comfort and stability. Industriousness and energy, which had become the modern

metaphors for virtue, were key elements in the evangelicalism that characterized Victorian religion. Toil and self-denial produced profits in the workplace and in the spiritual realm as well. The compatibility between Christianity and Capitalism was beautifully evidenced in Victorian England. Trudgill (1976) notes that to a great degree the religious zeal of this era was focused on morality rather than on faith itself. Emphasis was placed less on divine love than on divine wrath and on rules rather than reasons. Christian morality provided an anchor to which one could cling and in which one could find support in the rushing tide of change.

Christian religion and morality in 19th century England is a complex and multifaceted issue, most sides of which I will not address here. Instead I will examine the role that morality played in the posturing and affectation that characterized the social structure of this era. English society of pre-industrial revolution days was made up of more sharply delineated levels (Trudgill 1976). It was comprised essentially of an aristocracy, an upper middle class of bankers and military, professionals, skilled laborers and shopkeepers and a proletariat. The influx of wealth in the 19th century engendered a new elasticity within the system that functioned to blur old class divisions. The potential to dissolve once rigid lines of stratification created new impetus, most especially among those at the boundaries of a class division, to visibly position oneself within the social order. Class distinctions were made all the more crucial by their lack of definitiveness. Each class struggled to imitate the one above it while shrinking with condescension from that which lay below.

A show of gentility and morality was means by which to show oneself worthy of respect and admiration. This is nothing new. Excessive emphasis on manners has long been and still is the hallmark of the *nouveau riche* attempting to justify themselves and those around them their position in society. In the 19th century manners were defined by morality. "With its taboos and prescriptions, its pronouncements upon the minutest acts of the individual, Evangelicalism provided believers with a set of rules to guide them in almost every social setting" (Quinlan 1941, from Trudgill 1976). As will be discussed later in this paper, however, a feigning of propriety was not always enough to insure the maintenance of morality in Victorian England. As important as a gentile morality was in demonstrating one's status, status was all but essential in maintaining one's morality (Trudgill 1976).

Social Structures

The Middle Class

A voluminous amount of insipid poetry about the domestic sphere in the 19th cen-

tury attests to the centrality of home and family, at least ideally, among the middle class of Victorian England. In a less romantic vein, a well-made match was of critical importance to a man or woman hoping to attain social prestige and future economic advancement (Harrison 1977). Much money and attention was lavished, especially by the newly risen members of the bourgeoisie, on a house, furnishings, and servants. In this way one's prosperity was advertised for all to see.

An even more important display for a middle-class man was that of his wife who should demonstrate unquestionable modesty and morality. This proved not only his ultimate control over all that fell within his domestic claim, but, and most importantly, the legitimacy of his heirs. In a world of increasing wealth and emphasis on material gain, rightful inheritance became an issue of grave importance (Bullough 1976; Trudgill 1976; Harrison 1977). The importance of this is underscored by the Matrimonial Causes Act which enabled a woman to gain the right to divorce only if her husband were proven guilty of incestuous adultery, bigamy with adultery, rape, sodomy, bestiality or adultery coupled with cruelty, whereas a man was granted a divorce if his wife were found guilty of adultery. The difference, as explained by the Lord Chancellor, being that her adultery "might be the means of palming spurious offspring upon the husband," while his adultery could not (Harrison 1977). Thus, partly to prove his prosperity and partly to enforce the morality of his spouse, the middle-class housewife came into being.

Given the pressures of the business world that beleaguered men it is not hard to understand why they seemed so bent on envisioning home as a haven (Harrison 1977). In fact, home was elevated one step further and actually became a religious metaphor, a sanctuary. Within this sanctuary from the evils of the world was a personal savior as well, the wife. The equation of religion with morality, and morality with woman is evident in this metaphor which was popular throughout the Victorian Era. "The Angel in the House," a best-selling poem for almost forty years during this time, points up the strength of the equation in middle-class mentality in the following stanza (Harrison 1977).

I loved her in the name of God,
And for the ray she was of Him;
 ...Him loved I most,
But her most sensibly.

Coventry Partmore

Not only is home a sanctuary and woman a savior in this poem, but the savior is the husband's alone. The notion of possession figured heavily into middle-class defini-

tions of marriage. In order to marry, the only respectable means by which a woman could gain social status, she had to sacrifice a legal identity (Harrison 1977). A wife as well as all of her previous possessions fell under the guardianship and responsibility of her husband the moment she married. Until 1884 a woman could be imprisoned for refusing her husband his "conjugal rights" (Harrison 1977). Engagement was even a trial run of ownership for her fiance, for, without his permission, she could dispose none of her own property in any way. Even children produced in a marriage were legally the husband's property, and, in the event that he died, could only be raised under the mother's guardianship if he left explicit permission in the will. Although wives were idealized as angels and saviors, they were such within the bounds of one home and for the benefit of one man.

One of a wife's most hallowed and, no doubt, most difficult duties as savior was to save her husband from the passions of his animal nature. Although procreation within the bounds of marriage was socially approved and applauded, excessive sex was not. Medical science reinforced contemporary ideals of morality in the realm of sexuality. Benjamin Rush (1745-1813) argued that the "diminution or increase of nervous energy" could lead to illnesses of all sorts. In males, sex both increased nervous energy and, through the loss of semen, decreased it as well. Clearly this had to be avoided. A man could not be expected to deny his own desire, so this job fell to his wife. By balancing the need for procreation against the detrimental effects of sex, an equation was arrived at that recommended married couples to indulge no more than 12 times each year (Graham, from Bullough 1976). William Acton, the celebrated authority on the subject, explained that the natural female distaste for sexual intercourse was God's little way of preventing men's vital energies from being unnecessarily sapped (Bullough 1976). In this way women, armed from Heaven with natural virtues, acted as a barrier to their husbands' uncontrollable sexual impulses, thereby protecting their health and smoothing their paths to Eternal Bliss all at the same time.

If women were degraded by the possessive nature of their conjugal relations, they were also exalted and idealized. Ideals are by definition, however, disappointing in contrast with reality. Thus I imagine that many middle-class marriages did prove a disappointment to women who were informed that their husbands would be Sir Gallahads and to men who thought they had bargained for Virgin Marys. One well-documented anecdote illustrates the degree to which even the educated could be ill-informed about the realities of marriage and sex. When on his marriage night, the author and critic, John Ruskin (1819-1900), discovered that his 19 year old wife, Effie, had pubic hair, he was so disgusted that he refused to consummate their marriage (Bullough 1976).

The Working Class

The clean and well-ordered lives of the middle class were sustained by the labors not only of their own hands but by that of the myriad poor. From the bourgeois quest to constantly upgrade appearances, a demand for domestic servants rose that was quickly and cheaply filled by the burgeoning population in need of work. By 1841 one out of every four working women were housemaids and until 1914 domestic service was the second-largest single form of employment in England (Tannahill 1980). Working class labor was, of course, a necessary precondition for the maintenance of bourgeois life beyond the bounds of their polished homes as well.

The entire economy of Victorian England was generated by the sweat of its burgeoning working class. As mentioned before, a tremendous amount of wealth was drawn into England via colonialism, but it was the British labor force on which domestic industry depended. The unmitigated capitalism of the 19th century spawned an economy that was empowered by the lives of the poor on which it fed regularly and mercilessly. Factory workers and street vendors may never have seen, as a domestic worker would, the fruits of their labor evident in the relative luxury of a middle-class home, but their contribution was just as real and just as ill-rewarded (Trudgill 1976).

In his extraordinarily detailed and thorough work, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, Charles Booth estimated that during the last half of the 19th century 30.7% of the city lived below the poverty line (Booth 1891-1903, from Harrison 1977). And, as lots have fallen throughout the history of the human race, that of the poor in Victorian England was an almost inconceivably difficult one. Their lives were better portrayed by no one, I think, than Charles Dickens who (in passages that I am sorely tempted to quote at length, but will not burden you with) described the misery and despair that shaped them. Child labor was exploited ruthlessly, the typical working conditions in industry were inhumane and wages were insufficient to provide even the most rudimentary necessities of life. The existence of the poor was one of exhaustion, malnutrition, disease and chronic anxiety that crippled bodies and crushed spirits. Squalid housing, which crowded multiple families into filthy quarters, compounded the misery of the workplace by facilitating the spread of disease, violating privacy and encouraging the exploitation of children, sexually and otherwise (Harrison 1977).

Domestic life among the working class was shaped by completely different forces than those of the bourgeoisie. Having no property to pass on to heirs, the issue of legitimacy of offspring was essentially moot. In general, legal sanctions played no role in the domestic lives of the poor. Having no money or time to spare, the working class more

often than not dispensed with the need for a formal wedding. Women and men were bound by a web of emotional and economic dependency or they were not bound at all.

Despite the familiarity with and lack of inhibitions toward sex, two things which would have immeasurably improved the sexual relations of many middle-class couples, the intimate lives of working-class couples were plagued by problems. One obstacle to a satisfying sex life was the near impossibility of having any privacy. Also, in contrast to their wealthier counterparts, the possibility of producing a child was more a deterrent than a reason to engage in sexual relations. Especially for the woman, to whom the burden of both household management and pregnancy fell, the "joy of childbirth" was an economic and physical investment that few could afford to make.

Harrison (1977) also emphasizes a lack of self-esteem among both men and women as a source of emotional and sexual tension. For a man to return home day after day from 12 to 16 hours of exhausting work to realize that he was still unable to provide the most basic needs of his family must certainly have fostered humiliation. And for a woman to realize that after only a few years of childbearing and constant toil that she had lost the looks and vigor that were once attractive to her husband surely undermined her confidence as well. In this environment of relentless degradation relationships founded on love and mutual affection often decayed into resentment and violence. Alcoholism, which was prevalent among men and not uncommon among women, fueled the domestic violence that smothered emotional bonds and lent anxiety to sexual relations (Harrison 1977).

Prostitution: Causes and Attitudes

Teasing out various causes of prostitution from each other and from their results is a complex task. In examining prostitution in Victorian England, I prefer to view it as an economic institution rather than a sexual one. Certainly sex and attitudes about sex cannot be divorced from the practice of prostitution, but I feel that the root causes are most accurately sought from an economic angle.

Supply

Who while her lover pants upon her breast
Can count the figures on an Indian chest

William Acton, who characterized prostitutes in the stanza above, noted several causes of prostitution in his book, *Prostitution: Considered in Its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects* (1857). The vice of women included, in this order: natural desire, natural sinfulness, laziness, poor upbringing, seduction, and extreme poverty. Though this list

is accurate in some respects the order is misleading, for, while any of these factors may enter into a woman's decision to sell her body, poverty is undeniably the primary underlying drive behind most cases of prostitution. The power of poverty as a motivating force was described in a letter to *The Times* (1858) written by a prostitute who signed herself "Another Unfortunate." She wrote that "thousands who were impelled to take to prostitution were poor women toiling on starvation wages, where penury, misery, and famine clutch them and say "Render up your body, or die" (Harrison 1977). By way of more empirical proof, Bracebridge recorded that of 3,734 prostitutes taken into custody in 1860, only one-third identified themselves as having no other occupation than prostitution. Nearly half the total identified themselves as laundresses, milliners, servants, shoemakers, and tailors, these occupations being among the worst paid. Thus these women were taking to the streets as a means of sorely needed supplemental income (Harrison 1977).

The question must be asked, however, why did these women not work harder in a "reputable" occupation, or try to find a better-paying job? Why did they not try harder to resist? In answer to the first question, I would suggest that most women were working as many hours as they could physically tolerate. Better jobs were often impossible to get in the absence of basic educational skills which required time and money that they did not have. The last question is a bit more difficult to answer in light of the numerous case studies by men like Acton which showed that some women could have avoided prostitution if they had truly wanted to. I think the answer is two-fold. Given the alternative of a grueling 12- to 18-hour day in a menial task only to be rewarded by a pathetically insufficient wage, prostitution seems a less horrible alternative.

Further degradation than that which awaited them in the bowels of a factory or sweatshop simply was not possible. In fact, prostitution and the financial independence that it could offer lent a kind of self respect to many girls who had seen their own mothers aged and exhausted long before it was due them. Moreover, when examining prostitution among working-class women, one must be cautious about imposing a bourgeois sense of morality on them which would render their actions wholly incomprehensible. Virtue was no more bound to sexual purity among the poor than it was to honesty or compassion. Therefore, if a woman was forced to sell her body to wealthy men in order to make an "honest" living, then it was hardly more humiliating than selling her health and youth in order to sew their shirts or clean their floors.

Demand

If prostitution is to be examined as an economic institution, then the ultimate cause for supply lies in demand. "We must not lose sight of the fact that the desire for sexual

intercourse is strongly felt by the male on attaining puberty, and continues through his life an ever-present, sensible want; . . . this desire of the male is the want that produces the demand" (Acton 1857). He goes on to emphasize that this want is wholly natural in its inception so that the problem lies not in its existence but in its ill-regulation. Acton's answer to the problem for bachelors is a rigorous program of sports and exercise, presumably followed by many cold showers. Not addressed in his agenda, however, is the demand that rose from the ranks of married men.

Trudgill (1976) argues that accepted notions of conjugal sex, "the cult of home, the pedestaled angel-woman all combined to foster the immorality they were intended to dispel." Clearly 12 times a year was simply not enough for many married men. In full respect of his wife's duty to protect his health and virtue by denying him "excessive" sex, many a man took his needs elsewhere. Biomedical science once again came to the rescue of middle-class morality by publishing literature that declared that "coitus, though harmful in excess, was an acceptable health risk provided it was carried out plainly and without extravagant expenditure of emotion" (Tannahill 1976). In other words, when in need, patronizing prostitutes not only were more compassionate than one's wife, it was healthier in the long run.

Idealization and Condemnation

Ambivalence marked the Victorian middle-class attitude toward prostitutes. William Lecky in his *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869, as quoted From Harrison 1977) nimbly expressed the accepted notion of prostitution as a necessary evil in society:

That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak . . . appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of degradation and sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her the unchallenged purity of countless homes would be polluted. . . . On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains, while creeds and civilizations rise and fall the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of people.

Acton's studied work on prostitution offers a stunning demonstration of ambivalence. First, in the order of his list of reasons why a woman would enter the sordid profession he implies that natural desire is the primary impetus while poverty is noted last. Later in the text he asserts, however, that sexual desire has little if any influence over the behavior of females and that they are not troubled by the passions that plague men. Seduction by the more powerful gender is what leads to the fall of vulnerable women in

most cases. He goes on to contradict himself again by stating that vanity and idleness are key to the sinful actions of prostitutes (Acton 1857). At the root of this bundle of contradictions lies Acton's own polarized attitudes toward women. They become in his analysis two distinct species with one set of generalizations applying only to middle class or reputable women and the other applying solely to working class or irreputable women (Harrison 1977).

The connection between class and reputability is not necessarily fixed, but rather he uses generalizations to explain specific actions. This was necessary in order to avoid implicating the middle class as an exploitative force in society. Thus he maintains that those women of the working class who became prostitutes were unfortunate victims of the inherent sin that characterized their class, while those who did not were simply fortunate enough to have escaped their fate. On the other hand, the irreproachable innocence of the middle-class women was absolutely necessary to justify the sacrifices made by the "unfortunates" who were forced into prostitution.

Ironically the very action that defines prostitution also lent a means of moral catharsis to men who kindly enough took their excess natural desires outside the home in lieu of burdening their own wives. Although the exchange of money seems an odd sort of solace, in the capitalistic mindset of 19th century England, it transformed an act of sin into a financial exchange, a human encounter into a business one. By offering her body in exchange for honest, hard-earned money, the prostitute transformed herself from a person to a commodity. A commodity, having no soul, cannot be corrupted or hurt, for they, as any good business man knows, exist to be bought and used in the function for which they were created. Prostitutes were possessions valued primarily for the ephemeral role that they played in a man's life. Crucial though they were, prostitutes were transient possessions of far less ultimate value than those possessions which were left at home—a wife and children. The safe and comfortable breach between the world of prostitutes and the world of home was imperiled by only one demon—disease.

Syphilis

For Whores are Whores, their Trade it is to Sin,
 By them unthinking fools are oft drawn in,
 Shun then their snares, for true, Pandora's Box,
 Was ne'er more full of ills, than they of Pox.

(Buchan 1796)

Aside from guilt, which I would love to, but will not, address here, disease was the central destructive element that could be brought home from an illicit sexual encoun-

ter. It threatened the core of middle-class stability by bridging the gap between the sanctity of home and the wicked world of prostitutes. Disease could seep through the cracked veneer of a polished bourgeois life and leave an indelible stain.

Although there were numerous sexually-transmitted diseases, such as gonorrhea and genital herpes, I will focus on syphilis, which was of central concern for several reasons which will be discussed in this section.

Prevalence

Syphilis, often referred to in polite 19th century literature as *moribus gallicus* and in less genteel writings as the pox, has a somewhat obscure history. Many scholars claim that it was a part of the booty, albeit as less lucrative part, that Columbus brought home with him from the New World. Some say that it was present in Europe long beforehand. In any case, it has been present in Europe since at least the 15th century. Assessing its prevalence before the 20th century, however, is a difficult undertaking because a positive diagnosis is impossible in the absence of modern medical techniques. Often called "the great imitator," the symptoms of primary syphilis resemble those of at least 23 other diseases including chicken pox, leprosy and psoriasis. In spite of these problems in diagnosis, a definite increase in the prevalence of syphilis can be traced across European history (McFalls and McFalls 1984).

Acton reports that between 1842 and 1857 syphilis rose markedly in relation to other venereal diseases. The sheer abundance of statistical data available from the Victorian Era intended to either prove, disprove or explain the rise of syphilis, precludes their presentation. The contradictory intentions of the reports show little about the statistical presence of syphilis, but stand as evidence of the attention that the disease had generated among the middle class. The only statement I am willing to make with any certainty, based on information from Acton, is that syphilis was far too common to be ignored by the public and that it appeared to be increasing at a fast enough rate to stimulate a tremendous volume of popular and medical literature (Acton 1857).

Pathophysiology

Although I will not dwell long on this aspect of the disease, it is necessary to understand the course of development of syphilis within the body to understand how frighteningly insidious it seemed to many of its victims. (All of the following information is taken from McFalls and McFalls 1984). Syphilis manifests itself in three distinct stages with varying periods of latency in between. Each stage is marked by specific clinical, serological and pathological changes as well as by a specific distribution of organisms

that determine its infectiousness.

Penetration of abraded skin or a mucous membrane by the pathogen *T. pallidum* is followed in about three weeks time by the initial symptoms of primary syphilis. A hard chancre appears at the site of penetration, usually on the penis or cervix, which teems with infectious spirochetes. Given the location of the chancre, it often passes unnoticed. Spirochetes are also present in the blood, saliva, semen and vaginal discharges. During this stage the possibility of placental transfer via the blood poses a threat to a fetus, while the presence of the spirochetes in the chancre and bodily fluids puts anyone in close contact at risk.

Anywhere from six weeks to six months after the primary symptoms appear, lesions of the skin and mucous membranes that characterize secondary syphilis become evident. Depending on the location of the lesions they are either moist or dry, the moist ones being highly infectious. As in the primary stage, bodily fluids are infected with spirochetes. At the secondary stage syphilis is highly infectious. Though sexual contact is not a necessary prerequisite for infection it is by far the most common means by which the disease is spread. Even sexual contact, however, does not guarantee infection. McFalls and McFalls estimate that 10-50% of the people who have sexual contact with a syphilitic will actually acquire the disease. During this secondary stage fetal infection through the placenta is not inevitable but is always a possibility.

Early and Late Periods of Latency

As the lesions and skin rash of the secondary stage disappear a period of latency is begun in which there are no clinical signs of disease. From the time of original infection to the end of early latency, approximately two years time, occasional relapses are possible during which the individual once again becomes highly infectious. Thus, once infected, a person presents a potential health risk to both a fetus and any sexual contacts for about two years. During late latency, relapses are extremely rare and the disease manifests no clinical signs. Since spirochetes are present in none of the bodily fluids, the patient poses no health risk to others. This period is extremely variable in duration, lasting from 5 to 20 years.

On the heels of the reassuringly-long hiatus comes the late stage of syphilis. Symptoms may include gummas of the skin, bone or viscera and/or lesions of the cardiovascular or nervous systems. About half of those with late syphilis will die or be incapacitated. The other half develop the rather inaptly named benign disease which results from lesions of skin or bone which, while non-life-threatening, can be horribly uncomfortable and disfiguring. It is not hard to comprehend the horrified dread with which

people regard syphilis.

Immunity

There is still much debate about the possibility and/or the degree of possible immunity which an individual can acquire to syphilis. McFalls and McFalls offer some compelling evidence to support the possibility of immunity to the disease. The existence of natural immunity is likely in light of evidence that shows only 10 to 50% of persons exposed to secondary syphilis to become infected. More important to this analysis, however, is the possibility of acquired immunity.

McFalls and McFalls report the argument of Cannefax (1965) that "resistance to infection can exist in the absence of current infection, but that the level of this resistance is related directly to the duration of disease prior to its termination by adequate treatment." If individuals contract the disease and receive effective treatment during the primary or secondary stages, they do not build immunities to it and are, therefore, susceptible to reinfection. On the other hand, a syphilitic infection that goes untreated can build adequate immunities in the body to prevent superinfection. It is not known exactly how long the immunity can last, but the general rule is, "the greater the duration of infection before treatment the greater the immunity to reinfection."

Fecundity

The possibility of immunity is crucial to an understanding of the impact of syphilis on fecundity, which would have been of principal import to middle-class Victorian couples. From the information above we see that an infected woman would have posed a health threat to a fetus for about two years. If she was treated and reinfected, she could repeat the cycle. If untreated she might develop a protective immunity that could last for a good part of her reproductive years. There is little convincing evidence to link syphilis to either coital inability or conceptive failure, thus the principal reproductive dangers for syphilitic women are pregnancy loss or the birth of a child with congenital syphilis.

There is a wide range of possible outcomes in the pregnancies of syphilitic women. The pregnancy may spontaneously abort in the second or third trimester, resulting in a still-birth or a live birth. A live birth can produce a completely healthy child or one with congenital syphilis who, depending on the degree of infection, will die soon thereafter or survive with varying complications that result from the disease. I will not go into the horrors of congenital disease in any detail. Suffice it to say that the spectrum of possibilities for congenital syphilitics spans an asymptomatic condition to widespread lesions, saber shins and blindness. Not a happy prospect by anyone's standards.

In 1969 Barrett-Connor reported a 30% fetal death rate and a 70% congenital syphilis rate in live-born infants of mothers with untreated syphilis. More relevant to this study is the figure reported by Stokes in 1919 (I could not find a reliable earlier one), of 75% of children born to syphilitic parents being aborted, stillborn, or dying of congenital disease before their first birthday. (Figures above all taken from McFalls and McFalls 1984). It was in this figure, or one similar to it, that Victorian men and women saw as the danger of syphilis.

Treatment

In the pre-penicillin days of the 19th century treatment for syphilis was marginally effective at best and fatal at worst. Although many treatments were tried and abandoned, mercury was the drug of preference among most doctors. In certain cases, if prudently administered, mercury therapy had a slight curative effect. In heavy or frequent doses, however, the cure often proved more disastrous than the disease. The only certain way to maintain one's health was through prevention. Other than an interestingly creative array of cleansing techniques that were commonly employed, the use of a "french letter" or condom was the only means of avoiding syphilis during sexual intercourse. Even studious hygiene and condom use was not very effective in the prevention of disease transmission. How "real" the risk of transmission was, as calculated by the statistical data we have today, is irrelevant to the fear that it evoked in the minds of the people at the time. In the Victorian Era the threat of infection was always there hovering low over the sexual encounters of those who risked them.

An Environment of Fear

Although syphilis was far from being fully understood during the Victorian Era, the swift advancement of scientific knowledge produced many discoveries that shed a new and lurid light on the disease. In addition to the numerous popular writings concerned with the spread of syphilis, medical journals were publishing reports that revealed much about the implications of the disease itself. Because of the distinct pattern of appearance, latency and reappearance that characterized syphilis, it was often not recognized as a coherent disease whose entire sequence could result from a single infection. Ricord (1799-1889), an American-born Frenchman, conducted thousands of experiments to uncover the nature of this dreaded but heretofore elusive disease. He showed that gonorrhea and syphilis are distinct diseases, as well as identifying the connection between third stage syphilis and its initial infection. Conclusive proof of the existence of a single microorganism that causes the disease was soon to follow from Pasteur (Bullough 1976).

What Ricord did, essentially, was to transform syphilis from an annoying and embarrassing ailment to a lifetime condition. He linked the moment of sexual pleasure to a state of horrible disease and possible death two decades later. The impact of this information on the mindset of the 19th century population cannot be underestimated. Solace could no longer be found in the ephemerality of the disease; syphilis and all that it implied had taken on a new and frightening longevity.

The most immediate fear of a middle-class man upon discovering that he had contracted syphilis was that it exposed his previous illicit behavior. Even if to no one else, it brought his actions home to his own sense of proper moral behavior. The more terrifying threat, however, was that he had literally brought sin home to his family. The possibility of having infected his wife carried profound implications, perhaps least important of which was her almost certain fury. His greatest fear was in destroying her fertility on which he was profoundly dependent. In a world that revolved around wealth and the importance of inheritance, the possibility of having crippled one's own reproductive success was disastrous. That the biomedical data presented above indicates that this ruination was not at all certain, does not ease the fear and insecurity that the threat of syphilis engendered at the time. The feeling of vulnerability that syphilis gave birth to, and not the disease itself, was responsible for the changing attitudes toward women in this era.

In fact, it is quite difficult to locate wherein lay the true disease. A report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Contagious Disease Act, 1866, begins:

We purpose in this article to examine a disease which is at once social, moral and physical, and, especially, to exhibit the nature and extent of its agency in destroying the health and vigour of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the British islands, tainting their blood with an ineradicable poison. Of all the maladies with which humanity is afflicted, prostitution is, we believe the worst: its causes are the most persistent, its physical effects are the most terrible, its social and moral complications are the most numerous and inextricable, its whole aspect is the most saddening, and its cure is the most difficult (Session held in 1867-8).

This illustrious assembly of men point to the institution of prostitution as the real culprit and disease such as the unfortunate by-product. They are both polluting, syphilis to the individual and prostitution to the society. Syphilis polluted the individual not only in physical terms, but by linking him and his family to the larger disease of prostitution, it soiled him socially as well. If not for the bridge that syphilis constructed between the diseased world of prostitution and the healthy world of home, the social gulf that separated them would have prevented any contact. Syphilis then becomes more than a disease

of individual men and women; it serves to transmit a larger and potentially far more destructive disease. It becomes a means of infecting society with prostitution.

Disease, Control, and Women

By linking prostitution to the homeplace, the presence of syphilis threatened to strip middle-class Victorian men of the control with which they maintained their world. He could no longer rely on the home as a sanctuary in which his wife and children were protected. If his wife became infected, then he lost control that he at least had conceived himself of having over her fertility and, in turn, his own. His power over the prostitute was lost if he could not wholly divest himself of every taint of her and return home to his own wife's bed. In order for men to control these two worlds of women they had to be kept separate and distinct. Syphilis threatened to blur and blend the two well-defined, though self-contradictory, images of Victorian women. The disease came to be seen as embodied in that which was perceived as the source of its taint—women.

Blame not the stars; 'tis plain to it neither fell,
From the distemper'd Heavens, nor rose from Hell,
Nor need we to the distant Indies come;
The curst Originals are nearer home.
Whence should that foul infectious Torment flow,
But from the baneful source of all our woe?
That Wheedling, Charming Sex, that draws us in
To every Punishment, and every Sin.

Buchan, in his treatise, *The Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (1796), used this popular poem by way of explanation of the source of disease in society. If disease was to be managed then women had to be controlled. To maintain control over women, and thereby over his world in general, the bipolar attitudes toward women that were a necessary part of the differential morality that defined and separated the middle and working classes had to be strengthened. The physical threat of disease was to a large degree addressed in the mental realm. Syphilis could transcend class bounds through the body, while the fear that resulted could be held in check through the mind.

The Clean and the Dirty

The metaphor I most commonly encountered that is used to differentiate women in Victorian literature is based in hygiene. They are pure, snowy white, unblemished, in short, clean. Or, in contrast, they are soiled, stained, tainted and blemished. Disease is a corrupting or decaying force, thus prostitutes or potentially "diseased" women are con-

tained in metaphors of filth. In the same document from the House of Lords cited above prostitutes are deemed "gutters" into which the sewage of society flows. By way of contrast, those women who served as the containers and bearers of the children of the middle class, namely their wives, are clean vessels whose purity is often alluded to.

The Empowered and the Powerless

Buchan (1796) envisions women soiled by disease as warriors who posed an unacceptable threat to society.

Were men to be seen at the corner of every street in a great city, armed with swords and bludgeons to put everyone in fear of his life, who would not comply with their demand; the public would be roused, and proper measures taken to suppress them; yet the danger is nearly equal from those unhappy females who lie in wait to ensnare the unwary youth as he passes along.

Syphilis as contained in the bodies of women armed them with a weapon over which men had no means of total control and few means of recourse at all. In order for men to regain their coveted position as the powerful protectors of society, women had to be disarmed. The disempowerment of women was effected in two ways.

The first means was that discussed before, containment in metaphor. Their bodies were wrapped up in neat bundles of ideals that were assimilated into the mindsets of both men and women. Not only did men envision a dichotomous female image, but women did as well. Middle-class women saw themselves an almost separate species from their "soiled sisters." The distinction was reified in the legal structure which was man's sole domain.

In 1864 the Contagious Diseases Acts were first enacted. They functioned to contain the bodies which syphilis had empowered with uncontrollable disease. The Acts were founded on the premise that women were the source of disease in society. It was they who comprised the ranks of the social disease, prostitution, and they who harbored the syphilis through which prostitution was enabled to infect the stable middle-class homeplace. It was only fitting therefore, as stated by the House of Lords, they be the targets of containment. The gist of the Acts was a systematic rounding up of prostitutes for compulsory medical examination and "detention" in special hospital wards if necessary (Nield 1973).

Acton (1857) notes that disruptive women were subject to control by "the hospital porter, who is empowered to act as a constable in relation to the patients, who are the liable to 2 months imprisonment." Women could be mandated to enter a hospital "on po-

lice suspicion of being a 'common prostitute'" (Nield 1973). It is important to recognize that prostitution itself was not illegal; the crime of these women was in harboring disease. Working-class women were wrested of the power to control their own bodies which, as they posed a threat to respectable society, came under the jurisdiction of the law. It was in this way that the male legal structure attempted to regain the power that had been wrested out of their control through disease.

Though the attempt was diligently enforced, the Acts ultimately proved a failure and were repealed in 1886. They did not succeed for two simple reasons. Even if syphilis could be contained, no effective treatment was available to eradicate it. More importantly, however, the Acts were based on the false assumption that the threatening disease was born out of a single source—women. Because syphilis and the greater social disease of prostitution were the product of the exploitation of women by men and of the working class by the middle class, it could only be through their reconciliation that a solution could be found.

Conclusion

In this paper I have analyzed the ideals and realities of middle- and working-class life in Victorian England. The channel through which they were intimately bound was prostitution. So long as the worlds of home and prostitution could be conceived of as separate, the stability of the middle-class world remained intact. Through the physical disease of syphilis, the social disease of prostitution was lent an avenue into the bourgeois home wherein it could stain the sanctity and undermine the ideals so carefully nurtured there.

I have also emphasized that women were seen as the ultimate source of these afflictions which threatened to upset the male power structure. The attempts to maintain this hierarchy resulted in an even more fixed image of women within which she could be contained. The ultimate failure to control syphilis was a product of the failure to control women, or rather more accurately, the failure to recognize that women were part and parcel of the society and not a mere element which could effectively be contained or controlled at all.

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S A S

Photograph Acknowledgements

All photographs in this issue were taken at the SAS 1990 Annual Meeting in Atlanta. The left photograph on page 8, all those on page 41 (last page), and the middle photograph on the inside back cover are used through the helpfulness and courtesy of SAS member David Johnson. The other photographs (the cover photograph, the right one on page 8, and the top and bottom photographs on the inside back cover) were taken by a professional photographer.

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
1991 ANNUAL MEETING
Columbia, South Carolina

The 1991 meetings of the Southern Anthropological Society will be held in Columbia, South Carolina, 23-26 April at the Townhouse Hotel. The meetings are being organized by members of the Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Ideas, proposals and suggestions for papers, panels and symposia are welcome—it is not too early to start thinking about them.

The Keynote Symposium will deal with representations of the South in film and video—documentary, fiction, news, home movies—and still photographs. Interesting proposals are already arriving, but the program is still wide open. In addition to the key symposium panels, we are arranging to have a special room for continuous screening of films and videos.

The formal request for submission of papers, films and videotapes will appear in the Fall SAS Newsletter, but if you would like to discuss ideas please contact:

For the Keynote session:

Karl G. Heider
Department of Anthropology
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208
(803-777-6501) FAX: 803-777-9558

For papers and symposia:

Morgan D. Maclachlan, Program Chair
Department of Anthropology
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208
(803-777-2169)

The Townhouse Hotel is a comfortable small hotel in the center of Columbia, just a few blocks from the State House, the Anthropology Department, and reasonable restaurants. Prices will be reasonable: \$50 for a single or double, \$55 for a triple, \$60 for a quad, all including full breakfast buffet. We also hope to arrange for special student housing opportunities. And we are planning a Friday night dinner to sample some local styles of barbeque.

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING MINUTES

APRIL 26, 1990
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Item 1 — Call to Order by the President: President Miracle called the 1990 Business Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society to order.

Item 2 — Recognition of Outgoing Officers: President Miracle stated his appreciation, and that of the Society, for the hard work of all those who have completed their terms of office in the Society.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Councillor: | Patricia Lerch |
| Nominations Committee: | Tony Paredes, Chair,
Kathleen DeWalt,
Paul Doughty, and
Gwen Neville |
| Program and Local
Arrangements Committee: | Harry LeFever,
Daryl White,
Tanya Frazier, and
Anthony Colson |
| Book Exhibit Chair: | Tim Wallace |
| Student Paper Competition
Committee: | Tim Wallace, Chair,
Thomas Leatherman,
Mary Jane Berman, and
Paul J. Provost |

Item 3 — Minutes of the 1989 Business Meeting: The minutes of the 1989 Business Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society were approved as submitted.

Item 4 — Secretary-Treasurer's Financial Report: The secretary-treasurer reported on the financial situation of the Society. The accompanying tables show the 1989 revenues and disbursements for the Society, the cash on deposit at the end of the year, and the financial statement for the 1989 annual meeting.

Total income for 1989 was \$9227.46. This was an increase of \$2345.96 over 1988. This increase is largely the result of increased revenue from the annual meeting, followed by increased membership and therefore increased dues, and increased interest income due to larger reserves.

Total disbursements for 1989 were \$6938.90. This is an increase of \$3590.52 over 1988. This increase results from increases in the cost of (1) the 1988 meeting (in particular the cost of the riverboat cruise and dinner), (2) the newsletter, (3) the annual Proceedings (it went to more members), (4) the cash prizes for the student paper competitions, and (5) some 1988 printing expenses not being billed until 1989.

However, the amount of revenues over disbursements for 1989 was \$2288.56. This indicates the continuing health of the Society's financial status.

Total cash on deposit as of December 31, 1989 was \$12,936.25, an increase of \$1783.93 over 1988. This is a sufficient reserve for an organization of our size to meet any contingency.

In addition to the frugality of the officers, the major factor in the financial health of the Society has been the profits made on the past three meetings.

Item 5 — Report of the Proceedings Editor: Mary Helms reported on the SAS Proceedings. Proceedings Volume 23, *Cultural Heritage Conservation*, edited by Benita Howell is now available. The manuscript for Proceedings Volume 24, edited by Della McMillan, has been received and is now being copy edited. Volume 24 is now on schedule. She has discussed procedures with Hans Baer and Yvonne Jones, the editors for Volume 25.

Helms then went over sales figures for the different volumes and for the total of all volumes.

Proceedings editor expenses for 1989 were \$52.17

Item 6 — Mooney Award Committee: President Miracle noted the work of the James Mooney Award Committee. He described the new format of the award — it is now to be given to the best published volume making an anthropological contribution on

the South. The first new award is expected to be presented at the 1991 American Anthropological Association meeting.

Item 7 — Report of the Newsletter Editor: Gifford Nickerson reported on the newsletter. He stated that the Board had changed the name and nature of this publication by dropping the word *newsletter* from the title. The title of this Society publication is now *The Southern Anthropologist*. The increased size of this publication will be maintained.

Nickerson asked for members to send items, including original essays, for publication.

Item 8 — Report on the 1990 Meeting: Harry LeFever reported on the 1990 meeting. He stated that 140 to 150 had registered with the SAS, and up to 250 had registered with the AES.

President Miracle noted that everyone was very pleased with the way the meeting turned out.

Item 9 — Report of the 1991 Meeting Program Committee: Karl Heider reported on preparations for the 1991 meeting. The meeting will be held in Columbia, South Carolina, in the Townhouse Hotel, from April 24 to 26. Morgan Maclachlan is the Program Committee Chair. Heider is organizing the Key Symposium. Leland Ferguson is the Chair of the Local Arrangements Committee and is the Book Exhibit Chair. We will not meet concurrently with any other group for this meeting.

A call for papers has gone out for the Key Symposium. The title for the symposium is "Projections of the South: How Documentary and Fiction Films Have Portrayed the Region." He is currently working on ways to handle the integration of films into the meeting. Anyone with ideas for meeting sessions should contact Heider.

Item 10 — Report on the Key Symposium and Annual Meeting for 1992: President Miracle made a presentation on the 1992 Annual Meeting and Key Symposium. The 1992 Annual Meeting will be held at the Ponce de Leon Resort and Conference Center in St. Augustine, Florida. The room rate for this hotel in April will be \$60 for a single and \$70 for a double.

The 1992 Key Symposium, "The Southeast at the Time of Columbus: Linguistic and Archeological Evidence," is being organized by Patricia Kwachka and Jerry Mila-nich.

A local arrangements chair and a program chair are still needed for this meeting.

Item 11 — Report of the 1993 Annual Meeting: Miracle stated that it was now

time to start soliciting a site, program chair, local arrangements chair, and key symposium for the 1993 meeting.

Item 12 — Report on the Student Paper Competition: Tim Wallace reported on the student paper competition. This year there were 9 graduate and 5 undergraduate entries. Graduate and undergraduate winners, as well as an undergraduate honorable mention had been selected. The Committee included Wallace, Thomas Leatherman, University of South Carolina, Mary Jane Berman, Wake Forest University, and Paul J. Provost, Indiana University-Purdue University at Fort Wayne.

The winner of the Graduate Student Award is Susan Turner, Emory University. The winner of the Undergraduate Student Award is Melissa Rae Schrift, Appalachian State University. The winner of an Honorable Mention in the Undergraduate Student Paper Competition is Hollande Levinson, Emory University.

Item 13 — Elections: Thomas Collins was elected President-Elect. Alice Bee Kasakoff was elected Councillor.

Item 14 — Reception for Holly Mathews: President Miracle noted that at the end of the business meeting there would be a reception for incoming President Holly Mathews.

Item 15 — New President: President Miracle turned over the symbol of the Office of President of the Southern Anthropological Society to President-Elect Mathews, conferring with it the Office of President.

Item 16 — New Business: President Mathews then asked for any new business from the floor.

Item 17 — Resolution: A resolution was made from the floor to thank the outgoing officers for their work. These included Past-President Miracle, Councillor Lerch, Tim Wallace, and the 1990 Program Committee. This resolution was passed by acclamation.

Item 18 — Appreciation to Those Who Worked on Awards: President Mathews expressed her appreciation, and that of the Society, to those who had worked on the awards given this year to Asael Hansen, and to the University of Georgia Press.

Item 19 — Editor of *The Southern Anthropologist*: President Mathews announced her appointment of Gifford Nickerson to a new three term as editor of *The Southern Anthropologist*.

Item 20 — Collins Replacement: President Mathews announced her appointment of Tim Wallace to complete the one year left in the term of Thomas Collins as Councillor.

Item 21 — Student Competition Chair: President Mathews announced her appointment of Andy Gordon, University of South Carolina, as Chair of the Student Paper Competition Committee.

Item 22 — More Sessions on Teaching: President Mathews announced her hope that future meetings would include more sessions on the teaching of anthropology.

Item 23 — Adjourn: As there was no further new business, the General Business Meeting was adjourned.

**Southern Anthropological Society Statement of Revenues and Disbursements
for the Year Ending December 31, 1989**

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1989	1988	1987
Dues	\$ 4398.00	\$ 2989.00	\$ 2428.00
Paid for 1989	3464.00		
Paid for 1990	934.00		
Royalties on Proceedings	181.02	139.97	133.94
Proceedings Sales	154.50	53.90	87.80
1987 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	----	----	1560.00
Book Exhibits and Sales	----	----	337.60
1988 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	----	1924.00	133.00
Book Exhibits and Sales	----	1025.00	100.00
Onsite Activities	----	120.00	----
Refund from Advance	----	26.61	----
1989 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	2577.00	----	----
Book Exhibits	470.00	----	----
Mid-South Association of Professional Anthropologists	250.00	----	----
Onsite Fees	473.00	----	----
Interest Income			
N.C. State Credit Union			
Money Market Account	----	----	257.07
Checking Account	----	----	32.13
University of Kentucky Credit Union			
Saving Account	369.38	250.26	75.08
Bank One, Lexington, Kentucky			
Certificates of Deposit	354.56	281.76	----
Refund from Newsletter Editor	----	----	281.44
Miscellaneous	----	33.00	25.00
TOTAL CASH REVENUES	\$9227.46	\$6881.50	\$5450.46

[Continuation of Southern Anthropological Society Statement of Revenues
and Disbursements for the Year Ending December 31, 1989]

DISBURSEMENTS FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1989	1988	1987
Newsletter	\$1200.00	\$ 600.00	\$ 500.00
Postage	105.70	76.76	184.21
Printing and Duplicating	298.88	19.70	385.42
Office Supplies	----	----	15.00
Telephone	----	----	31.98
Bank Charges	----	----	16.17
Bad Checks	----	----	28.00
License Fee	15.00	10.00	10.00
Officer Expenses	48.82	61.35	184.86
Refund for Over Payment of Dues	----	----	22.00
Refund for Out of Print Proceedings	----	----	15.20
1987 Annual Meeting Expenses	----	----	792.00
1988 Annual Meeting Expenses	----	1060.00	----
1989 Annual Meeting Expenses	2449.80	----	----
1990 Annual Meeting Expenses (Advance)	500.00	----	----
Proceedings	1870.70	1505.60	1232.09
Publication of Volume 22 - \$1429.40			
Orders for back issues - \$441.30			
Student Paper Prizes	400.00	----	----
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	\$6938.90	\$3348.38	\$3793.42
REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS	+\$2288.56	+\$3533.12	+\$1657.04

CASH ON DEPOSIT ON DECEMBER 31,	1989	1988	1987
University of Kentucky Credit Union			
Checking Account	\$ 939.94	\$ 879.95	\$ 899.68
Savings Account	7,359.99	5,990.61	2,740.35
Bank One, Lexington, Kentucky			
6 Month Certificate of Deposit (6.80% APR, Due 8/27/89)	2,312.22	2,136.76	2,000.00
1 Year Certificate of Deposit (7.25% APR, Due 8/27/89)	2,324.10	2,145.00	2,000.00
TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT	\$12,936.25	\$11,152.32	\$7,640.03

Southern Anthropologist

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1989 ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE**

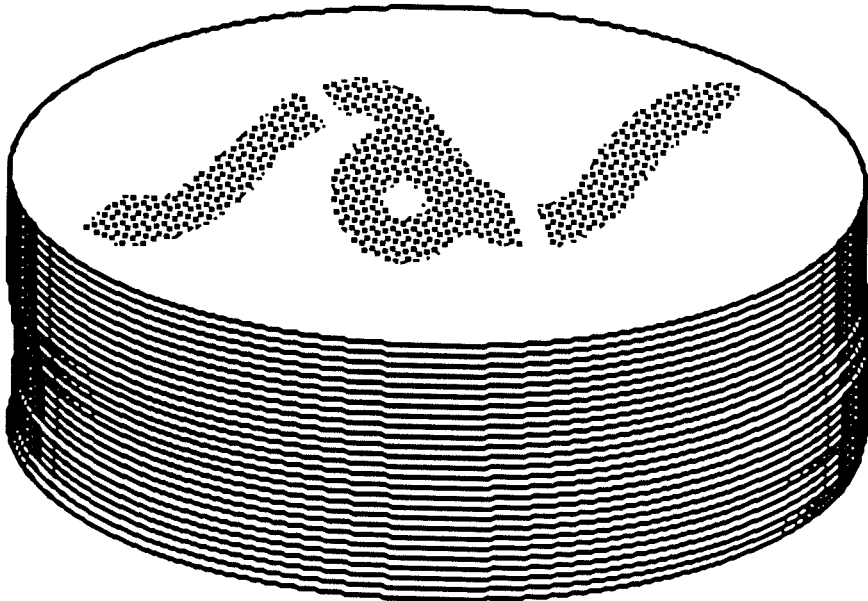
REVENUES

Registration Fees	\$2577.00
Book Exhibit Fees	470.00
On-site Activities (e.g., river boat fees)	473.00
Mid-South Association of Professional Anthropologists	250.00
Total	\$3770.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Program Costs (Program Chair)	\$ 682.35
Mississippi River Boat Dinner Cruise	2170.80
Radisson Hotel	96.65
Total	\$2949.80

MEETING PROFIT	\$ 820.20
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Letter from Johnnetta Cole

36



Spelman College
Office of the President
350 Spelman Lane, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314-4399
404-681-3643

Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole
President

June 29, 1990

Ms. Holly F. Mathews
President
Southern Anthropological Society
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
East Carolina University
Greenville, North Carolina 27858-4353

Dear Ms. Mathews:

Please accept my sincere thanks for The Southern Anthropological Society's gift of \$200 for the Spelman College's Scholarship Fund. I hope that you will share my gratitude with the members of the Society. It was an honor for me and my colleagues to participate in the 25th annual meeting this April and we look forward to continuing our relationship with the Society in the future.

Be assured that this much needed support is encouraging to meritorious Spelman women who need financial assistance to pursue their education. Your gift is evidence of your confidence in our effort to maintain and build upon the Spelman tradition of excellence in education.

Sincerely yours,

Johnnetta B. Cole

JBC/ma
Encl. Receipt #27497

cc: Marva Tanner

Southern Anthropologist



Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
A-416 Brewster
919-757-6883

EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY SEEKS APPLICATIONS/NOMINATIONS
FOR THE POSITION OF
CHAIR, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The appointment will be effective August, 1991. Candidates should have a Ph.D. in Sociology or Anthropology, a record of significant scholarly achievement appropriate for appointment as Professor with tenure, and relevant administrative experience. The new chair must lead and administer the department within a strong framework of shared governance and academic freedom. A demonstrated commitment to affirmative action is essential.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology is comprised of 17 sociology and 6 anthropology faculty and offers the B.A. in Sociology, B.A. in Anthropology, B.S. in Applied Sociology, and M.A. in Sociology. The department is committed to quality teaching at the undergraduate and graduate levels, is highly productive in research and publication and in securing external funding, and is active in a range of service sectors. The chair is expected to foster continued growth in these areas.

East Carolina University is the third largest member of the University of North Carolina system, with 16,000 students, including 2,800 graduate students. Founded in 1907, the University is located in Greenville, a progressive city of about 50,000 that serves as the cultural and economic center of North Carolina's historic Coastal Plain. In addition to the College of Arts and Sciences, the University has ten professional schools: Allied Health Sciences, Art, Business, Education, Home Economics, Industry and Technology, Medicine, Music, Nursing, and Social Work.

The review of applications will begin on October 15, 1990. Send letter of application; curriculum vitae; and the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of three references to: Dr. Leo Zonn, Chair of Search Committee, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353.

As an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer, East Carolina University specifically invites and encourages applications from minorities and women. Proper documentation of identity and employability and official transcripts are required upon employment.

Membership in the
Southern Anthropological Society
and Available Proceedings

Membership in the Southern Anthropological Society is open to all persons interested in Anthropology. Benefits of membership include a subscription to the *Southern Anthropologist*, the latest issue of the SAS Proceedings (1990 members will receive SAS Proceedings No. 23), various Society communications, and the opportunity to purchase earlier SAS Proceedings at a 20% discount. Annual membership categories are: **Regular** (\$20.00), **Student** (\$12.00), **Joint** (\$26.00), and **Retired** (\$12.00).

SAS Proceedings Available:

		Price Member	Price Nonmember
No. 5	Red, White, and Black: Symposium on Indians in the Old South Charles Hudson, Editor	\$6.40	\$8.00
No. 8	Social and Cultural Identity: Problems of Persistence and Change T.K. Fitzgerald, Editor	\$4.20	\$5.25
No. 9	Symbols and Society: Essays on Belief Systems in Action Carole E. Hill, Editor	\$5.20	\$6.50
No. 12	Interethnic Communication R. Lamar Ross, Editor	\$5.20	\$6.50
No. 13	Predicting Sociocultural Change Susan Abbott and John van Willigen, Editors	\$5.60	\$7.00
No. 14	Cities in a Larger Context Thomas Collins, Editor	\$5.60	\$7.00
No. 15	Holding on to the Land and the Lord Robert L. Hall and Carol B. Stack, Editors	\$5.60	\$7.00

SAS Proceedings Available (continued):

		Price Member	Price Nonmember
No. 16	Bilingualism: Social Issues and Policy Implications Andrew W. Miracle, Jr., Editor	\$6.00	\$7.50
No. 17	Cultural Adaptations to Mountain Environments Patricia D. Beaver and Burton L. Purrington, Editors	\$6.00	\$7.50
No. 18	The Burden of Being Civilized Miles Richardson and Malcolm Webb, Editors	\$6.00	\$7.50
No. 19	Contemporary Health Policy Issues and Alternatives Carole E. Hill, Editor	\$8.00	\$10.00
No. 20	Visions and Revisions: Ethnographic Perspectives on Southern Culture George Sabo III and William M. Schneider, Editors	\$8.00	\$10.00
No. 21	Sea and Land: Cultural and Biological Adaptations in the Southern Coastal Plain James L. Peacock and James C. Sabella, Editors	\$8.00	\$10.00
No. 22	Women in the South: An Anthropological Perspective Holly F. Mathews, Editor	\$8.00	\$10.00
No. 23	Cultural Heritage Conservation in the American South Benita J. Howell, Editor		Free to 1990 members

Checks for Membership dues and/or orders for previous Proceedings volumes (including \$.95 postage for each volume) should be made payable to the Southern Anthropological Society and sent to:

Dr. Thomas A. Arcury, SAS Secretary-Treasurer
Center for Developmental Change
365 Patterson Office Tower
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027

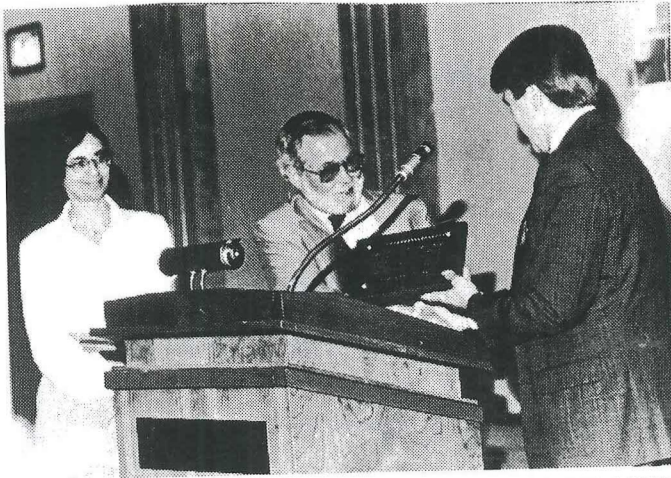
Moving?

Don't miss the *Southern Anthropologist*, proceedings volumes, and special mailings to SAS members. Send your Old and New Addresses immediately to Secretary-Treasurer Thomas A. Arcury at his address below . . .

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

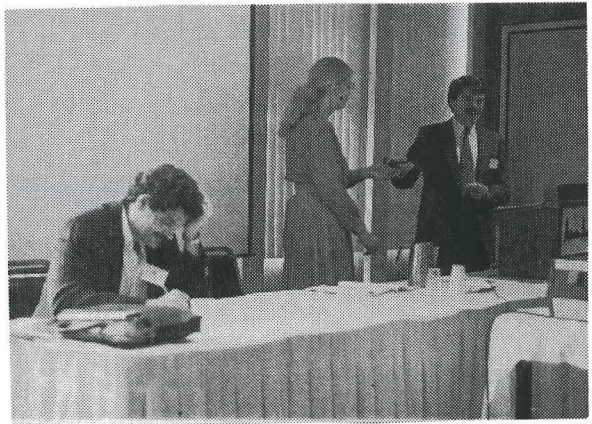
Published three times a year (Winter, Summer, and Fall) and distributed as a benefit to the membership of the Southern Anthropological Society. **Annual dues** (Regular, \$20.00; Students and Retired, \$12.00; Joint, \$26.00), **subscription only** (\$10.00), and **address changes**, may be sent to:

Dr. Thomas A. Arcury
SAS Secretary-Treasurer
Center for Developmental Change
365 Patterson Office Tower
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027

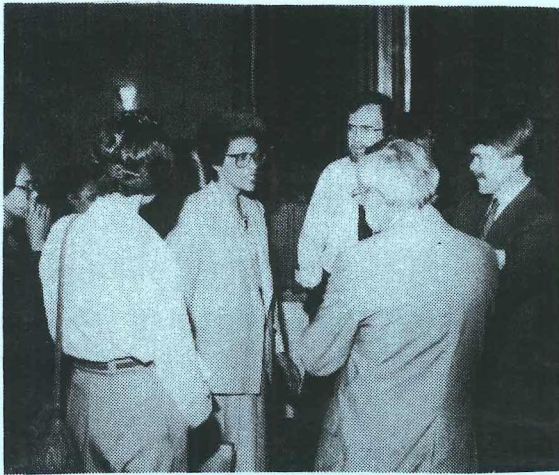


Presentation to University of Georgia Press by SAS President Andrew Miracle

President Miracle hands the symbol of office to President-Elect Mathews

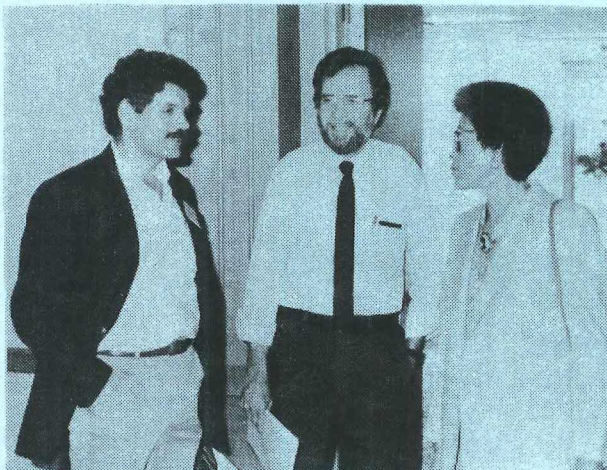


SAS reception for President Holly Mathews



Dr. Johnnetta Cole following her
SAS Keynote address in Atlanta

Dr. Cole with Asael Hansen
following her address



Dr. Cole with Harry Lefever
and Tom Arcury

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Gifford S. Nickerson, Editor
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