

# Southern Anthropologist



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# Southern Anthropologist

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# Southern Anthropologist

Volume 20 Number 3  
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## Editor's Corner

Gifford S. Nickerson

**S**AS members certainly will find many items of interest and value in this issue. The article by Michelle Moran-Taylor and Miles Richardson, dealing with the concepts of "journey" and "place," as exemplified in the lives of migrants to the United States from the Guatemalan communities of Salcajá and San Cristóbal, is an insightful and illuminating discussion. At the Savannah Annual Meeting I discussed with Miles the prospect of his writing up an examination of the above concepts especially for publication in the *Southern Anthropologist*, and Michelle Moran-Taylor and he have favored us with this excellent exposition.

The other formal paper in this issue is Angela Martin's winning graduate entry in the 1993 Student Paper Competition, in which she undertakes a symbolic analysis of the Virgin Mary as religious symbol in western Ireland. Her paper entails a carefully-constructed and thoughtful analysis, central to which are contradictions between institutional and local definitions of the Virgin Mary in an Ireland town.

Also in this issue is a remembrance by Holly Mathews of John Peter-

son and his contributions to the SAS. It is gratifying to read Holly's thoughts relating to John's influence on her and others, and how well and in so many ways he served the Society. As Holly has poignantly stated, and as others have indicated in their own ways in previous issues of the *Southern Anthropologist*, neither John Peterson nor his work will be forgotten, particularly by his friends and colleagues in the SAS.



President Beaver's discussion of the far-reaching ("Dogpatch") imagery relating to people in Appalachia—all the way to China and back—is an interesting and important commentary on the strength and persistence of stereotypes. In my fieldwork experiences in eastern Kentucky in the 1960s, the "L'il Abner" imagery in popular literature and thinking of that time was sufficiently influential to lead some VISTA workers in the county in which I worked to dress and

act out their version of the "hillbilly" stereotype, much to the disgust and chagrin of local residents. Although there has been a deluge of countering information relating to "mountain people" during and since the "War on Poverty," the imagery—as President Beaver illustrates—is a living and tenacious one today, within and outside of the United States. Witness, in addition to her examples, the high ratings of the current full-length film, "The Beverly Hillbillies" and reruns of the TV series by the same name.

The minutes of the SAS 1993 General Business Meeting appear in this issue, including financial statements for the 1992 Annual Meeting of the SAS and revenues and disbursements for the year ending December 31, 1992. As these statements indicate, the financial picture for the SAS is currently secure.

Please note, also, the proposed changes to the Southern Anthropological Society's Bylaws, starting on page 34. These changes, some of them long overdue, were approved by the SAS Board of Directors in 1993, and will be voted upon by the SAS membership at the 1994 General Business Meeting in Atlanta.

The first call for student papers for the 1994 SAS Student Paper Competition appears below. Please note the submission deadlines, and encourage your undergraduate and graduate students to submit papers to the Chair of the 1994 competition, Barbara Hendry. The student paper competition has been a highly important activity of the Society since its

inception. The competition committee relies on our assistance in spreading the word to students and working with those who might be inclined to submit entries. As noted in the past, the process itself conveys its own benefits.

We are also repeating the call for papers for the SAS 1994 Key Symposium, "Anthropological Contributions to Conflict Resolution," the initial deadline for which is fast approaching. Coorganizers Alvin Wolfe and Honggang Yang are working on the details of the symposium, to which we can look forward with high enthusiasm.

The general call for papers and organized sessions, as well as specific information such as that relating to hotel reservations and transportation, will be sent to SAS members separately, via 1994 Program Chair George Armelagos, and members of the 1994 local arrangements committee, Beatriz Morales, Tanya Frazier, and Daryl White.

The roster of SAS presidents, from 1966 to 1993, which appears on page 48, represents an honor roll of distinguished and dedicated leaders of the Society over its 27 years of existence. We are fortunate to have had this august series of presidents, who collectively have made the SAS one of the strongest and most active regional anthropological societies in the country.

It is time to plan to attend and participate—formally or informally—in the meetings in Atlanta! The program and activities will be well worth the effort.

# President's Column

Patricia D. Beaver

## Reflections on Appalachia

In Shenyang, China in 1991 I—along with the majority of the Chinese population—watched Chinese national television's celebration of the Chinese New Year. While entertained by Chinese actors, dance troupes, singing groups, and comedians, I was startled by a performance by international students from the American School in Beijing of a mini-musical comedy along the lines of *Dogpatch, USA*. Boys played stereotyped roles of lazy hillbillies feudin', fightin', and drinkin' moonshine whiskey, while girls represented winsome, manipulative maidens, or outspoken harridans, following the familiar lines of Daisy Mae and Granny Yokum.

The popular hillbilly imagery, now transported throughout the most populous nation on earth, is a product of the local-color movement in American fiction in the late nineteenth century. A

variety of writers created these images, later perpetuated by helping professionals, and they have become part of our knowledge base as Americans, our dialect joke repertoire, our Halloween costumes, our popular media. What we know, like all stereotypes which isolate, denigrate, and reify the OTHER, is not true, yet these images persist and are conveyed throughout the world through the medium of television.

This fall I have embarked upon a new course, *Gender, Race and Class*, through which I hope to address many issues critical to global citizenship. I was overjoyed when Dr. Johnnetta Cole presented the fall Convocation address to our university community. Fellow anthropologist and President of Spelman College, Dr. Cole eloquently and forcefully addressed the multiple, complex issues which we face in empowering the disenfranchised among our citizenry.

Her very sensitive treatment of multiculturalism within the American South struck many chords for my students, and in the follow-up discussion, my students dealt thoughtfully with the discussion of diversity. While I had anticipated struggle with racism, my students seemed eager to find ways to change the culture of persistent racism which surrounds them. Dr. Cole not only addressed the need for greater understanding among African American, Native American, and white Southerners, but talked of the complexity of Euro-American cultural heritages which are poorly understood by our citizenry.

In this light, my class discussion eventually turned toward the mountains in which we live—to a discussion of Appalachian people. And two years and half a world away from seeing the hill-billy imagery on Chinese television, I was again dumbfounded by the persis-

tence of the Dogpatch imagery among my American students, even as we live in the heart of the Appalachian South—by the snickers evoked by one student's mention of incest, another's reference to male violence.

I suspect that those who have elected to take my course are self-selected; they have entered my classroom ready to reject overt racism and reconsider their own gender constructs. Yet they are less well prepared to consider class and ethnicity within their own culture. Two months into the class, we have ventured through China, Africa and Polynesia, and as we begin our sojourn in American culture, we have decided that not all black people are the same, not all white people are the same; so there's a start, but we have a long way to go. The undergraduate classroom is indeed an exciting, challenging place to hang one's hat.

## Anthropology in North Carolina

**F**all has indeed been magnificent in the mountains and in the Piedmont as well; I had the pleasure of spending Saturday, October 9th, in the good company of 45 North Carolina anthropologists, representing about 12 colleges and universities (my unofficial count) and the Department of Cultural Resources in the hospitable surroundings of the Wake Forest Anthropology

Department and their Museum of Anthropology. In its second year, the Association of North Carolina Anthropologists (ANCA) has come together to share information and resources.

We spent some time discussing that most applied dimension of our field-outreach to public education. In addition to presentations of several successful models and information materials, we

formed a Task Force to pursue specific strategies. As I noted in the previous issue of the *Southern Anthropologist*, a concerted and sophisticated treatment of anthropological knowledge can both impact our citizenry, and energize the profession. Tim Wallace (Dr. James M. Wallace, NC State University), SAS President-Elect, has served a yeoman's job of organizing us this year as President of ANCA, and would be happy to forward information to folks interested in pursuing these and other state-level issues in other states represented within the SAS.

We have found that ANCA is most important for developing camaraderie among anthropologists in the state, and for identifying scholars who may feel isolated as the only anthropologist in small schools without anthropology programs. This kind of organization is a useful mechanism for beginning to impact not only public education, but public policy issues in general. As several states have statewide programs or organizations, the *Southern Anthropologist* invites commentary on models of organization or activities.

## Proceedings Editor

**M**ichael Angrosino has accepted the appointment as SAS Proceedings Editor, replacing Mary Helms in this most critical position with the society. You may recall from the last issue that Mary has decided to step down after ten years of outstanding service to the SAS. Michael Angrosino, Professor of Anthropology at the University of South Flori-

da, brings his experience as two-terms Editor of Human Organization to this task, his editing of SAS Proceedings Volume 10, *Do Applied Anthropologists Apply Anthropology?*, as well as his long-time association with and service to the society, and his active and extensive scholarly record in anthropology. We are pleased that he is willing to serve the society in this capacity.

## Spring 1994 Meetings

**R**emember, now is the time to be submitting those travel requests to the SAS meetings, April 27-30, at the American Hotel in Atlanta. If you are interested in submitting proposals for the Key Symposium on Conflict Resolution, please contact

Alvin Wolfe (University of South Florida) or Honggang Yang (Carter Center of Emory University). See the announcement in this issue and note the November 30, 1993 deadline. The general call for papers will go out in November, with a late January deadline for ab-

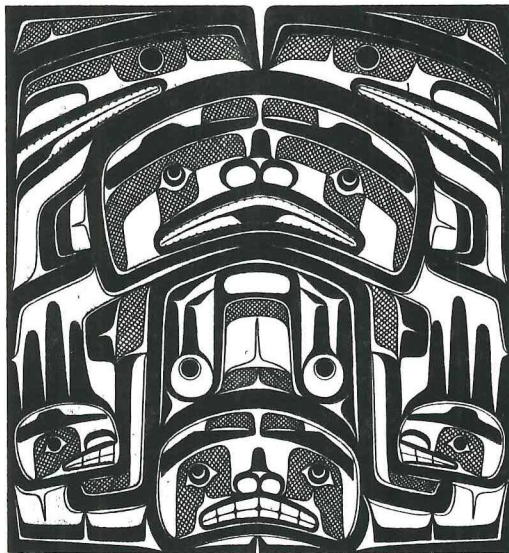
stracts; ideas for sessions or other programs ideas should be directed to George Armelagos (Emory University). As your loads of student papers begin to carpet your desk, be on the lookout for

that sign of insight, or clarity of analysis (or dare I say genius), and suggest re-writes with the SAS student paper competition in mind (see the announcement below—and note the deadlines).

## Endowment Campaign

**M**embers of the SAS executive committee who will be in Washington for the AAA meetings will meet to talk about our anticipated endowment campaign, designed to generate funding for student prize awards, a speakers' bureau

for small colleges in the South, and other purposes such as the Mooney Book Award. If you have ideas about this and other SAS business, please contact any of the board members; during the AAA meetings I'll be at the Appalachian House in DC (202-5436-2873).



# Call for Student Papers

## Southern Anthropological Society Student Paper Competition

for the Annual Meeting to be Held  
at the American Hotel  
Atlanta, Georgia  
April 27-30, 1994

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Undergraduate and graduate students are encouraged to submit papers on anthropological topics to the 1994 annual student paper competition sponsored by the Southern Anthropological Society. In addition to publication of the winning undergraduate paper and the winning graduate paper in the *Southern Anthropologist*, each of the winners will be awarded:

1. a cash prize of \$200.00;
2. a certificate of recognition; and
3. a selection of anthropology books.

All students entering a paper also are invited to present their papers at the 1994 Annual Meeting in Atlanta. Each entrant in this competition who presents a paper at the SAS 1994 Annual Meeting will be awarded a book.

Requirements and deadlines for the 1994 SAS Student Paper Competition are listed below. Further questions about the competition should be directed to Dr. Barbara Hendry, 1994 SAS Student Paper Competition Chair (at her address on next page).

### Requirements For 1994 SAS Student Paper Competition

- ⌘ All submissions must follow the style of the *American Anthropologist* for citations, footnotes and "References Cited."
- ⌘ All manuscripts must be printed or typed on bond paper with one-inch margins. Elite is the smallest allowable type.

- ⌘ Maximum paper length is fifteen typed, double-spaced pages, including tables, notes and "References Cited."
- ⌘ The author's name, address, telephone number, university affiliation and status (undergraduate or graduate) should appear typed on a cover sheet separate from the title page of the manuscript.
- ⌘ A 100-word typed abstract should be submitted on a separate page. The author's name, address, telephone number, affiliation, and status (undergraduate or graduate) also should appear on the abstract page.
- ⌘ All entrants must submit one copy of the abstract for receipt by **January 21, 1994**. Three copies each of the manuscript, the abstract, and the cover sheet should be submitted for receipt by **February 21, 1994**.
- ⌘ All entrants must be (*or become*) members of the Southern Anthropological Society. The student membership fee (\$12.00) and the registration fee (\$13.00) should be submitted with the abstract.
- ⌘ Entries that do not conform to the above requirements will not be accepted.
- ⌘ Award-winning entries may be returned to their authors for revision before publication in the *Southern Anthropologist*.

### *Deadlines*

⇨ **January 21, 1994**

—Submission of one copy of the 100-word abstract (with author information), membership and registration fees.

⇨ **February 21, 1994**

—Submission of three copies of the manuscript, abstract and cover sheet.

**Submit papers and other items (and/or inquiries) to Dr. Barbara Hendry, SAS 1994 Student Paper Competition Chair:**

Dr. Barbara Hendry  
Landrum Box 8051  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Georgia Southern University  
Statesboro, GA 30460-8051

# INVITATION TO SUBMIT PAPERS FOR THE 1994 KEY SYMPOSIUM

## *ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION*

at the Annual Meeting of the  
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

April 27-30, 1994

Atlanta, Georgia  
American Hotel

The purpose of this key symposium is to bring together and to make vividly apparent the variety of ways anthropological approaches and perspectives can be of very practical worth in the resolution of conflicts and, especially, in the early identification of developing potential conflicts while they are still resolvable without violence. The organizers envisage fifteen papers, to be presented orally in Atlanta in 1994 and to be published subsequently as a volume in the respected series, SAS Proceedings, University of Georgia Press. We expect one session and most likely a reception to take place at the Carter Center of Emory University.

We anticipate contributions from legal and political anthropology, economic anthropology, social network approaches, interpretive approaches, cross-cultural studies, and from other anthropological streams. Characteristically, we expect anthropologists to deal with conflicts and potential conflicts at a variety of levels—family and kinship problems, local neighborhoods and communities, intra-national and inter-national relations, multinational and supranational systems. We expect some theoretical arguments, but what we really want are very down-to-earth suggestions that derive from anthropological knowledge and practice.

**Please send titles and abstracts (100 words) to either coorganizer:**

Alvin W. Wolfe  
Distinguished Service Professor  
Department of Anthropology  
University of South Florida  
4202 E. Fowler Ave., SOC 107  
Tampa, Florida 33620

Honggang Yang, Ph.D.  
Research Associate  
Conflict Resolution Program  
The Carter Center of Emory University  
One Copenhill  
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

**Titles and Abstracts due November 30, 1993.**

**If selected, completed papers will be due February 28, 1994.**

# *Remembering John Peterson's Contributions to the SAS*

Holly F. Mathews  
East Carolina University

I first met John Peterson when he became President-elect of the Southern Anthropological Society. At that time, I was serving as Secretary-Treasurer, and John and I talked almost monthly as he prepared to take office.

John became President at a time when the SAS was at a crossroads with regards to the future. Many small, regional associations were in financial trouble, and with the AAA expanding into many fragmentary units, some in our society wondered if we might do better to merge and become another one of these small AAA units. John was opposed adamantly to such a merger because he thought that we would lose the very essence of what made the SAS such a unique group—the close-knit, collegial nature of the society.

John made it his mission as President to restore a sound financial footing to the society and to revitalize the membership. He worked with the board to analyze the society's financial status and recommend a plan to improve it. He also instituted the custom of involving both immediate past officers and recently

elected ones in the planning process so that more continuity was achieved from year to year in administering society business and in planning meetings. I think that the SAS today is in much better shape financially and organizationally than many other regional societies in large part because of the efforts initiated by John.

On a personal note, I not only admired John's leadership and administrative abilities but I liked him very much. He was uniformly friendly to those in the society, and he never failed to reach out to include new students into the group at the annual meetings. The last time that I spoke with John he was in Africa on a Fullbright fellowship. Even then, John was thinking of the society as he spoke enthusiastically about organizing a symposium with his African colleagues for the upcoming meeting. It is hard to realize that John will not be attending any more meetings, but I know that his spirit will always be present among those of us who knew and respected him. And because of his efforts, the society will remain strong and vital.

*Place and Journey in the Lives  
of Guatemalan Migrants:  
Documenting the  
Undocumented*

Michelle Moran-Taylor and Miles Richardson  
Louisiana State University

“Culture, this acted document . . . .”

Clifford Geertz (1973:10)

I

Within that multiparadigmatic mansion that constitutes the house of anthropology dwell those whose task is not that of “an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (Geertz 1973:5). We endeavor to address the lived-in world in which we humans are, for as creatures of flesh and blood and as people of speech, we construct, however haphazardly, our existence. Thus, when it becomes our turn to consider, as ethnographers, the vast flow of people who enter the United

States illegally in pursuit of their destiny, we look for concepts that bring forth that humanly constituted experience, dialectical concepts such as place and journey. Place rebounds with experiential and symbolic qualities that ground us in the rich context of human being. What we see, smell, touch, and even taste, and whom we speak to and argue with permit us to establish who we claim to be (Richardson and Dunton 1989). Yet, while place grounds us, it may also grind us up. Place may be home, but it also may be a prison, a barrier to a better life. Journey, on the other hand, has a

place-less quality. When we travel, we go from place to place. Journey may even render problematic the who we claim to be; at the same time, journey may be an open door through which we move to create a better life (Tuan 1984). Although indexing reciprocal modes of being and thus having a phenomenological slant to them, the two concepts are clearly available for different interpretations—place as home or prison; journey as a threat or freedom—or, as we are prone to do during this turn in anthropology's history, for different readings. Readings imply, naturally, texts, and the metaphor of text as applied to behavior (Ricoeur 1979), society (Brown 1987), and landscape (Barnes and Duncan 1992) has become almost common place. Increasingly common though it may be, the metaphor remains insightful.

Place as text combines the objectivist view of culture as out there, as part of the intersubjective landscape, with the subjectivist creed of interpretation. It removes the notion of culture as secreted away in individual heads and lets us see in the inscription of field, house, and shrine the life stories we author (or, moer pessimistically perhaps, that are authored through our hands and in our seeing, we read where we are, and, consequently, who we are. As we change places, or as we change the place where we reside, we change modes of being

and the interpretations of those modes, which returns us to the search of meaning.

The juxtaposition of place with journey and the concept of place as variable texts help us, as ethnographers, to write of people from the western Guatemalan highlands who periodically journey to the United States and then journey back to reconstitute their place. The writing rests on research by Moran-Taylor (1993), which included fieldwork in the summer of 1992.

## II

In the foothills of the rugged mountain ranges in western Guatemala, two small communities, Salcajá and San Cristóbal, lie near the Panamerican highway (Fig. 1). The two towns are only

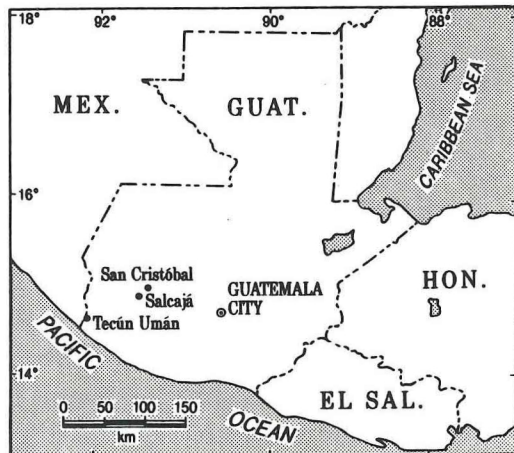


Figure 1. Position of Salcajá and San Cristóbal

five kilometers apart yet belong to the two inverse images, *ladino e indígena*,

European and indigenous, that constitute the Guatemalan mirror (Hawkins 1984). The images of the two ethnic groups are reflected in dress. The *ladinos* wear Western garments and are *la gente de vestido*, the people of dress. The native Americans, especially the women, wear a blouse, *huipil*, and a wrap-around skirt, *corte*, the decorations on which convey their Maya affiliation and their geographical location (Salisbury 1986; Kramer 1993). They are *la gente de corte*. The two *gente* are joined in their discreteness by the Hispanic American experience and by Guatemala's asymmetrical relationship to the United States.

Salcajá, claiming ancestry back to the Spanish conquistador, Pedro de Alvarado, is the *ladino* town. It is the *cabecera*, the capital, of the *municipio*, or county, of the same name. Highly nucleated with traditional Mediterranean courtyard houses lining its rectangular streets, it is the preferred urban site for almost three quarters of the *municipio*'s 16,175 inhabitants (Gall 1983; *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* 1988; 1992). The principal income of the urban *ladinos* comes from textile manufacturing. Work stations set up in the owners' patios, along the front streets, or any convenient space fabricate the thread and weave the many-colored thread into cloth from which are made the distinctive apparel of the indigenous people.

The hub of the packed urban grid is the central plaza, on one side of which is the Catholic church and on another, the political administration building. On *el día de la plaza*, every Tuesday, the central plaza becomes a market center crowded with vendors eager to sell a variety of products. Among the buyers are peasants from the surrounding countryside, who seek bargains to stretch a small income gained from selling their crops, an income averaging two to three dollars a day. In addition to its economic function, the plaza is the stage for the various fiestas the townspeople celebrate, the principal one being in the last week of August, the *feria titular*, which honors San Luis, the patron saint of Salcajá. Live bands perform to people dancing amid wooden stands erected to sell delicacies or to entertain with games and rides.

Situated near the intersection of highways crossing the Panamerican route, San Cristóbal is also the *cabecera* of its *municipio* in which live an estimated 27,555 inhabitants (Gall 1983; *Instituto Nacional de Estadística* 1988; 1992). Dating back to early colonial times, San Cristóbal, like Salcajá, has a plaza with a church, but unlike its *ladino* neighbor, it is not tightly nucleated. In manner similar to other indigenous communities, the majority of the people, 96 percent of which are Maya, lived in hamlets dispersed throughout the *munic-*

*ipio* where they cultivate maize, wheat, beans, and potatoes. While subsisting on agriculture, the inhabitants also engage in a variety of cottage industries, principally tailoring, furniture and toy production, and the manufacturing of utilitarian pottery. In addition to the "empty grid" pattern and the *traje típico*, the costume the women wear, the language that nearly all inhabitants speak, Quiché, quickly announces San Cristóbal's *indígena* character. In a manner resembling other Guatemalan Indians these days, many *San Cristobaleños* (people of Saint Christopher!) have converted to Protestantism. Consequently, the colonial church by the plaza has become less a worship center and more an archaeological site. Notwithstanding their conversion, *San Cristobaleños* continue to burn the sacred *copal* for incensing their traditional familial rites. Likewise, the *feria titular* in July brings out masked dancers who in steps adapted from the Iberian dance of the Christians versus the Moors reenacted Alvarado's conquest of their land.

### III

For both the Salcajeños who view their situation from urban windows and the San Cristobaleños looking around from the doors of their hamlets, place reads both filial sentiments and deprivation, even death. The sounds of the plaza on market day, the smell of the ancient *copal* purifying the air, the graceful

sway of traditional dress, and the outrageous joy bursting like fireworks during the *feria titular* inscribe themselves into storied lives. Yet, the down turn of Guatemala's export economy of bananas, coffee, and cotton in the recent decades (Barry 1991), the earthquake of 1976, which killed 30,000 people, and the repressive regimes responsible for introducing the word, *los desaparecidos* (those who have disappeared without a trace) into the world's vocabulary reside also in the texts of the two locations.

The solution, of course, discovered time and again in legend and in life, is the journey. In this case, the journey is north to the United States, but a journey to be achieved with little money, no visa, and no English—and in the case of monolingual Quiché speakers, no Spanish.

Young, unmarried men, either *ladino* or *indígena*, those with less to lose and much to gain, compose the majority of travelers who take the journey north. (Women, however, do make the journey.) Having heard of the good fortune of others, those who are making themselves ready for the first time, seek to employ a leader, one who knows the game, who can outsmart the border guards, who has a reputation for success, or, in other words, a coyote. *Coyote*, or coyote, is a Nahuatl word, *coyotl*, that in Mexican Spanish and American English means a member of

the canine family noted for its cunning. In native American folklore of the Southwest, Coyote is a Trickster, an amoral creature who outsmarts its antagonists, human or otherwise. In the border language of the Mexican-U.S. frontier, it designates a person who consistently breaks the law by aiding individuals to enter the United States illegally. In the eyes of the United States Immigration, human coyotes not only violate the law but exploit the very people they are paid to help, hence those people become known as *pollos*, chickens, eaten by the trickster coyote.

In Guatemala, coyotes have a much better reputation. They are respectable enough to advertise in national papers, in the excursion section naturally:

*A Los Angeles, California, le llevamos rápido, seguro, vía terrestre, aérea, guía profesional garantiza 100% llevarlo a su destino.*

To Los Angeles, California, we take you quickly, safely, via land or air, professional guide guarantees 100% delivery to your destination.

People in Salcajá and in San Cristóbal rely on the reputation of local guides, such as Doña María, who always gets her people through, she says, *Por la línea, nunca por el monte*, at the border crossing, never through the brush. For her price, Doña María guar-

antees three tries. If she cannot get her people across on the first try, the clients have two additional attempts to their credit. Although coyotes are mainly *coyotes*, that is, men, and not *coyotas*, women, Doña María insists that *coyotas*, such as she, take people across with less hassle. Successful coyotes drill their clients on how to respond in Mexican Spanish to inquiries from Mexican or American officials. The more well organized coyotes hold orientation sessions so that the clients become familiar with the Mexican national anthem, the colors of the Mexican flag, and with Mexican cuisine. If Guatemalan migrants are caught at the U.S. border but can convince the immigration officers they are Mexican, then they will only be deported back to Mexico and not to Guatemala. Too, the most difficult trial of the journey is getting through Mexico.

#### IV

Leaving with their respective coyotes, the travelers from Salcajá or from San Cristóbal immediately confront the Guatemalan-Mexican border. Coyotes prefer to cross near a border post for the simple reason the border posts are easier to get to, by bus or car, and easier to leave from than an inaccessible location. A favorite crossing point, because it is the busiest, is the one between Tecún Umán and the Mexico town of Ciudad Hidalgo. The river, Su-

chiate, forms the boundary, and to cross this stream, which during the rainy season, increases in depth and ferocity, local people use *cámaras*, which are rafts made from lashing together tubes from trailer-truck tires. Camareros, raftmen, will offer to pole or paddle an illegal party across for a fee. Once on the Mexican side, the travelers have to circle into Ciudad Hidalgo for transportation. From the border, some coyotes even fly their party, first to Mexico City and then to the U.S. border. Others load their clients on to buses for the grueling trip through the mountains in southern Mexico, across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, through the rugged terrain south of Mexico City, and into the city itself. From there, some groups take a westwardly route to Tijuana or El Paso, while others travel straight north across the desert plateau to Laredo, and still others follow the hot, coastal route along the Gulf of Mexico to Matamoros.

The travelers are drilled to avoid Mexican officials, who have, according to Guatemalans, reputations for corruption and brutality. Although the current administration of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has supposedly cleaned up the abusive practices, some travelers report having to pay even higher bribes, or *mordidas*, literally, bites. And for the naive, the scared, those on the road for the first time from their homes in Salcajá and San Cristóbal, the accounts of bru-

ality and bribes may make them easy prey for bandits. "Two men confronted us," Tavo recalled, a *Salcajeño* who had managed to reach Mexico City, where at a metro station the coyote had divided the large group into small ones to make them less conspicuous. "'We're from Immigration,' they said, 'Come with us.' We didn't know. We were afraid not to. They crammed us into a car, drove out into the brush, and demanded all our money. If we didn't pay, they would hurt us and take the girls. We pleaded and begged, and finally, they took our money and baggage and left. My brother, the astute one, *el vivo*, had \$200 U.S. sewed in his jeans, so we didn't starve." But Tavo had enough and returned to Salcajá, where he weighs the hazards of the journey against the desire to build a house for his family.

Getting across the border into the United States requires increasing ingenuity to escape *la Migra*, the Immigration Officers. Humberto, a coyote from Salcajá, like his animal namesake, has outsmarted *la Migra* all along the border, or at least according to Humberto, who, like his mythic namesake, is not modest. El Paso is the easiest; when the river is low, "we walk across." Tijuana is the hardest, because the drug traffic augments security, and Humberto in his earlier days almost lost his life in an underground tunnel that suddenly flooded.

He has used motor homes and laid people in rows on the floor under the cover of rugs. Now, he flies into Los Angeles with a group and tells them simply to run for the taxi station, which, supposedly, is out of reach of immigration authorities.

Once across the border, the travelers from Salcajá and San Cristóbal complete their journey by going to two cities where members from each community have established Guatemalan outposts. For the *ladinos* of Salcajá that place is Trenton, New Jersey; for the *indígenas* from San Cristóbal, it is Houston, Texas.

## V

Although the scholarly literature (Rodriguez 1987; 1988) has noted the presence of Quiché Maya (including those from San Cristóbal) in Houston, where some 10,000 to 15,000 reside, the fieldwork of Moran-Taylor has established the preference of the *ladinos* from neighboring Salcajá for Trenton. Why Houston? Why Trenton? Apparently, the preference lies in the presence of kin networks, initiated by earlier migrants who, upon achieving success in these two places, sent word back home. Not all *Salcajeños* end their journey in Trenton; some go to Washington DC, some to Chicago, and some wind up in Los Angeles, which is also the second choice of *San Cristobaleños*. In the

preference of the Maya for Houston and the *ladinos* for Trenton, however, the dualism of national ethnic structure is recreated in the United States.

Following the completion of the journey, the immediate task, of course, is to secure work. Yet, once work is obtained, the goal of many, if not most, is to send home a portion of their earnings to assist those at home in preparation for the migrants' return.

Doña Carmen, a stern-looking, but good-hearted San Cristobaleña, who provided shelter for the ethnographer during fieldwork, left her children with a *muchacha*, a domestic worker, and journeyed to Houston. Each month of her eight-month stay she mailed remittances to the *muchacha* to pay her salary and for the children's food. But after eight months of missing her children, she returned, "Just in time. My children were as skinny as a toothpick, while the *muchacha* was fat as ever."

Not all those who leave return. Don Antonio, Doña Carmen's husband, found Houston and a woman there more to his liking than his wife and home. "So I hit the bottle," Doña Carmen explained, on the verge of tears, "and now I'm an *evangélica caída*, a fallen Protestant."

Despite the breakup of the marriage between Antonio and Carmen, many of their children reside in Houston while others remain in San Cristóbal (Chart 1).



license plates reading New Jersey and Texas cruise along the streets or stand parked next to new homes—the most impressive ones occupied by coyotes.

Two-story structures, built with concrete blocks with large windows, garages, and bathrooms, are displacing the adobe-built, old Mediterranean courtyard home along with its implicit ideology of female seclusion. Yet the new homes, like old ones, abut the street and thus continue to convey a sharp dichotomy between public, street activity and private, home life. Likewise, in Salcajá the central-plaza core remains the preferred residential area, where taking shape nearby is a new subdivision, nicknamed *la colonia del dólar*, and, even more apt perhaps, *los mojadados*, the dollar, or the wetback neighborhood. In San Cristóbal, the new homes, as in the past, are in dispersed areas.

Migrants who had worked in weaving native cloth and making native dress before they left for the United States may on their return buy into the textile business or augment the number of looms already set up in their patios and hire additional weavers and tailors. Coming back, peasants who previously owned small fields may expand their holdings and hire field hands. Some may leave agriculture completely and become store owners or open restaurants, where the work is less hard and the prestige higher.

The remittances and gifts sent from the United States make for better birthdays and also appear during Christmas and Easter. The *ferias titulares* of both communities are occasions to celebrate returns, and the presence of relatives back with stories about life among the *gringos* adds to the excitement. An important day for young ladies in both communities is their fifteenth birthday, which marks their transition from being a *niña*, child, to becoming a *señorita*, a marriageable “miss.” When Irma, one of Doña Carmen’s daughters, turned 15, three hundred invitations went out, two trees were felled for wood to fire the huge cooking pots bought for the occasion, and cooks were hired. The women of the house donned new *trajes típicos*, and Irma was decked out in a pink native blouse with delicate hand-embroidered roses strewn around the collar. All of the festivities were financed by remittances from Don Antonio, who, despite his estrangement from Carmen, wanted to ensure from Houston that his daughter’s coming of age was accomplished in style.

Remittances allow Maya women, such as Doña Carmen and her daughters, to purchase the best in the native dress, which is considerably more expensive than ready-to-wear apparel. Since the *traje* with its distinctive designs and colors announces in no uncertain terms ethnic affiliation and geo-

graphical home, the Houston connection enhances ethnicity in San Cristóbal.

In sum, for the Salcajeños and San Cristobaleños, Trenton, Houston, and the United States, emerge as work arenas, outliers, perhaps, to the more central locations in Guatemala. Working in the United States does indeed open doors, however not necessarily to America acculturation, but rather to redefining place in Guatemala. Thus, the journey to the United States is a prelude to a journey back to home, but to a home where, visually inscribed in new houses and new dresses, are the meanings of the relationship.

Newspapers and scholarly journals address the people who illegally cross the border into the United States as "undocumented migrants," as opposed to those who enter legally with "documents," such as passports, visas, etc. Clearly, "undocumented migrant" is a "kinder, gentler" word than "wetback." Yet, in its suitability, it "endows" the migrant with a faceless, placeless quality. The abstract quality of the phrase suggests, along with conventional social science, that one migrant is pretty much like any other, that they are no-bodies from no-where. Paradoxically, those who lead the no-bodies from no-where, because they aid and abet illegal activity, come to have in the American press a reputation worse than their namesake, coyote, which is bad enough.

By addressing the phenomenological worlds in which people inscribe their lives, at home or on a journey, in house or in dress, the humanistic pursuit of meaning moves beyond the faceless, placeless "undocumented" to the visual text, the acted document of the human story, and thereby, lets us join, in a dimly understood, but densely felt moment, the telling. SA

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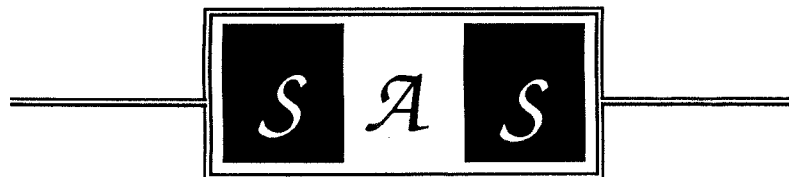
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Winning Entry: 1993 SAS Graduate Student Paper Competition

## *Gender and Religious Symbolism: the Virgin Mary and Ritual Space in the Republic of Ireland*

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### Abstract

This paper presents a symbolic analysis of the Virgin Mary as religious symbol in western Ireland and is based on two-and-a-half months of Master's fieldwork by the author in the community of Kilmane in the Republic of Ireland. On a theoretical level, this paper examines the relationship between formal and informal Catholicism through a close examination of Mary in the media, local-level iconography, ritual and ritual space, and the respondents' emic characterizations of Mary. It asks the question, "how can a religious and political body (the Church) which is gendered male at the institutional level be gendered female at the local level where ritual space is the actual physical manifestation of the Church as an institution?" The analysis shows that the prevalence of the informal definition of Mary at the local level can account for this apparent contradiction.

### INTRODUCTION

**T**his paper attempts to construct a model of the relationship between formal and informal religion and the Virgin Mary as religious symbol in western Ireland. The analysis

presented is the result of a total of two-and-a-half months of participant-observation fieldwork in the community of Kilmane in western Ireland during the summer of 1992. Observations and interview data collected have been com-

bined in this analysis with information from the news media, scholarly commentary on Marian cults, and evidence from Church documents to produce a dynamic picture of Marian devotion in western Ireland.

The town of Kilmane (a pseudonym), where the fieldwork was carried out, is a small community of approximately 1200 found in the west of Ireland in what is known as the Connemara region. Residents subsist primarily on tourism, fishing, and subsistence agriculture. There are two churches in the community: the local Catholic Church, and the Protestant Church of Ireland that serves a much wider geographic area. There is also a convent, housing less than ten nuns at any one time, and a girls' primary school administered by the nuns. There are two local priests serving the parish: an elderly canon and a more youthful parish priest about 50 years of age.

The Catholic Church, the convent, and the girls' primary school in Kilmane are **the spatial loci for the institution of the Church in the local community**. The three buildings are ritual spaces in which devotional practices take place in one form or another, and these spaces can be conceptualized as gendered. In fact, all of the Catholic ritual space in Kilmane can appropriately be described as "gendered female."

There are a number of studies and

theoretical approaches in anthropology that advocate conceptualizing space as gendered. As Shirley Ardener asserted in her edited volume *Women and Space* (1978:12-13), "space reflects social organization, . . . behavior and space are mutually dependent, . . . [and] space defines the people in it [even as] people define space." Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977:93-94) presents the idea that social actors absorb the basic gender metaphors on which their society is based through space, particularly domestic space, via a process he designates as "bodily hexus." Additionally, Henrietta Moore (1986), influenced by Bourdieu, has completed an in-depth study of space and gender among the Marakwet of Kenya. My conceptualization of space as gendered follows in this tradition.

Above, I called the buildings composing ritual space in Kilmane the special loci for the institution of the Church in the local community. It is interesting that the Church as institution is usually characterized in feminist literature (e.g. Condren 1989; Ranke-Heinemann 1990; Warner 1976) as a very "male" institution. I would agree with this. The Church's decision-making body is composed entirely of men, it is officially headed by a man (the Pope), all but the very lowest ritual positions (the convent) are open only to men, and it officially advocates the worship of, and the exclu-

sive existence of only one God, who is male. **But how can a religious and political body which is gendered male at the institutional level be gendered female at the local level where ritual space is the actual physical manifestation of the Church as institution?** The answer lies in a series of cultural contradictions that are evidenced by different symbolic definitions of Mary found in the local community.

The Virgin Mary is intimately associated with all of the Catholic ritual space that exists in Kilmane. The church is consecrated to the Immaculate Conception, the convent is an Our Lady of Mercy convent, the girls' school is run by the Our Lady of Mercy nuns (who are particularly devoted to Mary) and the school is where the Rosary is taught. Additionally, there is an Our Lady of Lourdes grotto located in a courtyard between the church and the girls' school. Due to space limitations I will be dealing exclusively with the church building in this paper.

There is evidence that two main symbolic constructs of Mary operate in Kilmane at any one time. These two constructs correspond to (1) the image of and power of Mary as defined by the institutional Church and (2) the image of and power of Mary as defined by the beliefs and the devotional practices of the lay community in Kilmane. These two

symbolic constructs of Mary are analogous to the differences between formal (or official) religion and informal (or unofficial) religion.

There is theoretical precedence for the analogy just made. A religion is first and foremost "a system of symbols" (Geertz 1973:90). Mary is one symbol among many present in Christian religion, but she is especially prominent in the Roman Catholic tradition (Carroll 1986; Miller and Samples 1992). As a religious symbol, Mary cuts across the public and private domains of Western societies. One can expect to find at least two symbolic constructs of the Virgin Mary operating at any one time in societies where Marian cults exist. These two constructs will overlap a great deal in definition and will not be mutually exclusive, but they will differ from one another in certain key ways, depending on the standpoint from which Mary is defined. They may also contradict one another.

The idea of two constructs is similar to an approach by Orsi in his historical study, *The Madonna of 115th Street, Faith and Community in Italian Harlem 1880-1950* (1985). Orsi discusses devotion to the Madonna of Italian Harlem in the context of formal Catholicism versus "popular" religion. Formal religion in this case is all the beliefs and acts of worship officially defined by the vatican as appropriate and acceptable. Popular

religion represents the acts of worship and religious beliefs that the people under study actually practice.

This paper also distinguishes between formal and popular (what I have called "informal") religion. The two main symbolic constructs of Mary present in Kilmane, and addressed in this study, are defined by the contexts in which they are found; formal versus informal contexts. Cultural contradictions are found in these two main symbolic constructs. It is these contradictions that make possible the female gendering of the local-level ritual space of the male institution of the Church in Kilmane.

### THE FORMAL SYMBOLIC CONSTRUCT OF THE VIRGIN MARY IN KILMANE

Evidence for the content of the formal construct of Mary in Kilmane has been gathered from several sources: (1) interview data from the clergy in Kilmane<sup>8</sup>, (2) church iconography of Mary present in the community, (3) official Church doctrine concerning Mary, and (4) official devotional literature and theological literature on the place of Mary in the Catholic Church.

The most immediate evidence for the formal symbolic construct of Mary in Kilmane is that provided by the interview data collected from the two local priests. Church doctrine also corresponds closely with the priests' position on Mary, so it will be interspersed here

as well. I interviewed both priests in-depth and spoke informally with them a number of times. They emphasize that the Virgin Mary is defined exclusively through her Son. This means that Mary is not divine in her own right. She was fully human in life, although perfect and entirely without sin, and in death she is Queen of Heaven, but her own personal power is similar to that of any other saint. It is her perfection, and her close relationship to Christ as His mother, that allows Mary to act as mediator between mortals and Jesus Christ (see Leach 1976 on symbols and mediators).

Mary's limitations in power are illustrated by my interviews with the parish priest. He was quick to stress that Mary is not prayed to: that Mary has no power to bestow anything. According to the priest, when Catholics talk to Mary, they are asking her to pray for them, **they are not praying to her.** Mary is able to pray for us because she is immaculate: she is one of us, yet different from us (totally without sin). This is the entire scope of Mary's role in Irish Catholicism: intercession on behalf of people.

In one interview, I made the mistake of referring to prayer to Mary directly, and this is how the parish priest responded:

No! You must understand! WE DO NOT—no appropriately practicing Catholic prays to Mary! Mary has no divine power of her own: she is not God. She

is the mother of Jesus Christ and that is her significance to us. Mary was fully human, unlike Christ who was divine. You must understand, we live in a broken world where there have been only two people who weren't broken—Christ and his mother. We do not pray to Mary, she can bestow nothing. But she can pray to her Son for us.

Later, in this same interview, I related to the priest a news story I had seen about a Pro-Life rally that had taken place in Dublin in May, 1992. Thousands of people attended this march, and at the head of the procession, they carried on their shoulders an icon of the Virgin of Guadalupe, whom they characterized as "protectress of the unborn." Before I could finish relating this story to him the priest responded in this way:

Mary is NOT tied up with abortion! Because a few fanatics carry her picture [sic] doesn't mean that she is in any way. This image is not true to Pro-Life—she would never get involved in those issues. She didn't get involved in anything even when she was on earth. She lived a Christian life. Christ was born through a woman, and that enhances motherhood. The Lord God came to us through a woman, and that's the only way she can be brought into it. The Lord God chose Mary—this is the only way that she gets her status.

The interview data just referred to illustrate how Mary's power is limited by official Church dogma. Mary is de-

finied exclusively through her Son, has no definition in her own right, and no divine power to bestow anything. This definition of Mary is also reinforced by the iconography of her found in the ritual spaces of Kilmane. For example, she is shown suffering in grief at the foot of the cross and as the mother of Christ, holding Baby Jesus. But how do these limiting definitions of Mary's power and purpose relate to Marian apparitions, some of which have been officially recognized by the Vatican? The parish priest tended to refer to Marian apparitions in a way that limited their importance. When asked why Mary appears to people, he responded:

She appears to guide people, to advise them. But she advises on spiritual issues only, not worldly issues. She can appeal to people to pray for different things, but mainly voices a calling of people to conversion.

This interpretation of Mary's messages is not entirely accurate (see Zimdars-Swartz 1991). A large proportion of apparition messages have been exclusively devotional, but since at least the nineteenth century, Mary has also advised people around the world on what are more political issues (see Pope 1985). The priest's words do, however, illustrate the official Church view of all Marian apparitions: they are **personal** spiritual experiences, they are not a **public** phenomenon (Miller and Samples 1992).

Yet, the prolific occurrence of Marian apparitions in the last two centuries (and they seem to have escalated in the last 20-30 years [Zimdars-Swartz 1991; Miller and Samples 1992]) illustrates that Marian devotion is on the increase and her worship has reached cultic status (Carroll 1986). The Vatican has recognized this problem and has taken steps to deal with it. Vatican II, the last ecumenical council, was held in the early 1960s and revised Church policy on a number of issues, for example, the reading of the Mass in the local language of the parishioners rather than Latin. But, one of Vatican II's main aims was changing the Canon to restrict and to curb Marian devotion (Miller and Samples 1992:13) by reinforcing her direct subordination to her Son.

As has been seen, the Church as institution narrowly defines the person and the power of Mary. The priests in Kilmane also strongly reiterate Church dogma on Mary when asked about her. But the interview data collected from the priests conflicts in a number of ways with all of the other informant characterizations of Mary I have collected. The main contradictions lie in the amount of power attributed to Mary. "Power attributed to Mary" in this case refers to actual worship of Mary: her divinity, prayer to Mary, the importance of Mary relative to Jesus, her ability to grant favors and to actually heal people, and her

interest in worldly affairs. The informal symbolic construct of the Virgin Mary and its relationship to the female gendering of ritual space in Kilmane is described in the following section.

### MARY AND THE INFORMAL GENDERING OF RITUAL SPACE

The Catholic church in Kilmane is obviously a ritual space for a number of reasons: this is where the daily Mass is said, confessions are heard here, the Rosary is often said here by groups of people before Mass, prayers and special appeals are given here, it is the community locus for holy water, and it is the principal place where the canon and priest interface with the local parishioners.

The female gendering of the church is evidenced in many other ways than its symbolic association with Mary and the Immaculate Conception. First, primarily women attend the church. In Ireland, the ethnographic literature suggests that women are seen by the Irish as more pure and pious than men (Arensberg and Kimball 1940; Messenger 1969; Scheper-Hughes 1979). Nancy Scheper-Hughes especially notes that there is an inversion of the honor-shame complex of the Mediterranean in western Ireland. Women are considered pure and morally superior to men, while men carry the shame of a bestial sexuality. This is often given as reason for the Irish woman's more frequent attendance

at Mass, more frequent confessions and saying of the Rosary. Women are identified with the local space of the church because of their superior purity and spirituality.

Second, women are also directly associated with Mary, especially in the context of motherhood. Significantly, Mary is strongly present in the church building iconographically where she is given equal status to Jesus (a statue of Mary stands to one side of the main altar, a statue of Jesus to the other). There is also a stained glass window over the altar which depicts the crucifixion: Mary stands to the right side of Jesus, James to the left, and Mary of Magdalene is kneeling at his feet. Third, women light most of the votive candles in the church and most of these are lit in front of the statue of Mary holding Baby Jesus.

The saying of the Mass in the ritual context of the church can also be considered in terms of the church as gendered space. The text of the Mass reflects the orthodox ideology of the Church as institution, or formal Catholicism. The text of the Mass is consciously patriarchal, its political dogma basically summarized in the Nicene Creed (a statement of belief in one apostolic Church) which is said by the congregation at the end of every Mass. The Mass is delivered by the male priest who penetrates the female ritual space of the church and who represents the Church

as institution in the lives of the parishioners. The priest is bounded and set apart in the altar area within the ritual structure for ritual purposes and in the sacristy before Mass begins. He is inaccessible personally within this space, but representative. The text of the Mass mentions Mary only occasionally, and then only as the Mother of Christ (in other words, she is defined by the Mass only through her connection to her Son).

There is a contradiction between the gendering of the church as ritual space, its association with Mary in Kilmane, and the actual maleness of the Church as institution, the content of the Mass, and the representativeness of the priests. This contradiction is more clearly evident in the text of interviews about Mary conducted with people other than the priests in Kilmane. I also interviewed three nuns, the entire form 6 (eleven-year-old) girls (n=12) from the primary school and various other people in the lay community. These interviews represent a consideration of the role of Mary in informal religion.

The point of greatest contention between the priests and the nuns and lay community is that of the actual power and divinity of Mary. Where the priests deny Catholic prayer directly to Mary, other informants freely admit to it. Where the priests insist on Mary's subordination to her Son, other informants turn to her for answers to their prayers,

for the bestowal of graces, and sometimes even for the miracle of physical healing.

The nuns and other informants constantly emphasize Mary as a mother, someone that everyone can relate to and feel comfortable approaching. These interviews give more life to Mary. She is a very detailed, fleshed-out figure in the informal religious context. She has specific attributes—she is a friend, a mother, she cares, suffers with, and feels for everyone. She is a very benevolent figure. As one nun said, "I feel that I could go to Our Lady with anything, and she would never be shocked." She is human, and therefore fully accessible to her devotees. Yet she is also divine because she was the one perfect human being.

Devotion to Mary is quite strong in Kilmane. The lay parishioners and the nuns actively worship her. One nun told me that she would go to Mary before she went to anyone else in Heaven and that "I love her so much that at times it worries me that I may be putting her first too much."

Everyone interviewed about Mary mentioned apparitions, but unlike the priests, the lay parishioners and the nuns mentioned her power to heal (much as Jesus could heal according to New Testament renderings of His life). Common belief in Marian apparitions and her power to heal reveals something impor-

tant about informal conceptualizations of Mary. First, Mary was Assumed bodily into Heaven (Warner 1976). This is formal Church dogma, but how this seems to have been interpreted by lay Catholics cross-culturally is that Mary can appear in bodily form anytime, anywhere, and to anyone (Sered 1990; Pope 1985). When she appears, she often imparts messages to the visionaries and, contrary to the parish priest's testimony, these messages are sometimes political in nature (see Zimdars-Swartz 1991).

Additionally, different apparition personas have been co-opted by the people of Ireland in general for both devotional and political purposes (for example, the Our Lady of Lourdes grotto in Kilmane, and the Virgin of Guadalupe icon often used in the Dublin Pro-Life campaign). Marian apparitions have become part of **public** religion for the lay community in Kilmane, they are no longer simply a matter of **private** devotion. One must be reminded that this public conceptualization of Marian apparitions is contrary to official Church dogma on the subject which places them strictly in the realm of personal devotion.

#### CONCLUSIONS:

#### MARY, RELIGION, AND RITUAL SPACE IN KILMANE

Earlier I asked the question, "how can a religious and political body which is gendered male at

**the institutional level be gendered female at the local level where ritual space is the actual physical manifestation of the Church as institution?"** I believe the prevalence of the informal definition of Mary at the local level in Kilmane can account for this apparent contradiction. First, Irish women are particularly devoted to Mary. Second, they are more religious than Irish men and in Kilmane they utilize the ritual space much more frequently and are associated directly with it. Since it is primarily women who attend Mass, they actually transform the church into a female space through practice (Bourdieu 1977), even though it is the locus in Kilmane for the male institution of the Church.

The Church as institution must be complicitous in this process to some extent. It actually encourages veneration (but not worship) of Mary and it provides the iconography within the ritual space of the church that gives her an equal visual presence there with Christ. This iconography and Mary's relatively small part in the orthodox text of the Mass is meant to impart to parishioners the Vatican's formal definition of the person of Mary and her power. Women attending Mass partially absorb this definition of Mary. They absorb her Mother aspect, possibly her Virgin aspect, and certainly internalize her capacity to Suffer. But the women in Kilmane also

transform this formal definition of Mary and strip away the limitations that the Church as institution places on Mary's power. They give her a divinity of her own.

This transformation of the power of Mary in informal contexts may help to account for the increased popularity of Marian apparitions and the changing content of the messages delivered by Mary to her visionaries. These apparitions actually supply Mary's devotees with a public (and morally sanctioned) voice on political issues in Ireland, such as abortion. It may be that devotion to Mary in informal contexts is influencing more than the gendering of ritual space on the local level—it may also have the potential to transform the face of Catholicism.

It must be noted, however, that any immediate transformations that may be taking place are conservative when it comes to devotion to Mary and the influence of this devotion on changing definitions of gender and sexuality. Mary's messages to the world about issues such as abortion are very conservative, and devotion to her tends to emphasize traditional gender role dichotomies (Warner 1976). Yet within this devotion can be found pockets of dissent. One nun expressed to me her feelings about the sexist nature of the Church as a male institution. She felt that Mary is interested in seeing change—that she is interest-

ed in the equality of all peoples, especially women. This nun also felt, however, that the situation has little hope of changing until "the current Pope is dead." This particular nun had been teaching for twenty years. The ability of nuns to impart informal definitions of Mary to their pupils needs to be explored. It may be that this is one avenue through which increased devotion to Mary has come about and through which the face of Catholicism will be transformed. **SA**

### End Note

§ I formally interviewed two priests (the canon and the parish priest), three nuns (of the four that were present in Kilmane in the Summer of 1992), twelve form 6 (eleven-year-old) school girls in groups of three or four, and two lay women in Kilmane. Of these, only the interviews with the school girls were tape-recorded. I also had many informal discussions about Mary, religion, and various political topics with some of the other inhabitants of the parish. Transcripts and notes were made of all of the interviews shortly after they were completed. The contents of these interviews were compared in terms of information provided about Mary and formal versus informal contexts. Although only interviews with the priests and nuns are directly quoted from in this paper, information collected in the other interviews has helped to inform the analysis presented here.

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## PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY BYLAWS

During the Annual Meeting in April, 1994, members will be asked to approve amendments to the SAS bylaws that were tentatively approved by the Board of Directors at their meetings in 1992 and 1993. Additions are underlined. Deletions are marked with strikeouts.

Members will see that most of the changes are merely editorial, removing redundancies and anachronisms and correcting spelling or typographical errors. In all these years, apparently, the only substantive change is the addition of an "honorary" category of membership (Article I, Section 2e).

Alvin W. Wolfe, Ph.D.  
Past President

### ~~BY LAWS~~BYLAWS OF THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

[revisions to be voted on at Annual Meeting, April 1994]

#### OBJECTIVES OF SOCIETY

Southern Anthropological Society (SAS) shall have as its purpose the promotion of anthropology in Southern United States. In order to achieve its primary purpose, SAS will normally arrange for scientific meetings and public lectures within Southern United States. If funds permit, SAS will publish and distribute materials presented at these meetings as well as other scientific findings.

## Article I MEMBERSHIP

~~Section 1.~~ ~~Section 1.~~ Eligibility for membership: Any person who displays an interest in anthropology may apply for membership in the Society, without regard to geographical location. Membership with full rights and privilege will be conferred by application and payment of the annual dues assessed to the membership. Membership will be lost by nonpayment of annual dues. Members may be reinstated by bringing dues to a current status.

~~Section 2.~~ ~~Section 2.~~ Classes of membership: There shall be four classes of membership in the Society, all with full rights and privileges of membership.

a. A regular member of the Society shall pay 100% of the regular annual dues of the Society as established by the Board of Directors.

b. Joint members of the Society, as a couple, shall jointly pay 150% of the regular annual dues of the Society as established by the Board of Directors.

c. Student members of the Society shall pay a reduced rate of the regular annual dues of the Society as established by the Board of Directors.

d. Life members of the Society shall make a one-time payment of dues to the Society, the amount to be established by the Board of Directors. Such one-time payment shall relieve the life member of the obligation to pay further annual dues and insures him or her of full rights and privileges for life.

e. Honorary life membership of the Society can be conferred by the Board of Directors upon those individuals who have provided outstanding service to anthropology in the South. Such members pay no dues.

## Article II MEETINGS

Section 1. Time and place of regular meetings. The Society shall hold at least one general business meeting annually at a place and time which shall be determined by the Board of Directors of the Society.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by an affirmative vote of a majority of the Board of Directors, or upon the written requests of twenty (20%) percent of the Members of the Society.

Section 3. ~~Notice.~~ Notice of all meetings of members shall be in writing and shall state the place, date and hour of the meeting and, unless it is an Annual Meeting, indicate that it is being issued by or at the direction of the person or persons calling the meeting. Notice of all Special Meetings of members shall state the purpose or purpos-

es for which the meeting is called. Notice of any meeting shall be given, personally or by mail, to each member entitled to vote at such meeting. If the notice is given personally or by first class mail, it shall be given not less than twenty (20) nor more than thirty (30) days before the date of the meeting. If mailed by any other class of mail, it shall be given not less than thirty (30) nor more than sixty (60) days before the meeting. If mailed, such notice is given when deposited in the United States mail, with postage thereon prepaid, directed to the member at his/her address as it appears on the record of members, or if he/she shall have filed with the Secretary of the Society, a written request that notices be mailed to some other address, then directed to such other address.

Section 4. Quorum. Members of the Society attending business meetings shall constitute a quorum.

Section 5. Minutes. The minutes of the annual meeting or of any Special Meeting of the Society shall be read and approved at the next succeeding meeting of the board of directors or any annual or special meeting of the society, whichever first occurs.

### Article III BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. ~~Section 1.~~ Administration. The administration of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a Board of Directors composed of the President, the President-Elect, the immediate Past-President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and the three counselors duly elected as hereinafter set forth.

Section 2. Term. The Directors who are also officers of the Society shall assume office at the close of the Annual Business Meeting in which their election is declared and shall serve for the full term of the office to which they are elected. Directors who are counselors shall serve for their full term of election to the position of counselor. Counselors shall be elected to a term of three (3) years and thereafter until their successors shall have been duly elected. ~~Provided, however the persons named in the Articles of Incorporation of the Society shall serve for the term remaining after the First Annual Meeting of the Society. By way of classification, counselors were functioning under the unincorporated Society and had been duly elected by the membership of the Society. They shall continue during the term of office of their election as counselors of the incorporated Society during the remainder of their term. Their successors shall be elected as is hereinbefore provided.~~

Section 3. Duties. The Board of Directors shall manage the business of the Society. It shall make a report at the Annual Meeting of the Society as to the progress of the Society during the previous year, and shall have in addition the powers normally incident

to a Board of Directors, including the power to appoint all Committees serving the Society. It may delegate to the President the power to appoint ad hoc committees. In addition, the Board of Directors shall appoint the Proceedings Editor for a three year term, and Local Arrangements Chairperson. The Proceedings Editor in cooperation with the Board of Directors will have final responsibility for the Proceedings and will determine the articles for the Proceedings.

Section 4. Meetings. Regular meetings of the Board of Directors may be held upon such notice or without notice, as the Board of Directors shall from time to time determine. Notice of the time and place of Special Meetings shall be given to each Director ~~personally~~, or by mail, with postage thereon prepaid, ~~or telegraph~~ to such Director at the Director's address as it appears on the records of the Society, in either case at least ten (10) days prior to the time fixed for such meeting.

If given by mail ~~or telegraph~~, the notice shall be deemed given when deposited in the United States mail ~~or communicated to a telegraph office, as the case may be~~. The call, notice or any waiver of notice need not specify the purpose of any meeting of the Board of Directors.

Special meetings may be called by the President and shall be called at the written request of any three (3) members of the Board of Directors.

Section 5. Quorum. Four (4) members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Board of Directors.

#### Article IV OFFICERS

Section 1. ~~Section 1.~~ Eligibility. The Officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-Elect and a Secretary-Treasurer, all of whom must be members of the Society.

Section 2. ~~Section 2.~~ President, Duties and Election. The President shall preside at meetings of the Society and the Board of Directors. He/she shall be an ex-officio member of all committees except the Nominating Committee. The President shall appoint with the approval of the Board of Directors all committees except standing committees. The President shall serve a one year term of office, and, under normal circumstances, will be succeeded by the previously elected President-Elect.

Section 3. ~~Section 3.~~ President-Elect, Duties and Election. The President-Elect of the Society shall also serve as the Vice-President. The President-Elect shall assume the office and duties of the President when that office becomes vacant and will temporarily assume the duties of the President in the absence or temporary incapacity of the Presi-

dent. The President-Elect shall be elected by the membership of the Society every year and shall serve for a term of one year.

Section 4. ~~Section 4.~~ Secretary-Treasurer, Duties and Election. The Secretary-Treasurer shall receive, administer and disburse all Society funds and shall maintain the records of the Society. He/she shall have charge of all correspondence; conferrals of membership, and shall maintain an official membership list. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected by the membership of the Society every three years and shall serve for a term of three years.

#### Article V ELECTION

The Board of Directors will appoint a Nominating Committee of three (3) members. The immediate Past-President of the Society should chair the Nominating Committee. The Nominating Committee will provide a ballot with space for write-in candidates. The ballot will be circulated by mail at least thirty (30) days before the Annual Meeting. Ballots will be returned to the Secretary-Treasurer with the member's name signed on the envelope containing the ballot, but said member's name shall not appear upon the ballot itself. The person receiving the majority of votes for any office shall be certified as elected to said office, and in case of a tie vote for any office, the winner shall be determined by vote of the Board of Directors, with the immediate Past-President entitled to cast a vote in case of a tie vote within the Board of Directors.

#### Article VI VACANCIES

~~Section 1.~~ Vacancy on the Board of Directors<sup>2</sup>-~~Vacancy~~. In case a vacancy shall occur on the Board of Directors, or in any office of the Society, the vacancy shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting at which the election of officers and counselors is in the regular order of business.

#### Article VII SEAL

The Seal of the Society shall be in circular form and shall have subscribed thereon the words:

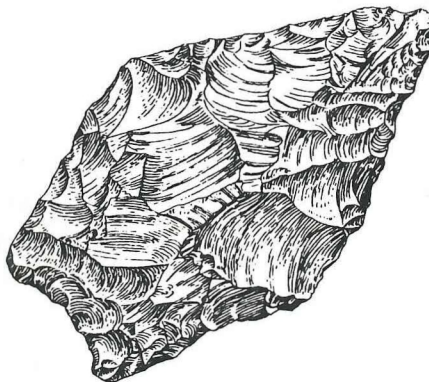
"THE SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY, INC.— CORPORATE  
SEAL — GEORGIA"

Article VIII  
FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the Society shall begin on the first day of January and end on the thirty-first of December until or unless otherwise provided by the Board of Directors by proper resolution.

Article IX  
AMENDMENTS

~~Section 1.~~ Procedure. These Bylaws may be amended by vote of the majority of the members present at an Annual Meeting, or at any Special Meeting being called for that purpose, provided that notices of such proposed amendments shall be mailed at least ten (10) days prior to the day for which the meeting is called. The proposed amendment shall be submitted in writing to the Directors at least thirty (30) days before the date of the Annual Meeting or of any Special Called Meeting wherein the purpose is to amend the bylaws ~~By-laws~~.



## Southern Anthropological Society

### General Business Meeting Minutes

March 26, 1993  
Savannah, Georgia

- Item 1: President Alvin Wolfe welcomed all present and called the 1993 General Business Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society to order. Following greetings, President Wolfe called for a moment of silence in memory of Society members who had passed on since our last meeting.
- Item 2: The minutes of the 1992 General Business Meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society were approved as submitted.
- Item 3: Financial Report. Secretary-Treasurer Daryl White distributed tables which included statements of revenues and disbursements for the year ending December 31, 1992, cash on deposit as of December 31, 1992 and the financial statement for the 1992 annual meeting in St. Augustine, Florida. The 1992 revenues of \$9,116.18 were somewhat higher than both 1991 and 1990. Revenues have increased slightly in spite of the fact that interest income has decreased. The financial report was approved as received.
- Item 4: Proceedings Editor's Report. In Mary Helms' absence, Pat Beaver read from a written report submitted by the SAS Proceedings Editor. All is proceeding reasonably smoothly: Volume 25 (Bear and Jones) has been published and distributed to the membership; Volume 26 (Heider) is in the final stages of production at the press; Volume 27 (Kwachka) was submitted to the Press in early March; guidelines have been sent to editors of Volume 28 (White and White) based on the current key symposium. Concerning sales: highest sales for current period (6/91—1/93) are *African Americans in the South* (1097) and *Anthropology and Food Policy* (439); highest lifetime sales (through 1/93) are *Red, White and Black* (3426), *Symbols and Society* (2536), *Holding on to the Land and the Lord* (2334), *Interethnic Communication* (1943), *Cultural Adaptations to Mountain Environments* (1934), and *Predicting Sociocultural Change* (1873). Pat Beaver read a statement from Mary Helms which began, "After wavering for several

years I have finally decided that I would like my current term as SAS Proceedings Editor to be my last.”

- Item 5: The Newsletter Editor's Report. *Southern Anthropologist* editor Gifford Nickerson reported that there have been two issues since the last meeting, noting that depending on materials to be published, the *Southern Anthropologist* is published at least two and sometimes three times a year. He encouraged the submission of manuscripts for publication.
- Item 6: Mooney Book Award Committee Report. In the absence of committee chair Hester Davis, committee member Miles Richardson reported that the winner of this year's award is Stewart Marks for his book, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History, and Ritual in a Carolina Community*. The activity of hunting was described by Miles as “the time-honored Southern tradition of blasting away at the wildlife.” Members were invited to attend the Mooney Book Award presentation and reception Saturday evening. Richardson encouraged members to submit nominations for future awards. Books should be about the South with an anthropological slant.. Edited volumes are not accepted.
- Item 7: 1992 Annual Meeting: Local Arrangements Report. Barbara Hendry reported that registration has been good to date. Hendry noted that the DeSoto Hotel had been helpful, that coffee breaks were paid for this year by corporate sponsorship as printed in the program. Barbara Hendry acknowledged the assistance of Georgia Southern colleague Steve Hale and of anthropology students from both Georgia Southern and North Carolina-Asheville. The Anthropology Department at Georgia Southern contributed audiovisual equipment and financially supported student helpers.
- Item 8: 1992 Annual Meeting: Program Report. Program Chair Daryl White reported that 78 papers were being presented at these meetings including two special sessions: “Southern Landscapes: Mythical, Historical, and Archaeological” and the Key Symposium on Religion in the South.
- Item 9: Book Exhibits Report. Noting the high quality of this year's exhibit, Tim Wallace reported that the exhibit includes 17 publishers, three representatives participating in person, and a display of books by Society members.
- Item 10: Student Paper Competition Report. Emphasizing the perennial need for wider recruitment, Heidi Kelley, chair of the Student Paper Competition Committee, praised the high quality of the winning papers. The undergraduate winner is Joan

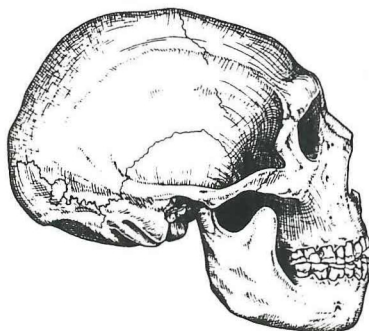
Reed, University of North Carolina—Asheville, for her paper, "Cultural Attitudes about Breastfeeding among WIC Recipients: A Case Study in Rural Appalachia," and the graduate winner is Angela Martin, University of Kentucky, for her paper, "Gender and Religious Symbolism: The Virgin Mary and Ritual Space in the Republic of Ireland." Honorable Mention in the graduate category was awarded to Zhihui Fang, Louisiana State, for his paper, "Xaimen Vernacular: An Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspective." Kelley thanked judges, Kate Young (University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill), Gloria Wentowski (Bennett College), Carrie Douglass (Mary Baldwin College) and Jennifer Nourse (University of Richmond).

- Item 11: Endowment Campaign Report. Andy Miracle briefly described the endowment campaign he has developed and announced that the board had reviewed the proposal and moved to present it to the general membership at this meeting for approval. Miracle summarized the proposed campaign. Noting that the dual mission of the Society is to support the teaching and learning of anthropology in the South as well as to advance the anthropology of the South, the document establishes a rationale for an endowment of the following (prioritized) approximate amounts: \$20,000 primarily to support student paper awards, \$10,000 to establish a speakers' bureau to bring anthropology to small Southern colleges, and \$10,000 to support other projects such as the Mooney Book Award.
- Item 12: Revision of Bylaws. Alvin Wolfe reported that the Bylaws are being revised and that proposed revision would be published in the *Southern Anthropologist*.
- Item 13.: 1994 Annual Meeting. Alvin Wolfe reported that the key symposium, organized by Wolfe and Honggang Yang at the Carter Center, would be on anthropological contributions to international conflict resolution. Program chair will be George Armelagos, Emory University. The meeting will be held in Atlanta, local arrangements being organized by Beatriz Morales, Tanya Frazier, and Daryl White.
- Item 14: 1993 Election Report. Daryl White announced the following election results: to the office of President-Elect, Tim Wallace from North Carolina State University and to the office of Councillor, Heidi Kelley, University of North Carolina at Asheville.
- Item 15: Tim Wallace proposed (and the Society approved) a resolution thanking local arrangements persons Barbara Hendry, Steve Hale, and students of Georgia Southern University and North Carolina—Asheville, program chair Daryl White, symposium organizers Ken and Daryl White, and editors, Giff Nickerson and Mary Helms.

Item 16: At this pivotal moment of the general business meeting, Alvin Wolfe passed the "gavel," the material symbol of the office, to Patricia Beaver, transforming her into President of the Southern Anthropological Society. For the second year running—(does this constitute a tradition?)—the gavel was not present and this year a flashlight served as proxy symbol. As her first order of business, President Beaver proposed (and the Society approved) a resolution thanking Alvin Wolfe for his service.

Item 17: The general business meeting adjourned to a reception in honor of the Society's new President.

Respectfully submitted,  
Daryl White, Secretary-Treasurer



FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1992 ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

APRIL 24-26, 1992  
ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

REVENUES

Book Exhibit Fees	125.00
Registration Fees	2656.00
St. Augustine Tour Tickets	540.00
 Total	 3,321.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Program Chair Expenses	550.61
St. Augustine Tour	540.00
Hotel Expenses	1434.90
Two Receptions	814.20
Audiovisual Rental	318.00
Copying	15.00
Board Meeting Lunch	91.50
Rooms for Student Help	196.20
Subtotal	1,434.90
 Total	 2,525.51

REVENUES MINUS DISBURSEMENTS 795.49

OTHER MEETING RELATED EXPENSES

Student Paper Competition Awards	400.00
Mooney Award	500.00

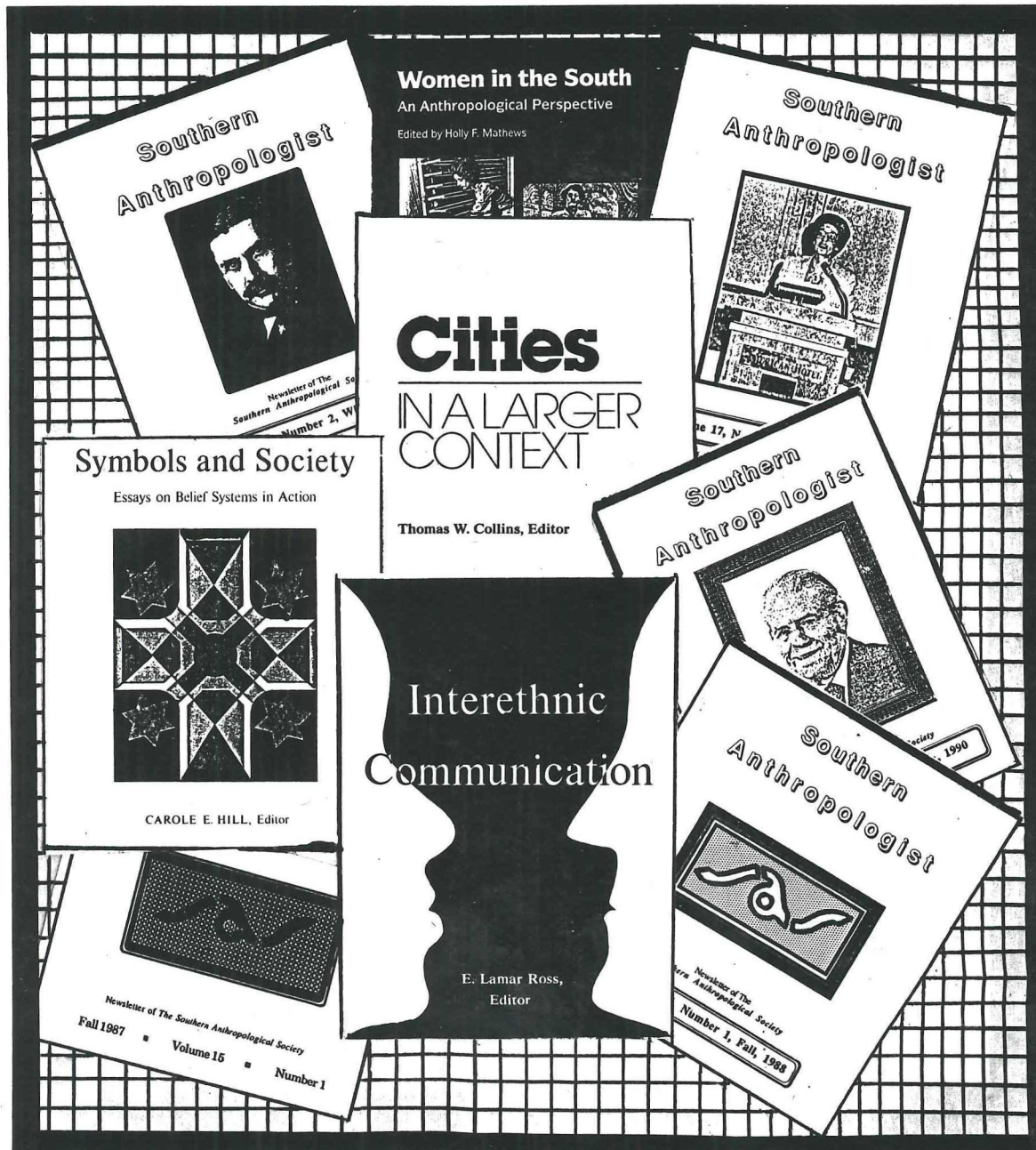
Southern Anthropological Society  
Statement of Revenues and Disbursements  
for the Year Ending  
December 31, 1992

REVENUES FOR CALENDAR YEAR	1992	1991	1990
Dues	5139.00	2618.00	3238.00
Paid for 1992----4777.00			
Paid for 1993-----362.00			
Royalties on Proceedings	226.80	211.75	189.26
Proceedings Sales	60.88	-----	168.35
Address Label Sales	20.00	-----	-----
University of Georgia Press			
Contribution to Advertisement in Anthropology Newsletter	-----	-----	175.00
1990 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	-----	-----	2153.55
Book Exhibits	-----	-----	720.00
1991 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	-----	2920.00	-----
Book Exhibits	-----	310.00	-----
Contribution from Southern Studies, University of South Carolina to honoraria	-----	350.00	-----
Onsite Activities	-----	1370.00	-----
1992 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	2656.00	-----	-----
Book Exhibits	125.00	-----	-----
Onsite Activities	540.00	-----	-----
1993 Annual Meeting			
Registration Fees	251.00	-----	-----
Interest Income			
University of Kentucky Credit Union Savings Account	-----	51.12	443.83
Bank One, Lexington, KY Certificates of Deposit	-----	385.96	377.07
C&S/NationsBank, Atlanta, GA	92.14	70.75	-----
Miscellaneous	5.36	-----	15.80
<b>TOTAL CASH REVENUES</b>	<b>9,116.18</b>	<b>8,287.58</b>	<b>7,480.86</b>

DISBURSEMENTS FOR CALENDAR YEAR:	1992	1991	1990
Newsletter	700.00	1300.00	700.00
Postage	118.36	96.04	61.70
Printing and Duplicating	82.67	64.62	208.49
License Fee	15.00	-----	15.00
Corporate Seal	29.67	-----	-----
Officer Expenses	176.94	312.61	155.74
1990 Annual Meeting Expenses	-----	-----	1368.85
1991 Annual Meeting Expenses	-----	2732.27	-----
1992 Annual Meeting Expenses	1525.51	500.00	500.00
1993 Annual Meeting Expenses	277.97	-----	-----
Proceedings	4485.03	23.03	2207.99
American Anthropological Association for Advertisement	-----	-----	750.00
Awards and Grants			
Mooney Award	500.00	-----	-----
Student Paper Prizes	400.00	400.00	400.00
1990 Awards and Gifts	-----	-----	612.22
Honoraria, 1991 Key Symposium	-----	400.00	-----
<b>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS</b>	<b>8,311.15</b>	<b>5,828.57</b>	<b>6,979.99</b>
<b>REVENUES OVER DISBURSEMENTS</b>	<b>805.03</b>	<b>2,459.01</b>	<b>500.87</b>

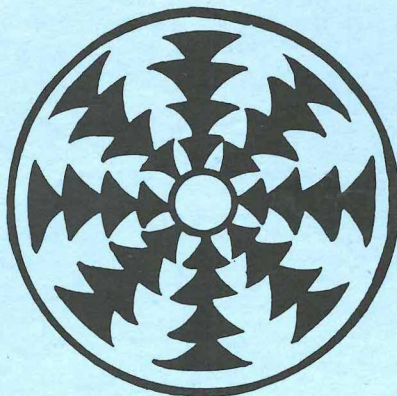
CASH ON DEPOSIT ON DECEMBER 31,	1992	1991	1990
U. of Kentucky Credit Union			
Checking Account	-----	-----	932.72
Savings Account	-----	-----	6,873.82
Bank One, Lexington, Kentucky			
6 Month Certificate of Deposit (6.80% APR, Due 8/27/89)	-----	-----	2,500.70
1 Year Certificate of Deposit (7.25% APR, Due 8/27/89)	-----	-----	2,512.69
NationsBank, Atlanta, Georgia			
Commercial Bonus Checking	8,096.23	12,285.11	-----
Nationsbank, Atlanta, Georgia			
12 Month Certificate of Deposit (3.75%, Due 12/31/93)	2,500.25	-----	-----
24 Month Certificate of Deposit (4.65%, Due 12/31/94)	2,500.56	-----	-----
<b>TOTAL CASH ON DEPOSIT</b>	<b>13,097.04</b>	<b>12,285.11</b>	<b>12,819.93</b>

Some Central Benefits of SAS Membership



# A Roster of Southern Anthropological Society Presidents: 1966—1993

1966-67	<b>Asael T. Hansen</b>	1980-81	<b>Mary W. Helms</b>
1967-68	<b>Frank J. Essene</b>	1981-82	<b>Elizabeth M. Eddy</b>
1968-69	<b>John N. Gulick</b>	1982-83	<b>Malcolm C. Webb</b>
1969-70	<b>John L. Fischer</b>	1983-84	<b>Robert L. Blakely</b>
1970-71	<b>John J. Honigmann</b>	1984-85	<b>Louise M. Robbins</b>
1971-72	<b>Arden R. King</b>	1985-86	<b>James L. Peacock</b>
1972-73	<b>E. Pendleton Banks</b>	1986-87	<b>Susan Abbott</b>
1973-74	<b>Charles M. Hudson, Jr.</b>	1987-88	<b>John H. Peterson</b>
1974-75	<b>Harriet J. Kupferer</b>	1988-89	<b>J. Anthony Paredes</b>
1975-76	<b>Miles E. Richardson</b>	1989-90	<b>Andrew W. Miracle</b>
1976-77	<b>Wilfred C. Bailey</b>	1990-91	<b>Holly F. Mathews</b>
1977-78	<b>Hester A. Davis</b>	1991-92	<b>Thomas W. Collins</b>
1978-79	<b>Carole E. Hill</b>	1992-93	<b>Alvin W. Wolfe</b>
1979-80	<b>Solon T. Kimball</b>	1993-94	<b>Patricia D. Beaver</b>



*Southern Anthropologist* is published three times a year (Winter, Summer, and Fall) and is distributed as a benefit to the membership of the Southern Anthropological Society. Annual membership dues: **Regular**, \$20.00; **Students and Retired**, \$12.00; **Joint**, \$26.00; **Annual subscriptions only**, \$10.00.

Southern Anthropological Society communications (dues, subscriptions, and address changes) should be sent to:

Daryl White  
SAS Secretary-Treasurer  
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Box 247  
Spelman College  
Atlanta, Georgia 30314-4399

North Carolina State University

## Southern Anthropologist

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Campus Box 8107  
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Raleigh, North Carolina 27695-8107

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