

ELDERS AND LIFE SATISFACTION;
AN EXISTENTIAL EXPLORATION.

BY
JOHN C. BUCHANAN.

A Practicum Report
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

School of Social Work
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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end.

Would it embarrass you all were I to tell you
that I love you.

SECTION I.

LIFE SATISFACTION PERSPECTIVES

I enjoy life twice as much as others do.....Now that I see my life limited in time, I want to extend it in weight. I want to arrest the speed of its flight by the speed of my grasp and by the vigor of my use to compensate for the haste of its flow. To the extent that the possession of life is short, I have made it the more profound and full.

Montaigne.

Chapter 1.

Life Satisfaction-Introductory Considerations.

I have long been interested in the elements of life and living that contribute to high life satisfaction and curious about exploring the particular factors that may contribute towards or impede a sense of a well lived full life. What follows is such an exploration and it is hoped that the preliminary hypotheses which I have garnered, both from my own life experience and from the writings of others, may be substantiated, dispelled or clarified through the interviews which I will conduct with approximately twenty elders.

What I shall be endeavoring to do, in a preliminary and impressionistic way, is consider whether some relationship might be shown to exist, in the lives of the elder respondents to the study, between a sense of fullness of life, that is of having filled one's life with living in a self chosen direction, and existential issues in living such as a willingness to confront death, freedom, aloneness, and meaning. It is an investigation that cannot be approached directly. It would seem that, for many, there is a need to express a fullness that is not experienced, and it is seldom easy, in the lives of most people, to come to some appreciation of how the issues of death, freedom, aloneness, and meaning, are expressed in their living. These issues are

frequently heavily obscured by defenses, and I have therefore chosen to approach these subjects from a large number of perspectives which can be seen to express these issues, and through the accumulation of clues perhaps arrive at some understanding of whether, and to what extent, they have been suppressed and avoided or integrated into the living of the elders.

There are four reasons why I have chosen to explore life satisfaction with elders. The first reason is that I, myself, will in a very few years, be an elder. An exploration of life satisfaction with elders may thus speak directly to my own life and provide insights which can be of practical use to me in arranging my life.

The second reason is that most persons, as elders, seem to change the perspective from which they view their lives. They change to contemplate their lives in terms of years of life remaining in contrast to their earlier measure of years from birth. This is marked by a shift from a focus on tasks to be accomplished to a reflection on tasks already completed. This change in perspective, with its focus turned in the direction of death, seems to bring with it an urgency about making sense of the life that has been lived; an urgency to put in place personal understandings and meanings which make unique and worthwhile the life that has been lived. This urgency often produces, at least this has been my experience with elders, a frank and open

willingness to discuss with a concerned and caring listener all the details of their lives and all their concerns about their lives as part of their search for meaning and understanding. This willingness to explore extends to include their sensed failures and disappointments and frequently includes expression of their confusion about the purposes or meanings of their lives.

The willingness of elders to share the details of their lives, as it is true for persons of all ages, may not necessarily ensure that the details and the experiences shared will conform with some external observation or evaluation of what has occurred or even be internally consistent. There frequently are strong defensive reasons for many elders not to see their own lives clearly and to adopt attitudes and opinions about their lives that contradict their experience of their lives. Thus explanations and descriptions given at one time or applied to one situation may contradict or be in conflict with explanations or descriptions which are given at other times or applied to other situations. The need for elders to make sense of, and to justify for themselves the lives they have lived, remains a powerful force which structures their memories and generates their, perhaps incongruous, judgements as they struggle for understanding. The contradictions and conflicts are but expressions of parts of the struggle to bring their lives into a cohesive, unique,

and meaningful picture, a picture that justifies their lives, to themselves, and seems to give value and purpose to their having lived. This struggle for meaningful clarity is an ongoing process in the lives of people of all ages but would seem to become a more pressing issue in the lives of elders and contributes to openness and frankness and makes elders ideal persons with whom to explore life satisfaction.

My third reason for exploring life satisfaction with elders is that their length of living provides them with an extensive history from which they can contemplate and reflect upon their lives. Their histories provide richness and diversity of experience against which their present life satisfaction can be seen. In addition the purposes and meanings of earlier stages of life often appear to be self evident as growing up and reproducing and raising the next generation of the species seems to provide a compelling purpose in its own right. Being an elder places one in the position of having to find a personal purpose that may have been previously masked by the species purpose of continuity.

The fourth reason for my choice of elders as being the most suitable persons with whom to explore life satisfaction is that elders have, of all the people I have known, seemed to include the people who were the most satisfied and the most dissatisfied with their lives. I have, for example, known a few elders who seemed so complete, so loving and loved, and so pleased with their lives and living that I

have been enormously impressed and deeply moved. I could not help but wonder what particular elements of their character, or experience, accounted for their fullness, for their joy. The word that often comes to my mind in response to these elders is wisdom. Wisdom seems to me to be an appropriate term to apply to those who manage their lives in a manner which bring them fullness, joy, and love. That indeed seems a wise use of life.

Perhaps the fact that all the wise persons I have known appeared to be elders, is explained by the fact that it takes a lot of living, to become wise. It is as though one of the developmental processes of human life is to move, through time, from the immediate, self preoccupied, concerns of the infant to a more patient, world preoccupied focus that time and age can alone provide. This focus provides a patient, tolerant, loving attitude towards oneself, one's fellows, and the universe and has seemed to me to be an essential part of the wise elders I have known.

Not all elders seem to be complete and joyous. In contrast to the few who seem to become wise elders, there are many more who seem to just struggle on, searching for meaning, purpose and a sense of completion to their lives. Many, in the words of Henry David Thoreau, 'live their lives in quiet desperation'. They seem resigned and filled with fear, and share a profound sense of hopelessness as they await death. Some others seem sharply disgruntled, angry and

dissatisfied.

In very broad terms these, then, are my purposes.

a). To attempt to extract and synthesize some understandings of the unique factors in elders' lives that may contribute to or inhibit the experience of a full and joyous life. This I shall do through reviewing literature which is relevant to life satisfaction and through considering these writings in the light of my own experiences. These factors, to provide a sense of cohesion and meaning to human life, will be conceptually framed under the existential issues of death, freedom, aloneness, and meaning. These issues will serve as a framework for understanding the unique meanings that direct and structure each life.

b). To attempt to test these understandings by interviewing elders. All interviews will be recorded to permit later consideration of their content and meanings. The interviews will be approximately one to two hours in length, and most elders will be interviewed at least twice. The first interview will consist of the elder telling his or her life story. The only interviewer interruptions will be to maintain the flow of the story. The second interview will be directed towards clarifying life satisfaction issues in context of the "life story". I will in a later section provide information on the structure and manner of the interviews.

It is not possible to approach any undertaking in a totally neutral way. All of my life has produced in me certain biases, certain understandings. I acknowledge that I approach elders and their life satisfaction with certain preconceptions which I have arrived at from my experience of others and from inspecting my own life. These preconceptions are in agreement with an existential world view and emphasize the consequences of self-awareness and the importance of the meanings of events in the lives of people. I shall however attempt not to use these preconceptions to avoid reviewing and considering important writings or research which could provide insight. It is important, for a fair presentation, that my preconceptions be manifest.

The first of these preconceptions is a conviction that the differences in life satisfaction, which I have observed in the lives of elders, cannot be directly accounted for by wealth, possessions, or social status. Wealth or social status may, however, be media through which life dissatisfaction is expressed. That is so because it is believed by many persons of all ages that the provision of more wealth or higher status would bring high satisfaction and it is therefore easy to blame a perceived deficit in wealth or status as the cause for all dissatisfaction. It is interesting, in this regard, to observe that it is common among first time travellers in third world countries to observe, that despite obvious poverty, there appears to be

much more laughter than is commonly evidenced in their relatively prosperous home country.

I conclude that economic circumstance, beyond basic survival and health needs, do not necessarily contribute to life satisfaction although they may be used as a focus for dissatisfaction.

It is clear to me in my own life, as it seems true for the lives of others I have known, that I have been no happier when I was relatively prosperous than when I was extremely poor. Prosperity or poverty are not central mediators in a sense of fullness or completeness. This may exist because to be complete requires that we know that we are infinitely more valuable, than anything we could own or any temporary exterior evaluation we might receive. For wealth, possessions, or social status to be important to life satisfaction requires that we reject that we are valuable by being just what and who we are, it thus, requires a rejection of our selves. Life satisfaction, as I understand it and later define it for this investigation, requires that we see our selves and our lives as being meaningful and valuable in their own right, as filling a personal sensed range of highest possibilities for our existence. That is not to disavow the impact of society and of our culture upon us but to affirm that life satisfaction requires, to some degree, that we resist the cultural values and create values for our selves that affirm

our own worth, our value which flows from being just who we are.

I do not wish to be seen as saying that extreme poverty cannot contribute to distress. Extreme poverty brings with it basic survival and health problems which can make it more difficult to experience a rich full life. Extreme poverty can focus all attention on survival needs and thus limit the experienced sense of highest possibility. Abram Maslow concerns himself with this issue when he argues that self-actualization, the full expression of who we are as individuals, can only be aspired to after our basic biological and esteem needs are met. Extreme poverty can bring with it problems in self esteem as it is difficult not to internalize the general cultural estimation which values, above all else, wealth and success.

Self esteem is not solely, or even ultimately, based on cultural values. We are reflective animals, aware of our own existence, and are therefore cast free to create our own meanings for our lives. These meanings, while free, are bound and guided by the sense of highest possibility that self-awareness creates for us in each moment. We cannot, in the final resort, escape the demands imposed by our self awareness, we must serve the demands of the sensed highest possibility in each moment or pay the price. The reward for observing the demands of sensed highest possibility is complete life satisfaction the price of failing to do so is

the feeling of disease of a life wasted, not lived.

It is easy to overlook that, in our society, wealth and success may bring the same problems of feelings of disease about the life lived. Success, even more than poverty and failure, may demand that we disown the person who it is that we uniquely, idiosyncratically, and structured by our self-awareness which is modulated by the sensed highest possibility of each moment, know we are. Erich Fromm suggests that

..There is even little difference between those high up in the ladder and those on the bottom. They all perform tasks prescribed by the whole structure of the organization, at a prescribed speed and in a prescribed manner. Even the feelings are prescribed: Cheerfulness, tolerance, reliability, ambition, and an ability to get along with everyone without friction (Fromm, 1956, p.13).

The unique, idiosyncratic, self-aware, sense of highest possibility is sacrificed, perhaps even more at the top of the social ladder, than at the bottom. Certainly the perceived possible economic and status cost of daring to risk to express our individuality must seem greater the higher up the success ladder. Allowing that the words of Erich Fromm do contain substantial grains of truth, it would seem that little that is unique, that is idiosyncratic, that expresses who we are as individuals, gets lived to any substantially greater degree by those at the top than those at the bottom. It may well be that when we are uncertain

about the value and meaning of our own lives, at the top or at the bottom, the collective perceived esteem of others may be adopted as seeming to express our own self estimation. We thus loose ourselves in the attempt to find ourselves. When our self esteem is formed of the collective esteem "the individual self disappears to a large extent.....If I am like everybody else, if I have no feelings or thoughts that make me different, if I conform in custom, dress, ideas...."(Fromm, 1956, p.11).

I am persuaded, then, that beyond the level of marginal subsistence, joy, fullness, completeness, and wisdom is relatively independent of wealth and social status. The elders who, to me, have seemed the most fulfilled were extremely indifferent to possessions, wealth or status and these elders were able to live fully in whatever circumstance their prosperity or status provided.

The second preconception which my experience suggests to me is that life satisfaction is essentially independent of orthodoxy in formal religious belief. The wise, lively elders that I have known all appeared to have their own, idiosyncratic, view of the meaning of life, which, while it may have had ties to formal religion and the elders may remain committed to formal religious organizations, had been constructed by each elder from his or her own, private, unique contemplation of life. There were some beliefs,

nonetheless, which they all seemed to hold, and live, in common.

The first of these common beliefs I call "benign reality". That is they all seemed to believe that the world that they lived in, whilst full of problems that demanded solution, was nonetheless, a friendly, hospitable, warm, loving world, full of people about whom they were concerned. They were not "strangers in a strange land" but at home in their place, in their world. To them this was the best of all possible worlds, a world in which humans and the world had evolved in perfect symbiosis, and this being so, they lived in the present in this world.

The second commonality that I find in wise elders is a belief in what I call "the upward trend". The belief that seems to be shared is that in spite of all the difficulties with people, and politics, and pollution, in the world, there is a trend of progress, and that people and the world are inexorably getting better, more humane. The direction of the world is forward, upward. Their view of the world was a hopeful, optimistic one, never one that was tied to despair, to hopelessness. These two, "benign reality" and "the upward trend" taken together, seem to me to form a positive, overarching orientation towards the world and towards people as a whole. This orientation tended to make the wise elders feel a beloved part of the entire universe, and therefore to value and prize themselves and all else that is in the

universe. It is defensibly true that we construct our view of the universe in the mood and tone with which we view ourselves, as the domain of ourselves constitutes our first universe. The estimation which is directed inwards to the universe of ourselves gets turned outwards to form our view of the world. The expressed view of the world, then, can act as a clear guide to the self estimation of elders.

The third preconception that I bring to this project comes from my sense that the wise elders of my experience lived their lives less docilely, less obedient to rules and proprieties than I generally observe in others. It was not that they were hostile or rebellious but merely that they went about doing the things that pleased them. They marched to their own drummer. They obeyed their own, unique, inner requirements and understandings. They lived well enough in society, were loving and considerate and were well loved, but without raising unnecessary fuss, they found room to create their own rules for their own lives and then they lived by these rules. They aspired to be themselves. Carl Rogers observes what it means to become oneself.

.....each individual tends to become a separate and distinct and unique person.....the individual becomes more open to his experience.....his feelings and attitudes as they exist in him.....more aware of reality as it exists outside of himself.....more realistic in dealing with new people, new situations, new problems.....his beliefs are not rigid.....is able to discover that course of action which seems to come closest to satisfying all his needs in the situation..

comes to feel that his locus of evaluation lies within himself...the real self is something discovered in one's own experience, not something imposed...an increasing tendency to live more fully in each moment (Rogers, 1961, pp.114-119).

These aspects of being oneself certainly describe the wise elders that I have known.

Society and culture do not provide for us answers to what we must do and what we must be that permit the expression of our uniqueness, that permit us to become ourselves. "Just as modern mass production requires the standardization of commodities, so the social process requires standardization of man, and this standardization is called equality." (Fromm, 1956, p.13). Standardization ill fits human nature.

"Human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing (John Stuart Mill, On Liberty).

Our sense of who we are as individuals and our need to find meaning in our own lives for a sense of completeness and fullness will, in the last resort, form the law of our own judgement of ourselves and our lives.

A corollary to the fact that wise elders appeared to be more themselves was the indication that wise elders seemed to live their lives in a manner which was more consistent with their own system of beliefs. There seemed, for them, to

be a strong confluence between idea and action, a harmony between value, meaning and living. It is as if they observed the injunction given to Laertes, in Hamlet, "Unto thine own self be true." The wise elders lived their lives true to themselves. They seemed to express in their lives the certainty that "Every one of your relationships to man and nature must be a definite expression of your real, individual life corresponding to the object of your will" (Karl Marx, 1844, pp. 300-301).

As it may be evident from the above comments my approach to elders and life satisfaction will be a phenomenological one. That is, I will seek the understanding of life satisfaction for each elder in the context of that elders life and meanings. From a phenomenological approach it is not possible to arrive at summary conclusions which can be assigned numerical values in an attempt to generate generalizable conclusions. The most that can be concluded is that in the context of a particular life with a specific set of presented salient features, the findings reached, appear to hold. Any approach to generalization from phenomenological research can only have meaning case by case in the context of a life. While it is true that qualities of a phenomenological approach appear to impose limitations on the broad applicability of the information gained, the loss in generalization is offset by the possible precision of the understandings gained. This issue will be discussed in

greater detail in the section where I review qualitative life satisfaction research.

Life satisfaction understandings, for this study, will bear many marks of my existential perspective. The choice of this perspective, as opposed to using one of the standard life satisfaction indexes frequently used as a measure of life satisfaction, will be supported from the writings of Eric Erikson, Abram Maslow, Carl Rogers, Rollo May and others. The choice of this approach will also be suggested by the problems which I hold to exist in qualitative life satisfaction research, and which seem innate to the use of indexes, in measuring life satisfaction. This I will later explore in greater detail.

An existential perspective differs from most other perspectives, in that it sees and attempts to incorporate, as an essential element of human experience, the fact that humans are self aware. To be self aware means, in this context, to know that it is oneself who is smelling the flowers. "In order to describe humans in a comprehensive.. way, we must accept the paradoxical fact that they are both material objects, or biological machines, and extensive fields of consciousness" (Grof, 1985, P.74). The fields of consciousness, the quality of knowing of oneself brings with it four ontological issues or concerns which are rooted in the very nature of being. These issues or concerns are not clearly delineated ones as they overlap and interact with

each other. The existential issues may in many people lie below the level of conscious awareness. Awareness of them may be defended against from early childhood, as the issues will be reacted to, in our society, as though they contain real threat. The ontological concerns can be seen to express themselves in the way that any life is lived and structured and in the life meanings that are adopted. The ideas presented later from a number of writers who adopt a variety of perspectives aimed at understanding human life, suggest ways that the questions, which are rooted in the very nature of our being, may be seen to be expressed in life. These ways will be used to structure the second interviews, and to frame the approaches to insight and understanding.

The four ontological and interconnected concerns are:

a). The awareness of the certainty that one must die, and that as a consequence, all that one does must in one's own experience, come ultimately to nothing. Each person knows that at some future moment all personal reason and purpose for life as it exists in one's consciousness, will cease to be. Death is anticipated by all humans.

b). The awareness of freedom, of the ability, and therefore the responsibility to choose and construct for oneself the direction and form of one's own life. Humans are conscious of themselves and are therefore responsible for choosing to be themselves. They are not only responsible to choose but are bound to choose. Our lives are the products

of our choices and we may choose to daringly express who it is that we sense we are or to run, for safety, from the sense of ourselves.

c). The awareness of aloneness. That is, that each is separated by the boundary of awareness of self. The major transitions of life, at birth and at death, must be experienced as alone experiences. No one can join us in the experiences of transition into death and into life. We are locked within the alone perceptions of our own experiences and must find our sense of connection within that aloneness.

d). The awareness of the need to construct sufficient meaning, unique, valued meaning to support life.

Self-awareness, as I have said, is the seminal and possibly uniquely human quality that calls into being the four primary existential concerns. To know of ourselves is to know of our place in the universe, our oneness with and at the same time our separation from all else in the universe. Self-awareness is to know the ongoingness of creation and the certain finiteness of our personal ability to participate in the ongoing process. We are part of nature but at the same time we conceive of our separateness from nature, separate by the awareness of self. Self-awareness is thus the very factor that frees us from being determined by our history. It is the factor which elevates us to perceive an endless stream of possibility but at the same time confirms death, aloneness and ultimate personal

meaninglessness as the only outcome to life. Self-awareness is the great liberator and the great enslaver. It both promises the freedom of the sky and the indignity of death, and both are promises that can be frightening. To live the existential truth of being human we can not evade the experience of both our liberty and our slavery. To be most ourselves, to live our highest possibility, we must live in the full experience of our freedom and the full experience of death and aloneness and the full experience of how death eradicates the awareness of all personal meaning for our lives. This is a central human paradox, the freedom to fulfill our life possibility requires that we live the experience of the possibility and the futility of the possibility. It is the very process of self-awareness that brings into open knowing the threat of our freedom and possibility and into open knowing our biological animal destiny of death.

Life, from a prospect of having denied the experience of death, aloneness, freedom, and meaninglessness may seem to be a bleak and dark process. That appearance of darkness is produced by the anxiety of resisting the experience of our existential condition. From the prospect of having accepted the experience of death, aloneness, freedom, and meaninglessness life may be seen as a bright, shining challenge. Ernest Becker describes the denial of our human condition as neurotic despair and its acceptance as real

despair. He observes that

the problem of authentic growth in a person's life is to get rid of neurotic despair so as to come face to face with real despair, and then make a creative solution of his existence in greater freedom and full knowledge (Becker, 1971, p.206).

To live our human possibility we must live the full knowledge of our freedom and our awareness. Freedom and full knowledge create the awareness of personal possibility and this becomes the self measure of a life fully lived.

Self awareness, personal possibility, meaning, freedom, finiteness, and aloneness may, from an existential perspective, be seen as being central concepts in life satisfaction. The existential idea of possibility as mediated by the four basic ontological concerns will form the conceptual frame from which I will consider the life of each elder and life satisfaction.

As I have earlier indicated, a number of approaches, all of which are consistent with an existential understanding of human life, will be considered as they all appear to provide insight into life satisfaction. These approaches include life cycle, hierarchy of needs, humanist psychology, gestalt therapy, and other approaches as well as those which label themselves as existential. It is intended that by adopting such a multidirectional approach to life satisfaction that some new insights may be generated.

It may well appear that there is a certain circularity to this approach. Life satisfaction is to be considered from an existential perspective and the factors that may impinge on life satisfaction are to be existential ones. That is, if life satisfaction is defined in existential terms then it becomes unavoidable that existential issues will be seen to bear on life satisfaction. It may be seen, in light of this, that it is not life satisfaction that is being considered but merely the internal consistency of existential belief. This is a problem that is unavoidable in all investigation. Had I attempted to measure life satisfaction in some statistical manner and then statistically considered and measured the effects of variables on that life satisfaction, it could equally be proposed that I am merely supporting some consistency within statistical precepts. The methodology that flows from all paradigms, from all world views, are bound by the world view that supports it. All truth, all understanding is relative, and exists only in relation to the view that frames it.

It needs to be restated that I approach life satisfaction with an existential world view and therefor with the conceptions that constitute that world view. With that, the very best that this investigation into life satisfaction can do is provide illumination, from the lives of elders, into the prescriptions of that particular world view. I make no claim for neutrality as I am persuaded that

the existential paradigm presents a meaningful description of the human experience.

I do not see the existential approach as being the only true, the only useful approach to life satisfaction. Any question may be considered from an infinite number of perspectives, each of which will provide certain insights. I have chosen an existential approach as I believe that the questions with which elders struggle and which underlie their life satisfaction, are essentially existential in nature, that is, are particular to being human and spring from self awareness. Some of these concerns, which exist for elders, may be paraphrased as; "I really don't understand what this life is all about." "I don't have a strong sense of meaning for my life." "I will die anyway so why bother to struggle with life." " No matter how close I've been to others I,ve always known that I was on my own." " I haven't done all the things with my life that I could have done or lived it very fully." These are the kind of existential issues that become difficult for elders to ignore and which form a major underlying element of their life concerns. I propose that it is just such issues as these, and the feelings that each individual brings to these issues, that lie at the heart of life satisfaction. A fuller exploration of life satisfaction and its existential meanings will be undertaken further on.

The elders that I shall interview for this study will

all be at least sixty years of age and will not be occupied in full time paid employment. For many it is the change from full time paid employment, for themselves or for their spouses, that brings them into awareness that they are moving into a new and conclusive stage of life. This is the awareness that makes seem urgent the confronting of the existential issues.

I will avoid using terms such as "old people", "the aged", "seniors" and "retirees" to refer to elders. "Elders" has a traditional sense of usage which connotes special status and special wisdom. The use of the term elder will act to contradict the devalued idea and place of most elders in our society and acknowledges the special shining qualities that a long life may bring.

This study will consist of three sections.

In this, the first section, I aim to provide explanation, support and structure for the approach that I have adopted to elders and life satisfaction and to construct and clarify the nature and composition of the interviews which I will conduct with the elders. In this section I shall also illuminate the particular situation of elders in our society and consider how such social factors as power, wealth, and esteem impinge, in substantial ways and divert their attention from the basic life ontological questions. They are redirected from resolving their needs to be the unique individuals of their sensed possibilities,

with their own life meanings, to some social, collective, commodity productive, identity.

The specific areas of concern which will be explored in this first section, are aimed at arriving at an understanding of life satisfaction and specific indications of life satisfaction in the context of each elder's life. The areas considered are covered in chapters two to eleven and include; sociology and elders; the existential meanings of life satisfaction; life satisfaction - research considerations; Eric Erikson and life satisfaction; Abram Maslow and self actualization; Gestalt Therapy and life satisfaction; other writings and life satisfaction; existential philosophy and life satisfaction; the nature of the interviews and how they may serve to illuminate life satisfaction.

In the second section I will present material from the interviews with the elders, together with some attempt to arrive at an understanding of life satisfaction in the context of the life of that elder. It is intended that the theoretical understandings from the first section will be displayed and illuminated as they present themselves in the biographical material on the lives of the elders. It is anticipated that we may be able to refine, modify or even change our understandings as we attempt to apply them in the context of a particular life story.

The third and final section will be used to summarize

whatever phenomenological insights it is that were gained and to speculate where, and under what circumstances, these insights may help in understanding life satisfaction in other elders.

I conclude this chapter by suggesting that life satisfaction is not a fixed state of being but a process, "it is a direction, not a destination. The direction.....is that which is selected by the organism, when there is psychological freedom to move in any direction" (Rogers, 1961, p.187). High life satisfaction is therefore the experience of the journey when we are psychologically free. It is a seamless journey with ever widening and softening horizons.

An individual's human experience should be like a river - small at first, narrowly contained within its banks, and rushing passionately past boulders and over waterfalls. Gradually the river grows wider, the bank recedes, the waters flow more quietly, and in the end, without any visible break, they become merged in the sea, and painlessly lose their individual being (Russel, 1958, P.72).

Chapter 2.Sociology and Elders.

The oppressive beliefs and values which are particular to any society, age, or culture are extremely difficult to view from inside that age, society, or culture. These beliefs and values act to oppress groups of persons, but it appears from inside that society that they represent just the way things are. That is, they are internalized as representing certain truth and appear to be part of the innate essential nature or condition of individual life. It is, in consequence of this fact, sometimes difficult for us to observe the oppression of elders that occurs in our time or society. I wish to try to make the oppression manifest, make it visible, because the oppression becomes, for elders, an instrument, a mechanism, through which their self esteem, their self evaluation, and ultimately their sense of life satisfaction is impeded. It is not that it is impossible, within our society, for the individual elder to live by a self affirming set of self constructed values, the lives of many elders demonstrate such a set of values and meanings, but that societal oppressive beliefs and values often act to hinder and interfere with the construction of such an individual values system. We therefore need to understand the oppressive beliefs and values which exist in our time,

and society and which impede elders in their creating of a self affirming set of self constructed values and meanings, if we are to gain insight into life satisfaction in the lives of elders.

An extension of the difficulty in observing, from inside our society, the operation of oppression directed at elders, is the reluctance to see any advantages accruing to elders from the years they have lived. To the question "Are there no advantages in this movement of years? ..most of us would probably say no. "Hopeless, passive, uninvolved, fragile." This is the young adults view of older people" (Hulme, 1986, P.8). Aging is seen as going down hill, as reversing the course of growth. "Things cease to be "ever-expanding" as we age and become "ever-decreasing." For Americans, meaning stems from growth" (Hulme, 1986, p.9). Old age, is thus, not merely seen as a net loss, a loss on balance, but as a loss in every single aspect of life.

The fact that the oppression, which is directed towards elders, may be difficult to observe from inside the milieu in which it occurs makes the oppressive effects doubly powerful. Elders, as members of the culture which oppresses them, may naturally accept the oppressive cultural definitions of themselves as representing the truth. That is, they may accept that these definitions truly describe the unavoidable limiting conditions, value, and meanings which are attributes of their biological age. It seems

unavoidable that most elders "share society's worship of youth" (Hulme, 1986, p.9). Elders may thus become not only oppressed by the expectations and definitions of society, at large, levelled at them from outside themselves, but by internalizing these oppressive beliefs and values they may direct them, internally, against themselves. These internalized beliefs, seen as representing the essential truths about the limitations and loss of beauty, self worth, value, and meaning that must come with age, may require that elders disown their innate sense of beauty, self worth, value, and meaning.

It becomes necessary for elders, if they are to maintain confluence between the cultural ideas and an inner self valuing sense of themselves, to either disown that inner self valuing sense of themselves or disown the values and beliefs of the society of which they are part.

I present two brief written extracts, separated in time by five hundred years, one fictional, the other factual, which illuminate the lives of two elders. These extracts seem useful in highlighting the subtlety of the ageism, the system of oppressive beliefs, which oppresses elders.

But, Lord Christ! When it all comes back to me, and I recall my youth and gaiety, it tickles me to the roots of my heart. To this day it does my heart good that in my time I,ve had my fling. But age, alas! that cankers everything, has stripped me of my beauty and go. Good-bye, let them go, and the devil go with them! What's left to say?

*The flour's all gone, and now I must sell
the bran as best I can. Even so I mean to
rejoice!*

So spoke the Wife of Bath in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Beauty and vigor are identified as exclusive virtues of youth. Age, even in the fifteenth century, is seen to bring nothing but loss.

So pervasive is the belief that age means loss that it is difficult to contemplate the certainty, that from an equally true, although slightly different perspective, the consequence of ageing may be seen to be all gain. Beauty and worth have no absolute base from which they may be judged but are merely expressions of what a particular age, society, or culture, value. Could it then not equally be true that the lined, wrinkled, weathered face bearing the marks and imprints of a long life, bearing the recordings of joy and pain, of failure and transcendence, of dignity and wisdom, be seen as representing the standard of beauty that excels all other beauty? Could the face of youth, from this perspective not be seen as bland, smooth, naive, and decidedly undesirable? The two positions, that which sees beauty and value as qualities only of the young, or the converse, as qualities only of elders, would both be oppressions, as they would both act to limit or repress or devalue one group in relation to the other.

The fact that the Wife of Bath, even though she is still joyously alive, agrees with the cultural devaluation

of the beauty and value of elders, of herself, does not remove the oppression. It is merely that the Wife of Bath has internalized the cultural devaluation of elders that existed in her day and accepts the oppression as a deserved, natural, and inescapable consequence of her time of life. The self devaluation of herself and her beauty must surely act to restrict, to diminish, the possible reaches of her life satisfaction.

Important life satisfaction questions seem to flow from societal oppressive beliefs which are directed towards elders. These are, "Can one be fully satisfied with life while accepting that one is ugly and worthless?" or "Can one be fully satisfied with life while disowning that one is an elder?" The answers appear to be evident.

The Crossing Keeper's Son in Ronald Blythe's, The View in Winter does not lament the losses of age. Nonetheless, in his delight of the present, it is yesterday, his boyhood, which seems to speak most eloquently to him.

This is the happiest time of my life-that is, and I tell you straight! I wish there were twenty-four hours in the day.-----I set at this bench and I don't want the day to end. And it all comes back to me when we were boys, y' know.----now I'll tell you somethen, I was a bad boy and I,m glad ont! Don't ask me why. You're not sorry later. spite o" what they say.----I make what I remember. I tarn wood. I paint the fields. As I say I've never been so happy in my whole life and I only hope I last out. I've been a bit of a lad and when I'm working I see it all so clear, so clear. I can smell the river and I can see all so clear (Blythe,1979, pp.45-51).

It is difficult to know how much the Crossing Keeper's Son has been able to avoid succumbing to the limitations which society's definition of age would impose. He is joyous, energetic, and filled with life and enthusiasm. Money, things, and status would seem to mean nothing to him.

He is filled with doing, and he lives somewhat in the present moment. His great joy does not, however, from this brief extract, seem to come from being in contact with his present experience, informed of course by all his past, but in recalling and in reconstructing in wood and paint, the delights of his youth. Are the true delights, then, of age mainly the delights of recalling youth or are their delights that are intrinsic to being an elder? For many elders memory of the past may indeed bring delight in the present, but it is important that the memory be experienced as enriching the living in the present and not as an escape from current emptiness to a more worthy time. If being an elder is not sufficient unto itself elders are then condemned to live in a world of unreal shadows. Now is all there is and satisfaction to be real must spring from the now.

An escape to childhood memory is a route chosen by many elders to circumvent the perceived burden of their time of life. Many elders "...find peace in childhood, but none in

maturity remembered and little in the present. So they embark, along with any willing ear, for the beginning, where things still move fast and are bright and clearly defined" (Blythe, 1979, p.5).

It would seem, in simple logic, if life is viewed as a gift, as a benefit to be enjoyed, then it must be true that we live best, fullest, when we live in the present reality of who it is that we are, and live all of the person that we are. As elders we are the product of all our experience and all our memories, brought forward to create us in the present. The true delight, the highest possibility, the most satisfaction in life must be in living this totality, now in the present. Living only who we were at some time and place in the past is not enough. The present incorporates all of our memory, all of our experience, from the beginning to the now, incorporates all of our present intentions for the future, to create the rich, knowing, possibility of the present moment. The highest possibility for life satisfaction must surely be rooted in the present moment.

The *Wife of Bath* and the *Crossing Keeper's Son* are two elders who lived their lives with vigor and excitement and their last years were not narrowed down to a dreary thread. The both do, however, illustrate the extreme subtleness of ageism, of the oppression of elders, and that it has prevailed, just from these two samples, over many centuries. Both the *Wife of Bath* and the *Crossing Keeper's Son* have

managed to avoid or resist hopelessness and despair, which for them, is a major victory over the shrinking of life which age and an awareness of death brings to many elders. They both appear to have, in some degree, surrendered the freedom of their inner awareness of present complete possibility to the narrower less self worthy, less meaningful, less valuable, oppressive definition of elders as provided by their times and societies. They seem to have surrendered part of the possibility of their life satisfaction by living within the oppressive definitions of their time of life, provided by their societies. For both the Wife of Bath and the Crossing Keeper's Son, their sense of present satisfaction must be lessened to the degree that they have surrendered living their sensed highest possibility, and this may be for them almost unavoidable, to fit societies narrow prescription for the lives of elders.

I am concerned, at this point, that it might be construed, from my comments on their lives, that I am blaming both the Wife of Bath and the Crossing Keeper's Son, and by inference will blame the elders who I shall interview, for permitting themselves, in some ways, to be limited, or of needlessly surrendering part of the possibility for satisfaction in their lives. I am concerned that it might be seen that I have judged them and have found them wanting and deserving of blame for their shortcomings. As a response to this concern I affirm that I do not believe

that either the Wife of Bath or the Crossing Keeper's Son have failed themselves, in their lives, or that they deserve any blame. Given the totality of each of their lives, both have done their very best to manage the difficulties as they were able to perceive them and to live the fullest and best lives that they were able to attain.

The possibility for any life, as experienced by the person living that life, and constrained by the internalized limitations from society, may be entirely different from an outside view of the possibility, which is not restrained. There is a paradox here for the perceived possibility may be seen, in the context of the totality of a life, not to be a real possibility, and the life that is lived to, in fact, be the only possibility.

I accept, in responding to each elder, that the life lived was the only possibility, but am at the same time aware that the self awareness, of each elder, presents a possibility beyond that which was lived. Each persons life satisfaction is, to some extent mediated by that sense of further possibility. The life of each elder may be seen as being complete, as being the best possible life for that elder, and it may be concluded that the elder deserves only praise, while, at the same time, knowing and considering a further possibility for each life. The view that elders deserve only praise for their lives and that this does not preclude considering further possibility, is the belief and

feeling response that I hold towards elders and which is central to this investigation into their life satisfaction.

In summary, the purpose of considering each life from a perspective of possibility is not to find anyone wanting, but to perhaps arrive at some understandings, some insights, that might act to expand the realm of possibility. It is difficult, indeed, for anyone to escape the beliefs and values of society, overcome the challenges inherent in the existential questions of life, and then to construct a unique life which reaches towards fulfilling a sensed, but dimly perceived and rarely acknowledged awareness of possibility. I shall expand on the role of sensed possibility on life satisfaction, later, when I define the meanings of life satisfaction for this study.

Elders and Society Today.

I now present some sociological thoughts and observations on the lives of elders, presently, in this society.

Research by Cowgill and Holmes (1972, pp.321-323), has delineated several observations which they present as facts describing the aged and society, and which may further our understanding of the lives of elders.

1. The status of the aged is high in primitive societies and is lower and more ambiguous in modern societies.

2. The status of the aged tends to decline as their numbers and proportion increase.

3. Modernized societies have higher proportions of old people.

4. The status of the aged is inversely proportional to the rate of social change.

5. The status of the aged tends to decline with the increasing literacy of the population.

6. The status of the aged is lower in societies that favor the nuclear form of the family.

These may express only partial truths, but it would nonetheless seem likely, from these six points, that elders in our society have a low status as they qualify on all six points.

Status means position, rank, standing, and reflects the esteem or regard in which one is held by one's society. Status is expressed through the ways that members of society respond. Those with high status are generally richly rewarded in economic terms as economics expresses the central operating value of our society. Those with high status are generally proffered respect and deference and their views, opinions, wishes, and concerns, generally receive close and respectful attention. Those with high status are frequently reminded that they are important and that their welfare is a general concern. The exact opposite is also generally true for those with low status. They are

frequently poor, that is, they are denied society's most esteemed mark of respect. They are generally ignored and little or no attention is paid to their welfare, to their opinions, to their wishes, or to their concerns. The societal descriptions of those with low status are designed to reflect the status and those of low status are often seen as being ugly, unintelligent, unworthy, repulsive, despicable, or merely as tools or receptacles to serve some other persons needs or purposes.

Elders can not just be ignored by society for we all anticipate living long enough to be elders. We hope to be elders but at the same time we are afraid to be elders. We anticipate but yet deflect our eyes from what that anticipation means. Our society's response to elders reflects this strange ambivalence between hoping and dreading.

The country of old age too often looks like a dreary wasteland. It is not described in colorful brochures at travel agencies. On the contrary for thousands it has been said to be a scene of sorrow, illness, and poverty. As many people have pointed out, everyone wants to live a long time, but no one wants to be old - or to think about being old (Skinner et al, 1983, p.21).

For many people the hope of old age is directed towards having time for their own purposes and promises escape from their great burden, the burden of their paid work. The burden is that workers react with masked feelings of distress to the circumstance of paid work that require them

to be docile, obedient, compliant and remain unrecognized as complete, whole, feeling, thinking persons. To be mere tools needed to serve a higher cause. This cause is the perceived effective running of a work place directed at being profitable or cost efficient, and this always of course, measured in monetary terms, not human terms.

Workers, with their distress, are trapped in the work role by our society "Having a value system based on competitive striving to establish personal worth..... fosters this illusion that the way to allay the anxiety of meaningless and emptiness is through hard work" (Hulme, 1986, p.28). The illusion fostered in hard work is a fragile one, the allaying of anxiety demands that we avoid knowing what it is we know, demands avoiding acknowledging what it is we believe, as "people no longer believe that a higher purpose lies behind the mundane world of work. Nor do they believe that, in our throwaway society, our deeds will live on in collective memory" (Novak, 1986). David Reisman comprehends the price of refusing insight and of complying when he writes that "My own belief is that the ambulatory patients in the ward of modern culture show many analogous symptoms of too much compliance and too little insight" (1961, pp.244-245). It would seem, then, for a great many people, that both paid work and the escape from paid work, as elders, bring meaninglessness and emptiness. Old age and its believed associated loss of meaning, health, and

physical and sexual prowess is considered a fitting time of escape. Becoming an elder, is to many a catch 22, the desired unpalatable solution to an unpalatable circumstance. The ambivalence towards the time of advanced years is not surprising.

Elders may still, at times, be thought of in terms of a past, part mythological image that we hold of the sage, as though they were valuable, revered objects, valuable holders of the cultures wisdom. "Unfortunately, technological progress has robbed everyone, old and young alike, of the chance to serve as a repository of wisdom" (Skinner et al, 1983, p.144). In the reality of day to day life most elders are reacted and responded to in person, as if they were foolish, as if they were untouchables.

It is common to see many of the longest lived elders treated by the middle aged as though they were retarded or at best as recalcitrant infants, but again at arms length. All in all much of the approach to elders by the middle aged would seem to suggest that the condition of being an elder could be contagious.

Elders, as it is true for persons of all ages, have a powerful need to be loved, to be loved for being just exactly the person that they know themselves to be, at their very best. Love can not be transmitted at arms length but in the presence of elders

The middle aged find themselves at the source of a time contagion, and their compassion is proffered at arms length. The old do not fear the young, but they are ever conscious of the length to which self-preservation in the not-so-young will go, and they frequently fear them (Blythe, 1979, p.73).

Whilst elders may often feel unloved and unseen as unique, feeling, thinking, individuals they experience a grudging collective concern directed towards them from the middle aged.

The old have been made to feel that they have been sentenced to life and turned into a matter for public concern. They are the first generation of the full-timers and thus the first generation of old people for whom the state, experimentally, grudgingly and uncertainly is having to make special supportive conditions (Blythe, 1979, p.5).

This is, indeed, the first time in history where the great majority of the population of our society will attain three score and ten years of age and this enormously aggravates the grudging uncertainty of the approach of the state towards elders. Elders are essentially seen as being non productive members of society, as being no longer an economic asset, as not contributing to the most important of our societies reifications, the gross national product seen only in monetary terms. From this perspective, the greater the number of elders, the greater is seen the drain on national wealth, even though a substantial portion of elder income is from deferred income sources. Elders then, are seen by the state as being liabilities, as being a drain on

resources, as being undesirable. Elders can not fail to recognize and internalize this estimation.

Elders, being of low status, are frequently not spoken with but spoken to or spoken at. The peculiar manners of relating that we had often reserved for speaking to children or underlings is also now often used when speaking to elders. Conversation is frequently directed somewhere over their left shoulders and is patronizing and trivial. What our manner often conveys is vague, infectious, dismissive concern. To be dismissed is not to be loved or valued.

To be able to arouse more than solicitous feeling which we reserve for the over eighties is a triumph for the old - a breakthrough. It causes them to hope against hope that the next step can be taken, the step that leads to some aspect of them which can be loved (Blythe, 1979, p.5).

Ageism is widespread and firmly entrenched in our culture and it deeply effects the lives of elders. "There is an extreme and unremitting bias against older adults in America. A bias so prevalent that it has been given the name ageism" (Arluke & Levin, 1985, p.151). Ageism is a negative evaluation that lets individuals know how they ought to respond to elders as a group. Ageism stereotypes elders as being rigid, sexless, inactive, lonely, unattractive, meddlesome, unhealthy, and worst of all in our society, non productive. "Older people in general are perceived and treated as if they were incompetent, obsolete and poorly adjusted" (McPherson, 1983, p.252). Elders are seen as being

"less attractive, less interesting and less worthwhile than younger people" (Hess & Markson, 1985, p.9).

In an attempt to escape from their low status and from elder stereotypes many elders make an effort to pass as being middle-aged. They dye their hair, have their faces surgically altered, spend billions of dollars on youth preserving unguents and creams, and lie about their age. To lie about one's age or to hide one's identity requires that one dismiss who one is and what one's life represents, and adopt some false sense about oneself. Perhaps others may be fooled, but can one fool oneself? What does it do to one's sense of worth, value, and integrity and ultimately to one's life satisfaction, to feel that it is necessary to deny who one is in order to have value, in order to be loved?

"Creeping indifference is a large factor in the self-hate of the aged" (Blythe, 1979, p.243). It must be extremely difficult for many elders not to be indifferent to what is happening in society and in the world as society and the world is so indifferent to them. The problem of indifference is compounded for elders by the certainty that death will soon, in any event, finally disconnect them from the world. Their response is, therefore, a pull to stand back, to withdraw from the world, and to anticipate the final fatal disconnection. Along with the pull to disconnect there is always an underlying, perhaps heavily overlaid, pull to aliveness. Elders, thus, become caught in a fundamental

engage versus disengage dilemma. The pull to aliveness is a fundamental one. "On the most elemental level the organism works actively against its own fragility by seeking to expand and perpetuate itself in living experience; instead of shrinking it moves towards more life" (Becker, 1973, p.21). To be indifferent to what is happening in the world is to lose sense of how one is meaningfully a part of, and how one is meaningfully connected to the world.

There is often much confusion for elders around paid work. Society works to place them outside the experience that is most valued, most esteemed in our society, that is 'productive' paid work. At the same time, for most of the elders, their paid work has been less than totally fulfilling. Many have felt themselves to be nameless cogs at work and often pointedly and openly oppressed by their superiors. It is little wonder that many workers wish to retire, wish to escape the oppression of their work place. To retire, however, removes them from societies role of highest esteem. Even those who continue to work for pay are often made to feel guilty as it is considered that they are a threat to jobs for other age groups. What is to be done, and often no choice is presented, is confusing and difficult. It would appear that as long as an elder feels governed by societies values around "productive" employment there are no winning directions which can be taken. The choices, for very many, seem to be between being oppressed,

devalued, or blamed.

The pull towards belonging to a larger grouping, to taking values and beliefs that are consensual even when these values and beliefs limit and divert the expression of one's unique individuality, is a powerful one, and is succumbed to by many. To succumb serves a 'self' defeating purpose.

One may shed one's isolating sense of self by fusing -----with a thing - a group, a cause, a country, a project. There is something enormously compelling about merging with a larger group - to be like everyone else - to conform in dress, speech, customs; to have no thoughts or feelings that are different - saves one from the isolation of selfhood (Yalom, 1980, pp.380-381).

Many elders, to 'avoid the isolating sense of self' have spent much of their younger lives being faithful, dutiful, obedient, malleable, and in order to belong to the group, have denied their own sense of a unique self and of a secret knowledge of their own possibility and purpose. What is hoped for is the safety, security, belonging, and love of the larger group, and what is received, in the end, is rejection, dismissal, and devaluation, and by the very group whose love one sought. The result for many elders is that they become locked in a no man's land between the identity they have adopted when they renounced their own sense of possibility for a larger security, which is no longer tenable as it has rejected them, and the need to

reclaim their sense of a unique, but isolating, self. What we know as the despair and confusion of old age, is often the despair and confusion of their living betrayed, both by the choosing and by the choice. Resolution of that despair and confusion would demand that they confront the anxiety that, in the first place, led them to renounce their sense of their own possibility, and to reown their unique individuality. Those who fail to confront this anxiety wait for death involved in only triviality and fretting over the minute details of their moment to moment discomforts. They live without purpose, lives without meaning. As Yalom says:

Some individuals give into despair and die a premature psychological death and ----a premature physical death as well. Others -----transcend ---- and use their impending death as a catalyst improve the quality of life (Yalom, 1980, p.275).

I have presented, in much of this sociological look at the lives of elders, what might seem a rather bleak picture. The intent is not to present a sense of hopelessness and despair, for that would not be an accurate presentation of the lives of very many elders. Many do, in fact, find resolution, at least in part, of the problems that ageism and ageing bring to the last part of their lives. New roles and tasks are frequently adopted and a self generated, more meaningful definition of 'productive' applied. The Wife of Bath and the Crossing Keeper's Son are both clear examples of two elders who have surmounted much of the pull towards

despair. Both pay heed, at least in considerable part, to their own definitions of desirable activity and have constructed their own meanings, and live with much delight.

The resolution of the problems that confront elders is not an all or nothing question. There is an infinite range of possible responses to the existential issues which underlie the sociological problems of ageing. Elders provide answers to the problems in ways, that to a greater or lesser degree, contribute to their life satisfaction. It is against this background of all elders attempting to provide satisfactory solutions to their day to day living, in a manner that will maximize their life satisfaction, that ageism intervenes and makes it less likely that the responses to living will be accurately directed to maximize life satisfaction. It would seem self evident that the beginning place for deciding which actions would best contribute to one's life satisfaction, is a clear knowledge of who one uniquely is as an individual and what it is, as a unique individual, that one wants. It is in this area that ageism operates for it works to obscure for each elder his true identity as an elder and to redirect him from what it is he wants.

We will carry to our interviews with elders the certainty that each has worked to live life in a manner seeking maximum self satisfaction but that fear and confusion around some existential life issues, fostered and

abetted by our society, in part through ageism, has often supported that fear and created confusion about how to effectively proceed in a way that will lead to true life satisfaction.

Life, in the last measure, is about living, and life satisfaction about how we view our living, view it in the moments of our sensed highest possibility. I think the words of Father Stephen, a seventy-nine year old Anglican Father who appears to know much about living, can offer us insight into elements of his life satisfaction.

I think there are some very big lessons for the old. Some old people trundle along, some old people stay alert. I feel about twelve! And the lesson I must learn is, what does it mean not to be able to do things? Everybody screams - and I include myself - "I can't do this and I can't do that!" and "I used to do this and I used to do that!" and "Baaah"! The lesson to be learned is to understand the promotion from plum-easy doing to the surprisingly difficult non-activity of just being. Be patient, be gentle, be nothing. It all goes on, it will all go on. On and on. But one will not (Blythe, 1979, p.256).

The struggle for each elder is to remain alive and vibrant and yet to live the truth about his or her condition and place in the ongoing universe. Father Stephen is alive and vibrant and struggles to know and accept the truth of his condition and love his place and meaning in the ongoing universe. It is the journey that is important.

There is much more that could be said about elders within different cultures and in different times and about

the sociological approaches to age and retirement. I have chosen to concentrate on these sociological issues that seem particularly relevant to my approach to life satisfaction and the lives of elders.

I am reluctant to leave this sociological consideration of the lives of elders without placing it in some perspective of sensed possibility. I believe that it is true that "Our current perception of existence is full of pain, helplessness, and victimization" (Naranjo, 1973, p.68). This is as true for people of all ages as it is for elders. I have been somewhat hesitant in elaborating on the pain, helplessness, and victimization of elders as I know that to face the distress is to feel it more intently, is in some way to experience oneself as being more subject to its effects. But such is the paradox of freedom, that freedom can only be won by directly confronting that which enslaves, by knowing fully how it feels to be a slave. Freedom is a choice. Pain, helplessness, and victimization from this perspective of possibility

are no more than a bad game we play with ourselves - one more aspect of rejecting the bliss of now..At depth we are what we want to be, we are doing what we want to do., even when it amounts to apparent tragedy. If we can discover our freedom within our slavery, we can also discover our essential joy under the cover of victimization (Naranjo, 1973, p.68).

Chapter 3.

The Existential Meanings of Life Satisfaction.

We as humans appear trapped in many paradoxes, and life satisfaction is, in large part, the measure of our success in resolving these paradoxes. Abram Maslow sets forth the basic paradoxes when he writes that as humans

We fear our highest possibility (as well as our lowest ones). We are generally afraid to become that which we can glimpse in our most perfect moments. ---- We enjoy and even thrill to our most perfect moments ---- thrill to the godlike possibilities ---- shiver with weakness, awe and fear before these very same possibilities (Maslow, 1967, p.163).

Maslow understands that our human ability to glimpse, sense, a highest possibility for ourselves is an essential product of our human self awareness and creates in us, unbidden, and often resisted, a standard, a measure against which we must ultimately judge our own lives. Life satisfaction, as I define it for this study is, in large part, a measure of that judgement. Life satisfaction, at the deepest levels, becomes a measure of the extent to which we have met our sense of our unique highest possibility. Expressed from the other direction, life satisfaction can be said to be inversely related to the extent to which we sense we have disappointed ourselves by failing to be what it is

that we sensed we could be.

It is difficult in this time and place in history to make credible the notion of life purpose and the notion of life purpose would certainly appear to be suggested in the understanding of sensed highest possibility. It would seem that if each person has a unique sensed highest possibility for life then that possibility becomes the purpose for each life. The idea of purpose has not always been problematic.

For the ancients life had a purpose. Life could be understood, not merely as a one dimensional line, but as a spiral upwards towards knowledge of the "Good". This world view included the idea that wisdom was the goal of human life and that there was a path for the unfolding of this imminent potential (Novak, 1985-86).

Darwin, following up on others, contradicted the sense of life having a purpose and his new natural-scientific model exposed everything to "the rigors of efficient causality and the relentless motion of sheer purposeless becoming" (Dranos, 1978). Psychoanalysis, which spoke to the nature of man, grew out of that tradition.

Psychoanalysis did not speak of an ultimate meaning or purpose in life because the Western tradition of natural sciences, from which it arose...had invalidated this concept. The question of meaning of human life in a world devoid of purpose was left to future generations of psychologists to investigate (Novak, 1985-86).

Meaning and purpose are the central concerns of existential psychologists who believe that "the tension between being and meaning is ineradicable in man. It is

inherent in being human, and therefore indispensable to mental well-being" (Frankl, 1967, p.25).

The premise that underlies this exploration of life satisfaction is that meaning and purpose are inescapable concerns which arise from self awareness; that sensed highest possibility is the individual aspiration towards creating meaning and purpose for life; that life satisfaction is the measure of the transformation of sensed highest possibility into living process. "Man by his very nature, strives towards self-realization, and his set of values evolves from such striving" (Horney, 1938, p.15).

Sensed highest possibility emerges from a clear sense of self. Carl Rogers provides a description of how the sense of self emerges.

...the self and personality emerge from experience, rather than experience being translated or twisted to fit preconceived structure....Such living in the moment means an absence of rigidity, of tight organization, of the imposition of structure on experience. It means instead a maximum of adaptability, a discovery of structure in experience, a flowing changing organization of self and personality (1961, p.189).

Self and sensed possibility both arise out of maintaining an open and fluid stance towards ones' experience.

We are all endlessly challenged, for the innate self awareness of the qualities that make one both unique and human provide the essential, unavoidable measures against which the fullness of each life will be judged by the person

who lives that life. Glimpses of our highest possibilities, that we do not permit to inform our personal meanings for our lives, condemn us, in the words of David Henry Thouroux, to 'live lives of quiet desperation.' 'Quiet desperation' means to live without a sense of highest possibility in process. It means to abandon the present allure which will draw us, with delight and force, into the midst of life.

It would seem that while we , 'at our best moments', sense a highest possibility we are often prepared to settle for much less.

.....man cuts out for himself a manageable world: he throws himself into action uncritically unthinkingly. He accepts the cultural programming that turns his nose where he is supposed to look;....He uses all kinds of techniques, which we call the character defenses: he learns not to expose himself, not to stand out; he learns to embed himself in other power, both of concrete persons and of things and of cultural commands; the result is that he comes to exist in the imagined infallibility of the world around him....which he lives as a kind of grim equanimity.....living in the moment of ignoring and forgetting (Becker, 1973, p.23).

Man may cut out for himself a manageable world but he dare not detach himself completely from his own self awareness. "Self concept has to be built on something solid. Sometimes nagging doubts enter in, and force open the door...[giving] a view of ourselves...[we] have been unacceptable and unworthy" (Coleman, 1986, p.62). The character defenses do not prevail for ever and the nagging

doubts are highly corrosive to any fragile life satisfaction that we might attempt to maintain independent of individual, unique, life purpose and meaning.

It is the sense of possibility which provides the meanings of 'acceptable' and 'worthy' that our lives hold for us. Even at an unacknowledged level these meanings, in the last resort, determine the manner of our living, as we are bound, as humans, to construct and assign meaning. It is essential to our natures and "The striving to find a meaning in life is a primary motivational force in man" (Frankl, 1967, p.34). Throughout the lives of each of us we are endlessly confronted with decisions concerning whether to risk acting in the directions of our meaning or to seek safety 'embedded in other power.' It would seem that if we attempt to avoid to live by our own meanings the pursuit of present pleasure becomes our purpose. For us, then "The world is one great object for our appetite, a big apple, a big bottle, a big breast; we are the sucklers, the eternally expectant ones, the hopeful ones - and the eternally disappointed ones" (Fromm, 1956, p.73). Aldous Huxley describes persons without personal meaning and purpose and living for immediate gratification, in his Brave New World as being well fed, well clad, satisfied sexually, yet without self, and guided by slogans. The slogans speak to the urge to be embedded and to deny the reality of the human condition. The slogans include "When the individual feels

the community reels" and "Everybody is happy nowadays." (P.110). Happy? maybe, but certainly numb and dissatisfied.

It is necessary, to life satisfaction, that we construct our own meanings and purposes on the bases of the idiosyncratic, unique, distinct, individuals that we are. If we do not extract our meanings, true to ourselves from our own sense of highest possibility, we must take them from elsewhere. We must borrow them, one thousandth hand, ill fitting, alien, and incapable of filling our need for a sense of personal purpose.

Personal, true, meanings are always idiosyncratic and emerge from the uniqueness of each life. To live one's own life requires that each person be his or her own and only authority, that each person be subject to only herself. Such placing of authority makes the universe safe, for it is only by loving and accepting of all of ourself, and we can not be all of ourself in any other way except by being loving and accepting, that we can be loving and caring towards all the universe. Our feeling towards others and the universe are, to a considerable extent, projections outwards of the internal experience that we have of ourselves. The process of accepting our own authority, that is exercising our own existential freedom, will necessarily require that we experience the anxieties, the fears, which are the naturally formed consequences of our human awareness of our true, separate, finite, state in nature. Not all will be

happiness, not all needs will be possible. For very many people there is an attempt made to resist the anxiety of freedom and they thus lose autonomy.

....the need to be subject to someone remains; only the part of the father is transformed to teachers, superiors, impressive personalities; the submissive loyalty to rulers that is so widespread is also a transference of this sort (Rank, 1945, p.130).

Those who live subject to someone else can never own their own lives, can never live entirely for their own purposes nor own their own victories or defeats. One needs to aspire to be fully oneself before one can celebrate one's own life or before one can move to be fully with others.

Our personal meanings are innate to who we uniquely are. Our personal meanings are not mechanically operating products of cause and effect. They do not observe the natural-scientific model where everything is subject to "the rigors of efficient causality and the relentless motion of sheer purposeless becoming" (Dranos, 1978), but are complex entities which are subtle and multi-layered and which appear to conform more to the rules of paradoxical rather than linear, Aristotelian logic. Contradictions seem to illuminate personal meanings rather than obscure them and the certainty emerges that "the only way in which the world can be grasped ...lies not in thought, but in the act, in the experience" (Fromm, 1956, p.65). Personal meanings, being paradoxical in nature, are capable of being totally

transformed by unobserved changes in affect, cognition, or aspiration. The result of this is that personal meanings can not be grasped through linear, abstracted, partialized, symbolized measures but must be grasped as wholisms, as gestalts, in the context of a total life. Life satisfaction, as it flows from individual meaning, must similarly be approached in the context of a total life. This consideration guides the approach taken to elders and life satisfaction, in this study.

The sequence, that I have expressed, connecting human life to life satisfaction, may then be seen as encompassing the following steps. These are that moving to accept the responsibility for being our unique selves leads us towards grasping our sensed possibility. The sensed highest possibility works to clarify and focus our grasping of unique life meanings. The move to meaning forces the structuring of our life purposes. These purposes, in turn, act to direct the way we live our lives, and the move to live our lives directed by life purposes is intimately related to life satisfaction. All of this is not understood by us in a linear cognitive way but is grasped as gestalts, is experienced as entire pieces of being, being who we are, being meaning, being purpose, being alive, and being satisfied with life.

Our meanings, or lack of them, are inseparable from our living and it is our meanings, the experience that our life

has meaning, that draw us into life. It has been frequently observed that

..very few, even well functioning elderly escape depression. The legacy of a long life appears to be a confrontation and struggle with the value of living. The issue for older people may well not be just survival but meaningful and purposeful existence (Busse, 1985, p.216).

'Meaningful and purposeful existence' is an existence constructed on meaning and purpose.

There is a prevalent notion that it is will, not meaning, that moves us, that draws us into life. That it is from will that a meaningful and purposeful existence is to be constructed. The idea of will supposes that one part of ourselves grabs hold of some other part and forces it into action. This strange notion, is to me an incomprehensible one, and must have been constructed from a mechanical notion of man as a body, the machine, powered by an engine, the head. It would seem to be a much more meaningful metaphor to picture the sensed highest possibility generating positive and rich life meanings and purposes, and these drawing us into vigorous and satisfied life.

I choose to labor the point for it is central to this study, and it seems clear and certain, that if we substantially disappoint ourselves in our lives, that is if we fail to reach for our sensed possibilities, reach to construct our own meanings and purposes, and permit these to direct our living, we fail to experience a full measure of

life satisfaction. 'Reach for' is an important phrase as it is the process that is important. Life is lived in the doing. 'Reach for' means to aspire to, to work towards, to struggle for, to dare, to risk, and all, in this instance, in the direction of the sensed possibilities. The central matter is to 'fight the good fight', to push against fear, doubt, and pessimism in the act of living, and that this living be directed by meanings constructed through our unique, individual awareness of a personal possibility. The central considerations of an existential definition of life satisfaction are contained in the struggle to live a personal meaning of life while remaining aware of the underlying realities of the human condition.

It is difficult to apprehend, in the lives of others, the operation of the concept of sensed highest possibility unless it is observed in the context of much wider particular life understandings. The difficulty is that to inspect any matter in human life whose internalization is substantially mediated by personal meaning, requires that the particular meaning that the events have for the individual be part of the evaluation. It is therefore only in the context of the person's entire life meanings that sensed highest possibility, and consequently life satisfaction, can be understood. The interviews with elders will be directed, in part, to elucidate these meanings.

While highest sensed possibility may seem elusive as a

concept, it nonetheless expresses itself in most concrete terms in the manner in which any life is lived. The existential understandings of the basic, fundamental conditions of human life provide a framework which can guide the observation of a human living human possibility. I therefore restate, in broad terms, the factors that are seen by existential philosophers to distinguish humans from other life forms. These factors make each individual unique in herself or himself, and provide a conceptual framework for observing life satisfaction in the context of a particular life.

1). Humans are conscious of themselves and therefore, as a natural consequence of that consciousness, have an awareness of a sense of being responsible for being themselves.

2). Each person knows that at some future moment, he or she will not be. Death is anticipated by all humans. The awareness of 'no thing' invites that the moment be fully lived.

3). Self awareness frees one from being determined by one's history. History is a web of past possibility which interacts with present awareness to create endlessly emerging new possibility.

4). Endlessly emerging possibility presents a large range of present personal possibility. The awareness of present personal possibility becomes the sensed measure of a

life fully lived. Possibility provides freedom and freedom the sense of responsibility.

The innate awareness of the qualities that make one unique and human provide the essential, unavoidable, measures against which the fullness of each life is judged by the person living that life. Life satisfaction is the measure of that fullness; fullness of being responsible for one's life; fullness of aliveness in the present; fullness of grasping each unique, emerging, personal possibility; fullness of accepting the responsibility of one's unique life. To live life fully requires that one be daring. Nietzsche understands this and in his words, "The secret for harvesting from existence the greatest fruitfulness and the greatest enjoyment is - to live life dangerously" (Quoted in Kaufmann, 1976, p.231).

Failures in daring produce guilt. Guilt is an expression of the perception of sensed failed possibility, and it can be an indicator of life satisfaction difficulties. "Guilt" according to Becker "results from unused life, from the unlived in us" (1973, p. 149).

I summarize the existential understanding of life satisfaction.

The particular elements that contribute to life satisfaction are unique for each individual and are based on life meanings which are also unique.

Each individual, as a by product of being a self aware

creature, able to conceive of herself in space and time and in relation to others, has a sense of highest possibility, which is expressed in life meanings and purposes which translate into living patterns.

The sense of possibility is the sense of what life lived to the full, for that individual self, would entail. A strong individual sense of self relates to the ready awareness of the sense of possibility.

The sense of possibility, of fullness, with its meanings and purposes becomes for each the standard by which, ultimately, life is judged. This self judgement becomes the basis from which life satisfaction is constructed.

There are no attainable goals, ends, or whatever of highest possibility. The important element is the process of living towards, the doing in the direction of, the life meanings and purposes which emerge from the sense of highest possibility.

To live the process of life fully requires that we not hide from being our unique selves or from the realities of our human condition. This hiding is often a main intervening factor in life satisfaction.

The manner in which each of us lives our life bears evidence of how daringly we confront the questions of death, freedom, aloneness, and meaning which exist from the very fact of being human. Fullness in living life becomes a key

operative concept. The concept is of a life lived full of meaning, full of purpose, full of freedom, full of aliveness in the certainty of death, and full of belonging, an integral, essential part of the universe in the face of real aloneness. Fullness is the condition that is existentially seen as the measure of life satisfaction.

To live one's life fully, vitally, guided by the unique meanings that emerge from an individual sense of highest possibility, are then, the existential understanding of life satisfaction.

The following chapters in this section will, in the main, be directed towards extracting particular clues in the ways of being and acting, that will provide, in context of each elders life, possible understanding of the elder and of his or her life satisfaction.

Chapter 4.

Life Satisfaction - Research Considerations.

The purpose of this chapter is to consider empirical and normative approaches to research and to inspect these approaches and make clear and explicit the values and judgements that I bring to the methodology of this project. I start by considering empirical - quantitative, as opposed to qualitative research.

The quantitative research projects which have been conducted into life satisfaction and the lives of elders number in the hundreds. These projects have endeavoured to demonstrate that such things as socioeconomic status, locus of control, religiosity, health, sex, social integration, leisure activity, retirement, death anxiety, residential constraints, family size, self-concept, and so forth are important factors which can be shown to intervene directly in life satisfaction.

The early research projects were often conceived in fairly simple terms and the statistical analysis of the raw data was frequently unrefined. The recent research projects have tended to become much more sophisticated and research projects have been conducted attempting to assess the relative contribution of as many as twenty two variables to life satisfaction. State-of-the-art factor analytic methods

such as LISREL VI designed by Joreskog & Sorbom, (1981), have been employed, using main frame computers, and permitting a specified factor structure or model to be tested for "goodness of fit" with the data and thus illuminate the linear structural relationships of the variables by the method of maximum likelihood.

It would seem that the more sophisticated is the research and the more refined the statistical analysis of the research findings, the more elusive becomes the connections between the items being tested and life satisfaction. This elusiveness is a problem which I shall address later. Of even greater concern to me, than the elusive nature of the research findings, is the fact that the quantitative research does not, in the context of any elders life, help me to understand what might be important to that elder's life satisfaction. Understanding any particular life is, after all, not the purpose of quantitative research. Understanding of life itself is also not the concern of such research. The research is directed at variables, at social patterns, not at people.

Quantatative research clearly serves many useful purposes and my goal is not to disavow the value of all quantatative research. Rather, I wish merely to comment on the validity and usefullness of such research for considering individual life satisfaction and wish to provide some commentary on the unfortunate consequences that may

ensue from seeing numerical abstractions as being other than abstractions.

An existential approach to life satisfaction, centered as it is on such individually constructed concepts as possibility, meaning, and purpose must focus on understanding what might be important to life satisfaction in any particular life. From an existential perspective and the overview of human life that it provides, it is seen that it is the unique web of meanings that each individual experiences in response to any set of circumstances that determines the manner in which the circumstances impinge on life satisfaction. The circumstances are of relatively little import, although this may not be obvious to the person experiencing the circumstances, and the meanings brought to the circumstances are paramount in individual life satisfaction.

From observing the operation of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the context of individual meanings it is possible to gain insight into life satisfaction in some general, wider sense. I agree with Peter Coleman when in contrasting the benefits of quantitative versus qualitative research, he asserts that "the patient application of quasi-judicial methods to reach conclusion on individual adjustment, and the gradual development thereby of 'case law' will show better results in the long run" (1986, p.38).

Julian Rappaport (1977), in articulating the

foundations of Community Psychology, speaks to the issue of attempting to understand human life through psychological science when he quotes J. Hebb "the distinguished scientist and former president of the APA" (Rappaport, 1977, p.19).

It is.....not to psychological science, that you must go to learn how to live with people, how to make love, how not to make enemies, to find out what grief does to people, or the stoicism that is possible in the endurance of pain, or how if you are lucky you may die with dignity; to see how corrosive the effects of jealousy can be, or how power corrupts or does not corrupt. For such knowledge and understanding of the human species, don't look in my Textbook of Psychology or anyone else's.....(Hebb quoted by Rappaport, 1977, p.19).

What is described by Hebb as "psychological science" is generally termed empirical research and it is what I have described as quantitative research. An Existential approach to understanding is ethnomethodological and normative in nature in that it holds that understanding can only be arrived at in the context of the meanings of a particular life.

Both empirical and normative research have a paradigmatic, world view, context. It is easily forgotten, with the present day emphasis on science and technology, that "In considering the paradigmatic context of each research approach it is important to realize that.....They are...loose and evolving frameworks for the ...resolution of problems" (Peile, 1988). The empirical and normative world views both have cosmological, ontological, ethical,

spiritual, and political view levels. The understanding of the view level context of the two approaches can help dictate the kind of research which best fits the intent of the research. A descriptive outline constructed by Colin Peile compares the paradigmatic context of empirical and normative perspectives. The first three levels of this comparison are.

Cosmological assumptions (the universe as totality.)

Empiricism. Causal deterministic view of reality. The world is predictable, knowable and measurable. Reality can be understood as separate parts.

Normative. Knowledge is contextual and a symbolic social construct. Events can be explained and their meaning for people uncovered. Parts can only be understood in context.

Ontological Assumptions. (The essence of nature).

Empiricism. Behavior can be explained in causal deterministic ways. It has a mechanistic quality. People are manipulatable and controllable.

Normative. Behavior is intentional and creative. It can be explained but it is not predictable. People shape their own reality.

Epistemological assumptions. (how knowledge is generated).

Empiricism. Knowledge arises from experimentation and observation and is grounded in the certainty of sense experience. Rejection of metaphysical knowledge.

Normative. Knowledge arises from interpretation and insight and is grounded by empathetic communication with the subjects of the research. Symbols, meanings, and hidden factors are essential to understanding. (Peile, 1988).

Empiricism is held to be based on observable fact but "every scientific system is based onaxioms that are considered self-evident....they are products of the imaginative faculties of the mind rather than logic" (Grof, 1985, p.14).

Existential assumptions are consonant with the elements of the normative paradigm which are listed and these normative assumptions underlie my choice of research method. It is clear that "...both empiricism and normativism offer different insights into a field of interest..." (Piele, 1988). Empirical research does not fit my field of interest and its paradigm is divergent from an existential view of humans.

Empirical research does not claim to be concerned with the lives of individuals. Earl Barbbie in his book on social research makes this quite clear when he reminds us that "Social scientists study social patterns rather than individual ones.....We do not create theories about individuals, only about the nature of group life" (Barbbie, 1986, p.20). Life satisfaction is not a phenomenon that exists independent of the lives of individuals, but exists uniquely enfolded within a unique life and is mediated by the individual meanings with which each person responds to life. Living concepts only live in living contexts.

My interest, firstly, is in life satisfaction and the lives of elders and in exploring the matter in a manner that appears to offer the greatest likelihood of providing insight. My interest in a particular methodological or philosophical position is a secondary one and is derived from my primary concern. The existential approach does, however, provide elements of particular advantage to the

study of life satisfaction in that it presents a philosophic overview, an explicit paradigm, a metaphor, from which I can understand human life, and this can both frame the comprehension of the meanings and purposes that seem central to life satisfaction and provide the level of focus of the investigation.

The consideration of quantitative research has use, in its own right, to my purpose. It has served to clarify my understanding of life satisfaction by highlighting, in my awareness, avenues and considerations that seem to me to be less productive ones, to be ones that do not well serve my purpose. To communicate this process of negative selection I provide some flavor of the quantitative research which is presently being conducted with elders and life satisfaction. From the few examples I present, I think it will be apparent that conflicting findings frequently emerge from such research as will the difficulty that would exist if one were to attempt to use the research to gain insight into life satisfaction in any life.

The examples presented have been selected from about seventy recent research projects into elders and life satisfaction and appear to me to be broadly representative of the research.

Life-Span Differences in Life Satisfaction,
Self-Concept and Locus of Control.

Morganti et al (1988), selected six age groups and administered a twenty nine item bipolar self-rating scale. Life satisfaction was assessed by using a seventeen-item modification of the Neugarten Life Satisfaction Index A. (Neugarten et al, 1961). Locus of reinforcement control was assessed by using Rotter's Forced Choice I-E Scale (Rotter, 1966). The authors conclude that

....it would appear that the life satisfaction, self-concept, and locus of control measures are significantly correlated...and that each measure is sensitive to sex and/or age difference.....the authors would seriously question the appropriateness of continued consideration of locus of control as a correlate or mediator of quality of life or psychological well being....It is suggested that family life satisfaction and personal health need to be controlled for psychological well being.....Females had significantly higher scores than males on the self-concept measure. Also there was a general pattern of increasing self concept scores with age (Morganti et al, 1988).

The Relationship of Locus of Control, Age and Sex to
Life Satisfaction (Hickson et al, 1988).

The study examined Rotter's I-E locus of control in relation to life satisfaction and death anxiety for 122 participants, aged sixty one years to over eighty. Age and sex of the individual was considered. The Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1972), was used as a

measure of life satisfaction. The Templer Death Anxiety Scale (Templer, 1970), measured death anxiety. The authors conclude that this research

....illustrates a relationship between high life satisfaction and low death anxiety, regardless of the participants control orientation.....Females had lower life satisfaction and higher death anxiety....a central factor effecting life satisfaction in elderly people is the degree to which they perceive they are in control of reinforcing events,a finding supported by many (Hickson et al, 1988).

Religion and Well Being in Later Life (Koenig, et al, 1988).

Questionnaires were distributed to 1,135 persons over the age of fifty five years for the purpose of this study. The study examined the relationships between morale and three religious measures; organizational religious activity, non-organizational religious activity, and intrinsic religiosity. Morale was measured with the Philadelphia Geriatric Centre Morale Scale (Lawton, 1972), and other measures were designed as measures of religiosity. The authors conclude.

.....moderately strong correlations were found between morale and ..religious measures....Among participants aged 75 years and over, only health accounted for more of the explained variance than did religious variables. Indicated was that religious attitudes and activities may influence the complex interaction of health and sociodemographic factors.....(Koenig et al, 1988).

Depression, Life Events and Somatic Symptoms (Rozzini et al, 1988).

This study examined the relationship between somatic symptoms, depression, and life events, (health status, function, social satisfaction, income) of 1201 elders living at home.

Depression was found to be the most important factor in the appearance of somatic complaints, which in their turn are linked with factors such as physical impairment, social satisfaction, instrumental activity of daily living, income and family structure (Rozzini et al, 1988).

I think the above four summaries provide some flavour, of current life satisfaction research and of the conflict among findings from the research. They also show the difficulties that exist in arriving at any meaningful insights into life satisfaction from the present condition of research into elders and life satisfaction. For example, from these four research projects, one project finds that females are higher on self-concept and that there is no relationship between locus of control and psychological well being. Another has conflicting findings and reports that females are lower in life satisfaction and that there is a relationship between life satisfaction and locus of control. The other two report that religious attitudes and activities may influence the complex interaction of health and sociodemographic factors and that somatic complaints are

linked with depression which is, in turn linked with physical impairment, social satisfaction, instrumental activity, income, and family structure. It would seem to me that, in fact, religious activities and attitudes may be an expression of perceived health and of sociodemographic factors and that somatic complaints would be a common avenue for expressing social dissatisfaction etc. These research projects do not in any way further my understandings of life satisfaction as it might be experienced in the process of any individual life. I have read, with care, the reports on many dozens of life satisfaction research projects. None of them add to my understanding and I am reminded that

Social science doesn't even seek to explain people. (the) aim is to understand the systems within which people operate, the system that explains why people do what they do. The elements in such a system are not people but variables (Barbbie, 1986, p.20).

My reading of research projects, reinforces my belief that an approach to gaining insightful understandings of life satisfaction must emerge from considering elements in the context of the total life of each individual. The research directed at statistical conclusion clarifies little for me that furthers my insight, and always appears to demand an answer to a further question that seems to be the important one. The further question always seems to concern the particular meanings that any circumstance might hold for an individual to enable the circumstance to impinge on life

satisfaction. As I have noted, quantitative research is concerned with variables and probabilities and is not conceived with cosmological, ontological, or epistemological assumptions that might contribute to understanding the meanings of individual lives. Such understanding seems seminal in considering life satisfaction.

It also appears important, for clarity to my purpose, to understand why the research into life satisfaction fails to provide consistent and clear findings. This in spite of the fact that much of the recent research adopts rigorous methodology and refined statistical procedures. I am compelled to conclude from my reading of research projects that added rigor has not helped and that the problems will not be answered by merely constructing still more rigorous instruments and still more sophisticated statistical methodology. Matters related to human living and meaning are not amenable to technological solution. I believe that the problems are intrinsic to the quantitative approach, when used to research life satisfaction. Life satisfaction does not exist independent of the unique meanings of a particular life.

I am reminded in this discussion of quantitative research and its underlying empirical paradigm of the problems that were experienced by the defenders of the Newtonian - Cartesian paradigm of the mechanical universe when confronted with the indeterminate reality of quantum

physics. The mechanical view, the belief in unlimited predictability, the belief in the independence of observable facts, are what Ilya Prigogine (1980), the Nobel Laureate in physics called "the founding myth of classical science." The same 'founding myth' exist for psychological research. The myth states that "scientific theories can be logically derived from available facts and are unambiguously determined by observations of the phenomenal world" (Grof, 1985, p.14). According to Philipp Frank in Philosophy of Science (1974),

every scientific system is based on a small number of basic statements about reality, or axioms that are considered self evident. The truth of the axiom is discovered, not by reasoning but by direct intuition; they are products of the imaginative faculties of the mind rather than logic (Grof, 1985, p.4).

All that purports to be derived empirically is structured by imagination and the axioms of that imagination, have for physics undergone radical changes in the twentieth century. The social sciences have resisted these changes and have failed to assimilate them into their way of thinking. For our purpose the necessary changes include the recognition of the central place of imaginative insight into understanding human living and of the necessary confusion that must ensue from attempting to gain insight into complex matters of individual human living by statistical transformations.

Even from inside the traditional scientific paradigm it

is possible to illuminate the inherent limitations in much of life satisfaction research, by inspecting the instruments used to measure the concept 'life satisfaction'. The LSIA (Life Satisfaction Index A) (Neugarten et al, 1961), is the most commonly used index in life satisfaction research, and consists of many of the same attributes of life satisfaction that can be found in the other frequently used scales. Later scales, in fact, appear to have been derived from the LSIA. The LSIA was conceived by Neugarten et al, (1961), as measuring five dimensions of life satisfaction: zest versus apathy, resolution and fortitude, congruence between desired and achieved goals, positive self-concept, and mood tone. These five dimensions were seen to be expressed in an individuals life and

...an individual was regarded as being at the positive end of the continuum of psychological well being to the extent that he: A) takes pleasure from the round of activities that constitute his everyday life; B) regards his life as meaningful and accepts resolutely that which life has been; C) feels he has succeeded in achieving his major goals; D) holds a positive image of self; and E) maintains happy and optimistic attitudes and mood (Neugarten et al, 1961).

Twenty attributes were selected as measuring the five perceived dimensions of life satisfaction, for the LSIA, and the subjects complete the index with "agree" or "disagree" responses to the twenty attributes. Each "agree" response is scored "1" and the "agrees" are totalled as a one dimensional measure of life satisfaction.

There have been many approaches to investigate the structure of LSIA. Liang (1984), proposed to delineate the structure of LSIA by the application of analysis of covariance structures of LISREL V (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1978). Liang comments that

Although this study has clarified the structure of LSIA, many issues remain.....Neugarten and her associates (1961) defined life satisfaction as consisting of five interrelated dimensions..... LSIA clearly does not meet the criterion of conceptual validity.....do not correspond well with the empirical results.....factor invariance across different groups in terms of age, sex and race remains to be established.....In addition it is possible that other specifications may fit the data equally well or better. In such an event, a crucial test of the competing model is needed (Liang, 1984).

Hoyt and Creech (1983), are among the others, who also investigated the LSIA, and they conclude that "The analysis and findings raise serious questions about the structure and interpretation of the measures in LSIA."

The LSIA is a very carefully structured instrument and the limitations of the LSIA noted by Laing and Hoyt and Creech would be found to be equally applicable for all other instruments which are designed by using attributes of a concept.

It appears to be only sense that the more thorough and detailed is the examination of any scale or index, the more are the problems with the measure which will be revealed.

This is in the very nature of observation. From a certain distance of viewing all things appear to be part of all other things, distinguishing details can not be observed. From a much closer observation all things may be seen as being discrete entities. So it is with attributes of any concepts. Attributes of a concept which are used in an instrument are selected on the basis of their being slightly different from other attributes. On the basis of their differences each attribute item may be seen as a measure, at a certain level of precision, of a separate concept. So might the response to each attribute item, for each respondent, based on the precise different understandings of the item for each respondent, be seen as a different concept. What I am suggesting is that if life satisfaction is to be seen as a concept that exists outside the context and meanings of a particular life, then it is necessary that the inspection of the concept, if the concept is to hold, must not be a detailed one, must be made from a blurry distance.

My real purpose here is not to discuss the validity of the LSIA, as such, but to explore questions about the use of any scale or index as a tool for attempting to measure such a individual meaning centered concept as life satisfaction. The selection of attributes and the manner of scoring force the definition of a concept and then that definition is exported, for who can avoid thinking about a statistical

measure in terms of individuals, to define the perceived meaning for the individual. It then seems important to reaffirm that the scores of any index or scale only pertain to a random group and can not be interpreted to apply to an individual. That is that no understanding of an individuals particular situation may be properly inferred from quantitative research. Otherwise stated, the life of any individual is not illuminated by the research and the findings do not apply to the attempt to understand an individual situation. Perhaps less obvious but of no less importance is the appreciation that the findings from quantatative research also do not provide the same wider insights that may be arrived at from the individual consideration of life satisfaction in the context of many individual lives. That is that the cumulative insights arrived at from considering many individual lives and the insights from quantatative research will be different as quantatative research does not permit the contemplation of general considerations in the light of insight provided by appreciating the facts of individual lives. The analogy that seems, for me, to fit is the difference of knowing a small community by knowing each member well as opposed to knowing the community by knowing none of its members but having available a mass of statistics about the community as a whole.

The aims of quantitative research are laudable. The

intent is to provide precision. The aim for precision generates the second problem. To be precise one must measure simple, clearly delineated, consistent matters, or to attempt to force complex, variable matters into a consistent, simple, framework. The attempt to be precise about life satisfaction, because it is, by its nature, complex changes it and trivializes it. Irvin Yalom, who has been engaged in much significant published psychological research, states that "...precision of the result is directly proportional to the triviality of the variable studied" (Yalom, 1980, p.24). To remove life satisfaction from the idiosyncratic, unique meanings and patterns of each life, in the name of precision, changes life satisfaction and thus trivializes it.

It is good science, by the understandings of science itself, and therefore good empirical research, to keep all understandings, even if that may sacrifice some seeming precision, as direct as possible. It is important to view what is out there in the world through the least possible number of layers of abstraction and the fewest possible symbolic transformations. All quantified measures require at least five layers of abstraction through which one must attempt to view what is real. A question must be symbolized into a concept; into attributes or aspects of the concept; into that most elegant and most abstract of symbolic systems, numbers, to measure the abstracted attributes of

the concept; into accumulations, generally equally weighted, of the symbols purporting to register the attributes; and in some manner into some abstracted conclusive statistical understanding. One indeed observes reality 'very darkly' and with massive distortion through the many distorting layers of the window of statistics. All of this in the interest of precision.

A further problem in statistically attempting to grasp understanding of human responses is that significant reality may often emerge as an incidental consequence of something else. That means that it is not possible to anticipate such reality through cause and effect considerations. Viktor Frankl illustrates this when he states that "...pleasure establishes itself automatically as soon as one has fulfilled a meaning or realized a value "(Frankl, 1967, p.52), and "The more a man would actually set out to strive for pleasure the less he would gain it" (Frankl, 1976, p.21). Life satisfaction may, in this manner, be more than the sum of attributes that have been selected to describe it and the attributes that would seem to capture life satisfaction may, in fact, fail to capture its incidental emergence.

In addition to the reality and complexity problems there is a, perhaps, more significant question. I do not wish my attempt to understand life satisfaction and elders to be part of the process of our denying the reality of our

own experience. Rollo May addresses this issue when he writes that

The odd belief prevails in our culture that a thing or experience is not real if we cannot make it mathematical, and somehow it must be real if we can reduce it to numbers. But this means making an abstraction of it - mathematics is the abstraction par excellence, which is indeed its glory and the reason for its great usefulness. Modern Western man thus finds himself in the strange situation, after reducing something to an abstraction, of then having to persuade himself that it is real. This has much to do with the sense of isolation and loneliness which is endemic in the modern Western world; for the real experience we let ourselves believe in as real is that which it precisely is not. Thus we deny the reality of our own experience (May, 1983, p.94).

A further interesting consideration when using, with elders, instruments that require self reporting of events, attitudes, beliefs, or meanings, is that the responses may strongly reflect the results of mythicization. It would seem that many "aged persons have recast their memories to make the uniqueness of themselves vivid. In this sense the past becomes more real and more poignant. The myth is the reality" (Viorginia & Tobin, 1981). Responses to such indexes as the LSIA may be strongly effected by mythicization. The operation of mythicization, in the lives of elders, will be more fully explored in a later chapter.

At the risk of laboring the problems of empirical research I think the warning proffered by R.D.Laing is an important one.

If it is held that to be unbiased one should be "objective" in the sense of depersonalizing the person who is the "object" of our study, any attempt to do this under the impression that one is thereby being scientific must be rigorously resisted. Depersonalization in a theory that is intended to be a theory of persons is ..false.. and is ultimately an intentional act. Although conducted in the name of science, such reification yields false "knowledge". It is just as pathetic a fallacy as the false personalization of things (Laing, 1965, p.24).

As a brief concluding summary of this chapter I restate some of the ideas and thoughts which have been presented towards making explicit the values and judgements that have moved me to researching life satisfaction and elders from an existential perspective.

Empirical and normative research are both approaches to understanding, but the empirical method is not directed towards the understanding of persons and their lives, but to variables.

The selection of research methodology will reflect a paradigm, a world view. If one holds that knowledge is a social, symbolic construct, that understanding is only possible in context, that people shape their own reality, and that knowledge arises from interpretation and insight, then a normative approach to research is indicated.

Empirical research often attempts to view "reality" through many symbolic transformations, including

mathematics, and then to interpret the findings as real as opposed to symbolic.

Normative research, as it largely depends on insight and interpretation, contains no seeming surety, and ultimately may be seen as merely reflecting the mind set brought to, and perhaps modified by the research. The understanding that knowledge is a symbolic social construction presents the context for considering the insights and interpretations.

The use of measurement instruments, designed to statistically measure a concept through responses to questions on the attributes of the concept, may be seen as measuring as many concepts as there are attributes. They may also be seen as measuring as many concepts as there are attributes times the number of respondents as the understanding of the attribute question and therefore the response will vary from respondent to respondent. The number of concepts that are seen to be measured depends on the closeness of the scrutiny.

Life mythicization, the need for individuals to recreate their conception of their own lives to present a unique, worthwhile self picture, may intervene in the completion of self reporting instruments and be a confounding factor in the probabilities connecting the variables studied.

Existential philosophy presents a conceptual framework

*for considering the lives of elders and life satisfaction.
The values of existential philosophy are normative ones.*

Chapter 5.

Erik Erikson and Life Satisfaction.

Erik Erikson, in collaboration with others, furthered his work on life stage development, with the publication, in 1986 of Vital Involvement in Old Age. This work is, as are the other writings of Erikson, essentially existential in perspective, and it is seen by him that "old age can offer what we will describe as an existential integrity - the only immortality that can be promised" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.14). Many insights useful to this study are provided by Erikson.

The subjects of the interviews whose lives provided the understandings in Vital Involvement in Old Age were the same persons, now as elders, who were the parents in his studies of about some thirty years earlier. This revisiting of earlier subjects permitted comparisons to be made between two sets of biographic data and self reports which were separated by many years. Comparison between present reported information and historical data often showed considerable variance. Many of the elders as they looked back, reported that they were quite satisfied with the manner they had chosen to live their lives. They reported themselves happy with the person they had married, with the way they had raised their children, and with the kind of work they had

performed. Historical data, from the earlier time, for the same persons, often showed that these individuals experienced "periods of profound unhappiness and restlessness, which they attributed to misguided decisions concerning spouse, child rearing, career or living arrangements." Erikson suggests that "perhaps these people are engaging in the process of "pseudo-integration" , of constructing a satisfactory overall view of the life cycle by denying those elements they find to be unacceptable" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.71).

An alternate possible explanation, that the elders had merely reassessed their earlier experience from a present more generous perspective, appears not to hold. It is not only that the evaluation of past events had changed with the years but the very memory of the facts of the events themselves seems to have altered. A new life history appears to have been constructed to fill present needs. This can be viewed from a number of perspectives.

One perspective is that "Memory is much more than recall of past stimuli. It involves emotion.....in the reconstruction of the past to serve present needs" (Coleman, 1986, p.2). Another perspective sees that memory is selectively used as a means of creating life myths. These life myths serve an adaptational purpose. "The mythicizing....among the elderly, can be interpreted as an adaptational response that is different from making sense of

one's life.....the myth becomes reality, one's life becomes justified" (Revere and Tobin, 1980-81). Both of these perspectives, that of memory being selective and that of mythicization, appear to provide insight into the manner whereby the present descriptions of elders lives may deviate from lived reality.

Any attempt to understand life satisfaction in the lives of elders solely on the basis of self reporting may be highly suspect. The operation of selective memory and mythicization may prejudice, in the interest of pseudo-integration, the reporting on which the understanding is constructed.

It was found, with many elders, that not only the memory of their history had changed with time but in their present living they seemed fixed in some vague distant past memory or hope of themselves which bore little resemblance to the actuality of their lives.

One woman calls herself an avid reader, although her home has no books, magazines or newspapers in evidence and although she cannot remember specific titles or topics of anything she has read recently. Other people speak of themselves as active musicians, photographers, and social entertainers, although they cannot describe a composition they have played or listened to recently, a subject they have photographed, or a guest they have entertained (Erikson et al, 1986, p.175).

It would seem that it is important in considering the lives of elders and life satisfaction that the manner in

which each elder actually lives life be inspected.

Erikson with his description of epigenetic evolution defines eight stages of ego development. At each stage the person faces a crisis and a challenge. Erikson considers that the developmental task that confronts elders, the last stage, concerns the resolution of integrity versus despair. The successful resolution of integrity versus despair "...involves a looking back and dealing with the question of the meaningfulness of one's life, the intersection of one's life with history, and the degree to which one's life was a worthwhile adventure" (Spero, 1981-82). This last stage of integrity versus despair is seen by Peck (1968), as being a global representation and he subdivides this stage into two periods, middle and old age, and into seven challenges that required to be resolved. These challenges are;

valuing wisdom versus valuing physical power;
 socializing versus sexualizing;
 cathectic flexibility versus cathectic impoverishment;
 mental flexibility versus mental rigidity;
 ego differentiation versus world role preoccupation;
 body transcendence versus body preoccupation;
 ego transcendence versus ego preoccupation (Peck, 1968).

This subdivision into seven challenges presents issues that are sufficiently specific that the balance between the integrity versus despair element for each of the challenges may possibly be comprehended in the context of an elders life. This possibility will only become clear when I attempt to inspect the life of an elder from the perspective of each

of the challenges.

I will later, in this chapter, discuss the manner in which the working to resolution of integrity versus despair may be seen as expressing many of the same considerations as does aspiring to sensed highest possibility and is thus closely related to life satisfaction.

The reaching towards a successful balance between integrity and despair is seen, by Erikson, to produce wisdom. "Wisdom is detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself. It maintains and learns to convey the integrity of experience, in spite of the decline of bodily and mental functions" (Erikson et al, 1968, p.38).

Wisdom requires that experience be awarely experienced, assessed, accepted, integrated, not denied. To deny the reality of our experience is to deny the reality of ourselves. To deny the reality of our experience is to demean and invalidate the truth of our experience, and to demean and invalidate the truth of ourself. It would seem that we always maintain some awareness of what is real and that we cannot deny the reality of our lives and at the same time be satisfied with our lives. Wisdom encompasses the whole truth, integrity and despair.

as the elders seek to consolidate a sense of lifelong wisdom and perspective, he or she endeavors, ideally, not to exclude legitimate feelings of cynicism and hopelessness, but to admit them in dynamic balance with feelings of human wholeness.Thus, some despair must be acknowledged and integrated as a component of old age (Erikson et al, 1986, P.72).

The one factor, above all others, that seems ,in our culture, to block wisdom is the reluctance to acceptingly experience despair. To attempt to hold despair at arms length and to disown the feelings of it will not permit the new synthesis of despair and integrity, which is wisdom, to occur.

Most of our informants seem to find themselves, almost involuntarily thinking about dying and feeling ill, depressed. and somehow let down. To some extent, these thoughts are integral to old age in our society, reflecting a desperation that confronts all elders. However, most people struggle to counterbalance these associations with thoughts of more optimistic, life-affirming involvement. It is as though they believe that feelings of pessimism, discouragement, and simple exhaustion must be excluded from conversation, lest they jeopardize fragile tendencies towards energetic optimism (Erikson, 1968, p.65).

The experiencing of despair is an essential component of wisdom. Erikson is certain that it must be accepted and lived as an innate element, as an unavoidable product of human self awareness. For those elders whose lives express their unique, individual, idiosyncratic beliefs and values, despair can be experienced as an intriguing, if somewhat

frightening expression of living life towards meaning and purpose. For those who seek safety, embedded in a collective identity, despair means the certain loss of an uncertain personal identity. Despair then must be avoided for it is seen that it will obliterate, and despair is experienced as a condition from which no escape is possible. Despair is described as

feeling as if you have been there you know where the boundary is. It's as though all sense of direction had vanished. As in the familiar analogy of being lost in the woods, you thought you were going in the right direction, that you were headed out of the woods; then the moment of truth arrives when you see the telltale signs - you've been this way before, you are back where you began. You're going in circles - going nowhere - lost in the woods (Hulme, 1986, p.22).

Despair is a frightening experience that must be lived if we are to win wisdom. Despair brings us to confront the existential certainties of human life. Despair is very different from depression for it is an actively felt, experienced, process. Depression, from an existential perspective, is despair that is not experienced, that is denied.

The successful synthesis of integrity versus despair is seen by Erikson, to depend in large part, on the age-appropriate balancing of earlier psychosocial tensions, of resolving the crises and challenges of earlier stages. This balancing is seen to permit a current re-synthesis. It

is thus seen by Erikson that it is the disowning of the dystonic elements of earlier developmental stages, mistrust, shame and doubt, guilt, inferiority, identity diffusion, isolation, and stagnation, that contributes to block present wisdom in the lives of elders. Wisdom requires that all the important stage developmental challenges of our lives be resolved. The resolution must occur primarily in feeling and meaning ways. Understanding the issues will not suffice.

The qualities expressed in the wise "I" of the "successful re-synthesis" are seen by Erikson as being approximated by adjectives such as:

Central rather than peripheral in space and time. Luminous rather than overshadowed. Activated and active rather than passive. Continuous rather than scattered. Indivisible rather than divided. Inclusive rather than isolated and excluded. Safety bound rather than invaded or evading. Chosen rather than bypassed (Erikson et al, 1986, p.53).

These pairs are not defined by Erikson as it is the insightful response rather than precise meaning that is seen to be important. The insightful response must of course be made in context of a wider appreciation of any life.

All of these dimensions are seen as being at specific risk in old age, as "all space and time connections are destined to lose more or less inevitably some of their power of coherence" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.53).

"Successful re-synthesis" as approximated by the eight syntonic versus dystonic adjective pairs above, encapsulate

the central considerations in an existential view of life satisfaction. A sensed highest possibility, existentially meaningful and free, would seem to require that one see oneself as central, luminous, activated, continuous, indivisible, inclusive, safety bound, and chosen. Such adjectives can only fit a life which is meaningful and purposive and which is felt as lovingly connected to an ongoing, expansive universe.

The lives of the elders that I will interview, will be contemplated in terms of a sense of each of these adjective pairs, towards, in context, gaining some insight into their life satisfaction.

The living spaces of the elders of Erikson's study were seen by him as presenting important evidence of the resolution between integrity and despair. The space that one enters as a visitor was seen as providing

...a tacit knowledge and appreciation of the values of those who have chosen the space, arranged the furniture, and designed the decor.... For what kind of activities is it arranged? Is the interior planned as a space in which to receive and to welcome others? Does it on the whole suggest dependence on others, or is the space clearly managed by the occupant? Does it...draw attention to...generational involvement (Erikson et al, 1986, p.27).

I shall, with my interviews of elders, pay close attention to their living spaces and endeavour from these living spaces to extract, in the context of each life, insight into the operating balance between despair and

integrity in the elders life. I shall, in particular, consider evidence of mythicization and pseudo-integration and how they might be operating to limit life satisfaction. Mythicization, for example, will be suggested by a living space devoid of reading material and a claim to find much pleasure in reading. Pseudo-integration, for example, will be suggested by a living space devoid of personal life momentos and memories and a claim of completeness. These, of course, can only be seen to be significant in the context of a wider appreciation of any life.

A number of Erikson's paired adjectives that describe the syntonic and dystonic sides of wisdom can be seen to provide an approach to insight into meanings in any life. Meaning provides an ongoing sense to life that it is a good experience and emerges from the living processes of a life. A sense of a meaningful life will emerge from living in a way that expresses "continuous rather than scattered", "indivisible rather than divided", "inclusive rather than isolated and excluded", and "chosen rather than the bypassed". The self sense that would seem to flow from the syntonic element of these paired adjectives form a self that is part of a "continuous" process, from which we were "indivisible" and "inclusive" in the sense of enfolded and enfolding within the process and were a "chosen", elect, part of the process. The feeling of continuity, of belonging, of being valued and of having a unique part and

place in the universe of our experience are seen as being the living experience of wisdom. These were not the feelings of many of Erikson's respondents.

When our informants are asked to discuss the future, their comments move quickly, to a concern about a disturbing present and a sense of a societal, and even worldwide drift about which they were none to sanguine. Many of them seem to subscribe to the overall evaluations "Things are terrible in the world today" and "there is nothing I can do about it" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.66).

For these respondents a sense of continuity appears problematic as does the other meaning elements. This problem with continuity which generates a reluctance to face the future in the present is an understandable quality of elders in contemporary Western society. "The multiple crises that show up in adulthood today indicate that not trust but doubt in the culture is the more common experience" (Novak, 1985-86). The doubt can only be answered by the living of a life in a manner that creates personal meaning.

The attempt to find life meaning in social roles would also appear to be ineffective. Studies "by Gould and Levinson show, the..... achievements of adulthood - family and work - do not lead to fulfillment in our society. More often they lead to questioning or upheaval or a sense of ennui and dissatisfaction" (Novak, 1986). The reason is clear for

"none of the cultural power sources (such as science, religion, political order, or family) nor all of them taken together, represent an integrated world conception into which we fit ourselves with pure belief and trust (Becker, 1975, p.71).

Elders face a difficult task. The culture does not provide an integrated world view, a world view which can provide sufficient personal meaning and value to support a strong sense of purpose and justification for our having lived. Each elder is required to construct an individual, but inclusive, world view. This world view can not be constructed as a mere intellectual exercise, but must be constructed out of day to day life, out of living one's meanings. Life satisfaction, for example, requires that "concern for the future in the abstract must be integrated with simple direct caring for the specific individuals who are part of life today" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.75). Indeed the very forming of an inclusive, central, luminous, activated sense of "I" "involves the making of commitments to others with whom one can identify, that is, with whom one shares fidelity to a set of values (Erikson et al, 1986, p.133).

It is often held that physical capacity and health determines, to a large degree, the lives that elders live. Many elders abandon long-cherished activities and do not adopt new activities. Health and physical capacity is often the reason given, but "the circumstances they mention do not

appear to be convincingly constraining" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.183). It does not, in fact, seem to be physical capacity or incapacity that most effects the lives of elders, but the "meaning of an experienced disability - and such meaning varies widely from person to person" (Erikson et al, 1986, p.195).

It is certain that meaning plays a central role in deciding life activity, in the formation of integrity, in the resolution of despair, and in life satisfaction. All events and circumstances are experienced only as they are mediated through the unique meanings in any life. Meaning and experience appear to be in a dialectic relationship as meaning seems to be mediated through experience. Any consideration of life satisfaction must be made in the context of both the experiences and meanings in a particular life and in their reciprocal interaction.

I summarize the issues and ideas in this chapter that are of central importance to the study.

Erikson's integrity versus despair as well as Peck's seven subdivisions of the stage challenges are helpful descriptive conceptualizations of the elements that require to be synthesized in the lives of elders.

Wisdom is the product of a successful synthesis between integrity and despair.

Wisdom is the state that would express high life satisfaction and an integrated sense of "I".

The adjectives that describe an integrated sense of "I" are approximated by central, luminous, activated, continuous, indivisible, inclusive, safely bound, and chosen.

The descriptions that elders may provide for the past and present of their lives might not match the external appearances of reality.

The living space of elders, its arrangement and contents, may provide insight useful in considering life satisfaction.

The day to day connections and concerns that elders maintain with others and the world are indications of their sense of continuity and belonging and their meanings of their life.

Our culture does not provide a cohesive system of purpose or meaning sufficient to create a sense of fulfillment. Each elder is challenged to construct his own system of meanings. Crisis and struggle may be indications of a will to wisdom.

Chapter 6.

Abram Maslow and Self-Actualization.

Abram Maslow in Motivation and Personality, 2nd. ed., (1970), articulates a hierarchy of need satisfaction in human life. This hierarchy of human needs presents yet another direction which can illuminate life satisfaction.

At the bottom of the hierarchy of needs Maslow places the physiological needs, the needs essential for biological survival. He believes that once the physiological needs are met that there will emerge a higher layer of needs, these needs being concerned with love, affection and belongingness. When the needs of this second layer of the hierarchy are satisfied a third layer of needs is seen to emerge, the self-actualizing needs. These self-actualizing needs are expressed by "the desire to become more and more what one idiosyncratically is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming" (Maslow, 1970, p.46). The pursuit and gratification of self-actualizing needs "leads to greater, stronger, and truer individualism" (Maslow, 1970, p.100). Maslow's phrase "becoming everything that one is capable of becoming" presupposes, that at some level, one has a sense of direction, an idea, that points in the direction of what one is 'capable of becoming.' This sense need not be specifically framed as 'capable of becoming' but

must provide some sense of purposeful direction, of forward movement towards a sensed right end. The phrase 'becoming everything that one is capable of becoming' thus appears to hold the identical meaning to sensed highest possibility, and contains the clear notion that we validate and provide purpose for our lives, that we move towards being self actualizing, by living in the direction of what it is that we sense that we are 'capable of becoming'.

In earlier chapters the connections between individuation, sensed possibility, meaning, and purpose have been discussed. Maslow expresses these connections when he asserts that, without exception, those who set out to question the culture and discover their own meanings become

involved in a cause outside themselves. They are devoted, working at something which is very precious to them - some calling or vocation in the old sense, the priestly sense. They are working at something which has called to them, somehow, and which they work at and which they love, so that the work - joy dichotomy in them disappears (Maslow, 1976, p.42).

The process of expressing an individual sense of self through a vocation, a calling, provides purpose and meaning for life as the calling is experienced as an expression of life purpose. Maslow's pathway to self actualizing living appears then to consist of an individual sense of self, lived purpose, and meaning, and these are the very elements of a process that we have argued produce sensed highest possibility. The pathway is, of course, not linear and the

elements connect in a circular, interactive manner, all with each other.

I am not as certain as is Maslow that all persons who set out to discover their own meanings find their way to 'working at something which has called to them'. I am inclined to believe that all people, however tentatively, reach to discover their own meanings. That reaching confronts many of them with the groundless anxiety of human existence, and they then withdraw to seek refuge in cultural safety. It also seems to me that from that position of safety, everyone continues to, tentatively reach, but without any possibility of success from a safe position, for their own meanings. They aspire to live their own purposes. All persons, however, within the total experience of each life, do their very best to meaningfully fulfill that life. Every organism seeks to fully express itself. All persons deserve only praise.

Self-actualization, as it is true for much in human life, can not be aspired to as a goal, as a life purpose. Self-actualization is an incidental by-product of living an individual life in the direction of sensed highest possibility, which will incidentally fulfill meaning.

...self-actualization, like power and pleasure, also belong to the class of phenomena which can only be obtained as a side effect and are thwarted precisely to the degree they are made a direct intention.....man can only actualize himself to the extent to which he fulfills meaning (Frankl, 1967, pp. 23-24).

Meaning is a central concept in being human and it contains elements of paradox as does so much of human experience. Self-actualization, although it is an individual, idiosyncratic, meaning construct which appears to stand over and against societal and cultural values, must, nonetheless, be rooted in cultural and societal values and beliefs. We are who we are by internalizing our culture onto an individual inherited base. We then proceed to extend individuation, that is to separate from our society and culture, by the effects that the unique meanings that the common cultural patterns hold for us. Individual meanings are the process elements of individuation. To be an individual means to be created human by a culture, to be embedded in a culture, but to be separate from that culture. The commonality of our cultural patterns, taken with other human biological commonalities, means that there will be many self-actualizing observations that hold, in a general way for many persons. Maslow presents a list of characteristics that are common to self-actualizing persons, and by which we might recognize them.

These characteristics are that self-actualizing persons have:

- a). A more efficient perception of reality.
- b). A greater acceptance of self, of others and of nature.
- c). More spontaneity, simplicity and naturalness.
- d). A more problem as opposed to ego centered approach to life.
- e). A greater need for solitude and privacy.

- f). A more actively autonomous way of life which is independent of culture and environment.
- g). A continued freshness of appreciation (Maslow, 1970, pp.153-164).

It might perhaps seem, from the hierarchical nature of needs gratification as proposed by Maslow, that self-actualizing behavior would constitute an all or nothing situation. That one would live one's life in a self-actualizing way or not. That self actualization is black or white with no shades of grey. Self-actualization is an idealized concept, and the idea of self-actualizing is seen as representing the top, the zenith, of human character development. All in life is process. Becoming, not being is expressive of living. An idealized concept can easily seem to misrepresent the rising or falling rhythms which are contained in the general directionality of a process. Each process also contains an infinity of sub-processes and life is not lived as a monolithic experience, but as the intertwining of many diverse threads. We may, in the reality of our lives, exhibit self-actualizing characteristics in certain areas of our lives and not in others while maintaining an overall direction in the process.

I shall remember the complexity of the living process while trying to understand the lives of the elder respondents in this study and I will be concerned with self-actualizing characteristics as they are exhibited in different aspects of the elders' lives and in the manner and

degree to which they appear to be present.

The characteristics of self-actualizing persons are, of course, expressed in the way they live their lives and Maslow presents profiles by which we might recognize the lives of self-actualizing persons. These, taken in the context of each life, can provide approaches to appreciating life satisfaction.

In describing the lives of self-actualizing persons and their feelings for mankind Maslow observes that

They have for human beings in general a deep feeling of identification, sympathy and affection in spite of the occasional anger, impatience or disgust.....Because of this they have a genuine desire to help the human race. It is as if they were all members of a single family (Maslow, 1970, P.165).

Maslow notes that self-actualizing people tend to have a small circle of intimates. That they have "especially deep ties with rather few individuals. Their circle of friends is rather small" (Maslow, 1970, p.166)

Maslow also observes that self-actualizing persons tend to live egalitarian lives.

They can be and are friendly with anyone of suitable character regardless of class, education, political belief, race or color. As a matter of fact it often seems that they are not even aware of these differences.....(Maslow, 1979,p.167).

It would seem that the humor of self-actualizing persons is generally expressed differently from that of other persons.

.....they do not laugh at hostile humor, or superior humor, or authority-rebellion humor. Characteristically what they consider humor is more closely allied to philosophy than to anything else. It consists in large part in poking fun at human beings in general when they are foolish, or forget their place in the universe, or try to be big when they are actually small (Maslow, 1970, p.169).

Self actualizing persons are creative in a childlike kind of way.

The creativeness of the self-actualized man seems rather to be kin to the naive and universal creativeness of unspoiled children. It seems to be more a fundamental characteristic of common human nature - apotentially given to all human beings at birth. Most human beings lose this as they become enculturated (Maslow, 1970, p.p.170).

Maslow observes that self-actualizing individuals "are less constricted, less bound, in a word less enculturated. In positive terms they are more spontaneous, more natural, more human" (Maslow, 1970, p.171).

Self-actualizing persons are not well adjusted in a cultural sense.

They get along with the culture in various ways, but of all of them it may be said that in a certain profound and meaningful sense they resist enculturation and maintain a certain inner detachment from the culture in which they are immersed (Maslow, 1970, pp.171-172).

"The topmost portion of the value system of the self actualized person is entirely unique and idiosyncratic - structure - expressive" (Maslow, 1970, p.178).

The love relationships of the self-actualizing persons

tends to have its own characteristics.

There is much less tendency to put the best foot forward in the healthy love relationship. This goes so far as to make less likely the hiding even of physical defects of middle and old age, of false teeth, braces, girdles, and the such like. There is much less maintenance of distance, mystery and glamour, much less reserve and concealment and secrecy (Maslow, 1970, p.184).

It would seem that self-actualizing persons, in their intimate relationships, need to express fully and exactly who it is that they sense themselves to be. A need to hold any part of oneself in reserve, in secrecy, is experienced as an attempt to disown oneself.

The characteristics of self-actualizing persons, as presented by Maslow, will also all be taken into account while I consider the lives of the elder respondents in this study in my attempt to understand life satisfaction as expressed in the life of each elder.

Chapter 7.

Gestalt Therapy and Life Satisfaction.

Gestalt therapy provides some unique insights which can be of help in attempting to consider life satisfaction within the context of an elder's life.

Gestalt therapy is concerned with the present experience, with the reality that "...nothing exists except the now. Now = experience = awareness = reality. The past is no more and the future not yet" (Perls, 1970, p.14).

In the context of present experience Claudio Naranjo sets forth the implicit moral injunctions of Gestalt therapy. These are:

1. Live now. Be concerned with the present rather than
with the past or future.
2. Live here. Deal with what is present rather than with
what is absent.
3. Stop imagining. Experience the real.
4. Stop unnecessary thinking. Rather taste and see.
5. Express rather than manipulate, explain, justify, or
judge.
6. Give in to unpleasantness and pain just as to pleasure.
Do not restrict your awareness.
7. Accept no should or ought other than your own. Adore no
graven image.
8. Take full responsibility for your actions, feelings and
thoughts.
9. Surrender to being as you are (Naranjo, 1970, pp.49-50).

Gestalt therapy is concerned with the ways in which we avoid experiencing the fullness of our own living, and Naranjo's list of moral injunctions addresses the ways in which we manage that avoiding. To avoid experiencing the fullness of our own living is, in the final measure, the avoiding, the negating, the disowning of ourselves. We are, to ourselves, the experience of our lives and to reject any of our real present experience is, in part, to reject ourselves. The rejecting of the fullness of living, of ourselves, must be reflected, must intervene in the fullness of life satisfaction.

The ways in which we disown ourselves include that we choose to live at some time other than the present. That is to say that we choose to not experience the life we are in the process of living, with the result that we do not know who we are in the present; we choose not to know what it is that we are doing in the present; we choose not to know what we are feeling in the present; and we chooses not to know what it is that we want in the present. We also choose to focus on what is absent rather than what is present and live in the imagining, rather than in the experiencing, of our lives. We may frequently and habitually choose to disown our own freedom and authority over our living and therefor choose to seek to justify our living in the eyes of others. We choose, with cultural reinforcement, to restrict our awareness in order that we might avoid unpleasant feelings.

It is self evident, but nonetheless requires restating, that it is not possible to live fully, with fullness, the idiosyncratic, unique, cultural and countercultural, individual that we are if we have first chosen not to know that unique synthesis which constitutes who we are. It is also not possible to sense a present highest possibility for ourselves while, at the same time, we have rejected knowing our present real self in a present real world. Life satisfaction, tied as it is to sensed highest possibility, is also tied to our knowing what it is that we are doing, what it is that we are feeling and what it is that we want.

Hope is one of the delusions that is frequently employed to avoid the reality of the present. Optimism is a present experience but hope is cast in the future. The future promise of hope is used to attempt to make supportable an unacceptable present experience. Hope is a device to evade the fullness of the moment. With hope we need not experience the despair of the present, or remain with the reality of ourselves; we need not be just as we are, now. Hope was seen by the ancient Greeks as being an enemy of courage, pride, and humanity , it was the final evil in Pandora's box.

Hope seeks redemption in time to come and depends on the future. A purposive act may be its own reward and redeem the agent, regardless of what the future may bring.....Humanity, love, and courage survive hope (Kaufman, 1976, p.215).

Hope is part of our reluctance to accept unpleasant experience, to choose the imagined over the real. Hope is not premised on actual experience but on aspiring to "...live up to a concept, live up to a fantasy that we or others have created..." (Perls, 1970, p.20). Hope provides short term promise but long term loss to life satisfaction. Hope and present optimism are quite different concepts. Present optimism encompasses the experiencing of present living with a sense of continuity and a sense of positive ongoingness. Present optimism is focussed on the now of living not on the fantasy of some future time. Present optimism is an expression of a meaningful life, a life full of meaning, while hope expresses present, unexperienced despair, an emptiness that would have us choose some other time for our living.

Fritz Perls observed that we employ four kind of mechanisms to evade a clear present sense of who we are. These he labelled, introjection, projection, retrojection, and confluence and notes that each mechanism generates its own particular usages of speech. By far the most common of these four mechanisms, in this time, in this society, is introjection. In introjection man permits "society to impinge too heavily on him, to overwhelm him with its demands and at the same time to alienate him from social living, to push and passively mold him... (Perls, 1973, p.27). The four mechanisms are explained as follows:

Introjection. The mechanism whereby we incorporate into ourselves standards, attitudes, ways of acting and thinking, which are not truly ours....We have moved the boundary between ourselves and the rest of the world so far inside ourselves that there is almost nothing of us left (Perls, 1973, p.35).

"Introjection displays itself in the use of the pronoun "I" when the real meaning is "they" (Perls, 1973, p.41). "I" believe, "I" want, "I" feel, when the beliefs, wants, feelings are not expressions of the individual but are mere cultural internalizations.

Projection. The reverse of introjection is projection. As introjection is the tendency to make the self responsible for what is part of the environment, so projection is the tendency to make the environment responsible for what originates in the self (Perls, 1973, p.35).

'Projection displays itself in the use of the pronoun "it" or "they" when the real meaning is "I" (Perls, 1973, p.41). Projection avoids the responsibility of knowing that one is choosing, that one constructs one's own life and living.

Retroflection. The retroflector knows how to draw a boundary line between himself and the environment, and he draws a clear one right down the middle - but he draws it down the middle of himself.....(Perls, 1973, p.40).

The retroflector has abandoned attempts to manipulate the environment to satisfy his needs, instead "he redirects activity inwards and substitutes himself in place of the environment as the target of behaviours...he splits his

personality into doer and done to" (Perls et al, 1951, p.146). The retroflector "displays himself in the use of the reflective "myself". The retroflector says, "I am ashamed of myself," or "I have to force myself to do this job" (Perls, 1973, p.41).

Confluence. When the individual feels no boundary at all between himself and his environment, when he feels that he and it are one, he is in confluence with it (Perls, 1973, p.38).

It is when confluence is maintained to prevent contact with the environment that it inhibits the expression of individuality. A sense of boundary with the environment is important. "Without this sense of boundary - this sense of something other to be noticed, approached, manipulated, enjoyed - There can be no emergence and development...." (Perls et al, 1951, p.118). Confluence reveals itself in the use of the pronoun "we" when the real meaning is in question" (Perls, 1973, p.41).

These techniques which are used by us to blur the boundaries of self have considerable input into existential life satisfaction. To sense what is possible in life requires, first of all, a sense of boundary, a clear knowing of what is part of oneself and what is not part of oneself. In the absence of a clear sense of who one is, as delineated by boundary, it is not possible to have a sense of highest possibility, or of meaning or purpose or even a clear sense of choosing. Of course one also avoids a clear sense of

one's mortality, of one's existential aloneness, of one's freedom and the responsibility of constructing sufficient meaning to support living.

The question of boundaries is a complex one. We become human by incorporating our cultural values, that is by being socialized. As a consequence of this process, our boundaries, initially, would seem to reach out to enclose all that falls within the culture. The processes of reaching to adulthood is precisely the process of selectively differentiating from the cultural pattern and establishing precise pictures of ourselves, as individuals, over and against our culture. That process of differentiation establishing the boundaries by which we know ourselves as unique individuals.

Gestalt therapy shares many concerns and ideas with existential philosophy. Awareness of death and freedom are central to both Gestalt therapy and existential philosophy, and the drive to express our lives fully, to create the condition of high life satisfaction, is seen by both to exist only in confrontation with the fundamental existential questions.

Real creativity, in my experience, is inextricably linked with the awareness of mortality. The sharper the awareness, the greater the urge to bring forth something new, to participate with the infinite continuing creativeness in nature. This is what makes out of sex, love; out of the herd, society; out of wheat and fruit, bread and wine; and out of sound music. This is what makes life liveable (Laura Perls, 1970, p129).

The creating of love, society, bread and wine, and music, in ways that truly reflect ourself, owned and accepted in the totality of our present realities, are the activities of all sensed highest possibility and of high life satisfaction.

Chapter 8.

Other Writings - Elders and Life Satisfaction.

In this chapter I have selected, from a wide possible range, a number of additional insights which appear to be useful in illuminating life satisfaction. These insights, while they are extracted from sources that are not necessarily existential in orientation are nonetheless consistent with an existential perspective.

In an earlier chapter I discussed certain difficulties that appeared to exist with the Life Satisfaction Index A (Neugarten et al, 1961). While they may certainly be difficulties with the Index as a whole, particularly as a self reporting instrument, some of the questions included in the Index suggest areas of useful awareness to be considered when contemplating the life story of each elder. The contemplation of these items, in the context of a life story, may provide insight into life satisfaction.

The six items of the LSIA which are identified as measuring integrity are:

1. I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.
2. As I look back on my life I am fairly well satisfied.
3. I would not change my past life even if I could.
4. Compared to other people I've not made a lot of foolish decisions in my life.
5. When I think back over my life I did get most of the important things I wanted
6. I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of

life. (Neugarten et al, 1961).

The discussing of these questions, with an elder, may well provide an opportunity for the elder to reflect on particular issues which are seen to be important.

Considerable caution must be employed, when these items are being considered, in the context of life satisfaction as they may, in fact indicate things other than life satisfaction, as it has been defined in this study. "I've gotten pretty much what I expected", for instance may merely indicate that "I learned early to expect little and learned to disregard any sense of personal possibility." "Fairly well satisfied" is bound to be strongly influenced by "mythicizing", and "foolish decisions" may reflect cultural expectations regarding money, power and so forth. With all of these cautions these items remain useful in considering life satisfaction. Peter Coleman, (1986), notes that

These items reflect Erikson's concept of integrity and were to measure the extent to which the individual both regards his life as meaningful and accepts resolutely that which life has been and feels he has achieved his major goals (P.31).

I once again restate that these questions can only be of use when they are considered in the context of a much wider understanding and appreciation of an elders life.

The consideration of these six items from the LSIA which do, in some degree, reflect Erikson's concept of integrity will be used merely as avenues of exploration in

my search for insight into life satisfaction as it exists in the living of each elder.

Peter Coleman, (1986), suggests a further approach which he used in considering the biography of elders, and which may provide some insight into life satisfaction.

After each conversation I recorded as best I could the content of each person's conversation in terms of four general dimensions:

- whether the information spoken had been about the individual or about other family members or about particular others:
- whether the information pertained to the past.... or to the present and future:
- whether information and/or opinions were expressed about general affairs of the world in the past or present:
- whether the individual had provided psychological information, analysis or evaluation about ~~h~~er or actions, thoughts and feelings (P.19).

An analysis of the content of the recorded interviews with elders, along the dimensions used by Coleman, could provide insight into questions that have been raised earlier and which bear on life satisfaction. The questions, which appear to me to be broached by the four dimensions are the following.

1. Does the elder feel herself or himself as being a part of some ongoing, interconnected, human system which extends beyond personal boundaries?

2. Does the elder appear to have some sense in the present of present and future value or is everything in the past?

3. Does the elder express an ongoing sense of a connection and concern for the universe as a whole and of which he is part?

4. Does the elder reflect on her actions and feelings and share her thoughts or are these avoided as being threatening?

These questions reflect a sense of faith about life and about one's place in the universe. Such questions are important to life satisfaction and it has been noted that "Cases of successful ageing... demonstrate the importance of...faith or belief....systems which are central to... thinking and givelives a sense of coherence" (Coleman, 1986, pp127-128). The sense of coherence bridges past, present and future and forms connections to others and to the universe. The integrating elements across time and across space are meaning and purpose, purpose being the operationalization of meaning. It has been observed that "What is important in later life is not only or even principally self-esteem in the conventional sense.....but being able to make sense of life in general and seeing meaning and purpose within it" (Coleman, 1986, p.128). The questions of meaning and purpose relate strongly to the prime existential, ontological, issues, and to life satisfaction.

The accepting of oneself and of one's experience as being unique and worthy underlies the formation of meaning

and purpose. This accepting is exhibited in the living of those who live existential freedom, that is, by those who knowingly choose, in their living, to be themselves. This choosing includes the accepting of all the elements that constitute despair as well as the elements that constitute integrity, experienced in each present moment. Carl Rogers notes the centrality of choosing to be oneself when he observes that

"the most common despair is to be in despair at not choosing, or willing, to be oneself; but that the deepest form of despair is to "choose to be another than himself". on the other hand to will to be that self which one truly is, is indeed the opposite to despair" (Rogers, 1961, p.110).

The 'choosing to be oneself is a task that for some, though started earlier in life, does not gain strength until they become elders. Gail Sheehy in Pathfinders concludes that

It appears to take the average woman no less than a lifetime to outgrow her training to be a pleasing little girl. Low satisfaction men share with the average woman the same primary experience: how to stop trying so hard to please others and begin to validate oneself (p.110).

The living of the choice 'to be oneself' 'to validate oneself' will have profound effects on the sense of continuity within the past, present, and future of each life and within the sense of connectedness to all things. It would seem that if one fails to choose to live in a way that expresses oneself, then life will feel fractured and

disconnected and a sense of purpose and meaning will fail to emerge.

Elizabeth Yates for her book Call it Zest - The Vital Ingredient After Seventy, interviewed elders who appeared to live with great life satisfaction. She observed that these elders had each chosen their own unique paths. They had all chosen to circumvent the pressures to standardize. They had all resisted cultural pressures even though it is true that "as modern mass production requires the standardization of commodities, so the social process requires the standardization of man" (Fromm, 1956, p.13). These elders had not standardized had not been

obsessed by either of the two drives, to gain wealth, to achieve fame, but each one at some time had discovered life's particular gift and sought to develop it, then kept it in use" (Yates, 1977, p.11).

'Keeping it in use' is essential for a sense of continuity. "...keeping one's faculties in full exercise is the secret of good health and longevity.....inactivity is the most fatiguing thing in the world" (Yates, 1977, p.68).

One of the elders interviewed by Elizabeth Yates seems to clearly express this sense of continuity together with a sense of connection to the world. She conveys a feeling of living in the moment and of having a purpose for her life. These are all consonant with her having come to terms with the basic existential issues, and are evident when she says:

"What a paradox.....the more you love life and live it, the readier you are for death! I love life - the beauty of the world, the exaltation and daily bread of human love, the joy of work and its fruition, but I look on death as a friend, and its not the part of a friend to tarry when wanted or needed. (Yates, 1977, p.69).

For those who love life it is the living that matters. This is illuminated in a conversation between Elizabeth Yates and an octogenarian. When asked "what he'd do if he had just a day to live, he said he's spend the time churning butter, for time passes slowly when you churn." (1977, p.3). To be conscious of the process of living provides its own meaning.

Boredom is a complaint of many elders. Boredom speaks to unconscious living which produces a perception of inability to find much which compellingly interests or occupies one. To be continually aware of what it is that one is feeling and what it is that one is experiencing provides no room for boredom. It is obvious, to others, to those immersed in the process, that the world and life is full of an endless number of continuously fascinating, exciting, intriguing, concerns. "Boredom is often the way the anxiety of meaninglessness and emptiness manifests itself" (Hulme, 1988, p.29). Emptiness is the result of disowning one's own life. "You need only claim the events of your life to make yourself yours" (Blythe, 1979, p.12). "To make yourself yours" is the starting place for meaning and purpose, the

end of boredom and the beginning of satisfaction. The expression of boredom can thus provide avenues of possible insight into an elders living and life satisfaction.

Physical ailments can become, for some elders, the central focus of their lives. French et al, (1980-1981), found that approximately 15% of elders were preoccupied with health.

Physical ailments can become the focus of older people's concerns when their lives lack a focus otherwise. Some older people need their ailments to fill a vacuum in their lives; others need them to distract their attention from the hard-to-face realities of what has happened to them as 'old folk' (Hulme, 1986, p.55).

A focus on physical ailments requires a withdrawal from a wider spatial concern with the world, a withdrawal from dynamic interaction with persons and events in the universe which lie outside of oneself. To withdraw into the tight, contained narrowness of body preoccupation is similar in many regards to living with boredom. Both require a negation of awareness of the dynamic interactive process which is living, and require a narcissistic centering on the physical self beyond the reach of meaning or purpose. An elder's preoccupation with physical health, as it is with boredom, can provide an avenue for providing insight into that elder and life satisfaction.

Much of what has been covered in this chapter echoes the subjects of other chapters, if perhaps, from a slightly

different stance. That is useful for it provides me with an other perspective, a different angle, from which to consider the expression, in the lives of elders, of issues of living which could act to intervene in life satisfaction.

The matters which can relate to life satisfaction and which have been considered in this chapter are.

1. The six items on the LSIA which measure integrity and which may provide insight into the way in which elders reflect on their own lives.

2. The considering of the four questions on the sense of ongoingness, connectedness, and personal role as specific approaches to meaning in the lives of elders.

3. The consequences of the act of choosing one's life.

4. The function of keeping one's faculties in full exercise.

5. The consequence of awareness of the process of living.

6. The possible meanings of boredom.

7. The possible meanings of preoccupation with physical ailments.

Chapter 9.Existential Philosophy and Life Satisfaction.

The writings of Maslow, Erikson, Perls, and Rogers are all concerned with human beings, not as a collection of static substances, or patterns, or variables, or social probabilities, but as emerging, becoming, existing beings. In this focus they all express the same value system as the value system which is held to be of central importance to existential philosophy and existential therapy. "Their endeavour [existentialists] is to understand this becoming not as sentimental artifact but as the fundamental structure of human existence" (May, 1983, p.50). Maslow, Erikson, Perls, and Rogers, even beyond their concerns with process, all deemed that individual meanings play a central role in human experience. Such an emphasis is consonant with existential philosophic understandings of human life. Maslow, Erikson, Perls, and Rogers are not generally considered to be existential writers.

Existential philosophy provide a framework for understanding human life that can be used to tie together the writings of Maslow, Erikson, Perls, Rogers and others and provide, not only a macro view for structuring the considering of individual life, but particular insights which can illuminate life satisfaction.

It is important to my purpose, that I present in greater detail the existential understandings of life satisfaction than I earlier provided when I defined the basic prepositions of existential philosophy. This is important as the understandings of human life which I use to structure my approach to insight into the life satisfaction of elders is expressed in existential philosophical and psychotherapeutic terms. As I have stated earlier my interest is in the unique, individual, lives of elders and not in variables or social probabilities and it is necessary that the approach adopted be confluent with that interest. Existential philosophy provides that confluence, as it concerns itself within individual meanings as they are expressed through the process of individual living. Existential understandings differs from most other approaches to understanding humans in that "It stands for.....an understanding of what makes man the human being; it stands for defining neurosis in terms of what destroys man's capacity to fulfill his own being..." (May, 1983, p.86).

Man is the being who can be conscious of, and therefore responsible for, his existence. Since he can, and must be conscious of his own being, he is then not solely a determined product of his genetic inheritance and culture, that is he is not a programmed machine. He must continually construct his own life governed by the meanings and purposes

which are products of his self consciousness. Human beings are bound by choice.

The human being can lose his own being by his own choices, as a tree or a stone cannot. Affirming one's own being creates the values of life. Individuality, worth and dignity are.....assigned to us as a task which we ourselves must solve (Kaufman, 1950, p.136).

The consciousness of one's own wants and action which affirms these wants demands that one accept one's own uniqueness. It "implies that one must be prepared to be isolated not only from these parental figures upon which one has been dependent, but at that instance to stand alone in the entire psychic universe as well" (May, 1983, p.32).

The fundamental dilemma for each human is that man

is that particular being who has to be aware of himself, to be responsible for himself if he is to become himself. He is also that particular being who knows that at some future moment he will not be; he is the being who is always in dialectic relation with nonbeing, death (May, 1983, p.97).

Character is our defense against confronting our need to be responsible for ourselves if we are to become ourselves. Character also protects us from experiencing our aloneness and our certainty of death. Otto Rank has described character as being our 'secret psychoses'. Jose Ortega Y Gasset (1957) perceived the role of character when he wrote:

Take stock of those around you and you willhear them talk in precise terms about themselves and their surroundings, which would seem to point to them having ideas on

the matter. But start to analyze these ideas and you will find that they hardly reflect in any way the reality to which they appear to refer, and if you go deeper you will discover that there is not even an attempt to adjust the ideas to this reality. Quite the contrary: through these notions the individual is trying to cut off any vision of reality, of his own very life. For life is at the start a chaos in which one is lost. The individual suspects this, but he is frightened to find himself face to face with the terrible reality, and tries to cover it over with a curtain of fantasy, where everything is clear. It does not worry him that his "ideas" are not true, he uses them as trenches for the defense of his existence, as scarecrows to frighten away reality (pp.156-157).

What Jose Ortega Y Gasset has described as "scarecrows to frighten away reality" are the character defenses that we employ to avoid confronting the anxieties of the human condition, the basic existential issues. Character is described as "a neurotic defense against despair" and neurosis as "a complicated technique for avoiding misery but reality is the misery" (Becker, 1973,p.57). This question of character and the ontological issues of being human is central to an existential consideration of life satisfaction and I restate it. The process of affirming one's own being with all of its desires creates the values of individual living but requires that one experiences living life, face to face, with aloneness, death, responsibility, and a struggle to create meaning, that is with anxiety. Character is the lie, is the neurotic structure we live to circumvent the anxiety.

Fritz Perls, and gestalt therapy, conceived the neurotic structure as being composed of four layers. The first two layers he saw as being the everyday layers. These are laid in as the tactics that a child learns in order to get along in the world. They are approval seeking, role playing, placating layers. The third layer is seen as protecting our feelings of being empty and lost. These are the feelings we attempt to protect ourselves against by building up our character. The final layer is seen by Perls as being the fear-of-death layer. "The layer of our basic animal anxieties. The terror we carry in our secret hearts" (Perls, 1969, pp.55-56).

The first two layers innure us against living as individuals to our own unique sensed possibility. The third and fourth layers protect against experiencing the truth of our human condition. It seems that the first two layers act to insulate us from a clear experience of the third and fourth layers as they operate in our lives. In a reciprocal manner the dread of the existential issues keep in place the approval seeking, role playing, and placating layers.

The push to build a neurotic structure to protect against anxiety is an expression which comes from the very nature of being human. Human nature enfolds a paradox. The paradox is that humans are part animal and part symbolic. Man is described as being:

...a creator with a mind that soars out to speculate about atoms and infinity.....at the same time man is a worm and food for worms. This is the paradox: he is out of nature and hopelessly in it; he is dual, up in the stars and yet housed in a heart-pumping, breath-gasping body that once belonged to a fish and still carries the gill marks to prove it....Man is literally split in two: he has an awareness of his own splendid uniqueness in that he sticks out of nature with a towering majesty, and yet he goes back into the ground a few feet in order blindly and dumbly to rot and disappear for ever. It is a terrifying dilemma to be in and have to live with (Becker, 1973, p.28).

What is to be done about the dilemma. Are we to cower in the corner, endlessly terrified of the approaching certainty of rot and of no thing. As long as man is part symbolic and part animal, anxiety can not be circumvented. We need to cower and yet boldly to live the anxiety, to leave the corner. We must bring our anxiety with us as we seek to be ourselves.

The "healthy" person, the true individual, the self realized soul, the "real" man, is the one who has transcended himself.....By realizing the truth of his situation, by dispelling the lie of his character, by breaking the spirit out of its conditioned prison (Miller, 1962, pp.312-313).

It becomes apparent that questions of sensed highest possibility, of meaning, of purpose, of boundaries, of integrity, of despair, of wisdom, of self actualization, of connectedness, of continuity, of present experiencing, are all questions which relate to the manner in which persons are living the dilemma of the paradox and transcending

themselves. It may be seen that what we are attempting to do here is to understand the living of elders, one by one, and reflect on how they are confronting the existential dilemmas and that the approaches and understandings provided by Erikson, Maslow, Perls and others provide avenues of evidence for these understandings.

The questions which are at the heart of all existentially directed attempts at insight, when contemplating the lives of persons, are the following. Do they seek total safety, hiding from the terrors of death and chaos and from being themselves in the arms of culture? Are they attempting to protect themselves from the accidents of life and the dangers of death, freedom, aloneness, and meaninglessness by denying that part of them which is animal or that part of them which is symbolic? Do they push their "own limits with [their] screen against despair and not with despair itself". Do they do it "with the stock market, with sports cars, with atomic missiles, with the success ladder in the corporation or the competition in the university?" (Becker, 1973, P.58).

Perhaps in the lives of some persons it will be found that they dared little to confront the anxiety of being themselves, of choosing their own meanings, of exerting their own individuality, and chose instead, depression.

...the depressed person avoids the possibility of independence and more life precisely because these are what threaten him with destruction and death. He holds to

the people who have enslaved him in a network of crushing obligations, belittling interaction, precisely because these people are his shelter, his strength, his protection against the world (Becker, 1973, p.80).

The process of experiencing and accepting the existential terror behind the human paradox does not destroy joy and delight. The converse is the truth. To live in the full experience of our existence and to reach to transcend it, creates for us the freedom to know who it is that we are; the freedom to find meaning and purpose sufficient to sustain our living; and the incidental experiencing of joy and delight and wisdom amidst the anxiety and chaos of our human existence. Terror and joy are not incompatible. "Wisdom does not lead to madness, nor denial to sanity: the confrontations with the givens of existence is painful but ultimately healing" (Yalom, 1980, p.14).

It is never, in the process of living, a question of all or nothing, of black or white, of either or. The act of living demands that we confront, day by day, the existential anxieties. There is no defense mechanism that can totally and permanently obliterate from our awareness, for example, reminders of the ever present encroachment of death. A funeral procession, a grey hair, a near accident, all of these must surely twinge the existential terror. So each of us confronts these twinges a little more directly or a little less directly, and not the same from issue to issue

or day to day, than do others.

How do we handle these twinges, these reminders, of existential anxiety, in our lives? We could, of course live with them and become fully the person we might become. Primal anxiety, however, always tends to be transformed into something that is felt to be more manageable, from anxiety of no thing into fear of something. "Anxiety seeks to become fear" (May, 1983, p.207). If we can transform the anxiety of no thing into the fear of something we can defend against it. Death anxiety, for example, "is only thinly disguised in the hypochondriacal patient who is continually concerned about the safety and well being of his or her body" (Yalom, 1980, p.47). The fear of no thing, for the hypochondriac gets transformed into specific, albeit it perhaps rapidly changing, issues of health concern. All phobias are transformations of the anxiety of no thing.

The four ultimate human concerns as seen in existential psychology are not clearly defined separate conflicts. The anxiety of death, of freedom, of isolation, and of meaninglessness are tightly interwoven and are in many ways just somewhat different perspectives, descriptions, of the terror, of the anxiety of a symbolic being in a finite form. It can be useful to understanding to describe them separately, to contemplate the anxiety from different directions. Irvin Yalom, (1983), describes the four conflicts as follows:

Death. The core existential conflict is the tension between the awareness of the inevitability of death and the wish to continue to be.

Freedom. The individual is the author of his or her own world, life, design, choices, and actions. Freedom has a terrifying implication that beneath us there is nothing, a void, an abyss. The world is contingent. Human beings constitute themselves.

Isolation. No matter how close each of us comes to another, there remains a final unbridgeable gap; each of us enters and departs the world alone. We wish to be part of the safety of a larger whole but are ultimately aware of absolute isolation.

Meaninglessness. This is the dilemma of a part symbolic meaning seeking animal in a universe that appears to have no meaning.

I shall further elaborate on these four existential issues as there is much that can be learned from them which can deepen and extend the understanding of satisfaction in the life of an elder. At the end of each elaboration I shall suggest how the issue might be seen, in the context of a life, to impinge on the fullness of living and on the resultant life satisfaction.

I have a need to restate that it is not despair but wisdom that is the product of the fullness of the human experience.

In the face of final death, in isolation and loneliness, the discovery is made that life is rich in its resources and its ways, that truth is universal, that wisdom and love and reverence are rooted in every living meeting, that each individual stretches forward to touch a universal humanity (Moustakas, 1961, p.55).

Death.

All of the other existential concerns may be seen as being subsumed under the anxiety of death, the anxiety of no thing. Isolation, freedom, and meaninglessness are all about no thing, about there being no connection, about there being no ground beneath us in the sense that we are left to construct our own world, and about there being no purpose.

Rollo May comments on Kierkegaard's understanding of death anxiety.

Kierkegaard.....described anxiety as the struggle of the living being against nonbeing.....the real terror in anxiety is not death as such but the fact that each of us within himself is on both sides of the fight, that "anxiety is a desire for what one dreads" (May, 1983, p.4).

Each organism strives to express itself but, for humans, that expressing confronts us with terror. It is significant that the terror in anxiety is not seen, by Kierkegaard, as emerging mainly from our awareness of our human condition but from our failure to fulfill our desire to express who it is we are, to be before we cease to be, in the face of our condition. Anxiety, then, is seen as being, in the main, a measure of our sense of having failed to live

our sensed highest possibility, when glimpses of the awareness of the immanence of death highlight the certainty of the permanence of the failure.

Man is the "being who represses, the being who surrenders self-awareness as a protection against reality" (May, 1983, p.65). To surrender self-awareness is to surrender the very quality that defines being human. The symbolic aspect of our natures resists this surrender as it limits the expression of possibility. Nietzsche was clear on this when he asked, "What does our conscience say? - You shall become what you are" (Kaufman, 1950, p.134).

A fundamental part of being human is a will to live to one's potential, to one's sensed possibility, and the extent to which we are prepared to aspire to this may be seen as a question of courage. "Adler was right to say that the mentally ill have a basic problem of courage. They cannot resume responsibility for their own independent lives; they are hyper-fearful of life and death" (Becker, 1973, p.248).

For all of us the question of courage is a question of degree, it is a question of how much or how little we have dared, in what areas of our lives, and at what times. Failure of courage is not a matter that imputes blame. All of us, all of the time, live with all of the courage that, given the totality of our lives, we are able to muster. This presents a fundamental human paradox. It would seem that while it is true that we are free and must choose to

construct our own lives, we may, in a real sense, be unable to choose to construct our own lives. Our awareness of freedom must emerge from our primary social context, our early conditioning, and this in the context of our lives may act to so inhibit our sense of being free to choose, that in a real sense, we live unfree to choose to be ourselves. Failure of courage is an external evaluation which is perhaps useful in conceptualizing failure in assuming autonomy, but it in no way represents the internal, living experience of a person.

It is easy and common to confuse symptom and cause in the panoply of human struggle.

It must be clear that the despair and anguish of which the patient complains is not the result of such symptoms but rather are the reasons for their existence. It is in fact these very symptoms which shield him from the profound contradictions that lie at the heart of human existence (Waldman, 1971, pp.123-134).

We are all, in some manner, 'patients' in the struggle with courage and the basic, ontological, concerns of being human. Symptoms, behaviors that act contrary to life satisfaction, are purposive and are aimed at self preservation. Despair and anguish are chosen responses, are the scarecrows we erect to frighten off the experience of the profound contradictions. The same scarecrows are precisely what limit life satisfaction.

Irvin Yalom proposes that there are two character defenses that are most commonly seen to be used as a shield against death anxiety. These he calls "the shield of personal specialness" and "the shield of a unique ultimate rescuer" (Yalom, 1980, pp.141-142). Both of these shields are seen to date from very early in life.

'The shield of personal specialness' is seen to operate in the following manner. If one can see oneself as being extraordinarily special then it must follow that the events that overtake, and operate in the lives of others, need not apply to oneself. One is therefore somehow exempt from the rules that govern the lives of ordinary people. "Each of us, first as a child and then as an adult, clings to an irrational belief in our specialness. Limits, aging, death may apply to them but not to oneself, not to me" (Yalom, 1980, p.96). The persons who cope with basic anxiety essentially through specialness, require that others not be special as a precondition of their own specialness. Such people frequently encounter major difficulties with their interpersonal relationships, and such difficulties, within the context of a life, may suggest the operation of a shield of specialness as a protection against death anxiety.

Belief in the ultimate rescuer "is grounded in the dawn of life, in the time of the shadowy figures, the parents, those wondrous appendages of the child's, who are not only powerful movers but eternal servants as well" (Yalom, 1980,

p.145). Medical doctors, therapists, spouses, and leaders, frequently get cast in the role of ultimate rescuer. The search for a rescuer in a romantic love relationship appears now to be the entire subject matter of popular song. 'Without you I am nothing', 'I can't live without you', 'I will die if you leave me', 'you give my life meaning', are the endlessly repeated sentiments of popular song. All of these sentiments are concerned with finding salvation in the arms of another, about being saved, about being protected from basic anxiety. It is not then surprising that the "attempt to assuage individual anxiety through sexual merger is common" (Yalom, 1980, p.145). It is anticipated that the life stories of some elders may reveal the utilization of special rescuers to avert basic anxiety, and this may be seen to impinge on their life satisfaction.

A drive for power may well be motivated as an attempt to enlarge one's sphere of control and thus avert basic anxiety. A feeling of sensed power, of control, over external factors may be felt to provide control over the inescapable resolution, death, of the finite human condition. Living daringly the possibility which is circumscribed by the existential realities of the human condition is the only real power that is ever available, and is different in content and quality from the illusion of power that attempts to avert anxiety.

The attempt to avert awareness from the certainty of

our finite condition, and from the other ontological issues, may, as we have suggested, find expression in a number of ways. Among these expressions are hypochondria, an anxious concern with the well-being of the body; phobias, the transformation of the anxiety of no thing into specific manageable fears; personal specialness which places us outside our evidence of the normal human destiny; an ultimate rescuer with whom we may merge and who will save us from our destiny; a drive for power which we can use to delude ourselves that we might hold the natural resolution of life at bay; and "The wish to be loved and remembered eternally, the wish to freeze time.....serve to assuage death anxiety" (Yalom, 1980, p.47). All of these are ways that may be used to intervene, in the final measure, in our living our sensed highest possibility, in constructing meaning and purpose and in life satisfaction, and some of these may well be expressed within the lives of the elder respondents.

Freedom.

In the beginning there is freedom. There are also other givens, genetic givens, and situational givens, and some aspects of these are unalterable. Freedom exists in knowing and living, to the fullest extent, whatever it is that can possibly be done with the givens. "Man is free to rise above the plane of somatic and psychic determinants of his

existence... [Man is] capable of taking a stand...towards the world ...towards himself. Man is capable of even rejecting himself" (Frankl, 1967, p.19). I have argued earlier that while freedom can be seen to be true, it may not operate as being real in actual living. Freedom is, however, a real possibility and the fact that it exists as a real possibility makes it a real part of living.

Freedom brings uncertainty as we are left by freedom to be responsible for the fulfillment of our own possibility. By our choosing, and we can not avoid choosing, we continually create and shape and reshape ourselves and our world. We are required to construct for ourselves all that our lives and our worlds may mean to us. Jean Paul Sartre, (1956), expressed it by saying that each human is doomed to freedom and is responsible to imbue her world with meaning, with significance. He also argued that one is entirely responsible for one's own life, for one's actions and for one's failures to act; that the universe is contingent, it could all have been created differently and that nothing in the world is significant except by virtue of one's own creating. "Truth exists", wrote Kierkegaard, "only as the individual himself produces it in action" (May, 1983, p.49). It is by affirming, in action, our own being that values of life are created. "Individuality, worth and dignity are...assigned to us as a task, which we ourselves must solve" (Kaufman, 1950, p.136). Being has little to do with

social norms.

To the extent that my sense of existence is authentic, it is precisely not what others have told me I should be....if your self-esteem must rest in the long run on social validation, you have not self-esteem but a more sophisticated form of social conformity (May, 1983, pp.99-102).

A contingent universe provides nothing to fall back on, nothing to depend upon. All is treacherous and dangerous. It is walking a tight rope without a safety net and there is nothing beneath but a void. We are the creators. The challenge demands courage and provides as much possibility as we dare to grasp. Our being depends on our courage, as surely does our delight and our joy. If we are endlessly sad, and afraid, and lost, that is the measure of the reality that we have constructed for ourselves.

I fully believe that the universe is contingent and that we create our own significances. I would add, however, that the contingency and the significances are bound by the consequences of human self-awareness, just as they are created by self-awareness. I believe that an inevitable consequence of human self-awareness is an irresistible movement in the direction of humankind experiencing the fullness of the human condition, of becoming more fully human. The move towards living the fullness of the human condition must inevitably compel us towards finding meaning and purpose through being loving, cooperative, zestful, and intelligent. It is only through loving that aloneness may be

addressed. It is only through cooperation, being an essential part of but separate from, that sustaining meaning can evolve. It is only through zest that the fullness of present living is experienced and that death loses its sting. It is only through intelligence that we will structure a society where the paramount value will be that of each human fully living the human condition. A society where to choose to be free does not require that one be over and against society, but a belonging, though separate part of it.

Optimism, that is a view that sees human life as evolving in a positive direction, speeds the movement forward. Optimism about the direction of human living, even as expressed by others, can become part of the totality of individual experience that permits the choosing to live in the direction of one's own sensed possibility.

It is anticipated that we shall grow to know, from the lives of our elders, something about the freedom they have owned and the kind of world that they have constructed for themselves. We will get to sense how loving, cooperative, zestful and intelligent they have managed to be in serving their own sensed possibility. We shall recognize how much despair they have chosen and dared to permit themselves to experience and what joy and delight and wisdom has entered their lives as by-products of their daring.

Isolation.

By isolation I mean existential aloneness. The experienced certainty that we are locked inside the shell of the self sense of the person that we experience our selves to be. It is a product of self knowing, of the perception of personal boundary. We are forever divided from all else by our awareness of an individual self. This is different from the aloneness of self alienation.

The loneliness in modern life may be considered in two ways: the existential loneliness which inevitably is part of human experience, and the loneliness of self-alienation and self-rejection which is not loneliness at all but a vague and disturbing anxiety.....In existential loneliness man is fully aware of himself as an isolated and solitary individual while in loneliness anxiety man is separated from himself as a feeling and knowing person. Loneliness anxiety results from a fundamental breach between what one is and what one pretends to be.... (Moustakas, 1961, p.24).

Existential loneliness may be transformed into loneliness anxiety by the very techniques we may employ to escape the essential experience of the human condition of existential loneliness.

Thomas Wolf, in his novel The Hills Beyond, has his protagonist comment on the prevalence of loneliness.

The whole conviction of my life now rests upon the belief that loneliness, far from being a rare and curious phenomenon, peculiar to myself and to a few other solitary men, is the central and inevitable fact of human existence (1957, p.186).

Clark Moustakas describes existential loneliness as experienced by himself, as being "Empty.....A sense of being in a deep dark pit, with nothing in sight, and no way out" (1961, p.40). It is a feeling of being lost in the universe, separate and disconnected from all else, with no possible refuge, where nothing seems familiar or safe and which elicits a deep sense of dread.

We may choose to use our dread of existential loneliness - or indeed of the other existential concerns - to freeze us against reaching through it to express our possibilities and to know fully the despair of ourselves living in the world. When we choose to avoid the experiencing of our isolation, in its fullness, we avoid being and experiencing who it is we fully are. We cannot know the fullness of ourselves with parts of our vital, human, experience pushed at arms length from ourselves. The completeness of ourselves must be enfolded in our experiencing of ourselves and what is real for us must be accepted, felt and known.

Loneliness presents, as does so much of human living, a further paradox, for it is through accepting and experiencing the 'deep dark pit' of our loneliness that we are made able to reach out with genuine love and wisdom for companionship and friendship, and through which we will create for ourselves places of caring and belonging amidst the isolation. Not to accept and experience our isolation

will transform reaching for companionship and friendship into graspings to drive off dread. Not to accept and experience the dread of our isolation will mean that "we will not reach out towards others but instead will flail at them in order not to drown in the sea of existence" (Yalom, 1980, p.363).

The quality of friendships and love can be living proof, in the lives of elders, of their having chosen to experience their existential loneliness. Those who have shielded themselves from the experience of their aloneness will form connections which may be seen to serve their anxiety. The others, in love and in friendship, will merely exist as an extension of self, as things, to hold at bay the felt dread of aloneness, as barriers against anxiety. The other can not be seen and loved as a complete separate person.

There is a precondition to loving which "is the overcoming of one's narcissism. The narcissistic orientation is one in which one experiences as real only that which exists within oneself" (Fromm, 1958, p.99). Dread denied, is the genesis of narcissism, as the energy which is required for denial maintains the focus of attention on the need to resolve the dread, which is centered upon oneself. The friends of those who have accepted their aloneness and who are willing to experience it can be valued, and experienced, as complete, whole, individual humans, separate from one's

need, and with whom one might share purpose and meaning.

To be oneself and to be isolated would seem to be opposite sides of the same coin, and

consciousness of one's own desires and affirming them involve accepting one's originality and uniqueness, and it implies that one must be prepared to be isolated not only from these parental figures upon whom one has been dependent, but at that moment to stand alone in the entire psychic universe... (May, 1983, p.32).

This demonstrates, again, the circular patterns that connect the human ontological issues. To be oneself requires that one experience one's existential aloneness and to experience one's existential aloneness requires that one must be oneself.

There are markers, guides, taken in the context of a life, which point to existential feelings of isolation from which one has fled. Such markers could include a need to belong and to fuse with another person, with a group, or with a cause. It may show that

In order to overcome his sense of inner emptiness and impotence.....[he] chooses an object onto which he projects all his own human qualities: his love, intelligence, courage, etc. By submitting to this object, he feels in touch with his own qualities; he feels strong wise, courageous, and secure. To lose the object means the danger of losing himself (Fromm, 1962, p.52).

The need to fuse with others, to use them as objects, as barricades against the experience of the anxiety of

aloneness has been discussed. Parties, movements, religions, associations, countries, leaders may all be used to serve the same end. Reason becomes replaced by blind following and all that is affirmingly human may become suspended in the need to hold at bay the anxiety of aloneness. History provides endless examples of this at work and we often try to explain these examples by pronouncing that man is "just a naturally and lustily destructive animal who lays waste around him because he feels omnipotent and impregnable." The very opposite would appear to be the truth. Man "is a trembling animal who pulls the world down around his shoulders as he clutches for protection and support" (Becker, 1973, p.139).

A compelling need for affirmation, that is a need to seek one's value through the eyes of others, may also signal displaced existential anxiety.

It is important that we do not lose sight of the truth that existential anxiety is precisely that which makes us human and is thus our greatest gift. What we choose to do with the gift is left to us.

Loneliness is as much a reality of life as night and rain and thunder, and it can be lived creatively, as any other experience. So I say let there be loneliness, for where there is loneliness there is also sensitivity, and where there is sensitivity, there is awareness and recognition and promise (Moustakas, 1961, p.103).

In the lives of our elders I will consider the quality of their relationships and will contemplate whether the relationships seem to be between separate, mutually valuing persons or whether they display a sense of a need to fuse, of a need to lose oneself, and of a sense of relationship used as armor against loneliness. I shall consider the elders' group affiliations from the same perspectives. I shall, in addition, reflect on each elder's ability to affirm his own life as opposed to requiring life affirmation from others. These questions all speak to the fullness of living the human condition and to life satisfaction.

Meaninglessness.

"Existence has no goal. It is pure journey. The journey in life is so beautiful, who bothers for the destination" (B. Rajneesh cited in Gunther, 1979). That rings true but not real for it seems that an almost inescapable quality of being human is the need to ascribe meaning to all experience. A natural corollary to the need to ascribe meaning is expressed in our need to find meaning for our own existence. We continually seek explanation and "the striving to find a meaning in life is a primary motivational force in man" (Frankl, 1967, p.47). We are now in yet another of the human paradoxes, for while the "striving to find meaning is a primary motivational force", we cannot find meaning by striving to find it. "Meaning, like pleasure must be pursued obliquely. A sense of meaningfulness is a by-product of

engagement" (Yalom, 1980, p.482). Meaning emerges from living the sensed possibility of who it is we are. It is in living our lives by the rule of ourselves that meaning is created.

Meaning is central to being human and the symbolic aspect of being human is predicated on meaning to the extent that a symbolic sense of self awareness can only be grasped in the context of meaning. To know something is to know what it means and memory only functions as an extension of meaning. "Memory is a creative process...we remember what has significance..."(May, 1983, p.140).

The life meaning questions are approximately the following. What does this life mean? What am I to do with this life? How is it that I am here? What happens when I die? These questions have occupied man's attention through all of recorded history and, we can assume, for much longer, and have been the bases for all religion. The problem with the questions is that the certainty of our death can appear to make the questions about life meaningless. If all must ultimately mean nothing there can be seen to be no purpose to life. From an existential point of view

the question..."What meaning is there to life" ...as conventionally posed, assumes that there is a meaning to life that a particular...[person] is unable to locate. The question is in conflict with the existential view of the human as a meaning-giving subject (Yalom, 1980, p.482).

Life can truly be seen to be meaningless and yet lived

with real meaning and purpose. Such real meaning is not an artifact of contemplation or philosophy but a sensed feeling of benign purpose that emerges from the act of living life daringly in the image of one's sensed possibility. To live life daringly, with meaning and purpose, requires that it be done against the understanding that life may well be meaningless.

The question of meaning may be seen in some regards to be independent of the question of death for if one were to live forever it would seem that we would still seek meaning for our living.

To sustain life meaning is required and that meaning needs to be constructed out of the living of each person for that person. Each human is required to construct his own meanings. Meanings that can well sustain our living are subject to the directions imposed by our self-awareness, that is that these meanings require to be constructed not with our defenses against anxiety but with anxiety itself. They must act in the direction of supporting love, cooperation, zest and intelligence, in the direction of the fullness of living our humanness. To experience meaning it seems that one need remain open to the experience of living, for

man not only finds his meanings through his deeds, his works, his creativity, but also through his experiences, his encounters with what is true, good, and beautiful in the world, and last but not least, his encounters with others, with fellow human beings in their unique qualities (Frankl, 1967, p.29).

In my interviews with elders I will reflect on whether their manner of living, their openness to involvement with the experience of life, their appreciation of beauty, truth, and goodness, and their valuing of the uniqueness of others provides insight into their life meanings and purposes and how these matters might be seen to be reflected in their life satisfactions.

Chapter 10.

The Interviews.

In this chapter I provide some general information on the interviews which I shall conduct with elders, and address the manner and mood in which the interviews will be managed. I shall also discuss what it is, I anticipate, that I might learn from the interviews about the lives of the elders. I wait until the next chapter to summarize the particular evidences, from previous chapters, that will be considered, in the context of each life, as indicating the extent of life satisfaction. These evidences will be utilized to direct areas which will be further explored in the second interview with each elder.

The interviews, with the elder respondents, will each be approximately one to two hours in length and will all be recorded on audio tape. The transcription of the entire content of interviews with three of the elders interviewed is included in this document and will provide full information on the processes of the interviews.

The interviews will be what Spradley, (1979), has termed as "ethnographic interviews." That is they will be "conducted in the spirit of anthropological participant observation which focuses on viewing events in a natural context and on the understanding of experiential categories"

(Rubinstein, 1986). Levinson termed such an interview a "biographical interview" and expressed that it combine a research interview, a clinical interview, and a warm relationship with the informant" (Levinson, 1979).

Each elder will be approached phenomenologically. That is, I will attempt "to enter [their]..world and listen to the phenomena of that world without the presuppositions that distort understanding" (Yalom, 1980, p.17). My purpose is to know what life in general and what particular events within each life may mean to the elder. It is only after I have taken time and care to hear what life and particular events may mean to each elder that existential understandings of life will enter into my thinking about that life and life satisfaction. To reach understanding I shall attempt to suppress, to the degree that that is possible, my thinking about the life of the elder being interviewed until the completion of both interviews, until after I have taken care to hear the elders express their own responses to their own lives.

In the first interview with each elder I shall ask the elder to "Tell me your life story, starting from the beginning." I shall intervene as little as possible in the telling. The only interjections that I shall make will be directed towards maintaining the flow in the story or to clarify some important part in the story.

I do not expect to experience much difficulty with the

elders being willing to tell their stories. My experience with elders has been similar to that of Erik Erikson. He found that "aged subjects did not hesitate at all, often seeming to feel that they were passing on valuable advise in sharing their personal views..." (Erikson et al, 1986, p.30). I have found that with very few exceptions elders are eager to relate the story of their lives. It seems that the telling serves a "compulsion to piece together a true self from all the fragments which have no place in the official file" (Blythe, 1979, p.12). I think that an even more compelling reason for the willingness of elders to tell their life stories is that many elders do not have much opportunity for undivided attention especially attention that is focussed on their own lives. To have one's life valued as being worthy of attention is experienced as bringing new value and aliveness to that life.

I shall approach each elder with respect. "Respect is not fear and awe; it denotes, in accordance with the root of the word (*respicere* = to look at), the ability to see a person as he is, to be aware of his unique individuality" (Fromm, 1956, p.23). I shall make every effort of manner and demeanor to convey that respect as I am certain that each elder, given the totality of her life, has done her very best and deserves love and respect.

The sense of the possibility for the lives of elders will be in my mind as I interview them. If I reflect, in any

way, a sense that little can be expected from living the life of an elder, then I become part of the societal judgement that acts to oppress them. B.F. Skinner, who is himself in his eighties, knows that "When played with skill, the part of Old Person is marked by tranquility, wisdom, freedom, dignity and a sense of humor. Almost everyone would like to play it that way" (Skinner, 1983, p.81).

In the second interview I shall pursue matters that were spoken of, by that elder, in the first interview and which could bring insight into areas that might illuminate existential life satisfaction. My approach to particular areas will be gentle and supportive. I shall not challenge any elder on any issue or understanding, but gently seek more information about events, feelings or opinions.

It is intended, from the interviews, and from observing physical evidence of the elders living circumstance, that I shall arrive at a broad understanding of how each elder views his own life and how the elder feels about the experience of living. It is from this broad framework of understanding that I shall consider how daring each elder has been in experiencing and responding to the existential dilemmas of the human condition, and how that might have impinged on life satisfaction.

I have a strong sense, at this time, of how intangible, how ephemeral, the findings of these proceedings must surely seem and also how numbers, statistics can seem to turn the

ephemeral into measures of concrete reality. I must comfort myself with the certainty that "True insight is immeasurable, and true insight sees the immeasurable as the essence of existence" (Grof, 1985, p.84).

Chapter 11.

The Interviews and Life Satisfaction.

In this chapter I summarize in a very brief form the issues and insights which were explored in previous chapters. It is hoped that many of these issues and insights may be illuminated through the first interview with each elder. Matters that seem to require further understanding and clarification will generally be held over to the second interviews.

My expectation is that through carefully listening to the story of each elders life I might gain some understanding of the elders life satisfaction. In considering life satisfaction I shall pay attention to the following issues as they are expressed in the living of the elder,
that is I shall attempt to arrive at some understanding as to whether and to what extent the following are expressed in the lives of the elders interviewed.

1. A sense of being a valuable part of the lives of others.
2. A sense of being a valuable part of the universe.
3. A sense of the world seen as an ongoing process.
4. A sense of being unique.
5. A sense of knowing themselves as being much more

than wealth or status.

6. *A sense of optimism about the universe.*
7. *A sense of congruence between beliefs and living.*
8. *A sense of daring in the conduct of life.*
9. *A sense of fully living in the present.*
10. *A sense of their day to day concerns and contact with others.*
11. *A sense of freedom in creating life.*
12. *A sense of continuity in life.*
13. *A sense of faith in goodness, truth, and beauty.*
14. *A sense of a willingness to experience despair.*
15. *A sense of wisdom, a detached concern with life in the face of death.*
16. *A sense of flexibility in the connection to others.*
17. *A sense of body transcendence as opposed to preoccupation.*
18. *A sense of ego transcendence.*
19. *A sense of mental flexibility.*
20. *A sense of an efficient perception of reality.*
21. *A sense of naturalness and spontaneity.*
22. *A sense of active autonomy.*
23. *A sense of continuous freshness and appreciation.*
24. *A sense of self acceptance.*
25. *A sense of equality.*
26. *A circle of close intimates.*
27. *A sense of personal boundary.*

28. A sense of the absence of the experience of boredom.
29. A sense of the absence of the experience of unique specialness.
30. A sense of the absence of a belief in an ultimate rescuer.
31. A sense of the absence of a need to be loved and remembered eternally.
32. A sense of present and future value.
33. A sense of awareness of the process of living.
34. A sense of faculties kept in full exercise.
35. A sense of the absence of experienced phobias.
36. A sense of the absence of a need for power.
37. A sense of the absence of a compelling need for affirmation.
38. A sense of having life supporting meanings and purpose.
39. A sense of childlike creativity.
40. A sense of independence from cultural demands.
41. A sense of complete openness and honesty in intimate relationship.

All of these forty-one issues have been discussed in prior chapters and have been argued to be essential elements of existential life satisfaction. They are drawn together and restated here as they will be the specific issues that I shall consider in the lives of the elders. Many of the

issues overlap as for example "A sense of being a valuable part of the universe" overlaps with "A sense of optimism about the universe". Because of this overlapping I shall not discuss all forty-two issues in the lives of any elder. I shall, however, comment on the issues that seem to provide most insight into the life satisfaction in the life of an elder. In addition to considering the above points, where they seem appropriate to the life of each elder, I shall pay close attention to the living space as evidence of the life that is actually being lived. Many of the questions in the second interviews will be directed towards gaining insight into the reality of present living.

I shall also contemplate the list of adjective pairs provided by Erikson in considering the life of each elder. My intuitive response to these pairs, after I have carefully heard a life story, will be considered in reference to that life. I restate the pairs.

1. Central rather than peripheral.
2. Luminous rather than overshadowed.
3. Active and activated rather than passive,
4. Continuous rather than scattered.
5. Indivisible rather than divided.
6. Inclusive rather than isolated and excluded.
7. Safety bound rather than invaded or evading.
8. Chosen rather than bypassed.

These eight pairs of words enfold the concerns of the

forty one items that I have listed and provide a check to confirm my understandings of the life of each elder.

SECTION II.

BIOGRAPHIES.

Then the other day I exclaimed to a friend that I was finding it fascinating to get up the ladder of years, there were so many discoveries - but I never had a chance to say what they were because she interrupted me: "You mean you really like getting old." "Yes." She didn't give me a chance to tell her why.

(Yates, 1977, p.x.)

Chapter 12.

The Elders.

A total of seventeen elders were interviewed.

Their ages ranged from sixty two years to ninety three years.

Nine of the elders interviewed were women and eight were men. Thirteen of the elders were interviewed twice and the remaining four were interviewed only once. In three of these four instances, where only one interview was conducted, I felt that a second interview would provide little additional information. In the remaining circumstance the elder cancelled her second interview. I suspect that, on reflection, she may have thought that she had revealed a little more of herself than she had intended, and was somewhat afraid of a second interview.

All of the elders appeared to greatly enjoy being interviewed. It seemed, that for many of them, little opportunity was normally presented where they were free to talk about themselves and their lives with a minimum of interruption and where the focus was maintained on them. For some the interviews appeared to be decidedly therapeutic and it was apparent that events in their lives were being reassessed and the meanings in their lives reinterpreted as they talked.

In all but three instances, I was able to see their living space, and to note the mementos and items of value with which they had surrounded themselves and which seemed to provide insight into the ongoing interests of each elder. Of the three elders whose private living space I did not see, two live in Lions Place and one lived with her son and daughter-in-law. The one who lived with her son had her own space in the home but the interviews were conducted in a general living area that bore little mark of the elder. For the two who lived in Lions Place, one did not wish to interrupt his sleeping wife and the other his cleaning lady.

As I have listened to the taped interviews with the elders and thought about their lives I am very conscious that any attempt at insight into lives, from observation that do not prevail over time, is at the best limited and fallible. With some elders I had a sense that a strong continuity existed through their lives, that their present was in many ways not dissimilar from their past. With others I was uncertain whether health or other factors were radically altering their responses to the world or whether these factors merely tended to exaggerate what had previously existed. I shall remain aware of this question when I consider the life of each elder.

It seems important that I again, at this point, assert that the observations that I will make on the life of each elder and on my perception of their life satisfaction is not

a judgement on the worthiness of any life. Every person at all times, given the totality of their life experience, has done their very best and deserves nothing but praise. Each elder that I interviewed gained my respect and praise. I was particularly moved and impressed by those who were enduring the greatest struggles, who, it appears had found the least life satisfaction. Whether their responses to their struggles were depression or anger or confusion, that is infinitely more arduous to live with than a quiet restful sense of completion. They battle on.

It seems also important to observe, at this time, that I was quite surprised at how many elders, of these that I interviewed, were immensely enjoying their elder years. For some this was the best time of their lives. They loved the freedom that was available to them to do just as they wished. Part of that freedom, for many, was seen as originating in the economic independence that was felt to be provided by Canadian income programs for elders. For some this was the greatest economic security they had experienced in their lives. Another part of the freedom was time to do as they wished, free from the responsibilities and commitments of earlier times.

The elders interviewed may not be a representative sample of the elder population at large. The elders interviewed were contacted through Lions Manor, Lions Place, Creative Retirement, and from private referrals. An attempt

was made to balance males and females and to interview those seen by the contacts as doing well and not doing well. An attempt was also made to interview elders in their sixties, seventies, eighties and nineties.

I was impressed that Lions Place and Lions Manor was seen by the residents that I interviewed, as being a particularly supportive, safe, and stimulating environment for their lives.

In the following three chapters I provide the complete text of interviews with three elders, together with some commentary on the issues in their lives that seem to be important. The commentary will include such matters as the the physical appearance of the elder, the living environment, and the voice and mannerisms of the elder where these provide useful information. These particular elders have been selected for the most extensive consideration as they appear to vividly present central issues relating to life satisfaction. Directly following the transcription of the interviews, with each elder, I shall address whatever insights into life satisfaction I have gleaned from the interviews and the evidence on which these insights have been formed.

Subsequent to considering life satisfaction in the life of the three elders I shall provide some discussion on the interviews with seven of the remaining fourteen elders and comment on the additional insights into life satisfaction

that these interviews provide.

I found that interviewing the elders has been, for me, a rich and moving experience. All of their lives are fascinating and complex and each elder has experienced tragic losses and difficult circumstances, for it would seem that a long life guarantees that loss and suffering will be experienced. I have continually been moved, in these interviews, by the ability of the human spirit to bravely and softly transcend great pain and difficulty. I am somewhat fearful that my investigation of life satisfaction in the lives of these elders might seem to reduce their complexity and richness to a collection of dusty ideas and propositions. My hope is that the words of the elders themselves, may be seen to provide some sense of the richness of their lives. I know that even the written transcription of their words miss much of the sense of the person and I wish that it were possible that you could be there and could see and hear them as they speak, could experience them alive. Only that could do them justice.

Chapter 13.Mr. W.V. Age 62 Years.

Mr. Victor is a healthy, vigorous looking man with a strong decisive manner of speaking and a firm melodious voice. He lives in a fairly large home in an upper middle class part of Winnipeg.

When I arrived for the interviews, at ten in the morning, he greeted me in a relaxed, friendly manner and offered me coffee. He enquired as to whether I might wish some rum in my coffee to get the day underway.

The interviews were conducted in a study on the second floor and two of the walls of the study were lined from floor to ceiling with books. Many of the books appeared to be about historical events or to be biographies of famous persons. Some of the books were concerned with peoples liberation movements around the world and the leaders of these movements. Several books lay open on the desk and were obviously in the process of being read. There were some family pictures on the walls and on the desk and some mementos from Trinidad in the room. The room was a very comfortable relaxed place for quiet reading. The interviews proceeded with little prompting and flowed in a direct, and clear manner. Each interview continued for about thirty minutes after the ninety minute tapes ran out. I did not

insert additional tapes as the end of taping appeared to provide additional freedom for Mr. Victor to express his feelings.

MR. W.V, First Interview, February 16, 1989

Q - Tell me your life story, starting at the beginning and telling me whatever you feel is significant in it.

A - I'm sixty-two years old. I was born in Trinidad. My father died when I was only three years old. I didn't know him at all. The only recollection I have of my father is -- I don't know what he looked like or anything, but I know it was a male person in a coffin and we were walking around -- or he was in the drawing room of our home and we were walking around it, and he seemed to be perspiring on his forehead. I don't know what his features are like or anything, but I asked my mother, when I grew up, and she said it's true, the body was laid out in the drawing room and all the family went around it. She can't recall about perspiring and all that sort of business. That's it. My mother was a very gentle sort of woman. She was reared in a convent amongst nuns but came out. She was a Catholic from a very strong Catholic family and I think she met my father through the church. He was some official in the church. They got married and she went through all her life a virgin, I think, in many many ways. There were a lot of things I did not understand as a child, I understood better as a man. She was a very gentle creature. When my father died, she had had five children from the marriage and she went back home to her mother's home, my grandmother, and so we were reared by our grandmother, who was a very strong person, a very strong-willed person. Then we went back to live with my grandmother, who was a very strong woman. She was married twice. When we went back to her, she was a widow then again, for the second time. We all grew up together,

my mother and the children. We knew that she was our mother and all that sort of business, but it was my grandmother that really influenced our lives, a very moral woman, very strong. She did everything. She was the doctor, the arbitrator, the dictator, and the loving grandmother. She looked after us very well. We went to school. We weren't very rich and all that, but we were rather comfortable. So in my family, we grew up without any sort of male example, so to speak, or any -- our uncles used to come there sometimes and visit their mother and all that, but she was such a strong personality that I don't think we needed any male examples around the place. When they came, she dominated them completely. In Trinidad, at the time, there was a very strong recognition that education was the most important element in the upbringing of children and other persons. It didn't matter at all as to your economic condition; education would cure it all. So a great many sacrifices were made to ensure that all the children had a very good education. We were enrolled in a school called the East Bend Elementary School, which was run by the nuns, Catholic church. In Trinidad, at that time, you have really a public school, a public education, but you had a lot of church schools, the Church of England, Presbyterian and Baptists and all of that, and all of them had schools. We started school, kindergarten, from when we were about three years old. Then we went from there into the elementary school, the same East Bend school. I grew up amongst nuns.

The extraordinary thing is one of the nuns that was in charge of the kindergarten school was one of the same nuns that taught my mother when she was in the convent. She knew about her, things like that. It rebounded to our great disadvantage because we had to be model pupils and all that sort of thing. She felt that she had almost an extraordinary interest in us, having known our mother and

helped to teach her. So, you know, we were watched by her all the while. Oh, it was awful for children, really. You don't like to be under the eyes of especially nuns. In Trinidad we thought of nuns not in a secular sense, like I see with the nuns and priests here. I suppose the best example of how we revered them is what used to happen in Quebec in the old days and I suspect Newfoundland within recent times. They are losing all of that reverence now for the priestly sins that these people have committed in recent times. But you consider population in Newfoundland is having a hard time reconciling themselves to that sort of conduct from a priest. This is exactly how we felt about our priests. As a matter of fact, even Protestants had this great reverence for people of the church, whether the Catholic church or any other church. But the priests were quite good and the nuns in particular. So I grew up in this elementary school and from there I went to a secondary school. When I was sixteen, the war had started and the squadron leader came out; he was recruiting people for the Royal Air Force and I went and signed up. I was only sixteen and, of course, the minimum was supposed to be eighteen years old, but I told him I was eighteen. Nobody checked anything else. Of course, I didn't tell my mother. My brother had also done the same thing, and a whole group of us from the school did it. Then the cards came for us to report to the camp, it was the first time my mother was knowing about it, of course. She said, no, I'm not going, I'm under age, and she's going to tell the authorities. I started crying and quarreling and raising hell and all that sort of thing. The same thing was happening to all of my other friends, when their parents found out, because all of us were under eighteen. But each, you know, said well, such-and-such is going and all that sort of thing, and we -- well, we didn't know the significance of it. We were just

going to England, you know, having a great time. Eventually, they relented and so I went to the training camp in Trinidad. We were children, really, and we were turned into adults almost immediately. They start telling you about sex education, about V.D., and all that sort of thing, you know; you suddenly realize that you are being treated as an adult. But it was a great time, I made great friends in the RAF. As a matter of fact, a lot of my friends to this date are fellows I met in the RAF, when we joined together in Trinidad. I think it was the most profound experience of my life. The things I remember about the RAF -- I have forgotten about everything else that I have done, but I remember my number, 714770. I've never forgotten it. We were in Trinidad for about three months and then we left on a boat called a Q-boat. It was the most awful experience in my life, that trip across the Atlantic. We went to the States, picked up a convoy and went up into Scotland. The boat was filthy, the sea was rough, and I was seasick for the entire voyage. I think I almost died. A friend of mine used to feed me on pieces of apples and all that. We used to sit in messes of about eight persons and each person was assigned -- because there you don't volunteer for anything, you're assigned to be orderlies for collecting the food and all that sort of business each morning. You'd be about twenty feet from the cook, when its eggs, for instance, and he'd say, "How many at your table?" You'd say, "Eight", and he would throw these eggs twenty feet and they wouldn't even crack. You had to almost use a sledgehammer to break them because they were--- apparently how they prepared the eggs, they just put them in the water and boil them for about five hours. So they were tough and black and it smells. We slept in hammocks. Of course, most of us weren't accustomed to sleeping in hammocks and so as soon as you go in, you'd slide out, and it took a couple of days to get accustomed to

that. They packed you in like sardines. It was awful, really awful. We got to Scotland in the end and we went up to a place called Fyling on the Yorkshire Moors. It was a Butlin's Holiday Camp so the chalets were there, that's where you bunked in, and the bathrooms were in the middle of the length of the building. So you had to come out of your room, walk along a corridor that was exposed to the elements, to get to the bathroom, and it's winter. We got there in October, never having seen snow in our lives, and the wind blowing across the moors of Yorkshire. My God, I tell you something, if there was a boat coming back immediately, I think all of us would have been back in Trinidad. Well, we adapted to the conditions there, you know. Instead of coming out at 2:00 o'clock in the morning, I nearly never undressed at all because the rooms were not heated. And you are supposed to undress, but when you're wearing the long johns, that we used to call the steel drawers because it used to take all the hair off your skin, itched all over the place, and I used to put on every damn thing I could carry, as far as clothing was concerned, trying to keep warm. It never worked. Much later, I found out from a tramp that you should use newspaper. I found him on a park bench in Hyde Park, many years after, and he says, "No, no, all those things don't work. Just put newspaper in", and it worked very well. So we were at Fyling for about three months and then I was assigned to a station called Woodallspar in Lincolnshire. It was a bomber command, 617 squadron, the dam busters, but they had already busted up dams long before that. Then we went to Conningsby and it was the happiest time of my life. I spent about three years there between Conningsby and Woodallspar. It was right in the middle of farm country. I could talk about my life in the RAF for ever and ever and ever. It was a wonderful time of life. I was a youngster, turning into a

man, with no responsibility, no parents peeking over your shoulder. You're in a foreign country. It was war time. Inhibitions were almost non-existent and things like that. You could do almost anything you want. You were fed, clothed. The dangers, we thought, were minimal until one night we were coming home and a German fighter came across and shot at the station. They used to follow the bombers back and they would refuse them permission to land because they didn't want to give away where their home was. But, of course, the Germans knew. Sometimes they waited until the first plane started landing and shot them as soon as it touched the runway. Then they shot up all the buildings they could see, especially on moonlit nights. That was the only time that we really realized there was a war on, or sometimes when the bombers came back and people were killed in it and things like that. But other than that, it was a wonderful time. We attended a little village and the largest city nearby was Boston. And Boston in Massachusetts is named after this Boston, actually a small place. There was a prison there where people were imprisoned for their religious convictions, who left from there and migrated to the United States and ended up in Boston. They settled Boston. But a large city near was Lincoln and we used to visit there. It was one of the most magnificent places in the summer months, beautiful, as the English and Scottish countryside is green and quiet, placid and very peaceful. The farming without noise. I've never seen farmers that make so little noise as the farmers in Britain. Very generous hearted people. We used to go out and pick potatoes for them and things like that and they used to feed us. Paid us very little. They got permission from the commanding officer for help in reaping their crops and all that. They paid very little but they fed you well because everything was on rations in those days. The farmer's wives

used to be -- I used to admire them very much because they used to do everything. They were rare. There were very small farms around there and they had grain on it, but it was mixed farming. They had a couple of head of cattle, they had pigs, they had chickens. When you go on a farm, they were very, very self-sufficient as far as food is concerned, because the farmer's wife would bake her own bread, they would grind their own grain, bake their own bread, make their own liquor -- cider from apples, and things like that. So you could get drunk after a lovely dinner, and things like that. In all, they were very wonderful people. They sort of adopted all the youngsters there. What I used to find very, very nice is, especially at Christmas time, because at Christmas we used to be saddened and missed home a hell of a lot -- I know I did, and most of us did -- and they would have us in for Christmas and things like that. So we used to take them all kinds of things that we could get, chocolates or things that were rationed. We could get chocolates when they couldn't get chocolates. We'd take blankets for them that we could get. We used to take damaged parachutes that were condemned and were about to be thrown away, and we'd get them all that. It was silk, made out of pure silk, so we would take to them and they used to make lingerie with it. They were very grateful and all that. So from there I became a man, really, grew up. I went to London and when the war ended, I studied accountancy with a scholarship from the RAF at Pittman's College in London. Well, I knew London very well. I used to go there for holidays in all that time. I loved London. I used to go all over the place. I went to Glasgow, Edinburgh. I have a good friend that I met in the RAF, that used to work in the vehicle section, and he lived in a little place called Lindsay, just outside Glasgow. I used to spend leave with him. They used to raise greyhounds

there. In the early mornings, it's one of the most beautiful places I've seen. It's very hilly and you have a lot of lochs, you call them. Very green, bluish green, and foggy early in the morning, and you see these chaps come out with the dogs. The thing I noticed about the dogs, they'd never run when -- they'd walk, though they were racing greyhounds. But when they're just going along the road, they never run like these other little dogs. They always just walk, graceful creatures. I remember going for a walk once. I was talking to an elderly gentleman with his cap and all that, and I asked directions, and he said to me, "You take a wee turn to the right, a wee turn to the left." They speak -- the language is beautiful in Scotland, with the brogue. When I finished there in England, this was about 1948, I came back to Trinidad, grown up now, wanted to do nothing, absolutely nothing. I didn't want a job or anything. Another friend of mine, we were at the East Bend School together, and he came back. The both of us travelled out together and we had a wonderful time travelling out because we went to about four different countries into the whorehouses and all that sort of business, and all the ports, and things like that, feeling like you're a man. I came home and we couldn't afford a car but we rode all over the place, wenching all over the place, going to the beach every day, and all that sort of thing. Eventually my mother says, "Look, you can't continue like this." So after about nine months, she says, "You can't continue like this. You have to settle down, you're a grown man now", and all that sort of thing. I said, "All right." Then I got a job with the army ordinance. They put me there as their accountant. I worked there for about six months and I said, "I've had enough, I'm going to read for the bar." So I went back to England and applied to Lincolns Inn. I was admitted and read for the bar there. That was a very unusual experience

but it wasn't as powerful -- I think you asked about the most lasting experience of your life, I think was joining the Royal Air Force. It had a profound effect on me. The others were experiences, and reading for the bar was one. All the time I was in court was very, very interesting. I enjoyed it. But I had a great interest in the law and it was stimulated by a book I read. I read this book long before I joined the air force, when I was a little boy. I used to read voraciously, and read everything. There was what you call a junior centre for children, and there was a fellow there, B his name was, one of the gentlest men that you could ever find. It was an old Trinidadian family that has a long tradition of service. They were teachers and ministers, pastors, and in the arts. This gentleman was in charge of the junior centre, softly spoken, kindly, very warm. He listened to children, could talk to children. He would talk for hours with children and he used to have story hours and all that. You would go there and he would read stories for the children and all that. He was beloved by all. The funny thing about it, I think he's still alive. He must be about ninety now. But even when I grew up as a man and went back to Trinidad and all that sort of thing, he has invited me to give speeches to children, and he was doing the same thing. Extraordinary. He's spent his entire life amongst children, with children, for children. I must have read every book in the junior centre, and he realized it. So there was the adult library across the road, the Institute of Trinidad, and he arranged with the librarian over there for me to use the library, the adult library. So I went in there and it was a gold mine, it was Aladdin's cave, as far as I was concerned. I would go to the institute and I would walk through there for days, just looking at the books, without touching them, because I get a great deal out of excitement out of a new book. I really

enjoy reading and this is why I thought retiring now would give me the opportunity to do exactly what I want. I suppose if I won a lottery and had no more concerns about anything and I'll get into that sort of state of mind. So I started reading. I loved history and I started reading history, mostly English history. A lot of the names that cropped up in these histories, I started reading the biographies of those people. I read the biographies of a man named M. He was a famous lawyer, a defence lawyer, who was one of the most brilliant members of the bar. He wasn't strong in his law, but he had a great deal of passion, fantastic passion, especially for an Englishman. Nothing analytical about him, or cold, but he had a great deal of warmth, a great deal of passion. He used to get himself in trouble with judges all the while because he'd blurt out things when he thought that they were unfair, and all that. That you don't do! Some of it, you know, he got carried away sometimes by his own eloquence and just couldn't control it. So he was a little -- he was a good defence counsel because of that. It infected jurors that he appeared before, you know, this person and all that because he stood up for his clients so much and all that. But I admired him and I says, you know, "This is what I'd like. I'd like to know law." So it was always in the back of my mind when I studied accountancy, and then when I was studying in England, for instance, I went up and visited Inns of Court, just to walk through the gardens and look at the place. I read the history of it and things like that. They permit members of the public to go in there, to Inns of Court. It was even more impressive when you went there, and see the law courts at one end, especially at Lincolns Inn, and see the row of barristers and the judges and things like that. It was always in the back of my mind and then I felt, you know, a sort of sense of achievement and peace when I

became a member of the Inns. I was a student now and enjoying all the benefits of being a student there and watching people come and visit, you know, what I did before. I found it fascinating. I find law extremely fascinating, really fascinating. Intellectually, it's a fantastic exercise. When I graduated from there, I was called to the bar in 1955 and I came back to Trinidad and joined the service. I was a Crown counsel. After about a year, I went into private practice and then I was asked by the Chief Justice if I would accept an appointment as the judge in the offshore islands, which we hear they're trying to join -- at that time the offshore islands were dependents of Trinidad. They were administered from Trinidad. The governor of Trinidad was the governor of those islands. So Trinidad serviced them as far as technical offices are concerned, they sent doctors, the nurses, the engineers, and some of the public servants and all that, and they hired civil servants who were sent there, and I was a judge in the islands. That was another unusual experience because it's several small islands and I'm not a good sailor, from my experience of the Q-boat. I never recovered from that initial terrible shock of seasickness. I still am, to this day. As a matter of fact, I think the Q-boat was such a filthy ship. When I was in RAF, we had some Trinidadian fellows who travelled overnight, who were working in the radar units and the coastguard areas and all that sort of thing. It was sunk by the Germans and they phoned every damn Trinidadian everywhere they could find and they said the Q-boat was sunk. I said a prayer. I prayed for the souls of the departed, but I said a prayer that they didn't subject anybody else to the tender mercies of that Q-boat. According to one of the fellows, when it sank, every fish within a radius of a hundred miles died of poisoning. It was such a filthy boat. I have terrible memories of it.

I've never forgotten it.

Q - What registry was it?

A - I think it was an English ship. It part of the merchant transport that were transporting troupes, because they had converted it. They had taken out all the bunks and all that, so when you go into -- it had about five decks and each deck was one large room with hooks and you'd just hook the hammocks on these things. So they could cram four hundred people on one deck. This is what it was. It was a converted troop carrier. But the bathroom facilities were minimal. It was carrying people who had never been at sea before, so they got sick. They wouldn't permit you to come up above deck in the convoys. At a certain time of day you could come above deck, when they had to wash down the place and the sea water they used to wash out everything, and all that sort of business. The first sign of any danger, like you hear the destroyers that were escorting and all that, if they sighted anything or they suspected anything, they put on a siren running up and down like police cars, and they put on the siren. As soon as they do it, the public address system ordered everybody below deck. So they locked the hatches with you down below, and you hear gunfire and all that. That's why so many damn people drowned. You don't know what's happening. It was a shocking place. It was -- going downstairs, the smell of it alone would turn your stomach. It was awful. I don't like remembering it. I won't be able to eat today now that I remember it. It was so wretched. But I went to the islands and I suffered the same problems of seasickness again. But I used to go to the different islands to hold court by law and so I had to cut down my visits very severely. I used to be terribly ill and they used to lay me out in the cabin. When I reached the other island, I was so damn sick they'd lift me off and take me to the hotel and put me to bed, and I was in bed for two

days before I could start court. I became notorious. All these people are sea people, they've been sailing all their lives. That's the only transportation they have. They used sail boats. They were fishermen and all that sort of thing. They have small boats, they are conkers. They used to catch a lot of conks and that's what they used to export to Haiti and North America. So the boats stank of conks. I've sailed in some of that. The government boat that I went on, it was a huge launch, very, very palatial. The cabin is like a bordello, mirrors right around with a queen size bed, long before queen size beds came into vogue. This was the cabin that you had, with your own bathroom. It was beautiful, really a palace, but I was sick just the same. It didn't matter. But I enjoyed my time there very, very much. Beautiful scenery, white sands. You have some places where you sail and the water is like this, flat just like the top of a billiard table. You can see right down to the bottom of the sea and it's white. They call it the white waters. When it got rough, it was the roughest channel in the world, worse than the Irish Sea. There are three places that -- that passage, the Irish Sea and somewhere else again. But a lot of ships used to get destroyed there. I spent two years there, and then I went back home to Trinidad, went in private practice. A very good practice, enjoyed it very very much. After about four or five years, I appeared in a murder case. Some fellows, who were American chaps who came to Trinidad and were preaching revolution and all that, killed some people. Very interesting case. My fellow got acquitted and the chief justice asked me if I would come on the bench and serve so I said all right. So I went back in the service. I started as Crown Counsel and after about six months I went on the Bench Inferior court. That is equivalent to the Provincial Court here, a Provincial Court Judge. And I was a

Provincial Court Judge for about eight years, nine years, and then went on the Supreme Court. I stayed on the Supreme Court until I retired. This was about 1980 that I retired and came to Canada here. I worked for four or five years with the government of Nova Scotia. I enjoyed it in the Maritimes very, very much. I was director of legal research there. I met some -- there's a Trinidadian chap that used to be -- that was a lawyer in Trinidad that was working there and my wife got a job over there. Of course, she had to start from scratch. She had retired and she got a job there. When he heard I was coming, he was talking to the Attorney General and the Attorney General invited me to come and work there, so I said yes. I went to work. For the first time, I learned a little about Canadian bureaucracy. It's very interesting, the relationship between the federal and the provincial governments here. It's the root of a every evil and the font of every good, I suppose. The first question you ask, is it provincial or federal, in everything you do. It's an interesting country, this is what I've found. I think it's the last innocent country in the world; they're remarkably naive in Canada, terribly spoiled, a great deal of ambivalence about government and freedom. I suppose, with the British tradition, they accept government involvement in their lives, unlike the Americans, and yet they want to be free of government in a lot of the areas, and things like that, but it's a very kind country, it's a very warm country. It does a lot for its citizens and things like that. It's unique in many ways. They blind their eyes to problems. They try to wish it away, instead of doing something about it. But they are very good hearted. Canada is a last opportunity for a lot of other people. It's a restful place to be, very, very restful place, physically and intellectually, very restful place. So I like Canada. I enjoy it very, very much and I enjoyed

working in Nova Scotia. I always told my wife, when we were coming here, because she's much younger than I am, and when she came here and she had to start from scratch -- she had a Masters degree in nursing in Trinidad and they wouldn't accept it here at all, biggest waste I've ever seen -- so she had to do her entire new Masters program from scratch in health administration. And I told her, well, I'd had my career, I had done all the things that I had wanted to do, because -- most lawyers, you know, they feel incomplete, they really want to spend some time on the bench. I've experienced all these things already so I said, "Look, I'll subordinate my interests to yours", and this is what I've done. She had reached as far as she could go in Nova Scotia because of this. It was quite limited and then she was offered this job here. It was everything that she wanted and she would have had to refuse it if I had remained. I didn't believe in staying one place and she another place, so I retired from there too. So I retired down there and came here. I have been trying to -- as I said, it wasn't planned. I had assumed that I would retire at sixty-five. I think, psychologically, you feel more useless at sixty-five than at sixty-two. But I had a lot of plans as to -- when I retired, I said, "Oh, Lord, I'd go back to university." And the Charter of Rights, I had specialized in that in the Maritimes and one of my responsibilities was to examine all the laws of the province and see whether they conformed with the Charter of Rights, and if not, make recommendations, say why and things like that. I enjoyed it very much. It was right good. In reading the Charter, I looked at it from the point of view of a judge because everybody was talking about the fantastic powers that it had given judges. It increased powers that the judges had. But I look at it from the point of the limitation it placed on the judiciary and I says, "Oh, Lord, I'd go back to

university and do something about that." So I wrote and I was put in touch with one of the best men I've ever met, NG. I don't know if you know him. He's a professor in Constitutional Law at the university. A formidable mind, a gentle person, a brilliant man, very, very modest, brilliant. We discussed it and I was going to take about three years, do it in a very leisurely fashion, but I found that it was like a compulsion to complete things once I start; that's my problem. So I finished it in about nine months, which was really stupid. So I ended up almost with nothing to do. I don't want to go back to practice and all that sort. I'm retired. So he said I should go for a doctorate, but I said, "no, no, it's only more and more like work instead of retirement", and I looked at the ultimate end and see all this stuff that I have to complete and all that sort of thing. So I've been in two minds as to what to do in all this, and trying to reconcile myself to retirement. So I still read a lot and --

Q - What decided you to retire in Trinidad?

A - There were a lot of problems in Trinidad, political problems, at the time and I had a niece who got involved. She was part and parcel of it. As a result, there were threats against the entire family, especially with the children and all that, so I removed them. I couldn't expose them to that. So I said, "Look at this practically." I miss home sometimes; I miss Trinidad a lot. But I visit quite frequently and I have a home there that I sold and I got an apartment there. I had intended going and staying for about three months, in all the winter, but I don't like staying by myself. My wife hasn't got the leave to go along with me. She says, "You go and I'll come out for three weeks or so", and all that, but I get no fun going by myself. But I think I'll have to start doing that now.

Q - Where did you meet your wife?

A - That's a strange thing. I used to horse around a hell of a lot and I wanted to be married and all that sort of thing, but I never met any -- I'm very particular about what I want in a wife and I never met anybody who suited me, so to speak. Then I was in private practice. We used to go to Tobago at the start of the circuit there. Most of the lawyers came from Trinidad and we went there this time. I had a friend who was in charge of the air traffic arrangement at the airport and whenever we go, we always went to dinner at his place the first day we went in. That night, it was about six of us, four lawyers and two doctors who had come, who had worked in Tobago, and they came to give evidence in cases that we had. And when I went to B, I saw this girl sitting there. She had just left school and was on her way to going to university and came over there to teach. And that's where I met her. As soon as I saw her, I said, "That's the girl I'm going to marry." So I spoke to her and all that sort of thing, invited her to the beach the next day, and all that. She was a very young girl. She was only eighteen, nineteen. I invited her to the beach. She was about to return to Trinidad. When she came back to Trinidad, I went and visited her, met her mother and all that sort of business. Then we got married in November. This was in June. Then we got married in November, that was twenty-eight years ago -- twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago. So it was very easy for me to get married. I had started very early, so with my wife it was -- sixteen -- so I got married when I was thirty-two. At that time I was more or less well settled in my mind and all that sort of thing. It was no problem at all, very lovely girl. She's very sensible. We have two children, a boy and a girl. The boy loves flying a hell of a lot. That's all he's interested in, combat flying. My wife has almost a hereditary complaint with her eyes. She has to wear

glasses; it started when she was about fifteen. Unfortunately, he inherited the same thing so he had to wear glasses and they said, no, they wouldn't take him in as a pilot because they have too many applicants not to take people with 20/20 vision. So he was really crushed, you know. He lost interest in everything. He was doing very well at school, working hard, and all that, and he lost interest in every single thing. He went to university and he said he didn't like it and all that sort of business, so he left. So I spoke to him. We thought he would be able to fly in Trinidad because there's not jets to fly there in the defence force. I spoke to the commanding officer down there and he says, "Send him down." He knew him from when he was a child. So he went and he joined the defence force there, went to Sandors, came back. Well, they found his eyes are so bad for flying that he's a line officer now down there. But he says he's not going to renew his commission since he can't fly any longer. So he's going to come back sometime next year. I suppose he'd have to go back to school. He spent five years; he's a lieutenant. While he was in England he met a young lady that he's very interested in. And it turn out -- coincidence is a funny thing -- the girl is the daughter of a friend of mine, much younger than I, who were in the courts together. He was a provincial court judge. He met this girl's mother when he was in England reading for the bar and he died very young. He had cancer, he died in his thirties of cancer. As a matter of fact, I stayed with him. I went on circuit to place called St. Elizabeth. He was a judge there and I stayed with him, at the judge's house, and I was at his funeral. I remember the wife and this little girl, she was only about four or five years old. He met her and fell in love with her and they are engaged now. I have a daughter, she's in Toronto, very trying, very independent minded young lady. She does as she

pleases, not as I please. She's the first child. When she was four -- in Trinidad, we send them to school very early. They go to kindergarten school very early, private school, Catholic school. She went there and she was introduced to the dance. I can't remember the name of the lady she danced with, the National Theatre Dance Company in Trinidad, and they started teaching her to dance. She has developed a passion for the dance that is unbelievable. It would have been better if she had stayed there because all she wanted, even from then, to go abroad and then to dance. To me, dancing is nonsense; you do it for recreational purposes, you don't do it as a profession. When we came here, she wanted to do that and of course I said no and all that sort of thing. Her mother said, "You must leave her do what she wants to do." I says no. So what she did, she went to Queens and she did Latin-American studies, joined every single organization that's going. That's how she is. She's a member of every organization that is going, Save the Nicaraguan Children, Save the San Salvador Children, Save the Plants in Argentina, Save the Trees in Brazil, that's her. It drives me crazy. I says, "Look, you go to university to study." She says, "Well, that's not the only thing you do at university." But the trouble is, she does this ninety percent and study ten percent. So three days before exam, nobody goes to sleep. She stay up three days to study and take her exams. Because she gets through, that's how she has gone through. And then the arrangement was that she was going to Latin America to study. She did Spanish and all that and she said she wanted to do a doctorate and would go to Mexico and do it at a Latin American university. But she went to McGill to do her Masters in economics. When she finished that -- she was then twenty, twenty-one, she's a grown woman -- she tell her mother that she'd like to do the dancing, and she's reaching

the age where, if she doesn't do it now, she'll never do it. So she went to Toronto to do the dancing. And of course, she's concentrating on that now. She teases me, but we don't get along as a result of that. I think it's nonsense, this dancing business. She's married now, married to a fellow she met in the company that she's with. I've never met him. I've spoken on the phone and things like that. That's where they are.

Q - So you're kind of estranged from your daughter. You're kind of disconnected from her?

A - No, I'm not. She was up here -- oh, she came up a month ago. It's just that she don't do what I want her to do. But, no, she tells me, "Daddy, you taught us to be independent and when I act independently and all that, you get mad". She teases me a hell of a lot. It's her life, I suppose, and she's got to live it her way. All you can do is make yourself available. She does things that I disapprove of, but she asked me -- she said, "Tell me something, daddy, where were you when you were sixteen years old? Weren't you in England in the war? Did your mother agree? Did you ask your mother's permission to do it? And at that time you were an infant. Here I am, I'm an adult and you're angry because I don't accept your advice." She has all the arguments. Of course, they make no sense to me. So I says, "Don't ask me for my advice if you're not going to take it when I give it." But she says, "No, you're not giving advice. It's a dictate you're handing down." Oh, she'll argue with you until the cows come home. A nice little girl, but she drives me crazy. My son is always an obedient young man, very obedient, but she's not. M. -- that's my wife -- say that she's very much -- we look alike and she say that we are very much alike, and -- argumentative, I suppose. I don't think we are, but she's a nice girl, a very nice girl. She's no trouble and not

taking drugs or anything. So she says, "Daddy, you know, look around you and you see children are taking drugs, they're in all kinds of things and all that sort of business. You have blessed children", which is true. So the last thing I have done -- everywhere I go, I'm admitted as a lawyer. I'm admitted here to practice so I do a part-time practice and hope it doesn't feel like work. Other than that, we travel a lot when my wife can get the leave. We've just come back from Russia. We're going to go to Latin America when she gets some leave in June. And this is how I'm spending my retirement. I belong to Creative Retirement. You got in touch with F.F., an extraordinary young man. Really extraordinary man. I never met anybody like him before, really extraordinary. I belong to MARL, the association of rights and liberties. They deal with human rights and problems and things like civil liberties because that's what I'm interested in? I'm more interested in the constitutional law than anything else. The Canadian constitution, crazy stack of constitution you've ever seen, fascinating though. I enjoyed studying it very very much. This is how I keep myself -- right now, in terms of retiring, I have a heart condition that they have found so I'm supposed to change my lifestyle. I haven't been succeeding too well at that. They sent me to a dietician to look over my diet and I honour it in the breach more than anything else, but I'm trying and I have to try much harder.

Q - What is your condition? Is it a coronary heart problem?

A - Angina, yeah, coronary heart. And I'm supposed to exercise at least three times a week. I'm a member of the Reh-Fit Centre, Kinsman Reh-Fit Centre, and so I try to go each day. I walk for an hour because the doctors -- my doctor in Trinidad say he doesn't think I should jog, it's dangerous jogging at my age. So I walk and then bicycle for

half an hour or so and do some other exercises, two hours a day. I do that. My books, I read. My tastes are extremely catholic, but I love history. I'm reading a history of Japan now, during the war, very good at it. A lot of the stuff here, European history I've gone through. I'm fascinated by Eastern Europe because it's something that I've discovered since I came here. When I grew up, the history of Russia and the geography of Russia -- it includes the Baltic States, Ukraine and all that -- it was all Russian. That's how we learned it, the whole thing was Russia, until I came to Canada and found out that if you say that to a Ukrainian, it's almost inviting an assault. I'm learning that now, that these people say, oh, no, we're a conquered territory at least sixty years ago but we are still a conquered territory and we're trying to free ourselves. So I've been reading the history of Russia through different eyes, different light entirely. I'm very, very interested in Europe, especially with the war and all that. I was there in Germany and I admired the German army as far their military prowess was concerned. They seemed to be the greatest warriors on earth, the Germans. It's something that's hereditary. It comes out of their mother's milk. You scratch any German and it's a soldier you see. Of course, I am very confused and depressed at how cruel people can be, the things that they did, and they were not the only ones. It is still being done all over the world. I can't understand it. I can't understand the motivations. I think I've come to some conclusions that this is merely the use of power, something goes wrong with it. The moralities of being powerful is such where you feel justified in suppressing people who refuse to do what you want them to do. The attitude is that I know what's best for them. I was shocked the other day to hear of what's happening in Israel, after what happened to the Jews in

Europe. They should be the most sensitive people to other people's rights. The cruel suppression on the West Bank and places like Gaza Strip, and they seem to want to justify it. Aman says that they are revolting and have declared violence against us, children throwing stones. And you shoot them and say that they are violent against me, they want to overthrow Israel and all that. You have atomic weapons and your F-15's and your guns and all that. It's absurd. And yet there is no gentler person than the Jew. There is no gentler person than -- tomorrow morning, if there weren't a war there, the first persons who would be in there to see that people have health service, good roads, and lend their skills to assist them, would be the Jews. They're the greatest contradiction I've ever seen and yet I heard young Israeli soldiers, eighteen or nineteen years, say, "Oh, they're like bugs, you should just crush them." I realize it's the power of the gun. That's the only difference between them. One has the gun and one has a stone. Now the very thing that they're raising hell about Waldheim, they're supposed charge him as a criminal and send him to jail and all that sort of thing because he was a lieutenant in headquarters. Now what the hell a lieutenant can do at headquarters with the generals around, except you say, "Yes, sir", and they want to say that he has a moral duty to disobey and all and get bloody shot. And they're doing the same thing, blowing up houses if they suspect that the fellow is -- what the partisans used to do in Europe. You used to have collective punishment, which is against the Geneva Convention. And Israeli's say, "Oh, we're justified in doing it. They must be quiet and be good slaves." The world does me in, it depresses me, because unfortunately I -- I quarrel about my daughter and I find that it is the same thing with me. I bleed for everybody who suffers anything, in any part of the world, and it's not good for

you. That's how you get ulcers. It's not good for your heart. If I could switch off my mind about other people's troubles, I'd be a happier man, but as a result of that, no, no, a dismal disposition. I remember some of my colleagues on the bench, they were working and all that, how detached they were from everything that was happening around them, the poverty in some places in Trinidad. They'd drive past and never saw it, never touched it. It wasn't part of their existence. It has nothing to do with them. It's reflected in their thinking of law and what law is and how it's supposed to be administered. What's the purpose of it? These are those -- they became arbitrary rules that they say, "Well, all right, the rules say thou shalt not do this and you have done it, so you are guilty and I'll punish you." This is how they used to do it, and not the purpose of it. It's like what happens here with the Indians. The laws are white man's laws. Nobody is trying to understand the Indian's point of view, how he thinks. You see it right today. You open the paper and you see, "Oh, this mad man in Iran saying they're going to condemn this fellow because he wrote a book," and writes off free speech. Nobody tries to understand the Moslem's attitude in relation to it. Surely it is difficult to justify the execution of a person because he writes a book, especially if he writes a book in a society where you have a right to write any damn thing you want, yet you have laws of blasphemy. But the laws of blasphemy presuppose that you will not write anything against a Christian religion and this is a Christian country. But is it? Is it? Not anymore. You have multiculturalism here now. You have Moslems here now who are Canadian citizens and this is the point I make. Nobody set down the old concepts that existed a long time ago, where this was an Anglo-Saxon world with a French element in it that has been defeated and is supposed to submit. It has

not changed in Canada in many respects, in the minds of a lot of people. This is a Christian country and the laws were geared on that. But they have introduced into the constitution now a concept of secularization and they have done that deliberately because you have a lot of people who live here who are not Christian, just as you have a lot of people who are no longer Anglo-Saxon and no longer French. These are elements that you must recognize and try and accommodate. It's a different country from what it was originally, but the concepts of people go right back to when the country was formed. They cannot see that you need new definitions. If you have a blasphemy law here, it cannot be limited to Christian doctrine. It must embrace all the other doctrines, to reflect the citizens that you have here, the Moslems, the Buddhists, and things like that. You interpret your blasphemy laws that way. But we sit down and say, "No, these are wicked people, and these are poor people." Their culture is completely different and the attitude of -- I saw a documentary the other night about the disappearance of French in North America and this was the point the fellow was making. He says that immigration is not going to assist Quebec because we don't subordinate the people to French culture. We should subordinate them to French culture. Are we talking about multi-culturalism which defuses our culture. It's French and others, and they are multiplying and we are declining, and all that sort of thing. So eventually we are going to be absorbed and this is what he's saying. Maybe he's true in all that sort of thing; I don't know. But I don't think you can destroy other people's culture in order to advance your own. The Americans did it and succeeded for a long, long time when they said, for instance, this is an Anglo-Saxon country and everybody who comes here will have to learn English. You're in an English-speaking country and you learn English, so a

lot of the parents couldn't become American citizens because they couldn't learn the English. And the children went to school and learned English, eventually they became American citizens. They had a ridiculous situation where somebody does something wrong and you find that he has been in America for sixty years and he's deported because he's not an American citizen. But it's changing now because nowhere does it stand still and the impact of the Latin Americans coming into the States for one reason or another, why the hell they're going to force them to learn English? You cannot force five or six million people to learn English. They'll learn English, some of them, but they will still speak Spanish, and that's what's happening now. They're running all over the States now, passing laws that English will be the official language. They're wasting time. Mexico is having its final revenge. They're going to get back their provinces that were taken from them forcibly many years ago by imperialistic America, whether they like it or not. A woman was complaining bitterly on this program. We opened our hearts to these people, the Cubans, and let them in, and now they're telling us that if we want a job in Miami we have to speak Spanish. But it's a lot of change and all that.

Q - Do you despair of the human race?

A - I don't know. I'm somewhat ambivalent about it because you find so many cruelties. In the midst of it, you find one person stands up and says, "This is wrong. This is wrong." And the person who was saying it is attacked, is reviled, and all that, in the society in which he lives, but he still has the courage. Now who would believe that a Communist system could produce a Gorbachev? With all you read and all that sort of thing about Russia, who could believe that you could have a system where a man is a product of that system, that's all he knows, he knows

nothing else, he's reared in it, it's pumped in his head. The only exposure to other ideas, other philosophies, is through books and things like that, and yet he can reason that this is not the way to go. This is a better way -- or this is not necessarily a better way, but this is an alternative that one should do. And he suppressed all that. He must have been critical in all his years in that administration, very critical of it. He must have been -- the self-analysis must have been profound within himself and yet he could do all that, watch it, test it, examine it, and come to conclusions that he had to keep to himself until such a time when he had the power to say, "Well, look, I think we should try this." Remarkable! That is why there is always hope. But you know you have only one lifetime and it is extremely depressing when you realize that your lifetime, the brutalities and the cruelties are going to stay there. You hear people -- I heard two chaps on the radio last night or the night before, a Republican congressman and a Democratic congressman, and they were talking about the Aries plan and this agreement that the five Latin American leaders had signed. It was predictable what they were saying. With all the talk that they were talking about, whether America should agree with it or disagree with it, whether America should intervene, and all that sort of thing, nobody was projecting the amount of bloodshed that is going to continue in the country as a result of their actions. Nobody was talking about the cruelties that have been perpetrated against ordinary citizens.

Q - Fifty-nine thousand dead so far.

A - Yes. . No, it didn't matter. It didn't matter. It's like with Afghanistan. None of it -- the Russians went in there, not thinking about the number of people that they were going to kill and the amount of their own people who

are going to be killed. It happened that they killed over a million Afghans, one way or another caused the death of over a million Afghans. They lost fifteen thousand people and was it thirty thousand wounded, crippled and all that sort of business. They marched out of the people's country and the other side was interested in getting the Russians out. They're not interested in the Afghans. All they wanted is get the Russians out because the Russians are going to have an advantage over us. So they armed these people and that sort of thing and eventually the Russians say, "We want to leave". They make no effort to try and establish peace in the country so the killings will stop. They want a government there that is so unfriendly to the Russians that they feel that they are going to get an advantage. So they are using the Afghans, just the same as the Russians tried to use them. So the Afghans are going to kill Afghans. Now the other man say this has been transformed from an occupation to a civil war. And the labels cover all the brutalities that you can ever think of. And the Afghans themselves, they see nothing wrong in killing other Afghans because they're Communist. It's like in Northern Ireland. They kill each other because I'm a Catholic and you're a Protestant, and it's perfectly justifiable. I find it incomprehensible that people can kill each other over colour, religion, creed, but I see it here with the French and the English.

Q - You must have found, as a judge, you must have often been required to support things you didn't believe in and do things you didn't believe in, that run against your moral principles?

A - I never found the law to be like that. You have aspects of the law that I found arbitrary, how it was administered. Take, for instance, I had a problem once in Trinidad where in the agricultural area you have some irrigation projects.

If you lived within that area, like within a radius of about ten miles, they put up this huge irrigation thing and pump water through the irrigation, lay down canals and all that sort of thing. You have to contribute to the cost of the upkeep of it, which is reasonable. It's quite reasonable. If you're going to benefit from this irrigation in this area, you should assist in paying for it. They spread the cost over everybody. But what happens is, you had certain areas where, because of faulty engineering, no water reached there. These people were being taxed to pay for water they never received. Nicely laid out in the law and all that sort of thing. So a lot of these people were brought before the court for not paying these levies and all that sort of thing. But the man says, "Well, I never got the water." And I said to Crown counsel, "Is that true?" He said, "Well, yes, we agree that because of the faulty engineering, these people haven't got the water." "But are you charging them for what they never received?" They say, "Well, we can't do anything as the law gives no other alternative. What they must do is they must apply to the governor general who can waive it, but we can't do anything else." I said, "And what do you expect me to do?" What they expect me to do is to make an order against this man, a summary order that he pays the money or he goes to jail. So they're using the courts as an agency of almost terrorism. I said, "Look, I'm not prepared to do that. I'll adjourn this sine die, until the man gets water, but I'm not making any order against this man for him to go to jail in the alternative of paying money for something that he never received." I mean it's ridiculous.

Q - So you didn't see the law as maintaining injustice, as maintaining inequality?

A - No, it's how you administrate. I mean I was called up about it by the Attorney General, who tried to appeal. But

I didn't make an order. I didn't dismiss the case. I adjourned it sine die, from day to day. I put it off, just stayed the execution of it. But he complained to the Chief Justice and the Chief Justice called me about it. I said to him plainly, I said, "Look, don't tell me about a law that these people must go to the governor general. They haven't got any water. The Crown admits that they didn't get any water, and I am not making any order for them to pay for what they never received." The Chief Justice didn't like it, maybe, but he can't tell you what judgement to arrive at. He can screw you other ways, and all that sort of business. But if he wants to, it's his business. You get all kinds of things happening in the law that are arbitrary. We used to have mandate for sentences in certain things, like for instance in sexual assaults. Some terrible injustices have been done as a result of mandate for sentence because you'll get a fellow come before you for something that you'd give him six months imprisonment or put him on probation and you had to impose a sentence of six, seven years. You have no choice. Because you are a judge, you've sworn to uphold the law; you can't break it yourself. That is not a good example, you say. Well, what you get as a result of that, you get, in my court -- and it used to happen with almost all the other judges -- we used to put the Crown on stricter proof. For instance, you have a thing in law called corroboration. What it means is this, that they're not going to take the evidence of one person. If another witness is available, you have to call the other witnesses to corroborate what the first witness is saying. Now the law usually writes it out and says, look, this is a case that you can't convict unless there is corroboration. Well, when these mandate for sentences came in, we insisted on it in every case that a mandate for sentence case applied. And we said so. We said so. I mean, the Crown

counsellor said, "Well, there's no law that says that there has to be corroborative evidence." And all the judge said, "Well, look, I have to be satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt. I am not satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt unless there is corroborative evidence, or you explain as to why there isn't."

Q - It's kind of if the choice is between too heavy a sentence and not guilty, you'd rather find "not guilty"?

A - Exactly, you see. This is what happened. Eventually we forced the government, the legislature, to introduce corroborative evidence as part of the law or change the mandate for sentence. I've seen all kinds of things happen. I saw a case once where a chap was charged with having intercourse with a girl under the age of sixteen. It's a criminal offence. And the girl -- the fellow admitted it because they charged him with abduction. This girl was being molested by her father and she ran away from home and ran to this fellow, who was her boyfriend. The fellow was about eighteen and she was like fourteen-and-a-half. She got pregnant. In honesty, nobody knew who was the father of the bloody child because the father had been molesting her for a long time. The jury sat there, and it was mandate for sentence because the fellow couldn't plead guilty. The fellow wanted to plead guilty. He admitted to the police in a confession that he did have intercourse. The girl was living with him, he was protecting her. His counsel came and spoke to me. I said, "Plead not guilty and put the onus on the Crown to prove its case." And the Crown counsel -- everybody was very, very saddened about the whole thing. The Crown counsel went through his evidence and the fellow pleaded not guilty. He didn't call the fellow to give any evidence, and the jury said, "Not guilty", despite the evidence. I wasn't the judge, it was another judge colleague of mine who was the judge there. The summing up

that he gave, he gave the law and all that, and he gave a long dissertation on the injustices of the mandate for sentence and all that sort of business, which he shouldn't have done. And the jury just said, "Look, we're not finding this man" -- it's like Morgentaler. Anything you say, we believe it's unjust and we're not going to find a person guilty. This is what happened. So violence is out in our society here, where a person's intent is important in arriving at the conclusion as to whether he's guilty of a criminal offence or not. It's that we haven't got an arbitrary system. But sometimes it's administered in an arbitrary fashion. That's one of the distinctions that you get. You get some judges -- some of the judges does a job and many lawyers, it's just a job. You know, law is a little more than just a job. It's a little more involved. The thing that distinguishes between almost anarchy and order are the laws of your society and how you administer it. You can have the sort of law where people are accustomed to an arbitrary system and all that sort of thing, and another one where you're accustomed to our system, and you may come to the same conclusion. I tell you something, the laws in Russia, for instance, in the people's court, you'll find that they come to the same conclusions because they have similar problems. Communist don't have a different problem because you're a Communist, you know. You may have different types of offences because you have a bureaucracy over there and all that sort of business. There are a lot of things you can't do, that you can do here and all that, but in theory, you'll find that it's the same troubles you have and it's the same way you come before a person. Usually the person who is charged is completely ignorant of the system of justice under which he lives. Nobody explains it to him, nobody has time to explain it to him. It becomes routine with the people who administer the

system. They talk about justice and all that sort of thing. A judge will sit down with a blank face and say, "Are you guilty or not guilty?" and it has no meaning to him, the judge, itself. And yet it has no meaning for the other person. The person don't know what you're talking about. He's talking about some highly technical phrases that have been developed over a thousand years. It's a thousand years of trial and error, he's bringing to bear, without understanding it. Are we not appreciating it? Are we not caring two damns about the ten thousand years that come and is formulated in that language? He has no interest in it. And the poor defendant there has none. He has a great deal of trust in the law as an abstraction. Well, when he comes before the court, it's no longer an abstraction but he doesn't understand it and it is strange. And sometimes he has a lawyer who -- all right, he pays a lawyer or he gets him on Legal Aid, who has no interest in protecting him and they tell him, with this charge, if you plead guilty they're going to be easy with you because the judge won't want to sit down and try any cases. The ideal system is to get as many people through the system as possible, so at the end of the quarter, when you put in your return, the Chief Justice will take one look at it and say, "You had five hundred cases and you get through only three. You're an incompetent judge." This is what happened. There's a friend of mine, the Chief Justice write him a nasty letter and says, "Look, I see you completed only twenty cases for the week", and all that sort of business. And the fellow replied, "I was in court from 10:00 to 5:00, and I tried twenty cases. I tried twenty cases. I just don't DO twenty cases, I TRY twenty cases, giving the people all the protection that they're entitled to under the law." If you're going to really try cases, they'll never get through three for a week. But they tie up the system, you see, and the system is you must get

as many people as possible through the system as quickly as possible, and the only way you can do this is for these people to plead guilty. So you give veiled threats as to the benefits they will get if they follow that course. I won't send you to jail, I won't impose a fine of too much, and things like that. Nobody inquires into the man's background to see if he can afford to pay a fine and how much he can pay, because it's illegal to impose a fine on a person that he can't pay when you have no power to send him directly to prison. There's things like that. So law can be an abstraction, but when it comes to be administered, but it ought not to be. It ought not to be. But you're dealing with human beings and --

Q - What do you think of the fact that there's now over a million lawyers in the States?

A - Well, law has become an industry. This is one of the points I was trying to make. It has become an industry. The increase in lawyers creates more litigation, is one thing. They encourage people to go to court. They have a contingency fee system because they are providing for a genuine need in creating this contingency fee basis because you have the poor who are not getting the benefit of good lawyers and the services of good lawyers and all that. They couldn't afford to start proceedings themselves because you have to pay the costs of the proceedings, and things like that, so the law was, of necessity, reserved for the rich. So they brought in the contingency fee business, where the lawyer will say, all right, he will pay all the costs and if he wins the case, if you are successful in the case, then he gets all his costs and a percentage of it. That is why you find everybody suing for fifty million dollars and things like that, at every drop of a hat. It has increased litigation. Litigation has become far more protracted as a result of it, because people don't settle, because people

are asking too much. So it has become an industry which is a hell of a problem in the country. Everything can be perverted and that's one of the problems. Again, you have to look at it from another point of view. It is a far better thing to give the people the opportunity to wage their law, to vindicate their wrongs, imagined or real, than to deny them access to the courts. Of course, the result of that is that the courts are bogged down. They just cannot cope with the volume of complaints that are coming through the court, but you find that people are extremely inventive. People are very, very inventive and what people are doing now is like what a lot of people are doing in other ways. The fact that you have certain structures in society that has lasted a thousand years and worked very well and started breaking down -- the fact that it is breaking down means that it has outlived its usefulness and you have to be creative enough to introduce new structures to accommodate the situation that you have. If you don't do it, the people are going to do it, and that's what's happening with the law now. People are doing it. People are renting judges. People are renting -- you have arbitration laws that have nothing to do with court. Arbitration was outside the court system. It was intended to operate outside the court system in relation to matters that were not wrongs, but disputes between people, and you want a quick way of settling it. As a result of that, these arbitration decrees were recognized and you could file them in the court and it was binding on all the parties. People are doing it now with wrongs that were usually in the courts. They use retired judges and they say, "Well, all right, we'll abide by the ruling of the judge and we don't appeal", and all that sort of thing, so the matter is settled there. It is consonant with the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon system of development of law. The common law was developed that way. The law merchant was

developed that way. In the old days, for instance, merchants never used to go through the regular courts in England, where all this started. London was one of the major trading centres and the person who was responsible, the person who ran the city, the mayor, people used to come to him, the traders, and they used to come from all over the world, they used to come to him with their disputes because they didn't know English law and all that. And they say, in any case, the rules we go by, we used to shake hands. Why does the law say you have to write everything down to have a binding contract? We, as two traders, used to shake on it and say, "Look, I will send two bushels of corn for a pound a bushel", and all, and we shake hands on it. So our rules, the personal rules that we make, are different from the law and the city used to sit down and arbitrate it. It became a system of law and they tacked it onto the regular laws, and it eventually became so formalized, it became part of the regular structure of law. And this is how it goes. So it's an evolving -- an evolving system, and it's part of the continuum. At present, you're going to get -- things are breaking down in the courts now. People are waiting a long time to hear cases and all that, especially in America, where all the cases are heard by juries, while in Canada, for instance, very few cases are heard by juries in Canada. Judges alone hear both civil and on the criminal side here, they're always jury trials. You'll never get rid of that. But at the same time, they are increasing the jurisdiction of the provincial court judges, all the while a provincial court judge can give you five years now. Once he could give you only six months maximum. So it's increasing. And you'll find they have produced more inventive ways of dealing with the backlog of cases. And not only that, a lot of this stuff that they have made offences, it is not to make people do better in their society. They turn bad

because that was the whole idea of law, and making a law, and all that sort of thing, especially on the offences side, where it's punishment and not compensation. It was to make it a better society for people to exist in. It's like the involved rituals that the Japanese go through in bowing to each other, and all that sort of thing. There are so many people on three small islands that they're falling, they're rubbing each other continuously, and to avoid the fights and the disagreements that you would get in other places, they developed this ritual of courtesy that intervenes between the act and the consequences of it, that by the time you're finished the ritual, all the temper has gone. With us, for instance -- you can imagine, for instance, if every Japanese had a dog, what would happen. In paper houses that they live in and things like that, the noise, they must quarrel very, very quietly, very silently, and all that sort of business. If the Westerners were living there, it would drive them crazy, things like that. So you find that the society itself reflects more -- the law reflect the mores of the society and a lot of these rules are brought in to make society more liveable and all that. You find that the whole purpose of it has been changed, when they suddenly find that this is a profitable thing. It's like most of the laws dealing with the regulation of traffic on the roads. A lot of these things, they have speed traps, and all that sort of business, speed limits, and all that sort of business. It was intended to enhance the safety of people. But look how they've changed it. In England, I remember, under the law dealing with speed traps and all of that, you used to have a speed trap, for instance, at areas of the roads where they found it most dangerous to speed on, like you get a bend, and the peak hour of traffic a lot of accidents happen there and all that. They would put up a speed trap there during the peak hour and you had to put a large sign that the

motorists could not overlook, to the fact that there's a speed trap in existence right there. And the whole idea was to force motorists to cut their speed, make it safer for everybody who used the road. That has stopped now. Now the police is hiding in the bush with some damn little radar thing and they have been able to conceal the radar in unmarked police cars so you can't know it's a police car and that he has radar there, in order to catch and to fine you \$25.00. It has become a source of revenue. It's in his interest to encourage you to speed so when these people go away, now, and they get some gadget that they put in their car, that can tell them that there's radar in the vicinity, the police have proceeded against these people and charged them with obstructing justice because what you're doing is stopping me catching you speeding. The whole purpose of the exercise is to force him to cut his speed. Now if he has a gadget in there that says speed trap is on, so he cuts his speed and he's driving safer now around the area that is dangerous. And you are trying to persuade him not to do that. The law has been warped totally and completely, the whole intentment of it has disappeared. This has happened with a hell of a lot of the laws that you have, especially the summary offences that you have in relation to ordinary little things like housing. The people from the municipality can come into this house and can condemn half of it right now. If you want to build and maintain a house in a manner laid down by law, you could live in it, but it would cost ten million dollars. This is the sort of nonsense you get. The whole idea of law, the whole purpose of law has been subverted so it has become a terrible sort of dictatorship. People talk about they're free and all that. They have no concept of how much their freedom has been eroded by regulations because we spout out laws in these countries ten times more than the Communists. We have

laws that regulate almost every aspect of your life and you get it more and more. Your legislatures sit every day. The Communists, at least, they sit once a year. Ours sit every day for the year, you have to say, at the federal level. At the state level, they sit six months out of the year. The municipality sit almost every day of the year and that is the one that impact on you, the one that's making laws regulating all the building codes, all the use of the roads, your markets, to clean off the snow, to bush your yard, to fix the fence. If somebody want to enmesh you in law here, everything you do, can have those wrong.

Mr.W.V., 2nd. Interview, March 2, 1989.

Q - How does it feel to be a senior?

A - I remember saying that I found it very, very confusing because you don't think of being a senior and all that it connotes. In your head, you're still a young man and sometimes it's only when you see your friends, how much they have changed physically because of age and things like that, that you realize that you must look like that and, no doubt, you feel like that to a large extent. As you realize it, you're getting old. You find, for instance, that it's a very personalized thing. I don't think you can generalize about it. I have met some people and they seem very, very cheerful. I have friends who are as enterprising at my age as I remember them forty years ago. You have a lot of others, like me, who feel, well, you know, it's time to stop, it's time to give up, it's time to relax, it's time to enjoy yourself, take into consideration the limitations that you have. You don't try and overcome that. It's a bit tiring to try and overcome that. It's a bit tiring to start something new, especially something where you don't know how long it's going to last. It's a sort of giving up really. I tend to have that sort of first attitude, where I look for endings instead of beginnings. If you look from the back end, at the end first, then it conditions how you begin. It really shortens enterprises. It's almost a death wish really, when you sit down and start thinking about it, because you think, well, my life is coming to an end and all that. Well, I have friends who never think that way. Their life is something to be lived on a daily basis. Everytime they get up in the morning is a fresh, exciting day and all

that. I don't find it so. I find a great deal of comfort in quietude, in doing things with an arm's length and all that, that I can have some control over, and that are limited. If it's finished, then I start something else on a limited basis and all that, but not going . . . The ideal that I'd like is to do nothing, really to have no objectives at the end of it. I'm sorry that I can't afford it. If I could afford it -- and yet, you know, my wife says, "I don't see why you can't. You can do anything you want. You can travel a little if you want. You can go abroad if you want." The trouble is, I don't want to go by myself, you know. If I had enough funds and health -- I'm fairly healthy now, a few limitations, yes, but nothing chronic -- I'd like to tell her, "Look, pack it in", and if we want to go to China, we go to China, and we go where we please, when we please, how we please. This is what I would like. This is how I would like to spend my old age, for instance. My adventures would be limited to travelling a lot and in some comfort. I'm too old now to sleep on a train for forty-eight hours in a carriage. I must have a cache, they call it, where I can lay out and all that sort of business. That is my problem. I get a lot of fun out of reading and I'm doing a lot of that. Yet, I thought that that would have satisfied my needs. It doesn't because I still worry about the children. I still worry about all kinds of incidental things. I worry -- I bleed a lot about everything that is happening in every part of the world, wherever somebody is being oppressed on the grounds of race, colour, religion, or creed, and all that. I get very, very upset, very irritated, and sometimes very angry at all that sort of thing. It doesn't lend itself to a very sort of contented life. Then I have developed the habit, even more so, of the wide spectrum of television viewing that you get in this country on the documentaries and instead of

switching the damn thing off when those things come on -- because the only thing on in the news and in documentaries are unpleasant things. I've never seen anything like it. There is nothing about joy or love or gentility or happiness on television. The only time they put that forward is to put it on in the form of fantasies. It reflects exactly what's happening in the world. That happiness is a fantasy to be indulged in occasionally, but the reality is viciousness, and murder, and killing, and cruelty, hypocrisy, and lying, and cheating, and depression all over the place. It depresses me because I can't switch off from it. It has been a bane in my life, really, because it has always been like that, every since I can remember. Maybe that's why I went into law. I measure everything on a legal basis. What is just, what is unjust; what is fair, what is unfair; the process by which decisions are made over people's lives and things like that. It has not been a good thing because -- really, it has not been a good thing. I should have studied something that has very little bearing on the human condition and perhaps I would have been better satisfied, because I find that the human conditions seem to get worse and worse. They never get better because the disparities that exist today and that are troubling a lot of people, they are what existed a thousand years ago and were troubling people then. So if that is what you're interested in, you are doomed to a perennial lack of peace of mind. This is what it's like. I'm sorry the answer is so long.

Q - That's great.

A - This is how I feel. The general impression is that being a senior is a time -- especially retirement is a time of too much time on your hands to think about these things. Too much time on your hands to see that there is very little you can do to change it. Too much time on your hands to recognize that it is a permanent condition of life. This is

the conclusion I have come to. No science, no goodwill nor religion, nothing will ever change it. Nothing will ever change it. Until man changes into another form, this is how it's going to be. The oppression and all that is going to exist, no matter what you do. The question is, how do you reconcile yourself to it? Unfortunately, I'm at the age now where I can't learn new tricks in order to do that so I'm condemned for the rest of my life just to almost be an observer of the ills of society itself and try not to be a participant. What I really should be doing is say, "Well, try and change it", but unfortunately I've come to the conclusion that that's wasted effort. You can't change it.

Q - What injustice have you experienced in your own life?

A - Personally, against me?

Q - Yes.

A - This is the thing. I haven't really experienced any that was of a substantial nature. The one incident that occurred is between myself and the Chief Justice in Trinidad when I was on the bench there. There were some -- it's one of the reasons why I came to Canada. My wife had a niece who got involved in left-wing politics in Trinidad at the time when the government practically started a revolution against itself. We have a very democratic system in Trinidad, just like here, a parliamentary system. N.N. who was born to the purple -- and that's his problem -- he comes from a very distinguished family in Trinidad. He was reared in the best tradition of the family, as a patrician in the whole sense of the world. Well, he had to engage in some public service and I suppose he genuinely felt obliged to do it. His father was one of the best barristers we ever had in Trinidad, a very distinguished counsel. He was more dilitante than anything else. He left school and that was just coming onto the end of the war. He joined the Canadian Air Force but the war ended just as he finished training

here. He was trained in Canada here. And so he never went to England. He was discharged from the Air Force. He went to England and he read political science at London School of Economics. Of course, all that breed of youngsters came under the influence of a Professor L, who was one of these intellectual revolutionaries, you know, tore countries and people to pieces but would drop dead at the sight of cutting himself shaving, that sort of revolutionary. A very brilliant man but he influenced a hell of a lot of young people. The funny thing is this, that a lot of the people he influenced weren't poor people either. The most extraordinary thing. He attracted the sons of very well-to-do people, well educated people who came and read with him at London School of Economics. Kennedy was one of them, President Kennedy. A lot of people like that, and N. was one. When he came back to Trinidad, he went into the trade union business, attracted a trade union, so they formed a trade union for him. This is the sort of thing -- because we believe in hierarchy or succession for a hell of a lot to extent, you know, with our political leaders. If we like a political leader, if he hasn't got a son who will inherit his mantle, he lays his hand on one person that becomes his son after a time, for political purposes. This is our custom. He was the other great leader. He had no children, but he enobled a young fellow name S in the trade union business and so S became his heir. N. was N's heir, so to speak. He was very brilliant. N. still is a brilliant fellow, one of the most eloquent speakers in the world today, fascinated by words, can put them together beautifully. He's also fascinated by seeing the effect his words have on people right there in front of him, and he can address any audience from the most illiterate to the most educated and he pitches his argument to suit each of them. He's a master of words. It reminds me, I think, of Cicero,

when they went to arrest him several times in Roman times. When they went to arrest him, he would talk the soldiers out of it. They would arrest him, turn him around on the people who sent him. The last time they had specific instructions, "Don't permit him to speak. Kill him before he says a word." That was the sort of person M was, and still is. He has just been elected Prime Minister of Trinidad again. He came in power in '72 and I tell you something, he came in power with more promise from the country than anybody. I mean, I heard senior ministers in the other government, who became the opposition, who publicly promised to do anything that he wanted them to do. This is the influence he had. He came in and started some very good programs and all that. But at that time, America and Cuba were at odds with each other and we have always had diplomatic relations with Cuba. They were insisting that we cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba, but we have had diplomatic relations with Cuba from in the 1800's. As a matter of fact, you had large migrations of Trinidadians to Cuba, to set up railways, because it's British capital that built most of the railways in Latin America and Central America. It was British contractors that went there. They wanted English-speaking people as workers because they didn't speak Spanish; they know English, don't learn anybody else's language. So the easiest way is to have English-speaking people. The only place they could get them from were the British West Indies, the colonies of England. So they recruited thousands of West Indians who went to Cuba and worked and lay down the railways and then they brought more to lay down sugar cane fields because we were the most experienced people in sugar cane production in the world, really, because it's the oldest industrial form in the Western hemisphere. The first industry that set up in this part of the world, the New World, were sugar plantations. So they brought a lot of

people in and obtained in almost all the Central America and a lot of Latin American countries because you have them in Nicaragua, Salvador, and all that sort of thing. What happened with Cuba is that the Trinidadians remained there because they refused to grant them citizenship and all that sort of thing. So you had five or six generations of Trinidadians there who are still considered Trinidadians and not Cubans. So we had to -- our diplomatic relations were there to protect them. The British government used to do that, a consul general, in the areas that the Trinidadians were. When we became independent, we continued it, so we refused to break off any relation. So Cuba was essentially very, very isolated. The United States isolated them. They got the organization of the American states and the other Latin American countries to kick Cuba out, to refuse to have any dealings with Cuba. They had no contact at all. One of the only places that the Cubans had relations was with Mexico and Trinidad. They got permission, for instance, to fly into Trinidad because the only way they could get out of Cuba was to fly to Mexico City and from there go onto international lines and all that. So when N. got in, he entered into an agreement with them so they could fly to Trinidad. As a matter of fact, the Cuban ambassador to Trinidad was dean of the diplomatic corps. He was very, very good, very low profile and all that sort of business until N. came in. N. established more intimate relations with Cuba. He admired Castro from an intellectual point of view. He wanted to meet him and all that, and he went to Cuba and met him. Castro is one of the most fascinating men you could ever meet. I met him in Trinidad in my official capacity, when he came out there on a state visit. He was so impressive, and the things he was saying matched to a great deal the aspirations of Trinidadians, as coming from the colonial experience, and he had come from the colonial

experience, through the United States as the continent of power, and all that sort of thing. Not only that, the official speeches he made were in complete contrast to a lot of things that N. did. He admitted mistakes, the mistakes he made, frightening the middle class and seizing their property and all that sort of thing; he said don't make the same mistakes. Of course, N. admired him so much that N. felt that political legitimacy came only from revolution. So he had an immediate problem when he started thinking of it in terms of Trinidad because he was an elected head of government. He did not have to have a revolution against anybody; he was elected. Of course, his party, like all socialist parties, embraced many opinions. Amongst some of his followers were the most left-wing people imaginable. They were a minority in the party, but because of his inclination, he promoted them in some of the most important positions. They were all youngsters that I knew very well. One, for instance, became the Minister of Finance, one became the Minister of National Security; very important areas of government. They exercised an inordinate amount of influence over the policy of government. Well, a lot of it they couldn't enforce because we have a civil service that was trained like the English civil servants. If there's any check to an arbitrary government, you have to see all the bureaucracy, so they operated very, very well in checking a lot of the attitudes of these ministers. But the rhetoric man lays and others combined were very, very frightening, were more Communist rhetoric than anything else. And then some of these ministers engaged in activities with other people outside the regular security service and it started causing a lot of problems, a great deal of political violence, and all that sort of business. My niece was one of these left-wing intellectuals because a lot of the youngsters who were attracted to this were in the

university, as usual, social sciences. It's why a lot of countries, all in Africa, just abolish social science faculties. They say they make too much trouble, things like that. So they have too many times in your mind said that man is dangerous, and he reads too much, something like that. She got involved in it and they combined with a part of the criminal element and it got very violent. She got frightened when she realized that this thing was for keeps, you know, and these people were dangerous. She tried to change, so she made reports to some people in the political atmosphere, who had invited her into these things. She thought that they were not prone to violence and all that, only to find that they were the ones who go out at nights publicly, or behind the scenes, supporting these people. So the fellows found out that she is the one who is making all these reports against them and they tried to kill her. Eventually it got to some of the members of the government and the Prime Minister, and they realized the seriousness of the situation. They tried to suppress it and all that and she was flown out of the country by the security forces. When these people found out, they said, "Well, all right, since we can't catch you, we're going to catch your family." And so we became targets. I said, "Look, I'm not going to expose my wife and children to something like this", so we left. That's how we came to Canada, because of the threatened violence. I became ill. I went back home but, of course, I lived -- an official residence was provided and I had guards there, but all kinds of strange things started happening. When the guards were supposed to be there, they disappear. At the time they're supposed to come, they don't come. If they're supposed to come at 6:00 o'clock, 6:00 o'clock come and you find that no guard is there, and all that sort of business. So I had to phone friends that I knew in the military and in the police, and they had to send

-- informally -- people there and it became very, very frightening, that you didn't know who to trust and all that sort of thing. So I eventually left the house and went into an apartment. I was commuting and all that. I got sick as a result of it and the doctor said that I was suffering from family deprivation. So I said, "Well, all right, I'll give it up." So I came to Canada, ostensibly on holidays. When I stayed here, I became ill. I sent down a certificate and got sick leave and all that sort of thing. I saw a doctor here who referred me to another specialist because he felt a cardiac condition that I didn't know of. I went to the specialist and he confirmed it and all that, so I wrote the Chief Justice and said, "Look, this is what has happened; I have found this", and all that sort of thing. He wrote back a letter and said, "Well, when you left Trinidad, you left for -- it was a different disposition." I said, "What I'm saying is that the doctor in Trinidad did say I was suffering from pain. When I came here, I handed over all the medical documents to a doctor here, who examined me, found something else in addition to what the other doctor found, and referred me. I'm just advising you", and all that sort of thing. The next time -- I had leave for a certain time and then I had the doctor give me a medical certificate. I sent it down to him and I never heard anything for extension on the leave, never heard anything. When I telephone there, he said that the leave was refused because it's a different reason that I'm using now, and I really got annoyed and I really got annoyed. I told him. He said the form -- this is the thing that really got me mad -- he says that the order of regulations, the special form is filled in and all that, and that I didn't conform to the regulations or the doctors who made up the certificate didn't conform to the regulations. So I wrote them a letter and said, "Look, the doctor is in Canada. I'm sure that

he's not aware of the form that the regulations stipulate must be filled in. If you want it, send one of the forms and he'll complete it, but I thought that what you would consider it now is a substitute, as the question of whether I'm ill or not, and unable to do my work, rather than the form in which the certificate is framed." I wrote a letter. I shouldn't have been so effusive, you know; he was the Chief Justice. But I mean he's not your boss as such, he's the Chief Justice. I says, "You know, if you want to grant me -- if you refuse leave, that's fine. If you want to leave it like that, that's your business, but I prefer to follow the dictates of my medical advisers rather than your view that it didn't conform to the form of the medical certificate, so you can do any damn thing you want." I sent a copy of the letter to the governor general and all that sort of thing. They came down and my doctor in Trinidad -- because the doctors were sending copies to my doctor, and my doctor phoned him, and I mean all of us knew each other, and said, "Look, K, this is nonsense what you're talking about. The man is ill. Don't call it a form." So he asked me to come down, so I went down and saw him and B examined me and confirmed that I got a leave. I retired. That's one of the reasons why I retired. The conditions still prevail and I said, "Look, I'm not coming back here while these conditions prevail." And he had turned me off completely because I expected far more support from him.

Q - What do you suspect was really going on?

A - Down in Trinidad? Well, I didn't know. That's the problem. It turned out afterwards -- afterwards, that they were an element in the government that supported these people, but eventually they were purged. But nobody would admit it at the time. One of the ministers down there, who I knew very well, admitted it to me that this is what they have found out and they're trying to do something about it.

But I had no intentions of staying there in the meantime and not knowing who was going to -- people are assigned to protect me, for instance, when they're supposed to send policemen to my house at 6:00 o'clock, police don't come until 9:00 o'clock. What happened between 6:00 and 9:00, you know? So I said to hell with this. I mean I can't live like that. What I had been doing is moving from house to house. I'd drive home in, who was a police officer, and he was armed. He would take me to one house and I'd stay there, and I'd go to another house another night, and I said I can't live like that. To hell with it. But that didn't annoy me, that frightened me, and I was willing to put up with that. But what really annoyed me is when a person that I had a great deal of respect for, a very brilliant man, very Christian person, very, very Christian, he never does anything that he doesn't think is the correct way of doing things, he was not malicious, you know, not malicious at all. I know he believed everything he did, and he does everything in the proper Christian way. That's how he thinks. And when I see that what dominated in his mind was form over substance in an area like this, I mean it devastated me completely and I've never forgiven him, even to today. We are, more or less, reconciled but the friendship that used to exist between us has disappeared. A lot of other friends know of it and see it, and they try to reconcile us all the while. When I go to Trinidad, I visit his room and have tea with him and all that, but I still maintain a distance between us. I suppose he has reservations, too, about me. In other words, the crux of the friendship has disappeared over this incident because I found it unforgiveable, you know. He cannot understand what my quarrel is about. He feels that he was perfectly right in what he did, the regulation said such and such, but you know I ought not to have reacted that way because I saw

demonstrations of it, not only in him but amongst a lot of my colleagues when I was on the bench, in how we interpret things, how we look at problems, and all that. People come to court for relief and all that sort of business. I found, for instance, a lot of them -- and it is their background. They grew up in the service. When they left high school, they went straight into the civil service. Most of them went to work in the courts, in subordinate positions. While they were there, they studied and then they got scholarships. They went and read for the bar, came back, got promoted right through the service, in the system and all that, went on the bench. Very good lawyers, very, very good lawyers, but I've never seen people who had the greatest confidence in authority. But it was inevitable because they grew up in it. They knew nothing else. The framework was like a train on lines. They can't steer off to the right or to the left. They are obliged to go where the lines run. Whenever we came up with any conflict with the authorities, when we had -- because of all this politics, you had a lot of problems in Trinidad, political problems, and they introduced when the violence started, shooting gunmen and all that, Suppression of Crimes Act, which was supposed to be emergency legislation, like the War Measures Act here. It was supposed to be a temporary measure. I remember the first time somebody applied on it. They didn't remove the writ of habeas corpus or anything; they retained it. You could utilize habeas corpus to come before the court, but the court must construe whether your rights were infringed, having regard to the Suppression of Crimes Act, and it was an arbitrary piece of legislation. They view it that it's reasonable because it's an emergency, on an emergency basis. It's short-lived, it won't be forever and all that. Initially it was for ninety days, and all that sort of thing. My view is that it was unnecessary,

that the existing laws were enough to control conduct. If it was criminal, then you charge them under the criminal law; it was adequate. But we have no such thing as political offences here as such. The Suppression of Crimes Act, for instance, forbid assembly of certain number of people for certain purposes and all that sort of thing. I say if it is a criminal conspiracy, it's a criminal conspiracy. But you can't deny people to assemble and all that for political purposes, unless they overtly threaten or do something to overthrow the government, and then the criminal law covers it. And I said, "Look, this law here is the thin edge of the wedge. It's going to last a thousand years. It's not ninety days." The first ninety days come, they extend it. That law was brought in nearly fourteen years ago, and it's still on the books. Governments are always like that. I have a great distrust of government when it comes to people's rights because government always tell you they know what's best for you, you know. The intellectual conflict, or should I say conflicts, were demonstrated right in the courts there, where we were sitting together, you know, and talking about it. So I should not have been surprised that he would elevate form over substance and give substance to form; it was most important. But it threw me completely at that time.

Q - It's an easy way out for him, isn't it?

A - But this is another problem. He was not the person to take the easiest way out. He was a very principled person, extremely principled, highly principled. He would never do anything that he wasn't convinced was right and, you know, those are the priests that used to preside over the inquisition. This is what shocked me, that when you come to deal with a person outside there, and all that sort of thing, you don't know them and all that. You look at the position they have, and their words and all that, and you

can say, "Well, all right, I find this acceptable or not acceptable." But when you come to be with people that you know intimately, that are your friends, you've been to their homes, you know their wives, you know their children, and all that sort of thing, it's an intimate relationship. You know far more about the person than a person walking off the street. You know a lot of things that motivates them. We were youngsters together, we grew up together, and all that sort of business. I'm not asking for a biased verdict, I'm asking for a verdict based on a more intimate knowledge of a person than would ordinarily obtain in a person coming and just filing a case before a court. You come to a conclusion like that. It really shook me up and I found it unbearable, unbelievable, and something that I couldn't tolerate. But that is the greatest hurt that have attended me in my lifetime. I've been blessed with so few ills that sometimes I don't realize it and say, "Thank God" for it. Somebody may look upon this and say, "Look, this is a triviality." A lot of my friends said, "Look, this is trivial." They are a little amazed that I reacted like this, and they're a little amazed that I still maintain it, because even when we go and visit him, I'll go with other friends and all that, it's in the air. It never disappears.

Q - Had it not been for that issue, do you think you would still be the judge today in Trinidad?

A - Oh, yes. Oh, yes, if it weren't for that, I would never have left. I loved the bench. I was on the Court of Appeal and I loved the challenge. A lot of it is routine, but I loved the challenge. I miss it very, very, very much. I really miss it, you know. I think it's the greatest job in the world. There are a lot of things you can do. You have limitations, but there are many things you can do, and all that sort of business. There are a lot of problems within it, but it's still the greatest endeavour in the world. I

would never have left the bench. So that was the worst thing that ever happened.

Q - Had it not been for that circumstance, how long do you think you might have wanted to -- in your imagination, how long would you see yourself continuing as a judge?

A - Oh, I'd end up staying on the bench until I retired, until I -- we have mandatory age for retirement now at sixty-seven, in Trinidad, and I would have stayed right up to retirement, provided my health held out. You know, I never found -- I found it challenging all the while. I looked forward every day to going to work. I found it very, very challenging. There are a lot of difficulties, economic difficulties, because judges are atrociously paid. It takes a long time for them to increase their salary and all that, you know. Most of what I had was what I made while I was in private practice and it was gradually disappearing to look after the children and all, but that didn't matter to me, very much, really. But I would have stayed on the bench right up until retirement. I would never have left, you know. That's one of the problems that I still have, because I look upon it, now that I am not on the bench, as if I had reached sixty-seven and retired, but I am not, you see. I haven't found a substitute for it. The nearest I have found is I enjoy very, very much reading, all my stuff with law and all that sort of thing I've taken to read and I read it like that. It's a substitute, but not a complete substitute. It's not a complete substitute. It doesn't -- I think, if I -- I don't like teaching and that would have been the nearest thing to it. But I like reading the law, I like sitting down and discussing it with other people, and all that sort of business, but I don't like -- like M. said, for instance, they say, "You know you should do a doctorate". I don't like deadlines. I don't like deadlines. I don't like I have to do this within a certain

time. I like to read. For instance, I'll be reading one thing and I come across something that interests me far more than what I'm reading, and I stop reading what I'm reading and go after that. That's what I like, you know. I like to do it just for the sake of reading it and all that sort of thing. That is why if I could achieve a situation where the children are all right, I don't worry about this, I don't worry about that, and I could wall myself off from a lot of the worldly problems, perhaps, if you had a sort of monastery put aside for lawyers to read law, I would have been very, very good at that, but I do miss it. I miss the bench a lot.

Q - How much of your feeling about the world's problems would you think are projections of your own feeling about what happened to you?

A - Oh, no, I had these feelings long before this thing happened.

Q - But I wonder if that's added to it, whether it played into it somewhat?

A - No, not really, not really. I have always felt that way. As a youngster I used to read and read very, very widely, more and more. I used to escape from wherever I am through books. I was very catholic in my tastes when it comes to reading. I read everything and I'm fascinated by politics and war. I read -- see, I have all these books on war and Montgomery, and the Second World War, and all that, Churchill's memoirs of the war. I love reading about war. I like watching films about war.

Q - Even a book on my old friend, Aneurin Bevin.

A - Oh, lord, he was my great hero as far as a politician is concerned. I met him in England when I was a student there and I think he was the most honest politician. The one that I found disgraceful was Wilson and I met him when he was Minister of the Board of Trade. You could see it, you know,

he thought a lot of himself. Brilliant, coming out from Oxford and all that, very brilliant, very ambitious. Very ambitious. He ended up as a smart-ass untrustworthy person, and that's exactly what he was. A lot of people felt that he assassinated G and he was capable of it. He never liked honest people. I suppose they reflected his bloody dishonesty, that's why he didn't. But you could see it, you could see it. But I have always felt that way and it has always affected me very adversely. It doesn't matter -- it's not just Trinidad. If it's happening in Uganda, if it's happening in Japan, it's the same effect that it has on me, you know, so it upsets me a lot. It upsets me a great deal.

Q - Did you see a lot of injustice around you as a child in Trinidad?

A - I wasn't aware of it. I really wasn't aware of it. There were a lot of poor people. My family, we weren't very wealthy or anything, but

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Certain things I couldn't ask for because my parents couldn't afford it, so I'd do without it. You know, no big deal. I still have that attitude to this day, that I will go out and I see things that I can easily afford and I refuse to buy it because I says no. My wife laughs at me a lot and all that and she says, "Look, there is a distinction between need and want" and sometimes -- well, you must always try and get the things you need. The things you want, well, it's optional, whether you like it or not. But it is something -- you should indulge yourself sometimes. I refuse to buy today on the grounds that "No, no, no, it's too expensive", it's too this, it's too that, and all that, and I'll go and buy it the next day when it's twice the price. It all goes back to my growing up and they call it, maybe not depravation, but a consciousness of what is

necessary, what is absolutely necessary, and what is just an indulgence. It has followed me all through my life, although I have been able to provide for my family and myself and all that. The funny thing, I never have any recriminations about buying things like books. I refuse to buy an article for \$10.00, and buy a book for \$50.00, so it's -- I don't know, I don't know how you describe it. Sometimes I describe it as a certain amount of selfishness, that I would say, "No, I'm not going to buy this because it's too expensive," and yet I indulge myself and say it's purely a private thing. But my -- for instance, a book. I'll have books that I've read three, four, five times. I don't buy a book and just read it and that's it. Some of them, yes. Some of them I just scan and forget, but I have books that I have read four and five times. I have read through that about five times now, Churchill's Memoirs. Things like that, things that interest me.

Q - You talked about some of the losses in your change of situation. What about gains?

A - Some of the gains is -- I had a completely different conception of Canada, completely. Well, my only background, as far as abroad was concerned, was Britain and it's completely different from Canada. The legal system here, I thought I knew it when I came here. I found it something completely different, especially from a constitutional point of view. I have never -- I've lived in a unitary state, and Britain was a unitary state, and it was English law that we practiced in Trinidad, so it was very, very familiar to me when I came here. Historically, this was practically administered as a unitary state, so there were many things that were familiar. The common law and all that stuff, that was very, very familiar. The constitutional set-up is completely different from my experiences; intellectually I understood it and all that sort of thing, but from a

practical standpoint, I found it a great departure from what I was accustomed to. The politics of Canada, I'm still trying to get accustomed to. I don't know it very well. The political attitudes towards what is honest, what is right, I find strange. It's like Mr. -- that halfwitted gentleman from Newfoundland -- Peckford, he said he sees nothing wrong with a group of businessmen having a dinner and contributing to his retirement, and he walks off with a \$100,000 and puts it in his pocket, and he says it's perfectly all right. I find it so revolting it's not funny. I mean we would never tolerate that in Trinidad. It's all like bribery in reverse. It's payment for past favours, and he doesn't see that. A lot of Canadians don't. I notice a lot of things that happen here that I have found that it's obvious a conflict of interest and all that; people say, oh, no, it's not. A man, for instance, who say, look, where a committee, considers contracts with him, or his family, or his company, or all that, "I never voted any", and doesn't realize that his very presence on the committee would influence his friends and colleagues and the other members of the committee. I am a little at a loss about attitudes in relation to conflicts. I mean this is the only country that could produce a Mr. Mulroney, who feels, because he gives an NDP a job, then he can give patronage appointments to another forty Conservatives, you know, things like that. But I realize it's a cultural thing and it's never going to change. I never realized -- the first time I have ever come in contact where racism is so pervasive in society, as in North America, the United States and Canada. I am surprised at Canada, really, because in reading the political history of the United States, you realize that there are two constants in American politics. One is black and white, and the other is Communism, and they're the two constants. No matter what happens, if you're not -- if you don't raise it,

you can't get elected, and it's going to be raised no matter what happens. But I'm surprised at how pervasive the same attitude is in Canada. They try -- a lot of people -- one of the problems in Canada is that a lot of the people believe that they are not racist. I mean you're not going to get any cure for a disease until you recognize that you are suffering from it and this is what happens. I heard this man in Toronto, the Commissioner of Police, practically say that -- and I've heard judges say it; some of them started saying it in England, until all the people started coming down on top of them. They said, "Practically, you can stop any black man and you'll find that he has guns or marijuana on him", or things like that. In Toronto, as if they have a right to shoot anyone who's black. And as for the Indians, they're called natives, the barbarity and the -- it must be intense hatred that people must bear to the Indians, that can influence them in destroying a people so totally and completely, and completely oblivious of it. You know it's something wrong with the Indians, why the Indians don't embrace everything they do. This is what I find troubling about Canada. But some of the advantages is that I think Canadians are amongst the gentlest people, with all that I have said about them, because a lot of the sins are sins of omission, completely unconscious. They're not deliberately cruel, not deliberately cruel. They are very generous, they are very warm-hearted. I suppose it's because a lot of the people in Canada came from countries under very oppressive systems and all that sort of thing. They have a genuine concern about other people in other countries. They have a genuine concern in the right of people to maintain their own cultures and all that and they have a genuine respect for other people's cultures and other people's views. They are very -- I keep repeating it -- this is the last innocent country in the world. It is,

there's no question about it in my mind. You feel safer in Canada than almost anywhere else. You feel very safe. You feel that a Canadian is embarrassed if he doesn't like you, very, very embarrassed. He cannot understand it. He's very, very embarrassed. You get some people now -- and I'm talking generally -- you get individuals who will not think twice of cutting your throat and all that, but generally speaking, they are very gentle people, Canadians. The other thing that I find here is that they have been conditioned in their minds that the only people who are Canadians are people of British stock or French stock. It's taking a very long time for them to realize that you'll soon have far more people who are neither British nor French stock, who live in Canada, born here and nowhere else, and are Canadians, so it's going to take a long time. This is one of the reasons why you get the continuous argument about language, you know, French and English. You get this continuous argument going on about French and English. That's the constant in Canadian politics. It's going to reach one day where somebody says, "Look, I don't give a damn about French or English. I'm going to tell you something. You people who say you want to talk only French, all right, go and talk only French. You go and talk only French but it means that -- don't try and impose it on Winnipeg or anywhere else. And as for you, the little enclaves of French, we have more people who speak Ukrainian in this country, we have more people who speak German, we have more people who speak Hindi, we have more people who speak Punjabi, so you just learn one of those and forget about it." You know, this is what's going to happen. If the French -- because if you tell the Quebeckers that they can speak only French, it's not going to satisfy them. They want the illusion that they are an independent country, and at the same time they want the benefits of being Canadians, and somebody's going to

tell them, "You can't have both. If you want to be a Frenchman, go to France." Until that happens, you're not going to get peace around here. At present, I'm just an interested observer.

Q - What are the personal gains from a personal point, at this time of your life?

A - You mean generally speaking?

Q - For instance, you may think you may have more time to do lots of things that you wish to do now. There must be some personal gains that you have experienced.

A - Well, it brought me a much wider appreciation of the legal systems, for one thing. I got very interested in constitutional matters, that's one of the personal gains. I was very, very limited, in my view, in Trinidad. It's like an English judge. We followed the same course; I'm extremely limited. I have a far more international view of law, especially constitutional law and things like that. I have far more time now to investigate these things. On the bench is, as much as you're interested in the law, it was work and so the work was related to and limited by the facts of the particular case that came for resolution before you. It is not a broad view of things that we're talking about. You think about that in the political aspect of it afterwards, but when you are actually working, it's limited to what you are doing there. Now I am not constrained by being a member of the bench. I am retired so it doesn't matter. I can look at it from a completely intellectual point of view, an intellectual satisfaction, though I can't apply it. That's one of the disadvantages. On the bench, you can say, all right, this is the view you have and you apply it, even if you want to go in new directions. Here you are totally in the wilderness. You can't necessarily persuade anybody but yourself. There's nothing you can do about it. That's one of the great disadvantages. So it's a

personal satisfaction, really, to read it and then have views on it, just personal satisfaction. What I find that is most difficult with me is the sense of isolation, the sense of not having any direction, and all this is related to work, the work I used to do, where there was direction and things like that. This is my greatest problem. I'm not reconciled to not being gainfully employed. When I say "gainfully", I don't mean money, because the sort of employment -- I think the sort of employment I would have wanted is what I was doing before, on the bench and all that. I still miss it a lot. I'm not totally satisfied with what I'm doing, although I have far more time to do a lot of the things that I've always wanted to do. I don't know. If I were sixty-seven, I would be more reconciled to it, because I would have properly retired then. I couldn't go back to what I was doing before because they would have cut off what I was doing and said, "You're retired." But the fact that I'm not, I miss that part of it. I miss that part of my life and I haven't been able to give it up. It's still a pain, you know, still part of what I would have liked. I don't know what could substitute for it. Economically, I am independent, you know. There are many things that I can't do, certainly, and when you say "economically independent", it's a relative term, very, very relative. I still worry about the children and things like that. I'm still concerned about them, how they live and all that sort of thing. There is nothing I can do about it. But I've always been saddled with the idea that I should make them economically independent. My wife says that is nonsense, they have their own lives to live; leave them to live their own lives. Don't try and impose. In other words, it's like I'd like to have ten million dollars so I can impose two million on them so they don't have to do anything and think that that is security. Well, my wife is

a very sensible person and the trouble is that one never listens to sense, you know. Advice is something that you don't want. You want to hear it, but you never abide by it. It never satisfy some hidden thing in you. It never satisfies it. It's eminently sound and good and all that sort of thing and you say, well, look, you're not going to interfere in your children's lives, and you build a whole area of thinking that is really gross interference in the lives of your children. I mean, I quarrel with my son. For instance, he's doing a lot of parachute jumping. I say, "Look, stop that, it's too damn dangerous." He says, "Where were you when you were sixteen?" I mean, I was in the RAF in England in the war. I could get killed. But, of course, I'm immune to death at sixteen, while he's endangering his life every step he takes. This is the sort of thing. And that's another thing I'm not reconciled. Even if I don't overtly interfere, mentally I do, so the effect of it is that it does not rebound to my peace of mind because I'm always thinking of ways of interfering in somebody else's life, things like that. Nevertheless, speaking from a completely personal and selfish point of view, if I had the wherewithal to ensure that I could encase them in cocoons and all that, for my mental health, it would be excellent, and I would be able to freely do whatever I want. That's what I believe now. The trouble is that when you reach there, if you do reach there, you find that there are other things that are . . .

Q - If there were no emotional constraints and no practical constraints, were you sitting there totally unbounded, what would you do with your life?

A - If?

Q - If you were totally unbounded, what would you do with your life? If you had no emotional constraints, no practical constraints in your life right now, what would you

do?

A - I can't imagine that because -- well, let me give you an illustration. I had a house in Trinidad which I sold, and I bought an apartment there. I said to my wife, "Well, what I think I'm going to do when I retire" -- that's before I retired, and even a little after, while I was doing the thesis and all of that -- I says, "When I'm finished with all this, I think I'm going to go down to Trinidad for three months, for the holidays, especially in the winter holidays and all that sort of thing." I can afford to do it. I get a pension where I could afford it. For instance, part of the pension that I had last year, I had about \$25,000.00 left over that I keep in a dollar account and I just put the whole of it in an R.R.S.P. yesterday, as a matter of fact, because I intend using it to travel when I feel like it, and my wife agrees with it. She's in a very good job. She's looking after me, she says, it's her time to look after me now and all that, so we look after our needs from her salary and things like that, so I don't need to touch it, except when we're travelling and all that. But I can't go by myself. If I go down to Trinidad, I'm out every night with friends and all that sort of thing, so I wouldn't be lonely as such, and yet I cannot go without my wife. She says that I shouldn't become so dependent on her, but I've always been like that. I used to horse around a hell of a lot. Maybe it is because I started too young, at sixteen. In Trinidad, when I was a boy, the things that youngsters did then, only people in kindergarten do it now. Fooling around a girl was writing a little couplet, like "Roses are red, violets are blue", and all that nonsense, you know. You ride past her house on a bicycle and ring the bell and all that, and if you get a glimpse of her, you wouldn't even look in her direction. You pretend that it's just by chance that you're driving past. I think sleeping with a girl and all that at

that age, I mean it was something that was just not done. It was beyond you. In any case, a girl who was going to sleep with you was a girl that you would never want as a girlfriend, you know. That's it. She's a loose girl. You used to have some of those in school. The very loose ones are some of the girls who would go out with you and permit you to fondle her and it got around, because you tell your friends and say, "She's the one", and things like that. So that was our day. Suddenly I went to England, sixteen. I was turned into an adult overnight. I had no adolescence as such. I was treated as an adult. As a matter of fact, the first thing they started teaching you as you went into the camp for training, the first time you got a pass, they issued French letters and a thing we called a Torpedo. It's ointment in a tube to put up your penis to protect you from venereal disease. That's the first thing that they started -- they assume that you're going to do all this. I found it very shocking and very exciting at the time and all that sort of thing. So in England, there were a lot of girls in the camp, WAFs and all that sort of thing. When you go out in the city street you go to dances. Mostly women who used to come to the dances so you start meeting girls, most of them are older than yourself. A lot of grown women -- and we thought they were very old, thirty years old, very lonely, their husbands are gone off to war, some of them, and they hadn't seen them for six years, and things like that. They were terrified. They didn't know whether they were alive or dead and all that sort of thing. So a lot of inhibitions went with these people and all that sort of thing and as shy as you were, myself, for instance, it's a thirty-five year old woman who took me home and taught me everything about sex. You know, I loved her immensely. I mean the first time she deflowered me and she looked after me and all that sort of business, and you go through life

like that. So you are suddenly transformed. I had a lot of girlfriends and all that. Then I went out, studied law, and continued the same sort of thing, horsing around, no responsibility and all of that. Then one day I said, look -- I must have been about twenty-eight -- and I said, "Look, I want to get married. This is nonsense." I'd have girls that I was supposed to see, and I just don't turn up and things like that. And though I had several girls, I never felt that I should marry any of them. They were nice girls, respectable girls, decent girls and all of that, but I just -- as a matter of fact, several of them today are married and we are good friends and all that sort of thing. I don't think their husbands know that we were girlfriend/boyfriend. I have visited their homes and all that sort of thing with the utmost respect and all that. But I just wouldn't marry them. Then I went to the court in the islands and went to a friend of mine for dinner, and met my wife there. As soon as I saw her, I said, "This is the girl I want to marry." We got married in three months and she was only eighteen. Her parents raised hell about it because she wasn't going to university and instead she got married. That is why my relationship with her is to a large extent very dependent. That is why, when we had to leave Trinidad, I said, "Look, I have achieved all the things that I wanted." You know, as a lawyer, the final accolade is going on the bench. I had done that. I realized what it is, what its limitations and things like that. When we came here, I said -- she had to start from scratch when they wouldn't recognize her degrees. She said she had to start from scratch. Somebody probably recommend that she turn a secretary. I said, "That's nonsense. You study what you want." She phoned me in Trinidad and she said, "Look, we're having difficulty getting funds out" because there was an exchange control problem there, severe foreign exchange shortage, and that we

were practically driven out of the country, the government acknowledged, and all that sort of business, and permitted me to send a certain amount of money for maintenance and all that. Then she phoned and said, look, she wanted to go back to school and all that. I said, "Study something meaningful." You know, a person to tell you to go study as a secretary, that's nonsense. She said she wanted to do health administration, which meant a Masters program again. So she was concerned where we were going to get the money. I said, "Look, you don't worry about it. I will find the money. I will find some way to get the funds out and all that." And I did. She worked very, very hard. She had the children to look after and all that. She was on her own a lot of the time, very lonely, because I could come up only when I could get time off and all that. Then I realized it can't continue and all that, and I decided to come up permanently and all that. So I says, look -- she says, "What are we going to do if I qualify?" I says, "Look, you go ahead. I'll subordinate all my needs to yours because I've had my life. I've had my day in court. This is your time now." And that's what I've done. So I retired in Nova Scotia when she got the job to come here, because she couldn't have gone on any more in Nova Scotia. She was terribly frustrated, very depressed; it would have killed her because the chap in charge of the place was terrified of her qualifications. He was very anti-female. He thought the only good woman was barefoot and pregnant. He never said so overtly but he tried to demonstrate it in many ways. Of course, she doesn't put up with that sort of thing. So he used to say that she's aggressive, and she's all that, though he would come to her when he's in dire straits, so to speak, when things are about to collapse, and she would pull him out, but he could never believe that she was not interested in taking his job. He sat at our dining table

and she told him plainly -- she said, "Look, you have my utmost loyalty. I am not interested in the job. I think you deserve the job. You have paid your dues. You have been there a long time." There were limitations because he was trained as an accountant and not as an administrator. "I will support you. If you want advice and come to me, I'll give it to you." So he was schizophrenic when it came to that because he accepted the advice, but I thought he felt it was the cruelest cut of all where he had to go and get the advice from some damn woman. Eventually she left. So she meets him at conferences and all that and sometimes he phones her for advice and all that. They get on much better now that she's away and all that sort of thing. So this was the scenario when she said, "Look, I can't stay here. I'm going to leave and come home if I don't get another job." When she was offered -- she saw this job advertised and she wrote in. The people telephoned her and she met this lady at conference both of them were attending. "Oh, yes, we want you. Can you come right now?" So I have done that, I have subordinated my needs to hers, and I came here. It's still the same thing. I just cannot go to Trinidad by myself and I won't enjoy myself. I worry about her and things like that. So she accepts that. What she's trying to do now is arrange to have more leave and all that sort of business so we can travel a little. We went to Russia the other day and we want to travel other places. Well, we were travelling around the world before we came from Trinidad here. Well, we knew Europe very, very well. We had started in Latin America. We have been to Central America and we are going into Latin America now. So that's what I'll do. I'll engage myself during the course of the year when I have time to do it, and then when she can get holidays, we go.

Q - Changing directions, there are a few questions I'm curious about. When you finally die, how would you like to be remembered?

A - By whom?

Q - By whomever.

A - Well, I'd like to be remembered by my wife, that I was a -- not necessarily a good husband, but a faithful husband, you know, that I respected her, I loved her, looked after her. In other words, discharged my responsibilities as a husband to the children and herself. That's it. To my colleagues, especially -- well, most of them are in Trinidad and a lot of youngsters remember me -- they think I'm dead. They see, for instance, in the Lower Courts, the name V are not there now. I left ten years ago. They just think that I must have gone to a higher jurisdiction or so. When I was at home, I was introduced to a young counsel -- even when I was there, there were a lot of them coming on that I never knew at all, these youngsters and all that, the university is spewing them out like bees -- and somebody said, "This is Justice V", and he said, "Justice V, I thought you were dead."

Q - Your colleagues, how would you like to be remembered by them?

A - I'd like them to remember that I was a good and faithful servant. I developed a reputation in Trinidad for being a sort of civil rights lawyer and a civil rights judge, a person who respected the rights of people and things like that. I am still remembered by some for that because I go through a list of the law reports and things like that. That's how I'd like to be remembered. I have a very clear conscious about my conduct on the bench in Trinidad, and I think a lot of people would concur with that.

Q - Your children, how would you like them to remember you?

A - As a good father. I disagree violently with my daughter, but as M said, we are very much alike. We argue everything, and she loves to argue. I'm very fond of her and she's very fond of me. She teases me a hell of a lot. She know exactly how to tease me. My son, I'm always -- I always worry about my son. He doesn't argue very much. He's very loving, like a puppy. He's extremely affectionate, both to his mother and myself. I worry about him. He doesn't like books, which is a hell of a contrast from me. I don't know who he takes after because his mother is a very practical person. He takes after her to a large extent, but at the same time, she has a very intellectual sort of mind. She did science at very early and she has always had a very, very disciplined mind, still a good scientist. I'm a little more volatile than that. Science abhors me. I haven't got the mental discipline for it. I like things like law and politics and things like that. He doesn't like books; I'm never without a book. He likes to work with his hands; I am hopeless in working with my hands. Mother is very good at that. So he takes -- he looks a little like her and he takes after her in all that sort of thing. He doesn't like constraints. He doesn't like it at all. He love flying. He adores flying, especially combat flying. Unfortunately, he has developed his mother's eye problems, which is hereditary; he hasn't got 20/20 vision and so he hasn't been able to fly. I don't know. He wants to leave the island because he's very unhappy. He went into the Trinidadian army because he thought he would be able to fly but his eyes were so bad that they even, in pulling all the strings and stretching everything, they said, no, they wouldn't advise it. So he hasn't been able to fly. I don't know if he'll be able to fly on the civil side. If he is, he might retrain for that. He wants to go into some sort of business; I don't know what sort of business he wants to go

into. I worry about him.

Q - One more little switch in direction, what's your prognosis for the future of the world?

A - Well, I'm a little ambivalent about it. The world seems to be coming more and more places of race, which is unfortunate. There are some that are practically written off. A lot of the poorer countries that are practically written off. Africa, for instance, is written off now. They have the new tyrannies of a nation. But they'll never be democratic in the sense that we are, and I don't see why they should be. There seem to be a recognition, amongst the superpowers, of the limitation of the military power that they can have, where they can dictate attitudes of other people by the mere use of threats. I think they have come to recognize that they can't. Whether others have learned that lesson is a moot point. I doubt whether they have. The new powers that are rising in Asia, I don't think they have learned it, so I think they are going to go through the same phases that the Soviet Union went through and the United States. The Soviet Union is -- a new arbitrariness is going to come there. That's the only way they can survive. They can't survive the democratic process. The world is becoming more racially divided. People are not -- there's no equality between the races in these countries. You can't have a federal system where you say an Armenian is the same as a Russian; it doesn't happen; it doesn't exist. So it's going to disintegrate unless you get the re-imposition of force and fear. A lot of those people don't know how to live with anything else. Anywhere they live, they would believe in force and fear. It's a legitimate part of governing. They owe allegiance not to the person who persuade them, as far as their minds are concerned or their intellect, but a person who persuade them physically. I think it's going to revert; if it doesn't

revert, it's going to disintegrate, so you're going to have violence there again. In Latin America, you're going to have more violence but it will be the great counter poise against the United States. You're going to have -- the increase in population is frightening in Latin America, so economically they will be more deprived as time goes on and the seas are not going to stop them spilling over into this continent. There is no -- this continent is prosperous and it will remain prosperous for a long time. You cannot stop that. Inevitably you're going to have -- my wife keep telling everybody that, in time, all Canadians will be her colour and have slanted eyes, and it's going to happen. I think the Latin Americans are going to spill right across the United States. Mexico is going to get her revenge on the United States by getting back all her provinces through the uterus. In America, their policy is going to be more repressive in keeping people out. In doing so, they're going to force them to come into Canada to wait to go, and when they come here and wait forty years and have a lot of children and all that sort of thing, the children will just be Canadians. In any case, Canada can't survive without immigration and they're not going to get migrants coming from Europe. When things are prosperous in Europe, Europeans stay in Europe. They believe there is that new type of barbarism over here. So that's going to happen in the America. The Americas will be here for the Americans. That's how it's going to be.

Q - Taking a really wide view of history, really wide, would you say there is an inexorable progress in human affairs, or is it static, or is it going backwards?

A - Oh, no, I think there is a great deal of -- it's fluid. I don't know whether it's going forward or backward. It seems, for instance, if you look at the world, if you accept the historical dictates as true, what people have written as

true, is the world a better place today than when it was first formed? Environmentally, it doesn't seem to be. Is man happier in his condition then, than now? It would seem that he is not. As much as we talk about -- you have a motor car, and you have a plane, and you have Corn Flakes, and you have chocolates, and all that sort of business. The elemental purpose of existence -- I wouldn't say purpose, but the elemental needs of existence is food, shelter and clothing, depending upon the climate in which you live, how much clothing. People are still cutting each other's throats for the same thing. Food has changed, shelter has changed. A man wants a mansion now made out of gold and it costs two million dollars and all that, instead of a little hut made out of leaves and all that sort of thing. Basically, the elements are the same; it's food -- a full belly. You can't eat more than a certain amount. And man strives very valiantly in order to satisfy these needs. You have a lot of surplus. I mean man is rich and all that sort of thing, but how many houses can he live in? How many meals can he have? You know, he works hard but the reason why he works hard a lot of time is to supply these needs. If you look around and see what we do in order to supply the needs, I'd say the world is far worse than it was before. People used to have some respect for the other man's capacity to do things. He used to be part and parcel of the society in obtaining the food and shelter and clothing. He used to be an integral part of the tribe, respected, consulted, worked, and his work was meaningful because it was necessary for the existence and subsistence of the tribe. Not any more. A lot of people have been, in present society rules and all that, and morals, have dismissed a lot of people from participating in society. They have been written off. They are expendable. They are a nuisance. And they are doing it more and more with all kinds of new

categories. They are telling you if you reach a certain age, you're retired, you're dead, go away, move away, you're costing us a hell of a lot of money, you're clogging up the hospital system, the health system, with these homes that have people there. They are just warehouses and everybody's costing them five hundred dollars a day to keep them there. You know, go away. You're getting the intervention of so-called scientific learning to do what? They will deliver a child that is a five-months fetus and spend five hundred thousand dollars in keeping it alive. And it may keep alive for a while, however long, it's going to be paralyzed for the rest of its life, its quality of life, you know, is very limited, and whether we should respect that or not. In one breath we say, you know, life is important, it's sacred, it's blessed, and we should do everything to protect it. And yet we see ten million people starve in Africa by the acts, sometime, of their own government, but by the act of the other government, we say, "We'll lend you money and we want it paid back. You grow sugar cane so we can have sugar to make chocolates and make beer and all that sort of business, and if you want to eat, then you will import wheat from us," this like that. So you get that sort of thing. So when you look at it in total, somehow the world seems to be a worse place than it must have been at the start. At the start, people's worlds were limited. The world was where you were born, with your friends there and your neighbours weren't far away, and that's the sum total of your world. The sum total of the world now is the world and a lot of things outside it. You see it every day. Just watch television and you see people going to the moon, going this, going that. That's the sum total of the world, the entire universe. What happens in it has a direct bearing on how you live right here. So the people now understand that the world is a greater thing than themselves. They have

less control over what happens here. People try and influence what happens in other places, and they get annoyed when they can't exercise hands-on control, and say, "Well, look, I abandon it". The amount of food that is thrown away in Canada here, thoughtlessly, without thinking, that could feed all of Ethiopia, for instance, if you just say, well, all right, I'll do it. Things like that. I mean, look at how many people are hungry here in Canada here. Look how much food you throw away, merely because it's such a habit. So I think the world is in an evolutionary process that has been going on a long time, generations and generations, I suppose. It's same argument, the same questions, the same answers which are coming and all that, and perhaps one should interpret it as part of the evolutionary process. It's not that it is worse. It is that it is evolving into a perfect world where everybody will love each other and everybody will look after each other and everybody is responsible for each other.

Q - Do you think that will come?

A - Well, I haven't seen any evidence that man is convinced that to love his neighbour as himself is in his best interest. I haven't seen that yet. I think the reason why you haven't seen it is because it is a fundamental that is non-existent in man. Man is born a selfish brutal sort of creature and is not persuaded that it is in his best interest to love his neighbour as himself. I hope I'm wrong.

Q - I'd like to change direction once more and finish -- I'm just going to use one word and I want your response to it: Beauty.

A - My wife. As a concept, it's very satisfying and very soothing. You can hide from so many ugly things, in just thinking of it. You think of it rather than looking at it. You don't see very many beautiful things. You will travel

to a place and you will see that there is beautiful scenery, there is beautiful countryside, and all that sort of thing, but it's very transient. It doesn't last, but the concept of beauty lasts. It's always with you. The problem is that sometimes the concept of beauty, what is beautiful, you know, the form of a person -- we all have our own concept of it, whatever it is, it's very local and (END OF TAPE).

Commentary On Interviews With Mr. W.V.

Mr.W.V. has lived a most interesting life which provides many clear elements for the consideration of life satisfaction. He is a man who is highly educated, has held positions which have brought him high social regard and esteem. He is economically very comfortable, has an apartment in Trinidad as well as his home in Winnipeg, and is free to travel or do whatever he may choose to do with his time. One may well think that this is a man who has much with which he might well be satisfied. Mr.V. is most clearly not experiencing much present life satisfaction. The depth of his distress, his lack of ease and comfort in his situation, are manifest in his voice and on his face and show on all of his body as his talk moves from thoughts about law and ideas to the feelings of his present condition. He is obviously most acutely aware of his own dissatisfaction and he directly refers to it on a number of occasions. It would seem that he cannot accept that dissatisfaction as a present reality to be permitted and experienced. He despairs about his life, about the world. "The world does me in, it depresses me.....But you know that you have only one lifetime and it is extremely depressing when you realize.....It's almost a death wish really.....Man is born a selfish brutal sort of creature."

When Mr.W.V. talks about his despair for himself and the world, he physically, in the way he moves and holds his body, fights off the experiencing of that despair. He feels his despair acutely in his body. His face contorts, his voice takes on a strained, pained tone, and he uses his arms and shoulders as a shield. His despair is an experience that vacillates between being a product of himself and a product of the external realities of the world. The boundaries between himself and the world seem confused and with that confusion it would appear that he dare not feel the depth of the despair. For him the despair felt would seem to be the despair for all of the world. He recognizes the despair both in his body and in his mind but he resists the experience of it and holds it at bay creating considerable mental and physical tension and stress. Mr. W.V. observed that this may be contributing to his heart condition. His phrase, "It's almost a death wish really.", may take on additional significance in light of his observed connection between his heart condition and the tension and stress of his life.

When Mr.W.V. talked about the distressed feelings in his present life, it seems that he would escape and rapidly change the subject to talk about matters that were intellectual and safe. Even these safe areas, however, frequently reminded him of his distress and would pull him back to talk about his present life. His present discomfort appears to be so general that there remains for him few safe

areas for contemplation, few familiar comfortable places to rest. It would seem that even the subjects he loves most, the reading of law and history, disturb him. Both law and history remind him of injustice and inequity in the world and return him to his own distress. It may also be that Mr.V's fascination with the history of war and struggle reflects his own early struggles after the death of his father and is a metaphor for the war and struggles that still exist within him.

The struggles within Mr. V. are general and profound. The issues that underlie the struggles must also, surely, be profound. There is much to suggest that the fear of death, heightened in very early life experience, may contribute to the present distress experienced by Mr. W.V. I present some of the evidence that may suggest that this is so.

His wife is his 'special saviour'. He has given his life over to living it through her life. His comments illuminate this. "I got sick...I was suffering from family deprivation.....She says I shouldn't become so dependent on her. I've always been like that.....I'll subordinate all my needs to yours....." Mrs. V. is fourteen years younger than Mr. V and it would seem that she is fully alive, taking off on a career. It appears to feel for Mr.V. that if his life is submerged into the life of his wife, death is a more distant, a less pressing threat. What other reason, but a fear of death, could compel such a talented, bright man to

immerse his life in the life of another?

Mr. V., as a Superior Court Judge, was afforded special privilege and high social esteem. The loss of his career as a judge, at age fifty-three, and of the special privilege and social esteem that came with it, was a blow from which he has not recovered. With his education and experience it appears likely that there have been many opportunities to create new careers. He has not done so. It seems that there is nothing that can replace, for him, the role of being a judge. He observes, "I would never have left. I loved the bench." Mr. V. experienced the loss of his job as a great blow. One from which he has not recovered. In referring to the involvement of the Chief Justice in the loss of his position he says, "This is the greatest hurt that has attended me in my life time." Mr V. cannot accept the feeling of his own despair over the loss of his life as a judge and must add that "others have suffered more." It is as if he cannot permit himself just to experience his own despair but must push it away, make light of it, by adding that "others have suffered more." That seems to say 'that on a cosmic scale my despair is insignificant and therefor requires to be dismissed'. What is so profound, for Mr.V., about the loss of his job that nine years after the event he still struggles with his despair over the loss? There is a sense in which it seems that there is no other job which can afford Mr.V. the special personal benefits that he got from

being a judge. Being a judge provided extraordinary and special position and esteem. It may well be that one of the special benefits of being a judge was that the special status seemed to inure Mr.V. from the dangers to which ordinary people fall prey. Inured him, perhaps, from the early death and the resulting seeming futility of purpose to which his father, the only male model of his early life, was a victim. The loss of his special status would thus expose Mr.V. to death and futility. This would explain his unwillingness to proceed with a new career, his sense of life being over, and the profound sense of futility that appears to invade his life.

It seems, perhaps, significant that Mr.W.V., towards the end of his time as a judge, appeared to be losing his faith in the law, or at least seemed to be highly ambivalent about it. He observes that he should not have been surprised that the Government, in the law, would "elevate form over substance and give substance to form". He talks about the pressures to speed cases through the courts taking precedence over providing fair trials. He notes that "law has become an industry." That the important thing is "how you administrate", but that increasing pressures were making it impossible to administrate the law in a just way. It may be, that prior to his retirement, that being a judge had already lost its magical ability to protect him and that the conflict within himself about the value of being a judge

aggravated his dispute with the Chief Justice.

It also seems significant that Mr. W.V. refuses to let his children go, to let them grow up. He acknowledges that his daughter must live her own life but he cannot easily permit her to do so. He describes her as "A nice little girl but she drives me crazy." The 'nice little girl' must be at least twenty six years of age. He cannot value her present life as a dancer, which seems totally separate from his life and values. He claims to be close to his daughter or at least connected and yet has never met her husband. This relationship seems full of contradictions. In addition he says he always worries about his son. He describes his son as being "very loving like a puppy." It strikes me that puppies can not survive and function without parental input. He also describes his son as being independent and yet very obedient. Mr.V. goes to great lengths to remain involved with his son and may add to the son's confusion about his life and career. After the second interview, and in my presence he arranged and paid, by phone, for a flight for his son and girlfriend from England to Trinidad. Mr. W.V.'s relationships with both of his children seem full of contradiction and that may be so, for to permit, acknowledge, and feel that his children were now independent adults requires that he permit, acknowledge, and feel himself as an older adult, which he intellectually accepts but can not emotionally permit. An older adult with grown

children is closer to death. There lies the bind. He is, of course, aware of the truth of his age as an undeniable fact of life but he can not accept that truth. The relationships that Mr. W.V. has with his children appear to reflect the bind and as a result sounds confusing and inconsistent.

It is certainly interesting that Mr. W.V.'s earliest memory is of his father lying in a coffin and with perspiration on his forehead. His mother does not recall the perspiration. Perhaps the perspiration associated with the image of his dead father in a coffin is his own perspiration of fear as he recalled the memory of his father in the coffin. The persons who survived in his young life and exerted lasting influence were women, particularly his grandmother. Could it be that in his early life he learned that men die and effect nothing and woman prevail? That would certainly explain a fear of death strongly tied to the feeling that all is futile. He explains his futility by saying "I've come to the conclusion that it's wasted effort. You can't change it." The fear of death would also explain his drive to be a judge, through which he could feel his life as potent and powerful, and his continuing attraction towards it. It also explains his inevitable dismay at the role. The attraction and the dismay are both highlighted when Mr.V. says, "The whole purpose of law has been subverted so it has become a terrible sort of dictatorship" and "I miss it very, very, very much." The mechanisms that

can contain such antithetical feelings are surely rooted in early life and operate below the level of conscious awareness.

I am also caused to wonder about the genesis of the factors that contributed to Mr V's extreme sea sickness. All travel sickness is thought to be tied to anxiety and the primary physiological effects of motion are experienced very similarly by all people. There are echoes, shadows, of the same dichotomy in the sea sickness. Potency and futility again seem to be tied together for Mr.V. As he travels to England potently just emerged as a man he is made powerless and impotent by seasickness. As he performs powerfully as the judge on the Islands he must struggle once again with the impotency of sea sickness. Fears of 'no thing' are transformed into fears of 'something'. The fear of travel becomes the difficult but tolerable substitute for the fear of death and futility.

I can but hypothesize, but the evidence seems weighty that early life trauma involving the death of his father left Mr. V. to live with an unresolved fear of death and a sense of futility that now press for resolution at age sixty-two. That fear can be seen differently as it is contemplated from different directions. It would seem, for instance, that Mr. V. has been unable to construct sufficient life meaning to serve him well as an elder. He is for example "confused and depressed at how cruel people can

be.....The world does me in, it depresses me." There is, of course, no final truth about the world beyond the fact that what one sees and how one feels about what is seen depends to a great extent on qualities within the viewer. The world is contingent. The confusion, the depression, the being done in, and the cruelty as an affective experience reside not in the world but in Mr. V's response to the world. They reside within the feeling system of Mr. V. He has constructed for himself a universe with people that live in opposition to his deep sense of justice. He has constructed for himself a universe that does not provide sufficient meaning for his life, that can not support his life as a worthwhile endeavour. To reject his own mortality he must reject the world that makes him mortal.

Just as Mr.V needs to reject a meaningful universe he must also reject his own freedom to construct his own life. He of course knows that he is free to do as he will. There are very few practical impediments to his perceived freedom of action. He is well educated and well trained and he has financial freedom. This he readily acknowledges, but nonetheless he has endless reasons for not exercising his freedom. "I'm at the age now where I can't learn new tricks.....I'm condemned for the rest of my life just to be an observer..." To live his freedom, it would seem, requires that he directly confront his sense of futility which is tied to his fear of death. To be free to do as he will with

his life requires that he confront and resolve the base issue, an inordinate fear of death.

As fear of death has infected other areas of his life it would appear also to have intervened in his relationships with others. Fear of death is much tied to fear of aloneness. The most alone act of life must surely be that of dieing. No one can accompany us on that final journey. We must make it alone. Aloneness thus reminds us of death and death reminds us of aloneness. Mrs. V., his daughter, and his son would then seem to serve to block for Mr. V. his feelings of aloneness. This may help explain what seems to be a love/hate relationship that he has with his son and daughter. It is difficult to relate to another as a unique, separate, and worthy individual when we require them to serve a compelling purpose in our life. The tendency, in this circumstance, becomes to see them only, or at least primarily, through the purpose that they serve for us. We can not then see them and love them for themselves. His need for his son and daughter is to stay by him, to protect him from his aloneness. When they fail him he says that they "drive me crazy." He loves them from his need to have them by him. He hates them from their independence, their separate uniqueness. And even that becomes confused for he loves/hates his 'puppy' son and he loves/hates his 'self-willed' daughter. This is dichotomized as is his essential belief in their being independent in opposition to

his emotional need to keep them by him, to protect him from death. The question of aloneness seems less an issue for him with his wife. She stays by him and permits him to suspend some of the fear of aloneness of living his own life by living for her life. Joined at the navel and protected from aloneness.

All of the commentary that I have provided on the issues for life satisfaction in the life of Mr.V. is constructed from the insights provided in Section I. The issues, seen as being important to life satisfaction, are drawn together and set out in Chapter 11 under forty-one points. Many of the issues of these points have been covered, so far, in the commentary without necessarily directly addressing the issue as it has been set forth in Chapter 11. I shall now directly address all forty-one issues and comment on how these seem to hold for Mr. V. and his life satisfaction.

1. It seems that Mr. V. feels himself to be rather peripheral to the lives of others. His children are off living their own lives and resist his efforts to direct them. Mrs. V. is occupied by her new career and feels pulled to satisfy his needs of her to keep him company and to travel with him. I suspect that he has no close friends in Winnipeg.

2. Mr. V. despairs for the universe and feels thrown to the outer edge of events. He does not presently sense

himself to be a valuable part of the universe.

3. He expresses little hope for the world and tends to view it as deteriorating, as drawing to some end.

4. Mr.V. does see himself as being unique, as having an individual, valuable perception of the world. He nonetheless doubts the value of his uniqueness as he feels unable to translate his perception into contribution.

5. It is clear that Mr.V. knows of himself as being more than wealth and status, but he senses a strong need for the protection that the status of being a judge promised to afford him. Wealth appears to be the only legacy that he feels that he can leave to his children.

6. He is not very optimistic about the universe.

7. The life of Mr.V. is replete with incongruity. The relationships that he has with his children displays a wide dichotomy between belief and living. He values their independence but struggles to keep them tied to him. His belief in independence for himself is incongruent with his dependence on his wife. His love of being a judge is perhaps incongruent with his growing doubt about the possibility of delivering justice.

8. He refuses to be daring in the conduct of his present life. He refuses to create for himself a brave new direction that will support his living.

9. Mr.V. requires to settle the loss of being a judge before he can fully live in the present.

10. I know little about Mr. V's day to day concerns and contact with others but do sense that he feels isolated and out of contact.

11. He does not feel free in creating his own life. He says that he is too old to start anything new.

12. There appears to be a rupture between Mr. V's past life as a judge and his present existence. I do not sense that he has a sense of continuity in life. It would seem that perhaps the death of his father, when he was three years old, also created for Mr. V. a strong sense of discontinuity.

13. It appears that Mr. V. believes in goodness, truth, and beauty. It also seems that he has little faith in them.

14. Mr. V. is afraid of the despair that produces for him a deep sense of futility in life. He attempts to undercut his own despair by looking to the conditions of others and labelling his own despair as "trivial".

15. Wisdom is defined as a detached concern with life in the face of death. Wisdom requires the integration of despair with integrity. Mr.V., while he is most certainly very wise in some ways, lacks the wisdom of the definition. It appears that he is unready to experience the despair that comes with his sense of futility about his own life and is unable to arrive at a sense of detachment about the world or himself.

16. He appears to be quite inflexible in his

relationships with his children.

17. Mr.V. is not preoccupied with his body but he has not transcended it. His heart symptoms would seem, in part, to be a somaticization of his distress about his life.

18. He has not transcended his ego. Mr.V's distress over his present life, over his sense of futility are concerns that arise from his concept of himself.

19. Mr. V. struggles to be mentally flexible. It seems that his flexibility continually gets hedged in by unresolved, strong emotion.

20. There are areas in the life of Mr.V. where he does not have an efficient perception of reality. It does not, for example, seem efficient to consider that he is unable to learn new things at age sixty-two.

21. In many ways Mr. V. seems natural and spontaneous. In others he seems constrained and tight. His relationships with his children, for example, may seem constrained and tight.

22. His life does not express a sense of active autonomy. He says that he is unable to enjoy himself without the presence of his wife.

23. Mr.V. does not convey a sense of continuous freshness and appreciation. He seems more tied to past events in his life than to the present. Continuous freshness and appreciation arise in present time.

24. He does not accept himself. He is distressed with

himself in his present life.

25. I do not know if Mr.V. has a sense of equality although he certainly responded to me as an equal.

26. I do not believe that Mr. V. has a circle of close intimates.

27. Earlier on in this commentary I discussed what seemed to be a lack of a sense of personal boundary in the life of Mr.V.

28. Mr. V. describes himself as being bored.

29. It appears that Mr. V. perhaps felt protected from the exigencies of human life by the unique specialness which his position as a judge seemed to afford him.

30. It seems that Mrs. V. may fill the role of an ultimate rescuer for Mr.V., in that living his life through her may seem to rescue him from the futility he knows he must experience in his own life.

31. I do not know if Mr.V. has a need to be loved and remembered eternally but his strong desire to leave a large sum of money to his children seems a little like establishing a personal memorial to his life.

32. He says that his life is over and has no sense of having a present or future value.

33. An awareness of the process of living requires a sense of ongoingness to life. Mr.V. comments on how he feels stuck.

34. His mind and body are still both active and kept in

exercise. The lack of purpose and direction and the boredom that Mr.V. experiences would suggest that his faculties are not in full exercise.

35. I suggest that his extreme sea sickness may be seen as a phobia.

36. Mr. V. appears to have a need for power that would countermand a basic anxiety about death and futility. It would seem that for a while the power of being a judge served that purpose for him.

37. I do not know if Mr. V. has a compelling need for affirmation. It does seem, however, that it is very important to him that his daughter live her life not by her own desires, but in a way that will affirm his values and beliefs.

38. Mr.V. comments on his lack of meanings and purpose sufficient to support his life.

39. Mr.V. does not appear childlike and creative. Rather he seems anxious, confused and stuck.

40. Independence from cultural demands is closely allied to a clear sense of personal boundary. Mr. V. seems unable to separate his distress from the distress of others.

41. I do not know how open and honest Mr. V. is in his intimate relationships. I do sense that a prelude to openness and honesty is a clear sense of who one is as an individual and a clear knowledge of what it is that one wants from life. Mr.V. is not clear on either.

It would appear from working through the forty-one issues, as they apply to life satisfaction for Mr.V., that the issues are not independent ones and that a change in the experience of one of them would cause a change in many others. Perhaps this is not surprising as we do not experience our lives as composed of discrete elements but as an experiential gestalt.

It perhaps might be possible to group the forty-one issues under a few major headings. I do not think much would be gained by this, and as always, the search for clarity would sacrifice precision. The eight adjectival pairs, provided by Erikson, would appear to be appropriate headings that could group the forty-one issues. In applying these adjective pairs to the life of Mr. V., I find that peripheral, overshadowed, passive, scattered, divided, excluded, invaded, and bypassed all seem to fit.

I feel compelled to once again restate that none of the observations that I have made on the life satisfaction, as I observed it in the life of Mr.V., in any way lessen his richness as a complex, complete, valuable, and eminently lovable human being. I found Mr. V. to be a most interesting, understanding, perceptive, warm, passionate individual. He is in very many ways an exemplary human being. I was enriched by talking with him. He may well resolve for himself some of the issues that interfere with his life satisfaction and thus find his living somewhat less

of a strain. That will neither add or subtract from his value as a unique individual.

Chapter 14.

Mrs. F.G. Age 81 Years.

Mrs. F.G. is a slim, frail looking, woman who speaks very slowly and quite quietly. The phrase that comes to my mind to describe my sense of her presence is 'ladylike in demeanor'. That may be a consequence of the stillness and quietness that she presents. She is obviously intelligent and her mind has not been impaired by age. She had very clear and decided ideas and thoughts about all the matters discussed and her recall of events past and present came quickly and easily. The most noticeable thing in talking to her is the total lack of affect in her voice and face. I would describe her face as being gentle/sad. The gentle/sad face was maintained throughout the discussion of all events. I am uncertain whether this lack of affect is a result of her physical problems, of the transit istenic attacks that she has experienced, I understand these to be very minor strokes, or whether a tendency to low affect may have merely been exaggerated by her physical problem. It would seem much more likely that a minor tendency to low affect has been made much more obvious, much more apparent, by her physical troubles. This would appear to be borne out by Mrs E.F.'s assertion that she preferred to look to the bright side of

things. Looking to the bright side of things can work as a means to avoid the despair present in many situations. The avoidance of despair, throughout life, may suggest a tendency to a general lowering of affect. Despair that is avoided and not experienced, tends to require that the general emotional tone be lowered as the means of avoiding the experience of despair. This issue will be pursued, further on, in more detail, as it would seem to be an issue central to the life satisfaction of Mrs. F.G.

The interviews were conducted in a large, sparsely furnished living room, in the house of her son and daughter-in-law where she lives. The room has floor to ceiling windows looking out on to a wooded area that slopes down to a small river. From the living room Mrs. F.G. can watch the changing of the seasons and the activities, in season, of birds and squirrels. She expresses interest in these. There was no evidence in that room of mementos, artifacts, that spoke of life continuity for Mrs. F.G. Mrs. F.G. had her own living area in the home, which I did not see, and perhaps that area had many items garnered through her life and which, in a concrete way, suggested and reminded her of a sense of continuity to her life. The house is situated on the edge of Winnipeg and is rather remote from most amenities. It seemed that Mrs. F.G. may have spent most of her weekday daytime hours, this long Winnipeg winter, at home alone.

Mrs. F.G., First Interview, March 7, 1989.

Q - Please tell me your life story, starting at the beginning. Tell me whatever interests you to tell.

A - I was born in 1907 to a family that already had four children. There was another child born when I was five-and-a-half years old, but before that happened, my oldest sister, the oldest one in the family, died at the age of ten, so there were just five of us at a time in the family. I was born in a small town in New Jersey in United States. My father was a sewing machine mechanic. Around the time I was born, he changed from a city job with Singer Sewing Machine Company to the smaller town of Redbank, where he became the head machine man. He stayed there until he was eighty years old, except for a couple of years out when he had an operation. My mother died at fifty-two, when I was thirteen. Two years later, my father married again and we moved from Redbank to a town that had part of its real estate on the Atlantic Ocean. The experience with my step-mother was an unhappy one. I probably wasn't the nicest of persons but I was so used to home in Redbank and with my mother being the sort of lady she was, longsuffering -- she had breast cancer and then uterine cancer. There was such a change and after living in my step-mother's home for a while, the doctor said that I shouldn't stay there so my younger sister, the only one younger than I, and myself went to board with a family that we knew. That wasn't too happy because the mother didn't care when the children went to bed, or when there were meals, or anything, which was quite different from how I had been brought up. So my sister and I changed boarding places. I went out looking for one and

found -- one of my younger sister's teachers boarded at a place and we went to board there for those last months of my high school and the last months of my sister's junior high -- or grammar school, actually, were really happy. After we finished high school and grammar school in January of 1926, we went to live with my oldest sister some miles away. They started B, my sister, in school right away because they felt she could better make three-and-a-half years of school rather than wait around and do nothing, and then have four years, which she did very well, because she was valedictorian and the youngest one in her class. She went on to college and I stayed with my sister some times. One of mother's sisters and her husband had a girl's camp in Connecticut and they asked me to spend summers up there. Then my uncle, who had been a school teacher in New York City for thirty-five years, thought I ought to come with them in the Bronx section of the city, and look for work in New York. Well, I didn't know it; he might have known it. We went back to their place in September of 1929 and a month later was the stock market crash. It really didn't mean anything to me, but it put a lot of people with stocks and bonds out of business. The only thing, someone, who knew how to transfer bonds and stocks, made up a business and they hired people, who they could get for the least amount of money, and that's where my first work was, as a result really of the stock market crash. I was there eight years, having two or three different jobs. Because the same uncle used to take me to the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City -- have you ever heard of Dr. Peale, Norman Vincent Peale?

Q - Oh, yes.

A - Well, he wasn't minister at that time but he became the minister there two years after I started. But Uncle D. used to take me down to hear Dr. Peale Sunday evenings so I was

familiar with the church. When I went to live in the Y.W. on my own in New York City in January of 1930, I went to that church because it wasn't too many blocks away. After Dr. Peale came to be the minister in October of '32, the next few months a Mr. L.G. came and liked Dr. Peale and kept attending the church. He was put on my committee to put on a meeting, and that's how I met my husband, F.'s father. I worked for a few years and we thought we were in a position to do all right because he'd had trouble getting jobs with the Depression and he had been -- after he worked for Proctor and Gamble, he worked for Stone Webster and Blodge, a brokerage, and they encouraged the ones that worked for them to buy stock on margin. He didn't declare bankruptcy. He decided to pay off what he owed for no-good stock. So we thought we were in a position to have a family so I quit my good job to see if we could have a baby. Then the company he was working for reorganized and he was the last to be hired, so he was the first one to go. But it was a case of tissues and tumours and the doctor said if we didn't take care, to try and have a baby as soon as possible. He wouldn't help us after two years because he didn't think it would be wise. So before the two years was up, F. was started, which we were really thankful for. We lived in a storey right across from 42nd Street in New York, across the East River, and then we moved away that summer, when he was coming. L. had difficulty getting work again, except to have night work, so we took this caretaker's job in a doctor's home on East 61st Street in New York City. Then F. was born and then after a year we moved away from that area, moved down to Long Island, to a place called Hollis, where we lived for nine years. F.'s life really began there. In the meantime, while we were living there, his father had a position with General Chemical, which afterward became Allied Chemical, now is Allied Signal. We wanted a place of

our own and we had waited and waited, thinking that the company would announce where they were going to move. When we finally bought one of the houses at the lowest of the house sale price, that was in 1951 or 1950, a month after we signed for the house to be built in this development, the Korean War broke out and it just changed everything. Prices have never gone down since. We had signed the contract in May of '50 for the house to be ready in September of 1950. Instead of that, we didn't get in until the end of May of '51, with having to pay \$100 more. It doesn't sound like much, but believe me, to us it was. But at least we got in. The school out there was more like a private school for F., than what the city school was. When we lived in Hollis, we were living in New York City, the Long Island part, in the Queens part. School out there was so much better. Then after having a hysterectomy because of all the fibroids that seemed to be in the abdomen -- and they were; it took four hours to get it all cleaned out of the intestinal tract -- then I felt kind of down and I said, "Maybe I should go back to work." F. was then twelve or thirteen and he went to school by bus -- the school bus came around -- and then he had a paper route after that, so he was gone, really, all day. So I wasn't really leaving and I was just five minutes away, where the work was. So I went into office work and then six months after we moved there, the company decided to build in New Jersey, not on Long Island. So in three years we had to move to New Jersey if he wanted to stay with his work, which we did. And of course, I had been born in New Jersey and most of my family was there. One sister was in New York City, but in the Queens division. Because we had had two houses, the one in Long Island to get rid of, and one in New Jersey, finances were tight, so I went looking for a part-time job and was offered a full-time job as a bookkeeper in a regional high school. I worked there for

eighteen years. The last few years, we knew that F's. father, my husband, L., had cancer and he did keep up. He was only down a few times, and only in the hospital a day-and-a-half. Even though we knew that death was coming, we didn't expect it to come with a hemorrhage and go very fast. After a few months, I sold the house that we had had, because it was a big house, and went into an apartment in the Indian Lakes section of Denville. I lived there until I came up here. It was a question of -- well, I had had a couple of things that made me feel that maybe I wasn't going to be able to do as well on my own. F. and I discussed it and then he and D. offered me the opportunity to come up here, so I've been here since October 23rd of 1987. Last winter wasn't a bad winter, but this one has been a snowy one. I think that pretty much brings me up-to-date.

Q - I'd like you to cast your mind back to when you were a little girl. I'd like you to tell me how your life felt to you, as a little girl,

around the time when your mother died.

A - Well, I knew that we didn't have -- my father had a good position, but with all the children, there just wasn't that much money. Well, also, later on, too, my father wanted to stop in the saloon on the way home. I'm not sure how much money stayed there rather than . . . It was a case of he wouldn't come home and you knew that he was going to be sleepy and uneasy when he did get home. Of course, when my mother was in the hospital for five months with cancer, the only reason was -- even at that time, they weren't keeping them in the hospital -- but my father worked for an older Jewish man, who had started as a peddler and built up his company, making uniforms. He made all the Boy Scout uniforms for years and a great number of army uniforms. He was a man of honour, but he had four sons and one of them was a total thief, in a way. He would follow his father

through the -- his father would see a uniform, he'd look at it and he'd see something wrong and he'd throw it aside. He'd say, "Don't put that in", and this particular son would walk right behind him, pick it up and put in the pile, and send it through. In the long run, he lost out on the business because of what he did. But the father was a trustee of the hospital in Long Branch, which was the nearest hospital at that time, seven miles away either by train or trolley, and she went there to be made better and found she couldn't be. But when she should have been put out and sent home, Mr. E. said, as long as she needed a place, the hospital was to keep her. So she was there five months, until she died. And, of course, when you have several children, trying to keep things going -- my oldest sister, the oldest, was very upset trying to keep up with everything and she did what she could. She married in June of '23. That was a case of where my father thought he was doing the best for us when he married again, only to find that she was unstable.

Q - What words would you use to describe your early childhood, let's say the first ten years?

A - Well, I think, looking back on it, I might say that it was that things weren't right, but I wasn't conscious of it at the time. With my sisters and all, it was just -- you go on and you try to do what mother wants, even if she wasn't there.

Q - Was there much laughter in the family?

A - Oh, there was laughter. It was an Irish family and my father's mother and father came -- they were both born in Ireland, in the north of Ireland but they were both working in London and met there, and married on Christmas Day and left the next day for the U.S. and never got back because he was a farmer. They had eight children. And my mother was one of eight. Actually, both my father and mother were one

of nine, but each family had a baby die in infancy. But being in my step-mother's home and having the upset with all of that, my younger sister was given piano lessons, and a watch, and this, that, and the other thing. I really think my step-mother wanted to be sure she could count on B., where I wasn't in the picture until she wanted me to bring B. and come back. She asked me to come downtown. She wanted to buy me -- she bought me a coat, she bought me a dress, a hat. I had said to my father, "What if she says, now are you coming back?" He said, "Just tell her to speak to your father", and that's what I had to do.

Q - It must have been a hard time for you.

A - It was. It seems harder now, looking back on it, than it was going through it.

Q - It seems as though you had a close relationship with your father, which goes back to --

A - Well, I was thinking about it again the other day. I feel very thankful that he really felt responsible. I don't know if you ever look at television. There was a program last night, "Those She Left" -- I'm not sure of the wording of it -- about a woman who dies in childbirth. Her husband tries to take care of the baby, who cried so much, and he really, for a bit, just didn't want any part of it. It was getting beyond himself. I was thinking again, last night, how grateful I am that dad knew when I didn't know. The thing was she had a quirk -- I don't suppose, because you wouldn't be using a hair receiver as a part of a bureau accessory, but it was generally a small container with a hole in the cover. When you combed your hair, you took the hair off of the brush and comb and put it in the hair receiver. That hair in that hair receiver just seemed to unsettle her because as soon as my sister and I were at the breakfast table, I could hear her footsteps going along the hall to our room. If I went back upstairs for anything, the hair that had been in the hair

receiver when I combed my hair -- after I combed my hair, was gone. Now if something like that is gone, you know somebody's been there. But if you asked about it, "Oh, no, I don't go in your room." And that's unsettling. But she wanted me to come down -- I was out of school with a bad cough. A couple of doctors thought I had T.B. but when the doctor treated what turned out to be post-nasal drip and nerves, the cough was gone. But I was out of school a year-and-a-half while I was in Redbank. I went back to school in Long Branch, when I was at my step-mothers', and graduated from there. I took down the prescription bottle of the medicine for the atomizer. When our house in Redbank was sold and we moved down to stay in Long Branch, my bottle of medicine was gone. I asked my step-mother if she had seen it; of course, she didn't, she never goes in that room. But my father, without my knowing it, found the broken bottle out in the burning heap with all the burned stuff. My sister's Raggedy Ann doll had been used so often by my step-mother to hold up the windows (the window didn't have anything to hold it up) and they were the old-fashioned windows; all of a sudden that disappeared. Well, it had gotten dirty and she didn't like to see it, so dad found the remnants in the furnace. It had been put in the furnace. Now if he didn't do it, and my step-mother's nephew didn't do it, then somebody had to do it. He was aware of that. When there was a blow-up and I was in such abdominal pain, dad took me to the doctor's. That was the doctor who knew her, that we should get away from there or I would be a nervous wreck.

Q - Do you remember feeling that stress, pressure? How old were you then? You were still fairly young?

A - Well, they married in '23 so it was the next year.

Q - You were seventeen?

A - Umm-humm.

Q - It must have been very hard for you.

A - It wasn't easy.

Q - How did your life feel after you moved to New York?

A - Well, after I was married --

Q - Before you were married?

A - Oh, when I was on my own. I wasn't on my own too long, just a couple of years. Oh, the other thing was that my sister next to me, two years older than I -- two years and a couple of months, in 1923, when she graduated from high school, I had said if she would stay out of the hospital training program for a couple of years until I graduated, I would stay home and take care of the house for dad, and dad wouldn't hear about it.

Q - I see.

A - So by the time that I went to New York, my older nurse sister, the one that was two years older, was finished and working in New York. So then we had some -- and my mother's two sisters, the one in the Bronx and there was one on Madison Avenue in the 90's -- her husband had a plumbing business -- and it was a case of they were a substitute family and invited there very often. And with my sister and then in 1931, I guess, after I had been in the Y.W. for a year, my sister, G., the older nurse, wanted to have an apartment so we took a furnished apartment for the next two or three years. We had apartments together until after -- in fact, after we married, we took an apartment in the same complex -- it had four rooms, it had two bedrooms -- until I thought she wasn't getting use out of it because she, by that time, after a couple of years, was living in the nursing home again, the residence out over on the island, Metropolitan Hospital. Then we moved -- that was in 1936 -- we moved to our own apartment by ourselves. I was active in Marble Collegiate Church. We had, at that time, Christian Endeavour, which later they changed to Young People and

that's when they put me as head of the devotional committee and I met L. But at that time, I could go by subway right over to wherever we lived and could walk the city streets, 2:00, 3:00 o'clock in the morning, going home. Not always that late, once in a great while, but there was a very active group in that church so I was there several nights a week. Big city church.

Q - It sounds as though

A - Yes, they were, except I had some trouble with some boils on the back of my neck and in my ears. I laughed about it afterwards because I said after I met L. I never had another boil. This Guideposts, that is Dr. Peale's --

Q - Oh, yes, yes, I see. So how did the feeling of your life change after you were married?

A - Wonderful. We didn't have much money, we didn't have -- sometimes L. didn't have a job, but we got through it somehow. And then we knew we wanted college to come up for F. and that's what we worked toward. But with most of the years in the beginning, living in New Jersey, my father was still alive -- he died at 97. He lived with my sister fifty miles away and we used to go back and forth and have a lot of family things. My nurse sister used to come out. We kept a room for her. It didn't last very long because she lost out to breast and uterine cancer. You know, the birds are back, some of them. I just saw two of them fly.

Q - Lovely view, isn't it?

A - Umm-humm.

Q - It's almost like being outside.

A - Yes.

Q - Your step-mother had died by this time, didn't she?

A - She died in the early '40's, but she had had a fear of people not being right. There were two people on her street that had gone to the mental health. Her nephew was getting money that dad gave her for taxes, and he was getting money

out of her and she didn't have the tax money to pay the taxes, between all her health problems evidently, and she suddenly went queer. She would be in her nightdress and her bathrobe, tied something around her head, and go out and go into the houses of her friends there, and eat sugar and butter out of their containers. So something had to be done. She had to go to an institution. After a year, they were talking about releasing her. My father just didn't know what was coming up or how he could manage it, because he'd had to stay with her a full month at home. Nobody else could seem to keep her from roaming, but he would lie on a couch. He could look right up the stairs; there was a picture on the wall and her reflection was in it. As soon as he would see her at the head of the stairs, he would say, "Go back to bed", and she didn't know how he knew, when she couldn't see him. So it had been a full month. They took her to a hospital near there and then were to go on if she tested a certain way. She was only there a few hours when they called him and said, "You'll have to come and stay with her; we can't control her." So he was wondering how things were going to be managed. The nurse came close to him, a nurse that he liked very much, that seemed to be good at her job, and under her breath she said, "Don't be in a hurry, don't be in a hurry", so he didn't know what was what, but he just waited a while. Well, she suddenly started to lose weight. There was no question she would be going home because she was back in the hospital section again, as she had been when she first went there. So it wasn't too many months and she died. Her nephew had never gone up to see her the whole time. When he went, she wouldn't speak to him. So she didn't have too long, but there were two other people, a man and a woman, on the street. My step-mother was very uneasy. I think she thought there was something on the street that made it happen. Of course, nowadays, we say

all these different things in the water and everything else can do things to you.

Q - So your marriage to L., then, was a happy time for you?

A - Very much. We had forty-one and a half years.

Q - Did they always remain happy times or were there hard times for you?

A - Well, there were times when we had to push pennies, pretty many times. One of the things that we probably might have saved some money on, but L. liked to get back to Nova Scotia. He would never say, "Nova Scotia, go to Nova Scotia," it was always "Go home". We didn't get to Nova Scotia every year, but every other year or so, we got up to see his parents. Finally, when we did have our own house in Glen Cove on Long Island, they came down with a brother of L's. and stayed with us and then we put them on the train in Boston and sent them back. But having a big family with all the different things going on, things might not always be rosy or happy, but it's life. It's living. Q - You were delighted when F. was born?

A - Oh, definitely, even though there was trouble with the blood pressure. But we got through that. The day he was born, my younger nurse sister -- my youngest sister came out of college at the time of the Depression and couldn't find work as a biologist, so she went into training in Metropolitan Hospital where my other sister had trained. I went to the doctor with F. that my younger sister was working under, and my older sister had been in training when the doctor was in training, so she said -- she had married that summer -- she said, "Well, I'll be there to see you sometime when I can" to the doctor when he came in, and I said, "Oh, yes, I'll be back in two years". He said, "No, you have your baby." I said, "Yes, but I want another one." I said, "I'll be back in two years." "You have your baby." Well, the next week he told my husband that there were too

many tumours and things, that it wouldn't be wise. The one particular tumour had enlarged and there would be a possibility that as the uterus expanded it would rupture the part of the uterus that would cause bleeding, so he wouldn't advise any more.

Q - Was that a disappointment?

A - Yes, it was. But I knew the why and wherefore, particularly with two nurses in the family. My father's sister had been the first public nurse of the visiting nurse's association in Plainfield, New Jersey, so there was nursing in the family.

Q - Did you like being a mother?

A - Yes. F. was one -- you couldn't be sure you'd always be ahead. He always could have the last word. Yes, he made life complete.

Q - There must have been some times for you where he didn't.

A - You have to take the bitter with the sweet.

Q - Your whole feeling is one of sweetness, is it, kind of a residual --

A - Yes, there was something I read in an author's memoirs. She was talking about her father dying and her mother picking up her life, trying to live creatively as a tribute to her husband, and that's what I felt like.

Q - How long ago -- he died about six years ago?

A - He died in '75 so it --

Q - It's almost fifteen years ago.

A - Yes, that's right. Q - That must have been a hard time.

A - It was an awful time, but there was one thing that I had read and heard about: Don't do anything quickly. So that whenever anything was asked about the house or anything, I said, "I'm not doing anything". But two months after he died, I had a very bad cold and I felt so terribly sick. We were on a street that only had a few houses in it -- it went up the hill -- and I thought if I should become sick while

I'm here, out so far -- I shouldn't say "out so far", it really wasn't that far out, but you had to go around -- they built Route 80, which goes all the way across United States, they built it right at the end of our road and closed that road off, so we had to go out and around it. The real estate agent had spoken to me and I told him no, I wasn't doing anything. L. died in June and this was October. I thought, well, maybe I could open it up just to this one agent, to see if there was any sale for it because I had a feeling it might not sell. But the man had been -- before he left work, had been the superintendent that had hired me when I was looking for work, and I had worked under him for a long time. So I offered him the chance, but I said, "I don't want it opened up wide for anybody and everybody. I just don't want it. I just won't do it." So he said he would do it, but then a couple of weeks later he went to Florida and someone else had it, but they honoured what I wanted. The fourth set of people wanted to buy it, so it sold within a month. So then it was a case of what was I going to do. I had the dog that F. had given me, a Welsh terrier. Where would I find a yard like that or what would I do? But I sold the house, to be closed at the end of January. I didn't know where I was going or what I was going to do. But at Christmas time I was at a dinner and this lady said, "Do you want the place?" She said, "I don't know when the woman's getting out. I'm evicting her." So with just that, until about the 10th of January, I didn't know where I was going. I drove around that day and the shades in the apartment looked different. It was just three miles from where I was living, but it was across the street from a community lake and the shades looked different. I went home and called the landlady and she said, "I don't know. I haven't heard a thing." Well, she went over there and sure enough, the woman had left. But she just put the

key in the mailbox, didn't bother to let her know, but she thought she did that because -- the lady had done that so she wouldn't have to pay the extra rent that she didn't have, beyond her security, the extra amount, the higher amount. So the landlady called me back and said, "I'll leave the keys here for you. You can pick them up and go in and see whether you like it or not, whether you'll take it." The things you do when you don't realize you're doing them! I went over and got the keys, and went over, went in the place, went all over, judged furniture, this, that and the other thing, and it wasn't until I started to get dinner ready for myself and put my hand on the refrigerator door, I said, "Oh, oh, there's no refrigerator in the place", because New Jersey didn't require it in an apartment. So it was a case of . . . I hadn't particularly noticed the colour, but when F. came down to help me, at my request, he came and he said, "You can't stay in that dark front bedroom." He said that is so dark, the paint is so dark. I hadn't even noticed. I was noticing more the size. So I was there from January of '76 until I came up here.

Q - A long time, eleven years, I guess.

A - Well, another thing, too that kept me going. My older sister lived alone until not too many years ago. Her son was farther south in New Jersey, but within sixty miles. If she needed help, because her husband had died two years before mine, I would go down there. And four years before that, our youngest sister's husband had died of a bad heart attack and I would drive into Bayside, which was just over the bridge from the Bronx in Queens, where she lived, and we went on several trips. We had a trip to Munich and Vienna, and one to Mexico City and Acapulco, and being with sisters. But B. suddenly had -- she was the younger nurse and I have a feeling she just didn't tell us, she just knew more than she said. She turned out to have a rare form of kidney

cancer and was gone in two months; that left the oldest sister and me. She died in '87. She was eighty-five.

Q - How long did it take

A - Well, I moved to the apartment in January and my husband and I had been going to spend Christmas out in New Zealand with his brother, who had moved from Bermuda, so I, alone, made the trip out in January of '77 to New Zealand for six weeks. So I kept doing things, but I did have a low time in '79, when I was having -- now it was probably the beginning of the TIA's, but . . . Transit istemic attack. It happens to be many strokes. I would be out on the street in Denville and suddenly I'd have this thing in my head, the top of my head. My feet felt as though they were wallowing and tears -- without my wanting to cry or anything, tears just raining down my face. They had me in the hospital and other than blood pressure, they couldn't see anything more, never thought there was anything to do with strokes or that sort of thing. Then F. and I drove -- I drove six hours, two hours at a time, to give him a break. We left down there, New Jersey, at a quarter of 5:00 on Wednesday and we were here by 8:00 o'clock Friday night. We stopped two different places at night. I was feeling good, but then after a month or so I suddenly had a time when I wasn't sure that I could -- well, first one arm kind of went down and then the other arm went down, but it came back. I wanted so badly to walk down to the river when it was ice but I didn't let them know that something like that happened. And then the next month -- in the bedroom or my sitting room -- you see, I have a room in my bedroom, I call it my sitting room and bath on the north end, that's my lookout 'cause you can see so far. I went to write that morning and I couldn't write. When I wanted to talk, I couldn't say anything. I was at the doctor's and if he had said anything about possibly strokes then or something, I might have felt differently about it,

but he really didn't say what he thought but he evidently thought that it was something to do with TIA's. He thought I shouldn't drive. He told F. he thought I shouldn't drive, and here I had just driven, you know, all the way out from New Jersey, and it just seemed, why should I stop? But we didn't know at that time that it's against the law. It's one of those things, they want you off the road. So then after a month or so, F. thought, by the way I was acting, that there was more of a depression rather than anything else. So he took me to be checked out by Dr. C.P. He's head of the geriatrics division and F. knew him from different things he had met him at in connection with his work. So I was on depression medicine -- this was last spring -- and the one doctor that I had been going to had also a psychiatric other doctor that checked me out. They said that oftentimes depression-like symptoms seem the same as thyroid, and they thought I should have thyroid checked. Well, I went downtown, as I had been going once or twice a week, to go to classes on the bus, and I had to change buses at Killarney, and I got off the bus. I knew my head was aching, but I was used to it. I walked the two blocks to F.'s office, and he wasn't there. When he came back from being out for a bit, I couldn't talk straight. It's just that I was talking letters instead of words. What I went to the office for, was to go with him in the car to the Health Sciences. I was to go out there. Of course when they got me and I was still unable to say words, they went to more checking and I ended up over in St. Boniface, in the hospital for two days. They would have kept me more, but they weren't going to do anything more. The first night I was there, I had fallen out of bed. The sideboard was up, the things were up. I don't know how I did it, but I knew I had to go to the bathroom and I was in a pool of urine on the floor. This whole side was just bruised from falling

from the bed. So F. and D. had me released and brought me home. They felt that they could keep me from falling out of bed and get to the bathroom better. So then, by the time I was in the hospital then, they decided that it was definitely the TIA because the speech came back and the pain was released in my head.

Q - It's physiological?

A - Well, I think so, because I can do what I did before quickly. I'm slower and I get jittery if I try to do too much, but that was in May. In June, I had to go to the hospital anyway, just for testing. It's where they put something on, a gadget, on the arteries of the neck and then show it on a machine. And they found that this was closed a bit, but the left was closed up two-thirds, three-quarters. And then last fall, the doctor checked and had me go to a man that operates, but he said that he doesn't operate on anybody after seventy-five. It's too much of a risk because if they haven't had a stroke, this is apt to put them into a stroke. In June, the doctor, Dr. S., after I came to the new hospital, I drove over to his office and when I said I had driven, he said, "You're driving?" Well, he didn't say anything, except to say that I would lose again. Then he said it was against the law and he wouldn't let me drive home, which I felt able to doing. Then within a week the order came from the Highway Department. They were cancelling my license.

Q - It doesn't seem to have effected your memory in any way.

A - Those -- all of them. In November -- well, actually in August, F. wanted to take me to the park once, at Assiniboine Park after church. I knew I didn't feel well, but we went. We started to walk in the park and I couldn't talk, so he brought me right home. I think it started right there again. But then in November, I was so sleepy that I couldn't do anything but sleep. On a Saturday, F. said, "I

think you'd better go to the" -- I completely forgot, in my story, I broke my shoulder in '71, broke my ankle in '73, so I have a limited shoulder and lots of osteoarthritis, but he said, "I think you'd better go to the hospital." So we went. It was in the evening and they said, "You'll have to stay downstairs all night." Well, that seemed like a funny thing, but it was nicer down there than I thought. After a while, nobody seemed to be bothering with us at all; we decided to come home. The next morning, things weren't that much better, so F. said, "I'm taking you back." That time, I stayed because by the time -- I don't know whether by the time we got there or later that day, my speech was gone again. Within a couple of days, it came back. But they evidently were concerned about it because the lady came in on either Wednesday or Thursday to evaluate me. She said, "You're all right", but she had to see what I could -- by that time, I could talk right and I could write, and I did all her questions. So she said, "You don't have anything to worry about." But it was a case of the blood pressure was two hundred and thirty-some. That's evidently what was doing it. So I was there until Sunday; I was there a week.

Q - You came to Canada two years ago from New Jersey?

A - Not two years yet. It won't be two years until the end of October.

Q - I see. So it's just a year-and-a-half. How has that been?

A - Well, it's been different.

Q - It must have been difficult.

A - At times.

Q - What was the hardest part?

A - Well, after you've been a parent for so long, and lived so long on your own, it's hard. I didn't expect it, and of course, he wouldn't expect either, that I wouldn't be able to do all -- I thought I'd be able to drive, get around. He

kind of fought for my right to drive. He went to the Highway Department. They have a booklet on it and it says right in there -- but, of course, when they suspend your license, they put papers in so that if you feel that things change and you want to try for it again, but Dr. S. said to me that -- "I've seen it", he said, "What would you do if a child ran in front of you and you had one of those TIA's just at that minute, and you couldn't stop without killing that child?" He said, "I've seen it."

Q - Do you feel quite restricted now, without a car, without a license?

A - Well, I didn't last year because I was walking down to the corner quite a lot. On the corner was a drug store. But in the last couple of months, that drug store has gone out of the business. That's changed it, plus the fact of the cold and the snow. I just have to wait until F. is available. D. doesn't drive so there's a lot --

Q - That must be very restricting.

A - You have to think of the positive things, I guess.

Q - Do you feel negative thoughts crossing your consciousness?

A - Oh, I have to fight against it. I think part of the last year, with the depression, it was just seemingly the end of the line and there wasn't anything I could do about it to change it; I can be thankful I have a wonderful son.

Q - What do you enjoy in your life now? What's the enjoyment?

A - Well, if I can get myself into sewing again -- last year what helped me out of some of the depression was knitting, but I haven't gotten back into knitting. For a long time, I think it's some of the medicine to keep the pressure down and everything. They don't want it too low, because if it goes too low, you get too much of a change but it's where they want it, but I suddenly sleep. I can be sitting here

in the chair and fall sound asleep. I can't seem to stop it a lot of the times.

Q - Do you read a lot?

A - I read quite a bit, not as much as I used to. F. and D. gave me the bird book. I just wish the birds would fly a little slower when they went by here, so I could tell which they were. The last two or three days, I've seen two or three -- I'm pretty sure are warblers that are back. Now a year ago, when it wasn't so cold, there were at least five, because I saw them together, bluejays that were here all winter. Now this winter I haven't seen them at all.

Q - In a couple of weeks, they'll be back. Are you a T.V. watcher?

A - Yes, very much so. This second lighter tree has a hole in it where there was a pair of woodpeckers last year. I've seen the woodpecker in and out, checking it out this year already. They were the noisiest things. I felt sure they had babies in there. All of a sudden one day, after having noise for several weeks, it was absolutely silent. Everything was gone. I go to different things. F. takes me shopping. We each carry on our own food and yet together. We were glad when Foodland opened on the highway last fall.

Q - What are you looking forward to?

A - That's a loaded question.

Q - Tell me about this year?

A - Well, I don't know as I can really answer except I'm looking forward, wondering how all this snow is going to go, how much water we're going to -- I don't know whether you know or not, but out there is where the river is, and from where the next-door man has put that compost box out there, that's where the hill starts down to the river. And on this side, along the edge of the properties, is a big wide creek that was swollen last spring. This year I'm sure we'll have lots more running water.

Q - But you shouldn't flood.

A - Well, F. took me a year ago down the hill there, over
aways and not very far down the hill. He showed me an old
beaver lodge. They build them at the water's edge so at
that time the water must have been way up. They have a
couple of canoes and they go canoeing. And a year ago,
there was several when it was delightfully frozen and they
were skating.

Q - The house is built quite high.

A - Yes, and it's built on piles.

Q - And not bothered by the flooding?

A - Well, they said that the last time it flooded, it came
up not too far from up here. But at least everything is
generally going down from here.

Q - Are you in touch with any of the other members of your
family, your sisters' children?

A - Yes. None of my sisters or brother are left, but my
oldest sister's son and his wife moved last fall to West
Virginia from New Jersey. I haven't written. It sounds
funny, but it's true; when I write with my right arm, my
left arm gives me trouble up in the shoulder. It's
osteoarthritis across the -- it just all tightens up so that
I didn't do Christmas cards and I've got a stack of cards
and people that I haven't written. Also, at times I think
my personality has changed to the degree that I don't seem
the same as I used to, and I don't know how much I do it and
how much I can't help but do it.

Q - It's always a difficult problem to solve, isn't it? A - I
could be a crotchety old person without any trouble.

Q - Well, I think maybe that's enough for now. That's quite
a bit.

A - I think it is.

(END OF TAPE)

MRS. F.G., 2nd. Interview, March 14, 1989

Q - Mrs. G., I just wonder if there's anything about your life you've thought about since, that you might have wanted to tell me?

A - I don't know whether I mentioned my husband was ill with cancer for four years.

Q - You didn't mention how long. You had mentioned that he was ill, yes.

A - March of 1971 to June, but he fought tooth and nail to keep on his feet. Only one time was he off for twenty-four hours.

Q - That must have been quite a struggle.

A - It was. He would feel so good and then think maybe it's going to be over, it's got to be better, and then it got worse. But I really and truly believe that some of the radium -- cobalt, radium, whatever -- did more damage because they wanted to do an autopsy and I said, "Why, he'd had so much done." The doctor said, well, he always was of the opinion, if anything could be done to help somebody else, to learn, so I said yes, and the report came back that he had leukemia. When I told my doctor, who had recommended this neurologist in the beginning when he was having back troubles, he said, "Oh, no, it couldn't be. You heard wrong." Well, I said, "Will you find out, then, just exactly what it was?" He said, "Give me two weeks." I think, he has to go to the hospital every day, and he needs two weeks to get a report, when it's right there in the hospital? He had to beg my pardon. He did have leukemia and I really feel that all of the radium -- he had a number of cobalt shots. Then in the end he was having different

X-rays up here, back and front. Was there anything you found, that you wanted?

Q - No, I have a number of specific questions I would like to ask, just to find your views on things, but I just wanted to, first of all, give you a chance if there was anything that you wanted to say.

A - I think I talked a lot.

Q - The questions I have are kind of ranging, just to know what your views are on a number of things. The first one I have is, what advantages are there in being a senior? What advantages do you find?

A - Well, I think, perhaps, one advantage is that people are a little more caring of you than when you were younger and on an even basis, more or less.

Q - Any others that you can think of?

A - You can take your time doing things; you have to 'cause you can't go as fast.

Q - Does that feel like an advantage sometimes?

A - It's a disadvantage more than it's an advantage, at least for me, that it takes me so long to get my clothes on, and to get them off, and to do all the other things. I used to be able to zip through them.

Q - It requires a lot more patience, then.

A - It requires a lot more.

Q - Do you find it hard to come by that patience, or easy?

A - Not for me. I feel frustrated when I have to take so long to put on clothes and take them off. I just can't do it any faster. And, of course, up here in the winters, when you have to have more clothes on and all, it takes longer because of that as well.

Q - I guess that speaks a lot for living in Florida, doesn't it?

A - Yes, but somehow or other I never really wanted to run off. I have a number of friends down there in all different

sections of Florida and I've either called or stayed over with most all of them, but I never could come up with the feeling that this is what I wanted to do. And L. would say to me, "Now you make up your mind." And I'd say, "Well, you make up your mind." He said, "Well, I'm not apt to be here", which he wasn't, but as long as there was family for me . . .

Q - Given all the choices, what would you really chose to be doing now, if every choice was open? I know that's a difficult question.

A - Well, the very fact that F. and I were writing about it and discussing about coming, I never really wanted anything else. It may be too much in the end for him, if it's a long time, but of course it seemed as though I would be better for a long time than I was.

Q - Does it still seem like a good choice?

A - Yes, it does. If this winter had been last winter, maybe -- last winter was bad enough, but I got out almost every day. I do get down the mailbox. Today the wind was pretty chilly so I didn't stay out.

Q - How much different do you think your life would be if you were living in a central location? You're kind of remote.

A - When you say "central location" --

Q - Let's say in a place like Lion's Place downtown, or somewhere there?

A - Oh. When I was younger and started to work in the city and my sister next to me in age, older, the nurse, one of the two nurses, we had an apartment in two or three different places. You have to kind of be willing to put up with things in apartment living, as probably you know. I'm more for where there's quiet and open country, particularly after we moved out on Long Island and had a house. If I have to do it, I have to do it, but I wouldn't look forward to it. But, of course, F. tells me that any time I want to

change or do anything different, it's entirely up to me.

Q - So you're doing what you want to do?

A - As far as I know what I want. When I have to depend on somebody else to do the things I can't do -- it seems like a little, but with this shorter arm due to the shoulder, I can't reach my toenails so I have to have my toenails cut.

And I can't get out of the tub now. The last time I was in the tub, I had to be pulled out.

Q - That's something that makes life a lot more difficult, doesn't it?

A - When you have to ask to have things done, that you'd just like to do yourself, I find it very annoying -- frustrating, I'll say.

Q - Do you ever get feeling really bored with your life?

A - It isn't exactly bored. It's -- well, maybe it is. I always did so much knitting and reading and writing, and I haven't been able to -- oh, I shouldn't say I haven't been able. I haven't done the sewing or the knitting. It's just something that doesn't work. I have trouble when I write, so I haven't written that much. Thankfully, F. checked over the first thing on income tax, couldn't find any mistakes, so that's come back enough for me to do. The lady that came to evaluate me when I was in the hospital because of not speaking, they didn't -- when I first went in, not speaking correctly, they didn't know whether I was impaired or not. She came and she had me write numbers and things. When she heard I had been a bookkeeper, she said, "I think, when you've been a bookkeeper -- I've found it with people -- that skill seems to stay with them." I was able to do it correctly for her.

Q - So "bored" isn't really the word you'd chose?

A - There again, it's frustrating. I don't have what I call, to myself, anyway, the get-up-and-go, the feeling that, oh, this I want to do, I want to tear right into it.

So much of the thing, I have to push myself to do, and that -- I'll use it again, frustrating, and I wonder sometimes how much of it is I'm holding back or I'm doing it to myself, rather than it's of its own volition. One evening when I was alone, about two or three weeks ago, I suddenly thought, "I haven't played solitaire in months." And I spent an hour or so playing solitaire while I was looking and I thought, "There, I did it." Because so many times, when I sit down in the evening, I fall sound asleep. I get up from sleeping in the chair to going to bed and that feels as though I've lost a lot of valuable time. I had to laugh last night. You probably don't look at New York stations, but there's the Today show that comes through Detroit, and I always looked at it at home and I enjoy it up here in the mornings and all. There was a disagreement between two of the members and I heard about it on the Detroit station last week. Last night they mentioned on the start of the 10:00 o'clock news, that they were going to say what happened. I stayed awake, I think it must have been until twenty-five after 10:00, I'm not sure. But all of a sudden, when I was waiting for those last few minutes of the show, to hear what happened, I was asleep. That's what happens. And of course, with the depression last year, things were difficult too. I'm reading a book I found down in D.'s books, Cognitive Therapy. Have you seen it or read it?

Q - There's quite a few books on it, yes, half a dozen.

A - This is David -- what's his name. Well, anyway, according to him, you make your own moves. Then with Dr. Peale on positive thinking. I got something from the Foundation of Christian Living today. They want to put more dial-a-prayer phones in; send a cheque for \$500.00.

Q - How do you respond to all this stuff with the T.V. evangelists? How do you feel about all that?

A - Well, I listened for a long time to one of them, Dr. Schuller in California. Money comes up a lot. Of course, now they're hurting a great deal, but he was the one that built the Crystal Cathedral. I sometimes think, maybe, it isn't so much God telling them to do these things, as what they want to do. There's a lot of money around. I have always, through the years, had my own church and gone to it. I still have membership in the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City because that's where my husband and I met. Dr. Peale married us there. In fact, F was baptized there by Dr. Peale on our seventh wedding anniversary. He was six weeks old. I feel the most necessary thing is to be affiliated with a church. I haven't changed mine from where I was attending in Rockway all the time because Marble Church is in New York City and it was thirty-five miles. While L. was alive, we could drive in anytime we felt like it. When I was driving that alone, it wasn't the most pleasant. But I do feel the church is where your home is, where business is, or anything, is more important than evangelism, but each to his own.

Q - It must have been very disappointing for lots of people to find that some of these evangelists weren't quite the people they pretended to be.

A - I never would have believed it, that there would be what there has been. But, there again, you see in the papers and hear it on the radio, different priests that -- moral decay. F. is willing to take me to church and we went a lot last year. We were attending -- I was thinking of joining the T. United, which is at -- I thought it was S., but it's not too far. They have an early service. If you go to the second service, you have to wait until the early service people are out. The dressing, and the going, and everything, by the time I get there, I haven't been sure how much good it's done and I feel guilty, but I haven't gotten

to the point where I can overcome it.

Q - So religion has been kind of important to you, I suppose?

A - Yes.

Q - It's given you some really positive things?

A - Oh, yes, definitely.

Q - Do you think it's changing over the years?

A - A little. The way Sundays are has certainly changed over the years. When I was a child in Redbank, years and years ago, Sunday was the day, at least in nice weather, that the only thing we were allowed to do would be to go with my mother for a walk to the brook that was -- we would call it, probably, a park nowadays. But it was pretty much like this out there. And that was all. You went to Sunday school and church and nothing much else.

Q - Do you think the world's getting better or worse, Mrs. G., as time goes on?

A - Well, I feel as though the world hasn't gone the way we thought it was going, when we went to war to make the world safe. You're not safe today. Well, I shouldn't say that so dogmatically. We never had all of this terror -- now I've lost the word. It just seems every time you turn around, there's somebody else that's at war. You're not safe. And Khomenei, when he can say and mean what he does . . .

Q - Do you think it's worse than it used to be, the state of the world?

A - Well, you can't say it's all worse, but enough that's worse that can make you uneasy.

Q - How do you think it's going to go in the future?

A - I wonder.

Q - Have you any guesses, any thoughts about it?

A - Well, if the Russians can turn around what they have done, maybe there's hope for some of the others too, that we could have things better.

Q - What would it take to make the world a better place? What would it take?

A - You're asking me hard questions.

Q - I know, I know. Partly because people who've lived longer have had a better chance to think about some of these things, so maybe we can learn lots.

A - Controlling yourself, I think, is one of the hardest things to do, for everybody. The P.L.O. saying they want to change and be different, simply because they're after what they want, I wonder how long they'll keep it up if they don't get it. The same is true for everybody.

Q - Do you miss not having grandchildren?

A - I always have, but I have always, up until I came here, had friends that have had children and grandchildren. It's one of the things I haven't kept up with this last year. As F. said to me just yesterday or the day before, he saw I had such a long list that I was always sending, but since the drugstore down on the corner, with the birthday cards and everything else that it had in there, is gone, and I couldn't walk to it and I hate to ask to be taken here and there because F. is so busy, but he keeps telling me that all I need to do is tell him. I just haven't kept up with all my grand-nieces and grand-nephews, and nieces and nephews, and friends whose children have been like my children and grandchildren. They were with L. too. We took pleasure in them.

Q - You have a kind of sense of continuity in the children and the grandchildren of your friends.

A - That's right. Well, for instance, F. and a man by the name of B.E., they were in the same dormitory in B. University, the first year. It was a freshman dorm. During that year, B. University officials decided to tear the inside out of an old building that had been the original H. College and they were going to rebuild it inside. As it

turned out, they built it with big, thick bricks instead of putting a lot of wood in it, so they didn't really make it pleasurable as much to the eye, as purposeful. They said they were going to expect that the people that lived in H. College. Well, they still have their -- I guess they still do have their women's college, but it was for the men. They would expect them to live a certain way and not be a regular knock-down dorm, that sort of thing, and they would have to apply by writing. So B.E. and F. wrote and received a room. It turned out to be a corner room on the streets -- the building didn't go all the way to the corner, but there was a big clock there at B. University. They went to live there in their sophomore year. B. stayed until the end of his senior year and F. left it in the middle of his senior year because he decided to marry. They were married, he and K. were married the end of January and they had an apartment on the same street, a one-room apartment. B. was from Wisconsin and so was his girlfriend. She had gone to college in Minnesota and when she came for different things, we knew her. After they were married in June, F. was out to their wedding and in the wedding party because B. had been to F.'s wedding, had been his bestman, and when B. and T. -- T. is the wife -- couldn't get into their New York apartment for the summer, we had said they could stay over at our place in New Jersey, which they did. They brought everything they wanted to have in the way of furniture then and stored it at our place. So from the time they graduated from college, they were more or less our children and are to this day. They don't have grandchildren yet, the children aren't married yet. B. has been a tremendous businessman. He worked for Hartford Insurance and then his wife is an artist. Her father had been an artist, a commercial artist or a photographer, I guess it was. He had his own business. T. started making silk screen prints and B. went around

promoting them and getting \$50.00 a print for these silk screen -- and started a graphic arts business that way. It's been tremendous. A couple of years ago, because they wanted to, they bought a nursery farm -- a farm, rather, not so much nursery. They've been working very hard at that, but they love the work. They've gotten away from being in business every day. They're a tremendous couple. Their first child, they thought she was slow. They didn't know until she was in, I think, the first or second grade, that she had dyslexia. She's done a lot. She's supposed to be married in September. They live in Connecticut. I've gone up there and stayed and looked after things while T. went to college one summer for a week or two, special courses she was taking, etching.

Q - What do you think of young people today?

A - Well, I think, when you're young, you feel that the only one you want to please lots of times is yourself. Of course, things were different with me because my mother was away from the time I was twelve-and-a-half and she died of cancer when I was thirteen. Then with the step-mother, different things, and I . . . I think, like anything else, there's a lot that think only of themselves, and there are others that are fine young people, that are going to make fine citizens. Of course, we didn't have to worry about the drugs. There was alcohol around, of course. They have a harder time of it, to say no to temptation. I don't know if that's much of an answer.

Q - It's not an easy world to grow up in, is it? It's complex and difficult. Yes, that's very much an answer. Actually the reason I asked the question is, often there's among seniors there's quite negative feelings about the young, so I'm curious as to what your feelings are about the young.

A - Oh, I've seen enough of good young people that -- there's all kinds.

Q - You were talking earlier about -- and you mentioned it last week, too -- about being depressed last year. What do you think caused the depression? What's your understanding of what caused it?

A - Well, from all things that transpired and have been talked about, the change was a radical one. The climate being harsh -- but last winter, of course, wasn't as bad as this winter has been. But the amount of change and the fact that for -- how many years -- of course, since my husband died, I've been on my own, but before that, working together and being at the office for eighteen years, and I had a spell of it before that. It was a case of things went as you made them and worked them out. When you get to a point where you can't do anything, and all you want to do is just sit or walk the floor here -- this is a big place so I was able to walk a lot. In fact, I can walk better than I can do anything else. It was the change of everything. No matter how you think things might be, until you really get into them and find there's so many things you didn't even think of, that -- very much a change.

Q - How did it feel to be depressed? What was the feeling of it?

A - Well, I could sit in this chair and just stare at nothing or get up and -- at that time, last year, I was having so many times when I felt that I could just take something and smash things or yell, and I did yell. I yelled a number of times here, just for relief when you can't do anything about it. If I would rest for a while, then all of a sudden my body would just get to the point where it screamed, "Do something". It's an unhappy feeling. There'd be times when I couldn't sleep. I used to get up sometimes 4:00 o'clock in the morning. One morning I put a

heavy coat on, came down and sat in this chair just because my head couldn't sleep. And then when you can sleep, I don't know which is worse. I think can't sleep. F. felt that it was more from depression than what the doctors seemed to think. Who knows? But he took to C.P. He took two hours going over me, checking. They gave me -- I always say it wrong -- disypramamine and he said take one twenty-five mg. But the dose probably should have been, from what he said, two, but they started me with one. I don't know what it was, whether the time was right or what, but in just a few days I felt so different that the doctor said, "Well, if that seems to work, use that." But he said, "I've checked around. Some doctors give two, some give three, and some give four to start off and then taper down. I can't see it." I said, "Neither can I".

Q - So that made a big difference to you?

A - Yes, it did. Also, it was getting to the time of year when things were beginning to change outside. How much was that, I don't know.

Q - What are you looking forward to at this time?

A - You asked me.

Q - I know, once before I asked you, yes.

A - And I couldn't answer you because I didn't have anything that I was looking forward to. That very thought made me feel down, so much so that I wrote it on a pad and left it on the desk. A couple of days ago I wrote "Spring" on it. There was something that I wrote before that -- oh, and having less pain.

Q - You also mentioned there's a number of other things you're looking forward to. You're looking forward to the birds coming back.

A - Oh, true. Well, that's spring, part of spring. Well, I know F. has said a number of times if I wanted to go travelling, but I don't have the yen for it. My husband and

I did a lot of it, but with my shorter left arm and the way it is, I can't carry things easily. With having a bladder problem, you have to have things because you can't have accidents all along the way. So to try to think of travelling, with what would be necessary for just keeping dry, it has no appeal.

Q - It becomes very difficult for you, I understand.

A - If there was an opportunity to get in a car --

Q - The reason I asked that question is because sometimes we answer it to ourselves and not realize it anyway. Sometimes it's better looking at it from both directions. When we do look at it, we usually find there are qualities to put down. Sometimes it's small, but there's often lots of them, when we think about it.

A - I still, other than -- there's a couple of things. Oh, I was also thinking about it too. I'm looking forward to seeing if I can get to the point where I can knit and sew again and use a typewriter again. Each time I've used the typewriter, my arm would be bad. I've even got an electronic typewriter but the thing is down in -- where the roller is and at times, whether it's -- the eye man said they're not cataracts, but the eyes will be -- they just don't want to see and then it's no fun trying to

Q - Looking back over your long life, Mrs. G., is there anything that you would have changed?

A - Oh, I think I probably would have enjoyed it if my mother had lived and we'd grown up all together as a family, instead of being separated. My father had said he didn't care what we did on Thanksgiving or other holidays, but Christmas he wanted us all to be together. At least he did that. So that, for us, wherever we might be, we were generally all aimed at one place, generally my sister's house, or in later years my house. The last time they were in my house, a snowstorm sneaked up on us and they had to

leave early so that they'd be able to get home. Q - Any other things you would change?

A - Oh, I'd change the fact that most of my family went from cancer, the pain and agony there is with prolonged suffering. It might have been -- later on, I had been able to go to college and that sort of thing. As it was, I worked. Fortunately, I was able to make advancements in salary, even though . . .

Q - If you had gone to college, what would you have taken?

A - I never thought about it until right now.

Q - So there's no secret ambition that's felt unfulfilled?

A - Not that way. At that time, college wasn't the matter of course that it is for so many now. That's why only one of our family -- of course, the next sister to me that went to nursing school, that was the equivalent of college. But the uncle that had me come to New York to find a job, thought that our youngest sister, because she graduated at sixteen as valedictorian, ought to go to college. I'm sure my father was hard pressed, but I was the one that Uncle D. told that to, and then I went to my father about it. My youngest sister went to Middlebury in Vermont, came out at a depression time when there was no biologist positions, so after she was out a year she went to nursing school, the same one my other sister had gone to. So I helped put someone through college. G and I did that to relieve dad and to get her through. Thankfully, the tuition wasn't what it is these days.

Q - In looking back over your life, Mrs. G., all in all, would you say your life has been as good as most people's, or better, or not as good, or what?

A - I think, considering forty-and-a-half years or forty-one-and-a-half years of marriage, and we did a lot of tripping around, I really feel I had a better life than a lot of people have.

Q - Life's been good.

A - For the most part, yes, in my later life. Early, it might not have been. But I have a lot of happy memories.

Q - Those are valuable things. How much longer would you choose to live?

A - Well, actually, last year, with the depression, I didn't want to live at all. In fact, there were days when I thought that I could just as easily walk out in the snow and not come back. Of course, I remember my husband saying -- writing -- he wrote it down, I found it afterwards -- oh, I think he told me about it too. He said, "If it wasn't for you, I would have walked out on the tundra and not come back", when he was in such pain. I felt very much that there wasn't anything that was really ahead of me. I felt a -- the words slip away from me at times -- I felt more of a trouble or an extra weight than anything I could do to help. Then F. would say, "Button's off, would you put a button on?" There was one thing I could do. I have things waiting to fix for him that I haven't fixed because I just couldn't seem to sew. There are times when I don't know whether I do it to myself or whether I can't help it.

Q - Maybe you just choose to sit back and relax and live life and take it easy?

A - Well, F. keeps telling me, "If you're sleepy, sleep." But when you can't do anything else but sleep, then you feel as though something's wrong. But he tells me that I've lived a good life, I've been a good woman, just take it easy.

Q - That's not always easy to do. It's easy to say, but often not easy to do. A lot of people who died around you have had difficult deaths through pain. Does death feel to you like a scary thing?

A - No, I don't think so. In fact, last year and sometimes even this year, the thoughts of what might be necessary to

keep living are harder than the thoughts of death. But, of course, we never know what thoughts we will have after death or what it will be. But from so many pieces on people that have supposedly died and come back, they all seem to come with a feeling that everything is good. But death can be difficult for some. My oldest sister died in '87 at eighty-five, but she had diabetes, she had a heart condition, and she was -- I don't know whether I mentioned it or not; I should have -- I can't think of the word now -- laryngectomy for thirty years.

Q - What is that?

A - You haven't known anybody that talks through a hole?

Q - I see, right. Yes, I know.

A - She had a cancer node on her voice box, her larynx, and she was operated on in 1956, I think it was. She had thirty years where she did her best to talk, but the last number of months she couldn't seem to raise the power that she needed to bring her voice back. She had to swallow it and then send it out. Even when she fell and broke her hip in May, the end of May, and they sent her, after a week -- she was out of her head with pain, both operations. They sent her to the rehab hospital, rehab sent her back and said the screws in the plate that they had put in her hip were coming out, were loose, so they had to re-operate and put a plastic ball in. For a number of weeks in the couple of months she lived, they got her on her feet and wanted her to walk. She was in such pain. When her son and his wife were signed up for a convention in Texas, I went down and stayed at their house, looked after their cat, and went to the hospital every day to D. She was just in constant pain and it looked as though they didn't know what would be, but suddenly one night she started something, turned, and she died by the next morning -- the day after; not the following morning, but the morning after that. My nephew called me and I went

down. I was in training for a nurse in 1926, after I came out of high school. At least there was one thing -- I was by the bed of a person who had died within minutes of my coming toward the bed. The face can be contorted with pain and when that moment, when the spirit is gone, the flesh smooths out. There's no sign of struggle once the spirit is gone. Of course, in violent death, there's a difference, but where it's going from one world to the other, it can be very easy or can be relieving pain, anyway.

Q - One final question, the last one: How would you like to be remembered, once you die?

A - That I was doing for other people.

Q - Thank you very much. I sure do appreciate this.

(END OF TAPE)

Commentary on Interviews with Mrs. F.G.

The long life of Mrs. F.G. has been lived in contact with much sickness and death, and that from her earliest times. When she was five years of age her eldest sister died, and when she was twelve her mother took ill and died a year later. I am impressed by how great a role sickness, pain, and loss play in the interviews with Mrs. F.G. as she tells of her life. This great concern may merely be a consequence of the fact that illness is a major issue with which she must now struggle on a day to day basis and that this would thus naturally be in the forefront of her attention. I am persuaded that the issue goes beyond this. In my interviews with elders, there were several whose physical difficulties would seem to be at least as great as those of Mrs. F.G. and yet who seemed to barely mention them in the passing. Pain, sickness, and loss may be transcended unless there are factors in any life that may have created a disposition, in that there remains a need for resolution, to experience these as abiding issues. As abiding issues they may produce a shading to life where sickness, pain, and loss loom large as central elements in the feeling towards life. The very early losses for Mrs. F.G. of two very important persons in her life may well have provided such conditions. It is difficult for a young person to understand pain, illness, and death and impossible unless some real support

is provided for them to express and resolve the pain of their personal loss and sadness. These early, unresolved, painful, experiences may get expressed through an emphasis on the associated sickness, pain, and death in an ongoing life struggle to resolve the early experiences.

One of the tasks given to elders is that of transcending their bodies, of coming to terms with their physical limitations and yet remaining connected to the processes of life in a loving, caring, active way. This transcendence frees them from becoming fixed and preoccupied by the unavoidable physical limitations that attend a long life. Unresolved issues which center attention on sickness, pain, and death make this transcendence extremely difficult, and make the physical limitations, which must come with advancing years, be experienced as frustrating and irritating. Mrs. F.G. observes, on several occasions, that the physical limitation of her age are difficult for her to easily accept. She says "I feel frustrated when I have to take so long to put on and take of my clothes." And she says "When you have to ask to have things done that you'd just like to do yourself, I find it very annoying - frustrating." This struggle with physical transcendence would seem to be an ongoing issue in the life of Mrs. F.G.

The task of physical transcendence for Mrs.F.G. is clearly made much more difficult for her by the sense of frustration that she experiences over managing some day to

day life requirements. She has become, in some ways 'the helped' rather than the 'helper'. This appears to conflict with the central sense of value that she seems to hold for her life. Mrs. F.G. observed that the way in which she wishes to be remembered after her death, that is the memory of her which in her own eyes gives value and meaning to her having lived, is as "doing for other people." She would wish to be remembered as "doing for others." I wonder if her present experience of being unable to do for other, in the ways of course in which she has defined that throughout her life, feels as though it robs her of being worthy to be remembered. It may feel to her like the loss of the very role from which she has drawn her sense of value, has constructed her sense of self worth.

Constructing one's life values around doing for others seems to me to require a very delicate balance of focus between one's personal needs and wishes to serve oneself and one's need to be of service to others. I have noted, from my interviews with some other elders who seemed delighted with their present life, that all had a conviction that in their life they had served others and that a focus on the needs of others, had in fact, enriched their own lives. These elders also expressed that one of the delights of being a senior was that they were now able to divert their attention from their needs to serve others, to their need to serve themselves. It wasn't that they had withdrawn from personal

involvement and from the world but rather that their duty had, in the main, been served and that they were now free to please themselves. Their involvement with others and the world was no longer engendered by a sense of duty or of personal necessity but was now merely to pleasure themselves. Their own lives formed the value center to their universe and they reached out to the world from that value center. I am persuaded that Mrs. F.G. has found it difficult to place her own life at the center of her universe. It may well be that she has continued to live under an injunction that she imposed on herself after the death of her mother. "...you go on and do what mother wants, even if she wasn't there." "What mother wants", may have become generalized to 'what others might want' and become a guidepost directing her to a life of service to others and without which she may now feel lost. If service to others has indeed formed the core purpose of her life it must now be extremely difficult to know what it is that she wants, and to know what it is that pleases her beyond knowing what please others. It may be that service to "what mother wants" and later translated as service to particular others and living "creatively as a tribute to her husband" has acted as a limitation to Mrs .F.G.'s freedom to construct her own life directed towards her own sensed possibility. It may have narrowed her range of perceived life options, and left a shadowy sense of a life not fully lived.

I am not, of course, talking in absolutes as I write about Mrs. F.G. and my attempts to understand some of the factors that operate in her life. I am not talking about all or nothing positions. I am rather talking about tendencies, about emphases that I seem to be able to observe. The things I write about are not the major forces that have operated on the surface in the life of Mrs. F.G. but are the subtle undertones that only become manifest, that only become obvious forces when the conditions are right. The major directives through most of her life appear to have centered around her roles as mother, wife, employee, church member, friend and so forth. It seems that with advancing years the demands of these roles have lessened, they have become less important to her, and the undertones have become more prominent, are more in evidence, and are having a substantial effect on life satisfaction. My understandings of the issues in the life of Mrs. F.G. are, of course, tentative ones, are not judgements on a life lived, but are an attempt at some approximate understanding of the essential elements of life satisfaction that operate in an elders life.

Mrs. F.G. refers to having experienced several periods of depression in her life. She says "Well actually, last year with the depression, I didn't want to live at all." And talking about depression and the death of her husband fifteen years ago she observed that "I had a spell of it

before that.", and again "I did have a low time in '79." There is also a strong suggestion throughout the interviews that she values looking on the bright side of things. "You have to look at the positive things, I guess.....You have to take the bitter with the sweet." The bitter is there but the focus needs to be on the sweet. This emphasis on the positive is supported by her admiration for Dr. Vincent Peale and his *Power of Positive Thinking*. Mrs F.G. continues to receive his positive thinking publications. It would seem that despair, for Mrs F.G., is a trap to be avoided. She plans her life around the positive and did what her mother would have wanted her to do and lived creatively as a tribute to her husband.

A positive response to life is valuable and satisfying but not if the positive response demands that despair be disowned. A true positive approach to life does not come from exercising control over one's responses but from coming to terms with the despair as it arises in a life. It is interesting that Mrs. F.G. describes her mother as being "long suffering". Long suffering has a suggestion of 'being strong' in the sense of bearing suffering in a laconic, non emotional way. There is an aspect of long suffering that would appear to fit for Mrs. F.G. although it certainly seems that this has not been the most obvious mood to her life. Long suffering feels to be consistent with the place and mood that sickness plays in the telling of her life

story. Long suffering, bearing the tribulations of life in an non emotional way, is consistent with the avoidance of the experience of despair. I am persuaded that the depression experienced by Mrs. F.G. may well, in part, be precipitated by her looking on the bright side of things and failing to experience her own despair. Depression may be seen as despair that is not experienced, that is pushed, as it were, at arms length ahead of one throughout life, requiring the gradual lowering of the level of feeling response to life to keep the accumulating level of despair at bay. The effort of avoiding despair pulls attention out of living the present moment into the time frame of the events of the despair that is being avoided. That is pulled out of living, which is now, into the avoiding of thinking about past events, which was then. The joy of now requires no control it requires being. Avoiding despair requires control. The life of Mrs. F.G. feels to her to require control and she believes in control. She says "I could be a crotchety old person without any trouble." That is, she is saying, that without exercising control I would be a crotchety old woman. In considering what the world needs she considers that "Controlling yourself, I think, is one of the hardest things to do..." The implication, in context, is that it is one of the most valuable things to do.

Mrs. F.G. experienced the death of her eldest sister when she was only five years old and the death of her mother

at thirteen years of age. Both of these losses must have been experienced as dangerous abandonments. With the death of her mother her very survival must have felt to be in jeopardy, for her father could not be depended upon. She notes that "My father wanted to stop in the saloon.....he wouldn't come home and you knew that he was going to be sleepy and uneasy when he did get home." It would seem to me that her sense of survival must have demanded that she avoid experiencing the feelings of the abandonment following the death of her mother. This would be especially so as she knew her father to be unreliable. It is difficult, even when one is no longer a child and where one's very survival does not now depend on parents, to permit oneself to experience early despair that was felt to place one's survival at risk. Life patterns of avoiding despair are generally set early in life and are culturally reinforced. To be stoic, to look on the bright side, to deflect attention to the fact that things could be worse, or that others are worse off than ourselves, are approved ways of avoiding the experience of our despair. These ways of avoiding despair receive social approval as they lead people to tolerate conditions and circumstances that would not otherwise be tolerated. The avoidance acts to maintain inequity and oppression. Given the events of Mrs F.G.'s early life, she may have been particularly vulnerable to developing patterns of despair avoidance.

There is much in Mrs. F.G.'s life that has clearly been

rich and good. These include a forty-one year marriage which she sees as a positive experience and describes as "wonderful", but adds that "things might not always be rosy or happy, but it's life it's living." For some 'life' and 'living' has a rosy cast, a sense of optimism and excitement. For Mrs. F.G. , it would seem from her words that it may be 'wonderful' but that 'life' and 'living' has a grey undercast and must be suffered. The birth of a son, she describes as " it made life complete." Her church affiliation she describes as being "most necessary". Even with a wonderful marriage, a complete life, and a most necessary affiliation, a sense of peace, a sense of completeness has evaded her present life as an elder.

The reasons why Mrs F.G. is not able to feel satisfied with her present life must surely be deep and profound and must have been formed in early life. It would seem that her present unrest may result from three issues. These are, the loss of the sustaining life role of helper, a difficulty in transcending declining physical functions, and a pattern of despair avoidance. All of these, I have suggested, were formed for Mrs. F.G. from early life experience. The depth of the difficulty produced by these three issues becomes clear when Mrs F.G. says, "there were days when I thought that I could just as easily walk out into the snow and not come back."

I find it difficult to apply the pairs of adjectives

provided by Erik Erikson for considering the lives of elders to the life of Mrs.F.G. For many of the adjective pairs my intuitive responses are unclear. There appears to be both tonic and distonic elements in many of the dimensions in the life of Mrs.F.G. There is a sense in which it feels that she experiences her self as both central and peripheral to the life process. From the interviews, it seems that for most of her life, Mrs F.G. has remained involved in the lives of her friends and their children, and interested in the events of the world. I do not know how active or passive that interest and involvement has been. The interest and involvement certainly seem, at present, to be at low ebb, to be passive although she struggles to be active. I also see that she senses herself to be both luminous and overshadowed. Her present life is lived under a heavy cloud of depression. It is dark and overshadowed. She does, however, see her life as having been better than most lives, of having had a wonderful marriage, of being blessed with a son that made her life complete, and of being sustained by her church involvement. The luminosity fails to penetrate the shadow. I sense that Mrs F.G. experiences her life as being a little more scattered than continuous. There have been too many unresolved losses, which includes the loss of her role as helper, too many breaks with which she has not come to terms, including the break of moving to Winnipeg, for there to be a sense of continuity. I experience Mrs.

F.G. as sensing herself to be rather more divided than indivisible and less inclusive than excluded. There is clearly a fundamental division between her desire to look to the bright side of things and the way she is actually experiencing her life as being not at all bright. I do not believe that Mrs. F.G. feels herself to be enfolded in any ongoing concern or free to include others fully into her present experience. Her need to look to the bright side requires that she disown, not share, her experience of despair. I am persuaded that from early in her life she has not experienced herself as being safety bound. There is too much residual experience of real childhood danger. I do believe however that the sense of danger may well have been held substantially at bay during many of the years of her marriage. There seems to be a sense in which Mrs. F.G. experiences herself as being both chosen and bypassed. I am persuaded that in some real ways she does see her life as having been better than most lives, and to that extent must feel chosen. It is also true that the manner in which she was cast in the helper role left her unfree to build her life after the unique desires of her own inner nature. She has failed to find her unique life purpose and this has left the heavy shadows which darken the lives of the bypassed.

I shall now consider the life of Mrs.F.G. from the perspective of the forty-one issues which are seen to relate to life satisfaction. I shall not attempt to cover all

forty-one issues as the understanding of these issues have framed all of this commentary and it would be redundant to dwell on obvious matters that have already been covered. I shall only comment on the issues that appear to bring additional insight into the life satisfaction as observed in the life of Mrs. F.G.

It would seem that Mrs F.G. continues to struggle to feel herself as being a valuable part of the lives of others and of the universe. This is particularly evident in her attempts to adjust to the loss of the 'helper' role.

Mrs. F.G. is having difficulty maintaining congruence between her beliefs and actions. She believes that by positive thinking she should be able to control her actions. She finds that she is unable to gain that control and continues to struggle and chastise herself. She believes that the fault must lie within herself when she says "how much of it am I holding back or I'm doing it to myself."

Mrs F.G. has difficulty in finding present delight and attempts by will to fully live in the present. She, of course, fails by will to fully live in the present.

It would seem that her day to day contacts with others may have become rather narrow, and Mrs F.G. has little present optimism for the future.

She does believe in goodness, truth, and beauty, but finds herself isolated from the sense of these by the experience of her latent 'crotchety' nature.

Mrs F.G. has failed to transcend her body and her ego. Sickness remains an important issue in her life as does the exercise of will.

Mrs F.G. has an efficient perception of most of reality. Her views of the world and of young people are balanced and considered.

She lacks, in some areas, a sense of self acceptance and berates herself over her inactivity.

Mrs. F.G. experiences boredom. The boredom is the end product of the avoidance of the experience of despair.

Some of her life meanings and purposes seem to have failed to support her and it is clear that her present life is not rich with purpose.

Mrs. F.G. is a gracious, charming, interesting, friendly elder who is having trouble accommodating to her physical decline. She has led a full, interesting, and sometimes difficult, life.

Chapter 15.Mr. G.T. Age 78 Years.

I met with Mr. G.T. in an office on the main floor of Lions Place, where he lives. I required the assistance of a staff member of the Manor to track him down as he was busy, immersed, in consulting with others over making future plans for a Place for Health, a preventative health clinic, planned for Lions Place. Mr. G.T. explained that his cleaning lady was at present cleaning his apartment and that he did not wish to disturb her. As a result this interview and the subsequent one, which were both conducted at the same hour on the same day of the week, took place in an empty room set aside for the Place for Health. I did not have an opportunity to see his personal living space and assess the manner in which that might provide insight into his interests and involvements and give a sense of the feeling of ongoingness, of continuity, in his life. I am convinced, that in the case of Mr. G.T., that his living space would merely reinforce the impressions provided by the interviews.

Several days following the final interview with Mr G.T. I bumped into him in the cafeteria at Lions Place. He was having lunch with a boy of about twelve or thirteen years of

age. He introduced the boy to me as his grandson who was spending the day with him. They walked away, following lunch, hand in hand and obviously valued each others friendship and company. He stopped, with his grandson, to converse with a number of the other residents on the way out of the cafeteria

Mr G.T. is an angular, rangy, man with a soft easy manner. Even when he becomes excited and animated, in relating some events, the sense of softness remained with him. His face looks a little younger than his years except that he has only one straggly tooth in the top of his mouth and three or four straggly ones in the bottom. He commented that he had always been somewhat afraid of dentists and had therefore avoided looking after his teeth. He had now made arrangements to have dentures intalled. I was given the impression that the dentures were to be acquired for practical eating reasons and that Mr. G.T. was perfectly satisfied with his present appearance. It appeared that he was beyond being concerned with how he might look to others.

Mr. G.T,s mind is lively and quick and his recall of events, of names, and of places is impressive. He clearly continues to work to make sense, for himself, of events in Canada and around the world. His approach to events is philosophic and considered and he appears to be flexible and open to change. He gives absolutely no impressions of mental rigidity. He came to the interview with several pages of

written notes as he did not wish to miss talking about any important matter in his life. He was the only one of the elders that I interviewed who had obviously gone to some effort to prepare for the interviews. The manner in which he had prepared for the interview together with his presentation seemed to suggest that he considered his life to be an important event which deserved to be presented with some care. While he seemed to consider his life to be important and related, at length, many of his accomplishments, there was nothing boastful about Mr.G.T. He knew that his beginnings and life occupations were fairly humble and it seemed that he simply but proudly owned and valued all of his life. The word egalitarian seemed to fit in that he appeared to be oblivious to social rank or position and he gave the impression of being free to respond to the individual qualities of each person.

Mr. G.T. had an easy, rumbling laugh, and found amusement in many things. It was clear that he was deeply in love with being alive and that he enjoyed people, purposive helping activity, and the beauties of nature.

He spoke, during the first interview, at considerable length about his involvement in the Second World War. It became clear, in the second interview, that he was both proud and saddened by his involvement. It would appear that his involvement in the War, and the very purposes and uses of war itself, were in the process of being re-evaluated.

Mr. G.T. Age 78 Years. - 1st. Interview, February 9, 1989.

Q - G. tell me the story of your life. Start at the beginning and tell whatever comes to you.

A - I'm G.... T.... and it's the dry T...., T..... I was born in Seaton Delaville in Northumberland, England and my father was Scottish from the Isle of Skye. and my mother was Irish. I was just very young when we moved from Seaton Delaville to New Hartley and this is what I remember mostly - and it was a pit-mining job and my father, he was one of the supervisors in the mine. And the mine run approximately a mile under the sea, on the North Sea.

I really don't remember too much about my father, except that I remember that at the end of the First World War, just around 1918, they used to get the pit props to keep up the roofs of the mine; they used to come from Norway, and when they couldn't do that they used to go to the Lowlands of Scotland into Northumberland. We went to a little place called Firth which lies close to Anoch, and I went to school there. We were there for about two years and then we came back, and dad went down into the mines and then he was killed in 1922 by a bomb. And we were living at the mineand of course, when father was killed, we had to get out - there was no such thing as pensions then. So we moved, my mother and my sister, who was about four years younger than me, to a little place called Seaton's House, which is right on the coast of the North Sea. There I went to school and I also went to Blyth's Secondary School. And after Blyth's Secondary School, times were a little tough and I was looking for a job and Captain B..., who had been a friend of my family's, talked me into going into the

Merchant Marines. I joined him in Hull and we sailed on the Firth of Forth. She was a little coastal steamer and I was the cabin boy. It was quite an experience and I done that for approximately a year and a half. Then when I came back, I wanted to live at home, and I got a job with Fred Dutchon - that was the Dutchon Brothers, they were meat. They used to go to and buy the meat and we used to take it back to Whitley Bay on the train and we would kill then we would sell it. He had two stores, one on and one on Whitley Road. And I worked there until I decided I would come to Canada. That was in 1929.

Q - You worked there for a few years then?

A - Yes, and in 1929, it was in late July when I was leaving for Canada. And that was a big step for me because I knew nobody here. But I saw that my prospects in the North of England were very slim. So I took the bus from Seaton's House, because there were no trains there, it was just a small little village. And I went from Newcastle-on-Tyne and from there, I took the train to Liverpool. At Liverpool I boarded a C.P.R. boat, the Duchess of York, and we sailed from Liverpool and we landed in Quebec. Now it took seven days to cross the Atlantic at that time, and when I got to Quebec, I wasn't too happy there so I stayed only about a day and I went to Montreal. And I stayed approximately four or five days in Montreal. And my thought was to go west, so I took the train from Montreal to Winnipeg. Now you've got to know that the trains in those days were steam trains and they were mostly colonist's coaches. They had a little kitchen on the back and you slept in drawers on the train. You got your food as you went along. And I remember, I don't know where it was, but it was somewhere near Sudbury. I remember the train stopping and you would dash off, and each little station had a store. You used to jump off, everybody would get off the train and would go to this store and get

whatever they wanted like bread and milk and what not. I remember jumping off this train and going into this store and I picked up some bread and some milk, and I was waiting to pay for it when I heard the old train's ding dong going and the train started to pull out and all my stuff was on the train, and I dashed out and I remember the brakeman pulling me up by the scruff of my neck. And I was just about eighteen at the time, and my first thought was that I hadn't paid for it. And he said: "Get in there, you'll make good in this country." This was one of my first impressions. And I landed in Winnipeg in August, and I'll never forget my first impression of Winnipeg. It was a Sunday night, we landed at the C.P.R. station and the Donkeys were in town. Now the Donkeys are much like the Shriners. They were doing all these antics on Main Street. They were all dressed up, and I didn't know where I was. I thought that if this was Western Canada, there is something wrong. Nevertheless, I got into a small hotel and the next morning I made enquiries and I went down to enquire because I didn't have a terrible lot of money and I knew I had to get a job if I wanted to eat. So I went down and it was at the Immigration Hall down near the C.P.R. and there were jobs, mostly farm jobs. And one that I applied for was wood-cutting and you had to supply your own axe and swede saw and it was at Nissam, up on Lake Winnipeg. And I didn't know where Nissam was from a load of hay and there was no road into it and you had to take the train. So I took the train and went up to Nissam and I worked on the Martin farm at Nissam and it was quite interesting. They were Icelandic but they were real dears and they treated me real well. The arrangements were that I had to go and cut down the trees and cut it into four and eight foot lengths of corded wood and I got \$2. a cord for that. And then they charged me 75c for my room and board at that time. I done that for about a year and I came out of there with about

\$150. which was very good at that time. I came back into Winnipeg and then I went and tried to get into my old trade which was the meat business. I applied at Eaton's and I got on with them. That was about 1930 when I started with them, and they only gave me about three or four days a week until they could see how I progressed. And I progressed pretty good. We used to have to line up in the morning when we went in, and Jimmy Longs and one of the other bosses used to come and say: "you, you, and you are to go down to the time office and get a ticket." The others went home. The next morning it was the same thing. After about six months, I had been getting fairly steady work - oh three or four days a week - and then they put me on steady. And my first wage at that time was \$12.00 a week. I worked in the cutting section. They knew I could cut up meat and that I knew what I was doing. I worked for them - well in 1932 at that time, Eaton's was opening up Foodaterias. They had one in North Winnipeg, on Atlantic Avenue. They had one in Transcona. This was before Safeway came into being, because Safeway bought out Piggly Wiggly and that about 1939. And Eaton's had these Foodaterias and they had one in Brandon, one in Portage and one in Dauphin, and they were opening on in Kenora, Ontario. I was sent down, as assistant manager of the meat department, down dthereto open the store in Kenora. And I went down there and it was very, very pleasant and the chap that was in charge of the meat department was a W.....S..... at that time. He was an older chap. Well I worked there about a year, and as you know, the depression was on then and business was gettin tough and they decided they had to lay one off. So I volunteered to be laid off because he was a married man. I volunteered and I figured I could get a job anyway. I figured I could get a job. I volunteered and they laid me off and I got a job with Greers of Fort William, down on the English River which is

approximately sixty miles East of Inglis, or around about 210 miles East of Kenora, and about 100 miles this side of Fort William, or Thunder Bay, as it is known now. And I got off and we went by train, it was a freight train. We got off and then we had to, from there, walk about ten miles along an ice road to the camp. And what they were doing there was cutting ties for the C.P.R. and there was no such thing as chain saws in these days. It was all cut with a swede saw and a broad axe. I worked at that for a while and then I had the chance to get into the kitchen. I had known a little about cooking and my meat experience helped me, so I worked all Winter in the kitchen and that was an experience. When I came back in 1933, Eaton's of Kenora wanted me back - the old fellow was getting a little old - and they wanted me back. So I went there and I ran the meat department there in Kenora until 1940 when I joined the army. Meantime in 1937, I met Iris then, we fell in love and we were married, and very happily married I might say. We had a little one in 1939 but she died in birth - Heather was her name. The doctor told us it was a blue baby and that he thought that we shouldn't have any more children, so we adopted a little girl by the name of Linda. She was just a baby, three weeks old when we adopted her, That was in 1939 and the war broke out. In the meantime, I had kept in touch with my mother and sister over in England. My sister had married a friend of mine that I went to school with - a chap by the name of Taylor D.... He was also in the meat trade, so we had a lot in common. He had joined the Navy. I don't know whether he was assigned to a ship or not but he was in the navy. In 1939 or 1940 when the Germans' submarines got into Scappa Flow and I think he was on the Rodney and they sank the Rodney and he was drowned there and I decided to join the army. My wife's brother and I went down and we joined the army together, right in Kenora. I was to join the Army

Service Corps because of my trade, but when I got down there they put me in the artillery, which is typical of the army. Once you've signed the dotted line, you have no option, you have to go where they tell you. And they shipped us down to Port Arthur, at the Current River Barracks, and I was in the Current River Barracks. We were out there for a matter of two weeks and then they moved us from there to Shilo. it was in the summer time and I will always remember Shilo. We were in tents and it was the sand and we were pretty miserable. But we were just there about a month and then we were moved from Shilo to Debert, down in Nova Scotia. We started taking training and I must say that I had been in the reserve and that is why they put me in the Artillery, because I had taken training in the reserve in Kenora and that was the 17th. battery. And when we were in Debert, the Debert Camp at that time there were 10,000 soldiers at that camp in Nova Scotia. It was a real mud hole although we were in cabins and spent the Winter there. And my wife came down, and Linda the baby, and they came down and they lived in Debert for that time, right up until Christmas. And then they went home for Christmas and then in January, I was move to Petawawa and we went into further training in Petawawa with live ammunition. I must say also, that while we were down in Nova Scotia, we went on maneuvers up to Trackety and all over the area for shoots, and by that time, I was beginning to know which end of the gun the shell came out of, and which end you put it in. And then as I said we went to Petawawa. We were in Petawawa that Spring, and then I went home on leave when I got a call to return to camp Immediately. I returned and we were told we were going overseas. And we left Petawawa by train and we landed in Halifax. And then we went right from the train to the boat. They called it the "Rangie". I'll always remember that she was a Scottish ship, and it was one of the last to come out of Singapore. It was

the dirtiest ship I had ever been on in my life, and it was a Scotch crew. The butcher, the first day out, cut three fingers off his hand so they put me in as the butcher because our Colonel was in charge of the ship, and the natural was that he looked for a man to be butcher. I must say that the Rangie used to sail, in peace time, between Vancouver and Australia. She was a passenger ship and her compliment was approximately 500 passengers. On that ship we had 2000 on board and we slept in hammocks, in the holds and all over. And it meant, as butcher of the ship, I had to work all night and sleep all day. That wasn't the best, so the only place I could find peace was in the break and the break was right under the anchor, and we hit rough weather. I am sure that the boat was going fifty feet up in the air and then down and I was out of my bunk two or three times until I got into a hammock and then I slept in a hammock. And this is how we -- . There were only two ships that left Halifax at that time and the convoy took us out. There was the City of Bermuda and the Rangie. And they took us out one day and left us on our own because they figured that we were fast enough that the submarines couldn't catch us. And so we sailed. But it must have been close up to Iceland, up north, and it was real rough all the way up. And then a day out, off Northern Ireland, the first we seen was British planes to convoy us in. Then a convoy met us off Northern Ireland and took us into Glasgow, into Greenock, really. And we landed in Greenock and took a train and they took us down to Aldershot, which is in Surrey, in the south of England. And we were in Aldershot and then some of us had contacted something. I don't know what it was. Whether it was measles or what it was, but they put us in quarantine anyway, and we were there for approximately four weeks. And then they moved us out of there and we went as a regiment. And this regiment we were in now was the Second

.....Artillery Regiment and our compliment was four-fives and five-five guns and we had trained on 60 pounders. This is what we were. And we weren't attached to any division, we were classed as Army troops because that was the heaviest field artillery of the lot. And the guns, we had approximately eight tons and we pulled them with a Matador. And the difference between a medium gun regiment and a field regiment is that a field regiment has three batteries and a medium regiment has only two batteries. And the two batteries have eight guns each, which is sixteen guns for the regiment. And our range used to be anywhere from three miles to fourteen miles and our shells, we had approximately 68 on one and 98 on the other.

Well as I said we landed in Aldershot, and then they moved us out and we went into training. And we were in a place called Newlands Corner and it was quite close to Guildford in Surrey. Around about four miles out of Guildford and it was right on the Pilgrim's Way. Anybody who knows where the Pilgrim's Way is, knows where the pilgrims went from Canterbury right to the north towards Stonehenge and this Newlands Corner. It was a castle, and we had very happy times there. And in training, we went out on maneuvers quite a lot. Then from there they took us down to the South Coast to defend the South Coast and we were down in the east end, near Brighton, in that area. From there, they brought us back and we went on a manoeuvre. I forget the name of the manoeuvre we went on but it was the whole Canadian Army and some of the British Army. And we went on a manoeuvre up to the north of England. In other words, I remember we spent the first night in Doncaster Race Track and we just slept on blankets there in Doncaster And the race track there is right in the center of town and that was good for the boys. They loved that. And from there we went up to Yorkshire and we were on the Yorkshire Moors and from there, we went right

up on the border country. They have a firing range up there and we done all our firing and training and..... And then they brought us back to Newlands Corner. And then they moved us to a place called Cater. It was a castle near Pearly, just south of London, and we were there until we got the call and we didn't know where we were going. But they got the call that we were ready to go overseas. And we knew that we were going into action. I was on leave when I got the call to come home, back to the regiment. And I went back to the regiment and because of my eyesight, I was class B and it said that only A's could go. And the Colonel said, and by this time I was Sergeant for the regiment, I was in charge of all the guns and rifles and anything technical. And the Colonel said: "I want T....with me". And he told the M.O. and the M.O. got me and took me to Fox Hill and I walked through three great big marquees and I came out A at the other end. I never even took my hat off. And so I was on my way, and they issued us with mosquito netting and we knew that it looked like the Mediterranean for sure. They took us by train from Cater down to Southampton. And we boarded an American ship. I forget the name of it now, but we set sail on her and it was a beautiful ship and the food was a delight. They only gave us two meals a day but they were well worth waiting for. Then we sailed out onto the Atlantic and we must have had at least 130 ships in our convoy. And we must have come quite close to the Canadian and American shores. And then we sailed east and we came through Gibraltar. Then we knew where we were heading. And at that time the British held Gibraltar and the German's held the tip of North Africa where the fleet came through. And the Germans could see everything that was happening because it is not a very wide spot. We came through there in the morning and we set sail into the Mediterranean. And as I said there were close to 130 ships and I remember the

evening was beautiful. The Mediterranean was everything they said it was, blue skies and calm waters, and we were playing poker on deck because this is the soldiers pastime to play poker. We could see away in the distance anti-aircraft fire and as we seen it, we got the call, "everybody below decks". Only certain gunners were on deck. We were sent below and then all hell broke loose. The guns were going, all the lights went out, and we didn't know whether we were hit. Shudders went through the ship. When the lights went out there was nothing worse than being locked down in a hole in the dark and not knowing what is happening. We were there all night and the next morning. When we went on deck we were the only ship on the ocean. They had scattered. Seemingly --. Afterwards I learned that they had sunk about four ships with torpedoes and one had Canadian nurses on it. Some were lost.

Well we sailed east again and then we crewed together. I think it was in July, and then we were making on to the invasion of Sicily. Actually we went in on the second wave because the infantry and the tanks went in on the first wave. And then we went in on the second wave. We landed on the shore and this was really our first time under fire, real fire. And it took about six weeks to take Sicily, if I remember, but we were mostly on the east side, in the center and we went up through until we got close to Messina, and we were at Mount Etna. They took us there when the Germans pulled out and they put us in a little town right at the foot of Mount Etna, at the coast, called Iona. I always remember that because it was such a beautiful little town and I was so happy to be there. Actually it was while we were there that Mount Etna erupted. It was quite a sight. It didn't hurt us. We could see the lave flowing down the side. Troops are always curious and wanted to go and have a look. I went part way up and saw what was happening. And we were

on rest for about three weeks until they decided we were going to invade the mainland. So we had to go on to barges, and we landed at a place called Reggio, on the south coast of Italy. I remember the first night I spent was at the school there and there was no opposition when we landed. There were a few sporadic fires, but nothing happened. From there we went up and went north and we landed at a place called Altamura, it was just about a Bari harbour and we had a gun set there. At that time we took Bari and the Germans had pulled north. That was the coldest place I have ever been in my life. I have been in some cold places in Canada, but none as cold as Altamura. The wind howled and we were on a mountain top and it was terrible. From there we went north and we crashed across the Sangro River and the Morro River and that was a bloody mess. And that Christmas of '43, I spent in St. Reto. Now St. Reto is on one hill and three miles north is Otranto And we took Otranto on Christmas day. It was a massacre. They lost a lot of men and we were giving them artillery support at the time. And that was as far as we went because we had fought our way into a sealed position. We had Germans to the left of us and Germans in front of us and hostile to the sea to the right of us. And the reason for that was that the American Fifth Army weren't able to get past Cosenza. The Australians tried to take it. The Americans tried to take it, and we were held up and we daren't go any further or else we would have got cut off. Then they called us, and I was chosen as one, to go over close to Mount Vesuvius. This was on the west coast and the Americans had taken this by this time. And they put me in there to run transit cars and I was in there and I had four transit cars and we called them by different names. And what was happening. They were bringing troops in there and they were getting rid of all the equipment. Actually I didn't know at that time, but it was for the landing at Anzio. And

I remember the Irish Regiment coming. Not the Canadian Irish but the Irish Guard Regiment, coming into camp 700 strong, marching right to attention and as smart as a whip. As soon as they found out where they were going, they got rid of them because everybody had two pair of shoes, and you got rid of everything, except just what you wanted to carry. And we put them on landing barges and they went out and they landed at Anzio. But as history has told us Anzio fizzled out because the Germans were --. If we had had a braver General or a more daring one we would have took Rome right there and then and saved a lot but it didn't happen that way. He decided that he had to dig in and that gave the Germans a chance to bolster and they were good soldiers. They knew how to take care of themselves

Then they took us back over to Otranto. I was over in Otranto and St. Vita in theyard there. And then from there, they decided to cut the American Fifth Army line and extend the Eighth Army line. We had the biggest part of the line at that time, but the Eighth Army was to take Casino. And so Montgomery and Alexander, they didn't move unless they knew they had numerical strength, and they moved us over there, and we were in front of Casino. And if we took over an American gun position we kept firing because the Germans were up in the mountains and they could spot every move we made. If we didn't take over a position we laid low and camouflaged at night always and in the daytime. We never moved till we had fifteen hundred guns and about three miles square. And I think it was May 11th. I know it was eleven o'clock at night, and we got the order to open up. I have never seen such fireworks in all my life. The whole fifteen hundred guns opened and we fired for at least twenty minutes. Really I don't think we killed one German in all that time because they went out right into the mountain. But when we finished the barrage that the tanks and infantry

would come across the and they came out but we didn't move and then we opened up again. And there was an awful slaughter. Then we crossed the Rapido. We got across the Rapido although they still held Casino Monastery. It was the Polish that took Casino Monastery because they came in by the back door, up in the mountains. And then we swung up the Rapido Valley in Conti Corvo. And I always remember in Conti Corvo, that town and even the town of Casino, there wasn't a wall more than two feet high because of the shell bombardment. It was terrible, and they had formed at Conti Corvo what they called the Hitler line. And the Germans, what they had done, they had dug in. Remember we were just going up the valley and we had mountains on either side of it. And they had dug in tanks with 88's on top of them and all these 88's just showed and they had one approximately every 200 yards across the valley. And to take that the infantry had to creep up through the ravine and get the grenades in through the turrets and we took an awful slaughter there. But eventually we took the Hitler line, and by the way, he changed the name of the Hitler line when it lost. I forget what they called it then. Then we swung up the Rapido Valley and then they took us out to rest because there were too many troops and ammunition going through and they wanted the Americans to take their own show. We were quite happy to go on rest, believe me. We weren't sorry about that.

After Rome fell the next move was to the Lombard Plain and the Germans had set up a line, the Gossack Line, and it was just before Rumeni, and that was our next action. It was right on the coast and it was the Rumeni airfield. And it was there that we took quite a licking and we got a bunch of our men killed and I was blown up in a truck and my driver was killed. It was an awful mess at Rumeni. At least that is the way I look at it and remember it. There were so many

Germans lying around that they just had to bury them with bulldozers. They didn't have time to bury them properly because it was the heat of the summer and the bodies would go bad on you. So after Rumeni we advance as far as Ravenna. Now Ravenna is north of Florence and to the east, and this was our winter line, Ravenna. And then they decided to move us and take us out of action there, and by the way, they took the Canadian Forces out but they left us in as an artillery unit to support the Gurkas. The Gurkas from India came in and there I was with them and the O.P. with them and worked with them and they were real gentlemen. They were lovely fellows and we spent about a month or six weeks with the Gurkas. Then they brought us out, they were moving us out, and they moved us back to Naples. And from Naples we took a boat and we landed at Marseilles. I always remember in Marseilles. The biggest recollection was the de-lousing stage where you had to strip. You went in one end and there were guys with guns blowing all this D.D.T. all over you and then you got out the other end. They had a mobile shower thing and you went in and had a shower. Then you were given a suit of new clothes and you burnt all your old ones, because you were lousy and you couldn't get rid of them any other way. There was no other way of getting rid of them. Once they got into an army they just run rapid. And once we got through Marseilles we went in convoy and the Germans had pulled out. There were smashed tanks all across France. We never fired one gun all across France. We went right through until we landed in Belgium and they put us to rest in Belgium.

' And I may say that a strange thing happened when we landed in Sicily. When we were out in the Atlantic in the boats, we had this Mecrocream, and they were small tablets and they got needles. I had 32 needles, as I remember, going in there and it was to prevent contacting malaria. And when

we landed in France they stopped giving us malaria pills. And I may say that these malaria pills, when you first took them, turned you yellow. You would think that you had yellow jaundice. It turned your eyes yellow. But when we landed in Marseilles and they stopped giving us these pills, and when we landed in Belgium 32 of our regiment fell down with malaria. And so they started feeding us the pills again. I don't know anything about it. I am not a doctor but this is the way they worked it.

Now from Belgium our next action was at Nijmegen in Holland, and I was on the island at Nijmegen, the island that we called. There are three Rhines there, the river that runs and branches off and we were on one of them. And that spring, we crossed the Rhine into Arnhem and we swung up into Arnhem Airport and drove the Germans out of Arnhem Airport. And other Canadian went over towards the German border and what-not. Our aim was Apeldoorn and we swung out and eventually took Apeldoorn and then they brought us back to a little town in the New Forest called Altodeem and we were there. And then because the war was coming to an end really, and the Dutch people were starving to death, they called a truce with the Germans. I don't know how they do this during war but they did it to take food into Amsterdam. And I was one of the ones to take two trucks in. And what happened. We loaded two trucks of food and we went up to the German line and there was a German Sergeant come on each truck with us. And they took us up through Hilversum to Amsterdam. We unloaded the trucks and brought them back to the line. They left us and we came back and started the war again. It is crazy but this is really what happened. And then the war lasted about another ten days and then the armistice was settled. We were very, very happy when that happened. Once the peace was signed they sent us up to a place called Juliana Dock, near Dunhallen and our job was to

take the Germans off the Frisian Islands. We got them off the Frisian Islands, stripped them, put them into fields and then made them march back to Germany. First we took them over to Dunhallen and across the top of the Zuider Zee but the Dutch objected because they had blown the Zuider Zee and we had put in the bridges. And they said they had blown them and they should walk around. So we stopped them doing that and it meant they had to walk another 500 miles.

And there was a strange thing you know. I remember when we went to the Juliana Dock, I was in charge of technical equipment. And when we stripped the Germans of cameras, binoculars, and anything they had. I had bicycles as high as Eaton's that they had stolen from the Dutch. I'll always remember that there was one underground Dutch lady and boy was she tough and she would stand in line as the Germans would come in and she would point and say "Hey" and they would take them aside. They were war criminals and she knew them all. She was a tough old lady or rather a tough young lady. And then when we were through all that and had returned all the stuff, they took us to Deventer. We were in an Army barracks in Deventer. It was right near the German border. We were there until they decided to take us back to England. And then from England we went over to Ostend and then over to Dover, and then they brought us back and they brought us back right to Guildford again. And we were in the park at Guildford. We were waiting there for shipment back to Canada, and we were supposed to leave on the Queen Mary. But they brought her into Southampton. But they had to dock her for repairs. So the trip to Canada was delayed and that was in September and we didn't get back until it was December when we sailed. We sailed from Southampton and we landed at Halifax. It was on the Queen Mary and we had 20,000 troops on her but it was very pleasant sailing and they had bunks, not hammocks, and the bunks were ten rows

high. But it was very pleasant. We landed in Halifax and then they sent us home on leave. Some went by C.N.R. I happened to go by C.P.R. I landed in Kenora where my family were, around about four days before Christmas, and that was a very, very happy Christmas. It was almost five years since I had seen them. I must say that my little girl could only just walk when I left, and when I came back she was going to school. I don't know that she knew me except from photographs and letters. Then in January I had to come to Winnipeg and I was discharged at Fort Osborne Barracks.

I needed some surgery and I went in and they treated me very good. Then I came out and I had to go looking, back to the T. Eaton Company. And I must say this, that there is one thing about the T.Eaton Company that a lot of people don't realize. This was in March I went back with them. All the time that I had been overseas they had made up the difference between my Army pay and the pay I had received with Eaton's before I left. And I had sent this to my wife. And a lot of people do not realize this. And that amounted to a lot of money. It meant a lot to my wife because she was still getting the same pay with my allowance and everything as she was getting when I was working. And they made up the difference. And they also sent me parcels also. And they did this with most of the employees who volunteered to go overseas. Well I had to move to Winnipeg, when I got the job in March. And at that time it was hard to get a place. By the way in Kenora, I had bought my own home on River Street. And eventually I sold that to my brother-in-law and I came out here and they were building houses on Rupertsland, in the north of Winnipeg. And I was one of the first to move into the new houses on Rupertsland and that was a brand new house, two bedrooms. The basement had wood heat but it had a lot, but I forget the square footage now, but it is still there. Actually I bought it for \$5,000., brand new. I Used

some of the money that had come back from overseas as a down payment and they gave me a mortgage. I think it was 4% over thirty years. But we were sitting very pretty and we were very comfortable there. By this time I had been back from overseas for about four years, and my own little girl Sheila was born, in 1949 when we lived on Ruperstland. This time there were no problems at all and this was a real delight. We bought a larger home then on Seven Oaks Avenue. I had an upstairs and it was a brand new home, and that home cost me \$10,500. at that time, which was a lot of money at that time. You have to realize the value of the dollar then and the value of the dollar now. But we were very, very happy there and I got involved in - I attend St. Martin's-in-the-Field Anglican Church. My family attended there and I was on the vestry there. I was on the vestry for 25 years, and I was the Rector's Warden. I still attend St. Martins-in-the-Field. I also joined the Masonic Order at that time, and I have done a lot of work over the years with them. In 1950 I got very involved with the development of the area of North Kildonan. And in doing that they talked me into running for the School Board. And in 1956 I ran for the School Board, and was elected and served the School Board for 8 years, as Chairman of the various committees and vice Chairman of the whole committee. I found it very, very satisfying And at that time you have to remember there was such a development. There was a baby boom going on and we were on staggered hours. We had children going in in the morning. We had other children going in in the afternoon. We were building schools as fast as we could. And the government at that time, as you will remember, every little municipal area had its own school board. And they decided to put them into divisions. And I went to the Minister at that time, and the idea was to put them into divisions but for the municipality to still hold up to grade 7, I think it

was, under the School Board Council of each, but to make divisions of the high schools.

And I went to see the Minister and said that he was making a big mistake. That the divisions should be in charge of the whole school program from the beginning. And he said "Yes, that is right, but you're being idealistic. That will come eventually." "Well" I said, "Would you give me the opportunity of delaying the vote of our divisions" (that was West Kildonan, Old Kildonan, West St, Paul, and there were two out near Stoney Mountain), "and give me the chance to go and talk to these people, that we should have a division looking after from Grade 1 to Grade 12, just one." And he did. I was very pleasantly surprised and I went out on the hustings and I sold it except for two near Stoney Mountain and they decided it was going to cost too much. And they decided to go in with Stonewall, and that suited us fine. And then we had to arrange by population what the representation would be on the Board. I was also elected to the Seven Oaks School Board. I worked on that and it was very satisfactory and I worked with them until 1963. They had brainwashed me by this time, because I found that when I had new people coming on the Board, they would say that we should do such and such, and I would say, "No you can't do that, the Department won't let you." And I went home one night and I looked at myself. And I thought that there is no reason why the Department shouldn't let them. They have brainwashed me. It is time I got out and let newer heads take over. So this is what I did and I took it easy for a little while.

At this time I joined the Scottish Rites Masonry and got very involved with that. And then with my own lodge, I had become Junior Warden, Senior Warden and then Master in 1965. I was very active. And after I had served a year as Master and Past Master they elected me Secretary and I was

Secretary of St. John's Masonic Lodge for about thirteen years. I was also involved in the Scottish Rites Masonry.

Then my oldest girl got married and she went to live in Vancouver, where she still lives. Then in 1972 my youngest daughter, who was 21 by this time, she won scholarships and she attended the University of Manitoba, and she came through that with honours. But she met a boy there from Portage-la-Prairie, and they decided to get married. And so I gave them my blessing even though it was against my good wishes in that I didn't think that they were ready. But I don't think that any parent ever thinks that their children are ready for marriage. But she didn't make a mistake because they look after me real good. They decided, after they lived in a little --. I know my wife was real upset because they lived in a little block on Cockburn. And it was a dump really and she said that wasn't where her daughter should live. And I agree with her. They decided to buy a house and there was an old, old house that had been closed up on Dorchester. And I said "Gosh it would cost a fortune to renovate this." And they said that they had ideas. I said it was all right. But they needed money so I gave them the money for a down payment on it and they made it into a duplex. It is quite close to Wellington Crescent. They made it into a duplex and they rented out part of it and they lived in the other part and they were real happy. Then he was transferred to Ottawa. But this time he had got a job with the Department of Indian Affairs, and he was transferred to Ottawa, and they were going to sell the house. And I said, "don't sell it, the investment isn't going to go wrong. Don't sell it. You go to Ottawa and I'll look after the house, and then we could rent both parts." And for about four years I was run ragged trying to run their house and my own house. But eventually they were moved back to Winnipeg. While they were in Ottawa they had a baby

boy born to them. And we went down and that is my oldest grandson and he is a dear. He is thirteen now and he and I are real pals. He calls me grandpa, but we are real pals. Damon and I go fishing together, go hunting together and do everything together. And when they came back to Winnipeg, they wanted the house for themselves, so they gave notice to their tenants and now they have a beautiful home. They scraped all the paint of the fireplaces. There is a fireplace in every room. They had painted all the fireplaces over and boarded them up but they have done a marvellous job and I am real proud of them, and proud to take anybody over there. Then Tim left his job and went with the Federal Government in another position and now he is a Director with Alcohol Foundation of Manitoba and doing good. And Sheila, she is a librarian inHigh School now. So we get along very, very well together.

Now in 1982, I may say that I retired from Eaton's in 1976, but I wasn't retired a month till they called me back. I had built up quite a clientele. I was in charge of the 3rd. floor meats in Eaton's and I had been with them for over 46 years at that time. And they wanted me back, and I was back with them for another nine years. Off and on on my terms, not on my terms. I told them "If I come back, I'll come back and do my work, and if I feel tired I go home and no questions asked". And they agreed to this because by this time I was a figure man and had done most of the planning and all this. I didn't wait on customers any more. I just did all the planning for all the food departments. I could work in the back office. This I enjoyed.

Two years ago I had had enough, and I said that because they had got in the computer game, and this scared the devil out of me. Although knowing what I know about computers now, it wouldn't scare me, but at that time it did. Even when I used the calculator I got the pen and pencil to see if the

calculator was right. This is the way it went.

I enjoy my retirement. I might say that my wife and I -- .In the 1960's I built a cabin at Kenora, on the Dogtooth Lake on the big island. We bought property there, and my wife's people had had property there and they had divided it and gave it to me, and I bought some extra property and on the big island, and I built a cottage there and we have had many happy, happy times there. And then my brother-in-law, he started to build one there. He was Superintendent of the Provincial Police in the Kenora Area, and his little boy died and he didn't want it anymore. So I bought it off him and then I sold the one that I had built and I then finished the big cabin. it is still there. I still go down every summer. I have turned it over to my daughter, lock stock and barrel. I said it was hers. I didn't want it to go out of the family, and I am sure my grandsons will never let her sell it, because it is heaven to them and we enjoy that area so much.

And then my wife passed away in 1982 and since then I have travelled. I took my daughter, son-in-law and two grandchildren over to England on a trip with me. They had never seen my home. I had come from there. They were delighted and I rented a cabin and of course, the dad, when he got there, he was speaking broad dialect, and they didn't know what the people were talking about. But I did. So it was very interesting.

And I have always been involved with the Masonic over the past few years. I was elected to the Board of General.... and I have been on those for twelve years. I have worked with the Cancer Society and actually you might have noticed the cars running with Masons Care on them and that is a cancer car. We raised, I would say about a million. And we are starting a fund to buy three cars, \$50,000., and then to get volunteers - 80 volunteers - to

take cancer patients out every day. In other words it is through the Cancer Society. We turn all this money over to the Cancer Society and they bought the three cars and we supply the drivers and they, in turn, if the patient has cancer in the City we go and pick them up and take them for their treatment and take them home again. We also have this service in Brandon now and we also have it in Portage-la-Prairie. And a lot of people use their own cars. We also raised a second hundred thousand dollars to give so that we could replace cars. That money is invested by the Cancer Society and we have bought three new cars and we still have another \$50,000 to replace them. So this will go on forever as long as we can get volunteers. This is the big problem though up to now we haven't had too much trouble. Most people get involved in that it is the heart that is involved.

A year ago I was involved with Concordia Hospital. Mr Enns came to us and they wanted new equipment and I took this back and I had this pushed through and we had to raise \$45,000. And I might say that we don't go to the public for this money. We raise it from our own members. And we raised the \$45,000 in the one year and we presented it to Concordia Hospital and now they have the equipment. In the past year we try to do something within the boundaries of the city of Winnipeg, and then we try to do something outside the City of Winnipeg. Because, after all we can't forget our country because our city depends on our country. And this year we set our target at \$45,000 and we have raised the \$45,000. We have given \$18,000 two weeks ago to Brandon general Hospital. And we've given \$15,000 to Swan River Health Centre and \$17,000 to The Pas Health Centre. That was this year. Next year we will think of something else. That seems to be our limit, the \$45,000. On the whole, and this has nothing to do with the lodges. But what I am involved in now

is trying to come up with a figure and the closest figure I can get is the lodges and the Masons in Manitoba raise about \$200,000 a year for charity. And when you figure that we have 9,000 members, and you only get a response from 20 % to 70%, I think that is worthwhile.

As I say my wife passed away in 1982. I looked after her at home as long as I could, and then she had to go into the hospital and she passed away. She had kidney trouble and I used to have to take her down to Health Sciences and they put her on this dialysis machine and she told me that it wasn't living. And I agreed with her. I think she was happy to go, but it left a big space in my life. A very, very big space. But I kept on living at my home on Seven Oaks. I didn't want to give it up but my two daughters were trying to talk me out of it. I would go out to the coast and spend time with my other daughter out there, once a year. And then I had friends in Kentucky who I usually spend time with in the month of March. They are dear friends and I enjoy going down there and the invitation is open, always. And then my daughter got concerned about me and she said, "Dad, you should get your name down into one of the Senior Citizen places. You aren't getting any younger". I agreed with her.

In the meantime, I might say that I am involved with the Royal Order of Scotland and I am Grand Secretary of that and I am also the Secretary Treasurer of the Masonic Past Masters. That is all the Past Masters in Manitoba. We raise money there for the University of Manitoba. We give scholarships there, The University of Winnipeg and the University of Brandon. We generally go out and present the scholarships out there.

But as I said my daughter got after me, so I put my name down in Lions Place, and I had it in for a little over a year when I got a call and I wasn't really ready because I still liked my house. My daughter said "Let's go and see."

And we saw it and she told me to take it and we'll sell the house afterwards. So I moved in and it's been one of the happiest times that I moved. And it is a year last December since I moved in here. I have since sold my house. And then I moved in here and I got very involved and the elected me President of the Residents' Council in April of last year. And since that time I have been very involved and have tried to make it a better place. And everybody works together. We want it to be a family. And everybody cares about each other and I think that is the important thing in living in a place like this. We needed a curtain for the auditorium. It cost \$5,000. We came through. The ladies had a tea and raised the money and we got a curtain. And this place that you are sitting in right now, this Place for Health, this room. The Lions had put up \$20,000 to get these rooms together, but nothing has happened in the five years that it has been open, so we decided there and then that we should start to organize this Place for Health. And this Place for Health is not a clinic, it is preventative medicine. That is what we want to do. Anybody 55 years or older will be able to come here. And as the first step we drew up costs and whatnot. The idea being that we would have to furnish it. And to furnish it for a medical program would cost us approximately \$17,300. That is for the two medical rooms and a nurse-practitioner's office and a waiting room. The dental program would cost us about another \$50,000, and the office would cost another \$30,000. So looking at this it was quite an enormous sum. We went to the Winnipeg foundation for help and they said "You must help yourselves". But they gave us an advance of \$40,000 to hire somebody to organize. And we hired Barbara and her and I have been working together in organizing. So we thought the first thing was to get the \$17,300, and I went to the residents and asked them to promise to raise \$17,300. And there were questions raised

about it and they said it would take us three years to raise this or perhaps four years. So I said I would go to the Lions Club and ask them to advance this if we promised to pay it back out of the capital costs. And we went and they were very kind and promised to advance the money for capital costs. I went back to the residents and told them what we had done and I said that I was going to do something. I was going to put on a party and I was going to do something. But first because I was involved with my own Masonic Lodge, I went to the Masonic Lodge and said. "I would like you to buy a medical table, and I showed them pictures of it, at a cost of \$3,000. And if you do this I am going to ask the Grand Lodge, out of the Enhancement Fund to provide the other for the other medical room. That reduces the \$17,300 down, and they agreed. And they came through and the grand Lodge came through. And then I came back to the people and I said: "Well here we are, we were to raise it in four years. Now we can raise it in two, what we have left here. And I put on a drive. We raised it in three months. We raised it by Christmas. And this gives you an example, this was the letter that I sent out and the pledge and, actually as at present, we have raised over \$18,000. So we are putting that towards the medical and the dental costs. And we hope to raise this on the outside. In other words I am going after corporations. Maybe \$37,000, but that between you and I. I am sure you will see this in operation this year. Now in doing this I said my door was always open for suggestions. I said that I didn't want penny-ante suggestions. I'm not here to take complaints. Any complaints you take to the administration. I haven't time to deal with complaints. If you have a real problem I'll try to get it solved. And I feel like I promised them the other night that I would bring in a concert every month to raise money for this place for health, little knowing I was going to raise it in three

months. So I had made the arrangements to have a Burns Night which I had last Tuesday evening. And for the Burns Night I told them we would have real turkey, we would have a turkey supper. I would cook the turkeys. I would carve it and I would have a real turkey supper. And we would have the haggis, and I would have Archie Les Archibald from the Burns Society come and address the haggis. I would have Steve K. come in and pipe it and I would have the P.W.C. Caledonian singers come in and entertain us afterwards. You will get a dinner, entertainment and it will cost you \$8.00. I said that anywhere else you can't duplicate it for \$25.00 anywhere else in the city. And I did and I said that tickets are limited to 150. I think that is all I can handle. So we limited the tickets then we sold them in a day and a half and then we had a waiting list. And I felt rather bad and wondered if we should try and squeeze but I didn't want to tax my limits, but we did. We squeezed in 180 here last Tuesday evening and it was a delightful evening. I had a busy day that day. I was down in the kitchen getting them to cut up the different vegetables and then I went down and I had the turkeys cooked at Eaton's and I had gone down there and stuffed them and whatnot and they had cooked them for me and the gravy and the dressing. And the haggis I got from Gainers in Edmonton and then I came back here and got the haggis in the oven and then I went down to Eaton's at 3 o'clock and picked up my turkeys red hot and brought them back here at 4 and then I went into carving and I had to carve six twenty pound turkeys by 6 o'clock, or by 5:30 really because I had to change and get into my Highland duds to be Master of Ceremonies. We did this and it was a delightful evening and everybody enjoyed it. The Caledonian singers were really terrific and they just informed me today that we made \$650. on this and I'm turning it over to the project. And this is pretty well my life story. I could tell

you other tales you know, but this is most of it. This is principally what I have done.

Q - You must feel that you have lived a very full life.

A - I have and I'm still involved. I'm still Grand Secretary of the Royal Order of Scotland: I'm still Secretary Treasurer of the Past Masters. I just sent out 600 letters the other day, and I just had 200 answers back. I do a lot of that work. After all as I try to tell them, at our age, caring and sharing are the two most important words in the English language. And this is what we've got to do - we have to care and share. I still attend my church regularly and I put on their Christmas dinner every year, and I also belong to MacBeth House. I don't know if you know about MacBeth House. It is an old house from the Red River days, and if you know Winnipeg at all, it is right where the North Main Drive-in used to be. It is close to where the river boats land. Well the MacBeths were contractors for Lake Winnipeg. They used to send the York boats up and he built this home and it got down to where there was just the Miss MacBeth left and she left it to the City of Winnipeg. It has it's own property down to the river. And the City of Winnipeg was going to develop it and tear down the house and we talked them out of it and suggested that they make it into a Senior Citizen Recreation Center. And they said they didn't want to get involved with the cash so we went round and seen the Province and nobody says "No" to me and we got \$150,000. And we renovated the whole thing, and also, I put on the Christmas dinner down there every December. And it is very active right now and they have barbecues in the summer. And it is for anybody 55 and over and mostly for people in that area. I think we need to learn to do things for ourselves. That is the way to get it done.

Q.- How old are you now ?

A.- I am 78. I was born in 1911 - I'll be 78 this year and I'm having a very active life still.

Q.- I have a lot of questions that I want to ask you, but I'm going to postpone them until our next interview.

A.- That's fine, I don't mind answering questions. I Don't want to tire you out.

Mr. G.T. 78 Age Years. 2nd. Interview. Feb., 23, 1989.

Q.- The first question is a general one. One that I ask everyone. "Being a senior, how is that?"

A.- I have enjoyed every minute of it. I think the most important thing about being a senior is to be involved and this is the way I have been. I have been involved and am still involved in everything. I think that mind over matter is the main thing. Keep your mind of your...and the others will take care of themselves. This is the way I feel quite strongly and this is the way I advise everybody as a senior, to keep active. There is no reason not to. There are lots of things to keep active with. you can see things that this world needs, and I think that this world, as a whole, needs the stabilization of the seniors. In other words, we must build our future on our past. It's the seniors that know the past and have brought it to where we are today. It is this that we must build, and I think there is a place for seniors in this world.

And as I say, the most important thing is to keep active. Be caring. Caring and sharing is the big thing. And I think that if the seniors care for each other and share with each other. And, on the other hand, the young people today are the most important because it is on them that we are going to depend. We are just handing the torch over. But I think that we should be ready to give advice and encouragement and warnings. Warnings are necessary. In today's world the thing that I am concerned with is the morality of the world. I feel that the morality of the world has gone into a decline. And if we look back of history, we look back at the Greek Empire, the Roman Empire, they weren't defeated in battle, they were defeated in mind. They were defeated in morality. That is the whole thing. And I'm

afraid that the western world is getting into the same category. And I think we have to protect the morality as much as we possibly can. We have to hand it on. And the news media doesn't help any, either. They never tell you the good things. They always tell you the bad things. And for every bad news item there are about 2,000 good ones. Why don't we hear about them? And as I say, I think as seniors we have a place to play and a place for advice. If we go back in history, the social history, as far as you can go, there used to be the days when they had what they called the men's house. The tribal days, in all tribes, they had the men's house. And the young went there to learn and they learned from the old men and it is the same today. And this is why I think it is very important that we have a 'peace of mind'. And when I say a peace of mind, living is being born and dying and the living is the in-between part and what we can make of it. And if we can make this a better world than when we came into it, we can make our people better and accomplish what we came into the world to do.

I firmly believe this, that the seniors have a place in this world and we must work with the youth of this world. And I have found that working with the youth - and I can give you an example. I was over at Grant Park High School helping them celebrate the Christmas "do" over there and I was carving the turkeys for the teachers' Christmas dinner. I went over there and done this and they had a youth's choir and they entertained. And after the dinner I went and I sat and I talked to these people. And I invited them to come in here and give a performance in here in the spring and they were interested in what I was doing. It is a two-way street and we've got to build on that.

Q.- Regarding the morality. What concerns you most about what is happening now.

A.-, One of the aspects of morality that concerns me is the break-up of families. I really, really feel that the world, the country, the nation, a province, a city and even a village, depends on the family unit. And when we see this break-up of the family it bothers me in that it is not giving a substance to these young people. You take some one that has been brought up in a broken home and invariably his home is broken too, and there is something wrong with that. Where, on the other hand, you can argue where----. When I was a boy or a youth you could count the people who were separated or divorced on my hand. Today I couldn't tell you how many. It is the opposite. I can count on one hand the one's that are still married. I think that there is something wrong there. And I also think that morality is being treated the way that you would want to be treated. And giving an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. Then if you don't give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay that is the same as stealing. It is exactly the same, on the other hand, if the man who is employing you doesn't pay you right for the honest day's work, then he is stealing. And so I think this morality is very important. So if we can get this morality working where each of us is being honest, then I think we will be in a happier world. We'll be in a more stable world. And you take today and they talk about the deficit being so great. As you know, fifty years ago, a government had to balance it's budget. Either that or it didn't repair the roads or other things. But now we go on deficit budgeting. In other words we borrow on tomorrow. And we're not going to be here tomorrow so we are handing this on to our youth. And they in turn will hand it on to their other youth. And the danger that I see is this, is that one of these days it is going to stop or there is going to be a collapse. But on the other hand if we look, money doesn't mean anything at all, because money is only a medium of

exchange. That's right. But if we're not producing anything money is no good to us. In other words, on a desert island, a glass of water is more valuable than a million dollars. So it is what money will buy or what money will bring us that we are concerned about. And when we are talking about deficits, right now, the way I hear it is that - we hear a lot about deficits - if we forgot about money and added all our material wealth all the people can produce, and from that take away what we can't produce, I think that you would find that we are not in a deficit position. Do you follow what I am saying? I think we would find ourselves in the other position. So what I am really saying is that it is people, and manipulators, that are blowing this thing all out of proportion. I may be wrong. But I have a feeling that I am right.

Q.- What do people want out of life then?

A.-The thing is I can't say what people want out of life. But I can say what I want out of life. My biggest asset in life is people. In other words, no matter where I live or how much money I have or what a lovely home or even a shack, that is not important. It's the people, my friends and the people I live with. I think that God intended that. God and nature. I am not a deeply religious man. I believe in religion. I believe in God. But if a man doesn't believe in God that is fine. But he can't get away from believing in nature because nature is what has brought us into being. And if we believe in either one, nature or God gave us five senses. And these are feeling, seeing, smelling, tasting, hearing. And when we have these five senses, and all these five senses are really dependent on the mind. In other words they convey different impressions to the mind. But I think that nature or God, whichever you want to call it, intended us to be social creatures because these senses -- we know when a thing is hot or cold. We know when a thing is warm.

And the same with our eyes when we see. Sight is the greatest one I believe. We can look into a person's eyes and even though he is smiling we can tell what he is thinking, because the eyes will reveal. They are the windows of the soul. And so I think that the most important thing that any person has is the people they live with. The feeling that you are a friend and I am with you and I will support you in every endeavour you make. At the same time, if I think you are wrong, I will whisper good counsel into your ear and tell you where you are wrong and have a reason. With so many of us the question comes up and we make a split decision and we say that this is right or this is wrong with nothing to back it up. I believe that before I speak I must have something to back it up and the reason, because I think that reason is to deal with the mind too. Is what makes us all understand each other. And my understanding, I might not agree, you may have a different aspect of the thing than what I have. But surely I can listen and I think that this is the important thing, listening. Not only listening to words, but listening to what I have to say, because, as we speak, with inflection in our voices, we tell the story. And I think that is important. And I really believe that each one of us, when we came into this world, if we learn how to cultivate people and friendships, we will leave the world a better place and a happier place.

Q.- Lots of questions. I have lots of questions. Next question. Being a senior brings some particular advantages. What are they?

A.- Particular advantages. Right now I'll tell you one of the particular advantages that I have. It is that I look back and I wonder when I had time to work because I've got myself so involved with people. With people of my own age and with younger people I've got myself so involved that I feel.....that I never had time for before. My whole scene

before, I had done it in my spare time but still I had to work for a living. I had to produce for my family and I thought that. In other words my priority was with my family. Now my priorities are with the people around me. I was friendly with people around but I never had time. Now I find time and I think that is the important thing.

Another thing. The social programs that the government ---. I think I am very fortunate to have lived in the period we have had, because our social programs have made us independent. When I say this, I mean - oh sure we always want something more - but I think the most important thing is we should be satisfied with what we have got. And right now I would say that I am comfortably off. Not rich, but I am comfortably off. I have no money worries really. Because when you get into the senior stage you have to eat and live but you don't need the clothing that you used to need. You don't need the housing that you used to need so you can come down and just feel comfortable. And I can go on trips now that I never used to be able to go on. And most senior citizens can do the same. We can now see some of the rest of the world that we only read about before. Like when I was a boy and lived in the north of England, the average family member never went more than ten miles from home. And if they were going more than that they had to plan it for a month ahead. Now today I could turn around and say that I was going over to England and catch the plane tonight and be there tomorrow morning. At that time it would have taken me longer to get to London, you know, and it was next door. And I think that is the important thing. I am very, very fortunate. And another thing that we have that is fortunate is the health aspects that we have here. I think we are very, very fortunate. I think we have one of the best health systems in the world. On the other hand I think it is a poor country, a very poor country if it can't look after it's

sick people or look after it's old people. The old people, the seniors are the one that have brought this country to where it is today. And they can afford to do this.

Q.- If we can't care for our old people, don't respect them, does that mean we don't respect ourselves very much?

A.- You are not respecting them or yourself. As I said, life is from when you are born until you die. And no matter when you were born you are going to get old. And it's coming further and further. That's right.

Q.- What are the disadvantages of being a senior?

A.- Well, there is certain disadvantages. But one of the main things, I think is in the health field. We find ourselves slowing down and we don't want to face that. We still think - every senior I don't care if he's a hundred, he's ninety, eighty or sixty - he thinks he's ten years younger than he is. This, and he works to that aim and then something happens, and all of a sudden that ten years catches up with you and your crippled up with something. And I think that this is one of the big disadvantages. It isn't that you didn't know that it was coming, but you preferred not to. And I think this is one of the disadvantages. But on the whole I have much more advantages than I have disadvantages.. Much more, much more.. And even the disadvantaged people, and we have them here, and you see them in their wheelchairs and they are crippled. Just to give a sample. At Christmas time, the Day Care for the care people here put on a concert.. The care people in wheelchairs and I was most impressed. A lot of them were younger than me but they were in wheelchairs. A lot of them were older than me but if you had seen the concert that these people put on. And they had to wheel them up on to the platform in wheelchairs. They had to dress themselves and they played music and they sang, and they put on a skit, "Christmas Around the World". They put on a show of

Christmas in Mexico and they did all this in wheelchairs. They had the big hats on, and they had the clappers going and the expression of their faces. They were accomplishing something even though they were handicapped. Another skit they put on was "Christmas in the Red River Settlement" of many years ago. And they were all dressed as the people in the Red River Settlement were. Although they could only toddle, and they had their canes and their walkers, they did a square dance. And to end it up they put on "Christmas in China", and they told the story. These were old people and they told the story and they said it was not Christmas as we know it in China. But Christmas in the time of year when the sun is starting to come back, and the story is that the dragon is trying to eat the sun. And this brings on the night. And they had this whole thing on the stage and it must have been about twenty five feet long. They had an orange coloured plastic over the top of it. And they had all these people under it in wheelchairs with sticks they were waving and then there was the dragon. And there was a little old lady sitting in a wheelchair with the sun up. The dragon was trying to eat it and they done it all to music. And the expressions on the peoples faces that they had done it. And it was a three hour show. It really impressed me and there were people who were handicapped and they are doing something about being handicapped. I think this is important. I really do. So disadvantages, even in senior citizens, can be overcome.

On Saturday I have to give a eulogy for a friend of mine. She just passed away. I've known her for many years. She passed away with cancer. And there was a woman I was really impressed with. In fact, I went to see her about two years before she passed away. There was a woman that was at peace with the world. She was - I wouldn't say welcoming death - but she wasn't afraid of it. In fact because she had

suffered so much, she had come to peace with herself. She wrote her whole eulogy. She wrote her whole funeral service and what was to be done. They had even had family trouble and I know that two of the boys hadn't spoken to each other for about ten years. And in her wisdom she made them executors of her will. And I said "You know she is telling you something". This to me is what living is all about. It is beautiful, you know, and she was a dear to know. I only hope I can do her justice on Saturday when I speak about her because she had a real sense of humour and she knew what she was doing. She was at peace with herself. She wasn't a deeply religious woman. In fact she left the church about two or three years ago because of some controversy in the church. She still believed but she couldn't stand the controversy. Rather than fight it she left it and was at peace with herself. And I think that is important and is what living is about.

Q.- What does death mean to you?

A.- I'm not afraid of death. But I like to think - as a matter of fact the Jewish people have a tale to tell that I think symbolizes the way I feel about death. And they tell the story that the heart and the bones came from the male. The softness came from the woman. And when all this was put together it still wasn't life so the spirit which came from God came into that. And this gave it life and gave it substance. When it dies the bones goes back to the earth, the flesh decomposes, and the spirit goes back to God or the main spirit who gave it. In saying this we are all part of the great spirit. The Indians believed this. The tribes in Africa and I don't care whether you're a Christian, a Moslem, or whatever you are, it's all the same theme. There is the great spirit of life. You may say that we have never seen the spirit, so if you can't see it, it can't be there. But that is not true. There are so many things that we can't

see that we have to take on faith. Just because you don't see a thing doesn't mean it isn't there. The tree produces itself and then it dies and then it produces itself again. And so what is it that it produces? It is life. And what is life but spirit? Now don't ask me who the great spirit is because I don't know. I may find out someday, but I like to think I am part of the spirit. That each one of us has a little bit of that spirit. And what we do with that spirit is our own business. But this is what death means to me.

My first conflict with death was my father. He didn't die right away. He was hurt in a mine accident in Northumberland. That was in 1922 and I was a boy about ten years old at that time. A little older than ten. At that time they didn't have motor vehicles. At that time they took him in an a horse ambulance from where we lived in New Hartley to Newcastle, which was about twelve or thirteen miles away. I had to go up with my mother and I always remember that infirmary. It is not like the hospitals are today because you went in and there were rows of beds as far as you - to me a young boy it seemed about a mile long. It was dark and the nurses were all there and when they took me down they had a screen around my father's bed. And I walked in and my dad was lying there and I didn't know that he was dying. He knew it. I remember that my Aunt Mary was there and I came in and she said. "And how are you Jim?" And I'll always remember the look on his face. And he said: "Mary my feet's in the Jordan, I'll soon be across." This has stuck with me all these years. And this was my first contact with death. Since then I have faced it many, many times. But as a boy that was the first contact and I must say this. That I think the first impression with my father dying has made me unafraid of death. In other words he knew. I didn't know my father that well. You couldn't in these early years. But this is what death really means to me. It means the end of a

long journey and the beginning of a new one.

Q.- It's another stage of the journey?

A.- That's right.

Q.- What does beauty mean to you?

A.- Beauty. There are two description of beauty. Beauty to me is at the lake. I love to be at the lake in the spring or in the fall and see the different seasons come in. I love to see the animals and the birds, nature in its glory. I also like the beauty in the wintertime. In the woods especially where you see the snow and the hoarfrost hanging on the trees and this is the sleeping time of the earth under nature. And it is beautiful then also. Then the other type of beauty that I would say is in male and female. And when I say male and female I am talking about the spirit. You can see someone who you might say isn't beautiful at all, but she has a certain beauty of spirit and vitality that makes her beautiful. And I think that is important. And I think that is why we become attracted to one another. It isn't the outward. The outward looks might stop us first to look, but that beauty will not hold us. It is the inner beauty with a person or a place that will hold us. And that is my idea.

Q.- When were the best times in your life?

A.- The best times in my life. That is a difficult question. But some of the best times in my life, I think some of the happiest times was when I was going to school. And I wasn't a bright scholar. I had some tough school masters. But strange as it may seem, it is the tough ones that I remember. I don't remember the nice ones. And the other times that I felt that I had my happiness was in my married life when we were building a home together. Not only a home, but with children we were building it together. And some of the happiest times was when I was building my cottage at the lake. When I could go do there and leave my problems on the dock and go over to the island and forget all about them.

They were always there when I came back. I was accomplishing something with my own hands and my own mind, and for my own family. And I think this is really a happy time. And it is still the happiest time of my life today because there is nothing that I love better than going down in June, July and August with two grandsons to the lake. And they just love it too. They have been going ever since they have been in diapers and they love every minute of it. I've learned them the lake. I've learned them how to run the boats and I even take them a way out on the lake and then I say to them to take me home. And when I say that I take them up the lake, I take them ten miles up the lake all through the islands, and say, all right, take me home. And invariably, sometimes they get lost, but I was there to guide them. I let them do it on their own because I think that is the important thing. Is doing it on your own and accomplishing something. And even when they come in and say, "What are we going to have for supper." I will say, "Well what do you want for supper." If they say that they would like some fish, I tell them to go out and catch it, and I'll fillet it and cook it. And away they go out and catch a fish on the bay and then I fillet it for them and then I cook it for them, and they think that I am the best cook in the world. But I think these are the happiest time of my life. And so I have had happy times. I have had sad times too.

Q.- What were the saddest times?

A.- The saddest times. Really I guess the saddest times were during the war. I don't like talking about them because really you had to learn to kill, to survive. And it was against my nature. I guess it against all our natures. When you saw the destruction, and in war as I saw it, it was the children and the old people who were the great sufferers. The old people were thrown out of the houses and invariably they were on the roads. They were sleeping in ditches. The

children were the same. I seen it in Italy. For instance they would be feeding us in our billy cans and the kids were watching every bit of food that went into your mouth and you weren't allowed to give them anything. And this to me was sad. Really, really sad. When you see the destruction of life, and this is all that war is about. I don't think that any war has really accomplished anything at any time. I don't really. They can talk about it all you like, but when you look back in retrospect, I don't think it accomplishes anything.

On the other hand, someone asked me, "Why did you go to war?" I don't know whether it was propaganda or I was brainwashed, or what it was. But "Why did I go to war?" One of the things that I really went for, as I told you before. My brother-in-law was killed in Scappa Flow and my mother was bombed out of her house in the north of England, and I could see this and I was wondering where it was going to end. Where is it going to end? And so I volunteered. And my wife agreed with me to volunteer but she never thought that they would accept me because of my eyesight. But they grabbed on to me, and the first thing I knew I was away. But the sad part, one of the sad parts, was I remember. We were in Kingcombe, in the south of England. It was a Friday morning and we were out on parade. We were just outside of Kingcombe. It was a big mansion house that we were in and we must have had 600 in the regiment out on the parade square. And the Germans came over the tree tops with their planes, just over the tree tops and passed us right by and then dropped bombs. And they dropped them on the schools of Dumper..... And then they took us out and we had to go in and pull out young kids blown to pieces. For what? True, they might have thought that it was a factory or something, because what is the difference from the air. A school or a factory? You can't see the difference. You really can't. And

you've got to realize this. But at the same time what were these kids doing. They hadn't done anything to them, and as a matter of fact, most of them were children from the dock sides in London that they had brought out there to be saved. That was a horrible morning, and that was a very, very sad time. I never talk about it. I never even tell my family about it, because it is something you just don't talk about. And that again is about your mind. Your mind remembers the happy things. We try to shut out mind out of the dark things.

Q.- That is to do with the spirit too?

A.- That's right. We know that it's there but we want to keep it away. Yes that is part of living.

Q.- What is your hope for the world?

A.- My hope for the world?

Q.- Do you have any hope for it?

A.- Oh yes, yes. I think.....I look at the world that I came into as a child, and I really think that we are better off today than we have ever been in our lives. People are better off today. The point is this. When I was a boy the Lord of the Manor was the King, and he was the only one who knew what it was to go to Italy or somewhere on a holiday. And he ate the lamb and we ate the offal, you know. Today I think it is more equalized. We still have a few very rich people in the world but they don't eat any better than I do. They don't live any better than I do. I couldn't have said that sixty or seventy years ago. And so I think the world has improved, and I think we will go on improving because I When I was a boy we had a war every twenty years, as far as I can remember and I took up history. Nearly every twenty years we had a war. And since the last one - sure we have scattered wars all over the world. But I look at our people, at our western people today, and I am thinking now of Canada and the United States and Great Britain and the

northern countries. I think we have come to realize that war is futile. I think Russia is coming to that same conclusion. Now these other places that are having wars, such as South Africa, South America, they are really just developing countries. They are going through the same process that we went through about two hundred years ago, and we get impatient with them. But it has took us two hundred years to get there. I don't think it will take them two hundred, but it is going to take them a hundred. And so looking at that prospect, I think the world, providing we don't destroy it, will become better. I think it will become more rational and become more understood, where colour, race, tongue, was a mighty controversy a few years back I think you might say. I think because of a new communication system, being able to speak to others immediately, it leads to a certain understanding. So for the world I see it progressing until we have a perfect world, one time. It will not come in your time, not come in our children's time, not come in our children's children's time. But it is coming. And we have made more progress in the last hundred years, both socially, materialistically, and knowledge-wise, than the world has done in the last five or six thousand years.

Q.- And spiritually?

A.- And spiritually, that's right. We have made more progress in that hundred years. And there's no reason to think that it won't happen faster. I am very, very happy that I have lived through this period. It has been one of the most eventful periods in man's history. And we're apt to accept it without looking back and thinking what a wonderful, marvellous progress we have made.

Q.- I agree with you.

A.- I am glad that I agree with someone.

Q.- Many wouldn't?

A.- That's right. There are a lot of people that don't agree.

Q.- Could we - some final questions here - . What would you like to be remembered for?

A.- I would like to be remembered as a loving and caring man. That's all. I don't want my name up. The point is this, I have spoke about....This is where we live on. We live on in their memories, and so what I would like to be remembered for is being understanding and trying to do my very best with what facilities I have.

Q.- To work until midnight?

A.- Yes I think that is what I'd like to be remembered for.

A.- That's nice. What are your chances of success?

A.- In doing that? Well, from now on my chances at success are very slim because I am running to the end of my tether. If I have another ten or twenty years, that's about my limit. So I hope that what I have done in the past. And I feel that I have --I think. Most people will remember me - well most will remember me because I tell funny stories. But that is not what I want to be remembered by. I want to be remembered for the joy, the pleasure and understanding that I have either brought into their lives, or passed on from mine.

Q.- Well that certainly will be true. Thank you very much G.

A.- You're more than welcome.

Commentary on Interviews with Mr.G.T.

I found that interviewing Mr. G.T., was for me, a very moving experience. Moving because, in very many ways, the manner in which he lives his life, as an elder, seems to contradict many of the messages of powerlessness and defeat, or of angry discontent, that have become stereotypically associated with being an elder. The life of Mr. G.T. also, for me, contradicts the sense of pessimism, that I can readily experience. This pessimism concerns the possibilities of making any contribution, in this world, that can serve a worthwhile purpose.

Mr. G.T. remains optimistic and powerful by functioning at the level of his day to day life. That is to say that he works with the issues that are closest to him. His concerns are wide but he attempts to involve himself with the people with whom he directly interacts. The focus of his life is to 'share and care' with those with whom he directly shares day to day life experience. As a direct consequence, in part, of his interaction, he is much too stimulated and busy to either quietly wait for death to overtake him or to 'rail against the coming of the night'. The straight forward manner in which he proceeds, through working for others in and out of Lions Place, and through the valuing manner of his personal interactions, reinforces for him his sense of

'sharing and caring' and connects Mr. G.T. to a sense of efficacy and power in his life. He is constructing his own life true to the feelings of his heart, and true to the system of beliefs that he has concluded. The result of this is that he appears to be living a full and vibrant life and in a way that values himself by reflecting the system of beliefs in life that he has gradually formed throughout his years. There is congruence between the manner in which Mr.G.T. lives and the reasons that support, for him, his living. The consequence of this congruence is that his beliefs value his living and his living values his beliefs. This is illuminated when he says that he would choose to be remembered, after his death, "as a loving and caring man". It would seem that he lives his life as a loving and caring man.

As I think about my meetings with Mr.G.T. and the story of his life as provided by the interviews, there emerge five words that seem to me to describe some of the essential elements of his life that may have contributed to life satisfaction. These words are constancy, daring, openness, fondness, and simplicity. I will explore these one at a time and see how they might have contributed to life satisfaction.

Constancy. What I mean by constancy is that it appears that throughout his life Mr.G.T. has consistently done what he has felt to be the right thing. This constancy is

demonstrated as he observes "So I volunteered to be laid off because he was a married man." And when he talks about his friend and brother-in-law, he says, "he was drowned there and I decided to join the army." He retired as a member of the Seven Oaks School Board because he realized that "They have brainwashed me. It is time I got out and let newer heads take over. So this is what I did..." It would appear that from early in life Mr.G.T. has constantly done the right thing as the right thing has appeared to him. His own comfort and ease has been subordinated to his sense of right. Expressed differently, Mr. G.T. has lived up to the highest expectations that he has held for himself. He has lived his life by his own beliefs. This is self valuing, self loving conduct. As he looks back over his life, the certainty that he has remained true to himself, must provide satisfaction.

Daring. Mr. G.T., it would appear, has always been prepared to take risks. He came alone to Canada at aged eighteen and embarked on the totally unfamiliar endeavour of cutting wood. He had very little formal education but served on the School Board for many years. He went to see the Minister of Education with an 'idealistic plan. He held, and holds, important positions in the Masons. It certainly appears that he has been prepared to do many things, to reach, and stretch, and grow, and take risks. It would seem, as a result of his willingness to take risks, that there is

little in the life of Mr.G.T. that he can regret not having attempted. That there are no experiences necessary for his sense of a life fully live, that through fear, he has denied himself. The sense of a life fully lived contributes to life satisfaction.

Openness. What is meant by openness is that Mr. G.T. appears to have remained open and fluid to understandings and perceptions as they have changed throughout his life. This is made particularly clear in two examples from the interviews. The first of these examples is that he says that he joined the army because he thought that he was serving a worthwhile purpose in doing so. He relates his experiences as a soldier in great detail and obviously values them. When asked about the saddest time of his life he replied that "I guess my saddest times were during the war.you had to learn to kill to survive, and it was against my nature. I guess it is against all our natures." And he added that "I don't think that war has accomplished anything at any time." A firm patriotic conviction has been transformed through a growing understanding of himself as an individual into a concern for the interests of people and the world at large. He has remained open through his life and grown to encompass a concern for all. The second example involves an issue that is more clearly still in the process of being resolved. He expresses concern about government deficit budgeting but immediately ponders whether this has any real meaning in

human terms. The matter is clearly not closed to Mr. G.T. and he remains open and active as he tries to incorporate the understanding into his life meanings. Openness and a willingness to develop and change in action and understanding, to develop throughout the stages of life, seems essential to life satisfaction.

Fondness. I use fondness to cover the sense that Mr. G.T. seems genuinely favorably moved by people and by nature. He describes his first employers in Manitoba as "They were Icelandic but they were real dears." When he went to work in Kenora he says "it was very, very pleasant..." In talking about the Gurka soldiers he says that "They were lovely fellows.." When he talks about his oldest grandson Mr.G.T. says " he and I are real pals." He observes that "my biggest asset in life is people." He talks of the beauties of nature at the lake. "I love to see the animals and the birds, nature in its glory." These are but a few of the positive, affectionate, and warm responses to people and life which occur throughout the interviews. It would certainly appear that Mr. G.T. continues to love life, people, and the world with fresh clear eyes. If anything it would appear that his sight, his vision has become more clear, has become brighter, and in a way more innocent as the years pass.

Simplicity. I have the sense of Mr. G.T., from meeting with him, as being a simple man. Simple in the sense of him

being direct and uncomplicated. Being simple does not deny that his life and experience is complex and rich, but asserts that he has reduced complexity to its important elements. The tenets that rule his life are not complicated ones. They are share and care, be true to oneself, and remain active and involved. He is simple also in the sense that there seems a fairly direct and clear connection between what it is that he does in life and what it is that he believes. I am persuaded that it is this simplicity, this lack of complication, that enables him to act so powerfully and effectively in his involvements with the Masons and on behalf of the tenants of Lions Place.

I do not wish to be seen to be saying that I believe that everything has always been perfect in Mr. G.T.'s life. I do not think that this has been so. Life satisfaction, as it flows from living, is never an all or nothing question, it is a matter of degree. I do not believe, for instance, that Mr. G.T. did not at times feel oppressed by his work situation and yet just resignedly bore it. I sense that this is perhaps what he refers to when he talks about how he would go to the island to build his cottage and "leave my problems on the dock". Working for others, as it is constituted in our culture, generally requires that one submerge one's individuality into some consensual corporate identity; generally brings problems that must be 'left on the dock' if one is to continue; generally require that one

be less than true to oneself. Being an elder seems to have resolved this issue for him and he now permits himself to be free to do what most truly expresses the individual he senses himself to be. He is now occupied in the direction of his own sensed highest possibility, 'caring and sharing.' When he looks back on his life he says, "I wonder when I had time to work, because I've got myself so involved with people.." It has taken retirement for Mr. G.T. to permit himself the freedom to construct his life as he would wish it to be.

I think that the life of Mr. G.T. can well illuminate the forty-one issues which I have identified as being connected to life satisfaction.

1. He has a sense of being a valuable part of the lives of others.

2. He has a sense of being a valuable part of the universe. This is made clear when he discusses the role that elders must play with the young.

3. He has a sense of the world as an ongoing process. He says, "I see it progressing until we will have a perfect world, one time."

4. He has a sense of being unique. He is clearly a 'character', his own person. He comments that "Most of them will remember me because I tell funny stories."

5. He has a sense of being more than wealth or status. These are irrelevant to him. For Mr. G.T. it is people that

are important.

6. He is optimistic about the universe, when he observes, "We will have a perfect world."

7. There is congruence between his beliefs and actions. This I have discussed as constancy.

8. He is daring in the conduct of his life. I have discussed Mr. G.T. as a risk taker.

9. He fully lives in the present. This is made clear when he comments that "I look back and I wonder when I had time to work."

10. He is very involved in the day to day life of others. That involvement is often direct and on a one to one basis as with his grandson. I have described the motivation for this involvement as fondness.

11. He now feels free to create life. It would seem that in his activities which involve others he continues to define and redefine himself.

12. He took his daughter and her family to his place of birth in England and is very involved with his grandchildren. There is a sense of continuity in his life. This continuity is further elaborated under constancy.

13. Mr. G.T. talks about an honest day's work and an honest day's pay and about the beauty of the seasons and about a loving future for the world. He has a strong faith in goodness, truth, and beauty.

14. That despair is experienced is illuminated in his

feeling about his role in the army and the destruction of elders and children. He asks the question, ".young kids blown to pieces. For what?" There also appears to have been much despair as he struggled with his wife's health problems and her death. He comments, "It was very, very difficult." There is a sense that he is willing to experience despair.

15. It would seem that he has accepted his own death. He is clear that "living involves being born and dying...", yet he remains concerned with life. I judge him wise.

16. He appears to be flexible in his connections to others. He did not believe that his daughter was ready for marriage but he supported her.

17. His physical state gets barely passing mention. He was in hospital after his discharge from the army and he does not even consider it worthy of mentioning why he was in hospital. He has transcended his body concerns.

18. He is humble. He is not much concerned with his physical appearance. He has transcended his ego.

19. He seems mentally flexible. His changing evaluations of circumstances have been discussed under openness.

20. His perception of reality is efficient. He knows how to be effective in the tasks he has undertaken. His efficient perception is aided by his simplicity.

21. He is natural and spontaneous. He is relaxed, outgoing, and friendly, and loves to laugh.

22. He is very much his own person. He has constructed his own ideas and his own beliefs true to the tendency of his inward forces.

23. When he talks about his being at the lake, of his first employers in Manitoba, or of his relationships with his grandsons, he conveys a strong sense of freshness and appreciation.

24. He is comfortable with who he is as a person.

25. I have mentioned the sense that he conveys of equality. He is humble about who he is and would seem to judge others on their merits as people.

26. He has a circle of close intimates. He mentions a few of them in the interviews.

27. He has a clear sense of who he is and works to clarify for himself the beliefs which are true for him as a unique individual. In this he continually refines his sense of the boundary between himself and society.

28. He is too involved, too immersed in being alive, to be bored.

29. He knows himself as a unique, special individual.

30. He has accepted life and death and needs no ultimate rescuer. He responds to death as a journey and carries with him his dying fathers description of crossing the River Jordan.

31. The ways in which he would like to be remembered after death are not ways that will last. He says that, "I

want to be remembered for the joy, the pleasure and understanding that I have brought into their lives, or passed on from mine." That can only last in the memory of these with whom he has interacted. It will not mean that he will be remembered eternally.

32. He sees his present contributions to others as being valuable and his past contributions to his family as being important and worthy. He has an immediate sense of present and future value.

33. He knows that life is what you make of it between being born and dying, and is immersed in the moment of living. He is aware of the process of living.

34. His mind is alert and quick and he is physically very active. His faculties appear to be kept in full exercise.

35. The only phobia which surfaced was one of dentists. It would seem that perhaps that has now been resolved.

36. His willingness to leave the school board when he sensed that he had lost his freedom to think independently indicates freedom from a need for power.

37. He seems quite secure within himself and requires little affirmation from others. This is illustrated in his willingness to construct his own unique values for life.

38. His meanings and purposes fully support his life. These, for Mr. G.T. are simple and direct. They are 'sharing and caring' and 'people'.

39. His love to tell stories and to laugh, the delight with which he approaches fund-raising, and the enjoyment he had of the performance of the physically restricted elders speaks of childlikeness and childlike creativity.

40. We have spoken before of how he is his own person and has separated himself from the demands of his culture.

41. I sense that he might be open and honest in intimate relationships.

I conclude my consideration of the life satisfaction of Mr. G.T. with the Erikson tonic versus distonic adjectival pairs.

I conceive that Mr.G.T experiences his life as central rather than peripheral. Life has not, in any way passed him by and he has remained vitally involved and at the center of the matters that concern him. He is luminous rather than overshadowed, in that he shines with the aliveness and the energy of his involvements. Life immensely please Mr.G.T. and he glows with delight as he relates details of the concert held by the 'care people'. Mr. G.T. is active. Active in fund raising, organizing, being master of ceremonies, with his grandchildren, with his friends. Active to fill his days with matters that are of value to him. Mr. G.T.'s life is continuous rather than scattered. I have discussed continuity as constancy, and there is a clear thread of constancy that runs through his life. He is indivisible rather than divided. There is a sense of

wholeness about the life of Mr. G.T. He has remained true to his beliefs as they have evolved and there is no sense of his life being inconsistent, or fractured, or scattered. Mr. G.T. would seem to be inclusive rather than isolated. He brings others into his life as is demonstrated with his connection to his grandson. His connections to others seem to be important and significant to him and permit no sense of isolation. Mr. G.T. does not live his life with a sense of being in danger. If his life was felt to be in danger his feelings towards others and the world would not be warm and caring and gentle. I have elaborated on this under 'caring'. Safety bound rather than invaded certainly seems to fit for his experience of life. Finally, chosen rather than bypassed would seem to describe Mr. G.T.'s experience of his life. A consequence of feeling chosen would be that one would judge one's life as being important, that one senses that one's life really matters. The careful manner in which Mr. G.T. prepared for the interviews and the thoroughness with which he told his life story indicate that he feels chosen.

The words that I intuitively chose to describe the life of Mr. G.T., in response to the interviews, of constancy, daring, openness, fondness, and simplicity all appear easily to fall within the descriptions of the forty-one issues, and within the tonic Erikson adjectives.

The interviews with Mr. G.T., illuminate that the

forty-one issues, extracted from a variety of sources, are indicators, in the context of a particular life, of high life satisfaction. The interviews also seem to suggest that the eight tonic versus dystonic adjective pairs suggested by Erik Erikson are also sound indicators, again in the context of a total life, of life satisfaction. It is true that the judgement of the presence of high life satisfaction, of the elements of the forty-one issues, and of the tonic aspects of Erikson's adjectival pairs, all depend on subjective insight. I do suggest, however, that the evidence for the judgements are strongly supported by the text of the interviews.

I wish to conclude my commentary on life satisfaction, as I found it in the life of Mr.G.T., by again affirming that the interviews with Mr. G.T. were very moving and left me with a deep sense of optimism about human life. It is clear that living can provide much richness to life.

Chapter 16.

The Other Elders.

I shall not try to present, in much detail, my insights into the life satisfaction that appears to operate in the lives of the other fourteen elders, who were interviewed by me. Many of their lives seem to present some of the same issues in life satisfaction that are highlighted in the lives of the three elders that I have considered in some detail. I shall, however, provide a brief commentary on my insights into satisfaction in the lives of seven of the elders and it is hoped that this commentary will add breadth and depth to what has been previously illustrated.

I remain, after the interviews, uncertain, unclear, about the life satisfaction that operates in the life of some of the elders. I am now convinced that it would require, in some cases, many more than two interviews for me to gain clear insights and certain understandings.

The fourteen elders have lived very diverse life experiences, and this diversity brings with it extremely rich and varied perspectives for the consideration of life satisfaction. The life stories of all these elders are, in themselves, extremely interesting and attest to the indomitable human spirit. Each elder has transcended great difficulty and much suffering and I am sorry that I am

unable to share with you the full text of the interviews with each of them. All merit our attention and their lives merit our wonder.

Mrs. N.C. Age 72 Years.

Mrs N.C. looked about her age but moved with some difficulty as a result of suffering from multiple sclerosis. Her mind and memory are bright and quick and she is clearly a woman who has been used to conducting herself in social situations. This was evident in the way she phrased what she said. She was open and direct but circumspect and was concerned that I really didn't want to hear all that boring stuff about her life. I had to reassure her on a number of occasions that what she was telling me was exactly what I wanted to hear. Her apartment was nicely and comfortably furnished and well maintained.

Mrs. N.C. describes her childhood as having been happy but adds that she can remember very little of it. She says that she had a "very unhappy after childhood", referring to when she was married. She describes her ex husband as a "Jeckyl and Hyde character.....he got in terrible tempers though he would never physically hurt us." Her sixteen year old daughter pleaded with her "Please let us leave daddy." She says "I couldn't leave, I didn't have any money." At that time, about thirty years ago, she says that her husband was earning approximately \$140,000. per year.

About twelve years ago, after thirty-nine years of marriage, her husband asked for a divorce to marry his secretary. She comments that "I couldn't compete with a

thirty something odd year old girl." Mrs N.C. observes that "I was very broken hearted but I didn't say much about it to my children." The children were about thirty-four and thirty years old at the time. She had to sue her husband for support.

When discussing her children she stated that "My son leaving home at sixteen, it broke my heart. B. (the husband) said we shouldn't take him back." And, "When my daughter was nineteen she got pregnant. Back then that was a terrible thing.....I thought it was the end of the world for her." The son now lives in New Brunswick and the daughter in New York. She observes "I'm the only one of my family in Winnipeg. I like my own privacy. I like to be quiet."

Mrs. N.C. was continuously on the move, with her husbands job, and says that the longest that she lived any place was three years. It would seem that she made many acquaintances but few close friends. She says that she is not bitter about her life and doesn't feel "why me." and adds "why not."

On the second visit Mrs. N.C. seemed much more frail than she had on the first visit and had trouble rising from her chair. The effects of M.S. were much more evident. She was bright, pert, but beneath it there was an air of long suffering that lay around her and seemed almost tangible. It spoke of a woman who had spent her life suffering an intolerable marriage and had been unwilling to risk making a

break, even when all, including the children, would have benefitted from the break. She had learned to suffer and absorb pain. There is a sense of deep resignation about her that I think remains covered up most of the time. She has learned, and probably practiced through all of her marriage, to attempt to look at the bright side of things. Looking at the bright side, that is averting her attention from her despair, has acted to support her reluctance to assert her freedom and to construct her own life in the direction of her sensed possibility. Mrs. N.C. is acutely aware of her disappointment with her life but it seems that she is afraid to permit the full experience of it to be felt. It almost seems as though, for her, to maintain that sense of bitter disappointment affirms some life expectation or purpose. I need to know much more about the childhood of Mrs. N.C., than I was able to learn, to consider this further. In any event her life seems to have been one of much disappointment and little joy. Resigned and removed are the words that, for me, describe her. The words vital, ongoing, connected, interested, do not seem to fit. Her life is not part of any mainstream but some private backwater. Even her connections to her children seem withdrawn, safe, not immersed and vital.

Mrs. N.C. failed to dare to be free and to construct her own life close to her own heart. There seems some ambiguity for she must at some level sense that she has

given her life away and that she has betrayed her sense of her own possibility, even if it is so that disappointment serves some of her anticipation about her purpose.

I must add that Mrs. N.C. was a genial, friendly, intelligent woman, who given the totality of her life experience has done her very best.

Mr. H.F. Age 72 Years.

Mr H.F. is a small, bouncy, lively little man. He loves to talk and does so with energy and relish. He shares an apartment with O. his third wife who is ten years his senior. In subtle ways he denigrates his wife and talks about her being very tight and having nothing until she married him as her first husband was only a barber. I sense that O. is more a nurse, and some what of a companion, than a wife to Mr. H.F. The apartment is tidy and comfortable and on the living room table there was a rug that was being hooked by Mr. H.F.

About three quarters of the life story told to me by Mr. H.F. concerned itself with his medical problems, which are clearly, to him, the most interesting thing in his life. He opened the interview by saying "I've had considerable sickness.....I was never very strong." Although he dwells a great deal on his health he does not appear to be very anxious about it and talks about his medical problems in a relaxed chatty manner. It seems that he has placed that part of his life in the hands of his doctors whom he trusts implicitly. He says "I have a hundred percent faith in my doctor. If he says two pills I take two pills." He in fact takes eighteen pills each day and these are mostly for his heart problem. He is relaxed about his medical problems as it seems that he has turned his physical survival over to

his doctor and he therefore does not worry about it. The doctor is his special saviour responsible for all questions concerning his physical mortality.

Mr. H.F.'s life, apart from his medical history, has not been uneventful. He married in England after serving six years in the Canadian army. His son was born in Canada but his wife returned to England where their daughter was born. She then refused to return to Canada. His doctor said "H.... you're heading for a nervous breakdown, you must decide what you are going to do." He sold his house in Winnipeg and "Against the better judgement of my foreman" he joined his family in England. There, several years later, he caught his wife in the shed with the next door neighbour and shortly after returned from work one day to find that "There is not a stick of furniture, not a curtain in the house." His wife had left. He returned to Winnipeg with his two children and was re-employed in the C.P. Shops.

About 1962, he says "I met the nicest lady in Deer Lodge when I was in there." They were married for thirteen years until she died of cancer. He considers this his real marriage and wishes to be buried with her. Mr.H.F. and O. his third wife were married in 1978.

Mr. H.F. retired from work at age fifty-eight due to ill health, but seems to physically manage very well today. He says "I can do most anything. I can walk anywhere."

Mr.H.F. is very opinionated without having his own

opinions. Many of his views, his choice of phrases, seem to be handed down, to be second hand. They do not seem to have been adapted to particularly fit for him and often sound a little like a recitation. I sense that he would be very dogmatic about defending these. The words that spring to my mind for Mr. H.F. is that he is kind, Involved but rigid. In some ways he appears like a little boy who has been told how to be a good boy and told that he is not strong and that these messages have governed his life. He has never grown beyond these messages and become a unique, autonomous, free, individual with his own life meanings and purposes.

Mrs O.R. Age 81 Years.

Mrs. O.R. is a large boned, big, strong woman who is very vigorous and alert. Her memory is quick and clear and her recall of events is faultless. Her apartment is comfortably furnished and there are many family pictures, particularly of her grandchildren, around. On the walls are some paintings that were done by Mrs. O.R. She says that these are the only few paintings that she has left as she has given most of them away. Mrs. O.R. talked about her life with considerable pride and it would seem that she has lived in a manner that has abidingly pleased her.

Mrs. O.R. was born in Russia in 1907 and came to Canada in 1912. Her mother spent two months in Canada, did not like it and returned with the children to Russia. They returned to Canada in 1914 just after the outbreak of the First World War. Mrs. O.R. speaks and writes Russian, Ukrainian, and English fluently. Her father taught school in rural Alberta where Mrs. O.R. was raised. The father then graduated as a Doctor of Naturapathy and Physiotherapy and set up business in Winnipeg. Mrs. O.R. describes her childhood as not being very happy as her parents endlessly fought but it seems that in spite of their battles the children were highly valued and were well treated.

When she was twenty-four years of age Mrs. O.R. met her husband M. who she describes as an Englishman. They were

married for fifty-three years. She says, "I am very lonely without my husband. This feeling I have for M. never leaves me. I am sitting here and I'm sure M. is here and I want to say something to him." M. died about four years ago.

Mrs. O.R. had two children, a girl then a boy. Her daughter died ten days before the death of her husband, both from cancer in the same hospital. In talking about her daughter's death Mrs. O.R. says: "She was only sick about a year, but she was a lovely girl. She left us a very lovely family of four....Oh how I miss her."

Mr. R. worked as a porter and then in the baggage department of C.P.R. and Mrs O.R. opened a grocery store to help family finances. Mrs O.R. was persuaded to run as a school board member and was elected for four terms. Following that she was the Executive Director of the Manitoba School Trustees Association for some years and was central in bringing together the rural and city trustee associations. She retired in 1965. She is now an honorary life member of the association and has, until recently continued to attend National Trustee Conventions. She ran as a Liberal candidate in the Federal Election of 1958. but was defeated in the Conservative sweep of that year. She was involved in founding a very active seniors club in Winnipeg and has remained active with it for the past thirteen years.

Mrs. O.R. is very involved with the life of her family. She knows, in detail, what all her grandchildren are

presently doing, and knows their ages and birth dates She continues to have a close and warm relationship with her son-in-law and says; "He is so attentive to me that I almost feel guilty." She is still very much involved in the ongoing life of her family and fills a central role in its activities. It would seem that she loves and is loved by them.

Mrs. O.R. is an energetic woman who has been blessed with a strong constitution. She grew up with a father who was not afraid to take risks. This modelling, and the fact that she had two parents who valued her, contributed to her daring and confidence. She is very proud of the life she has led and of what she has accomplished. She sees that she has constructed her own life consistent with her own beliefs, and by her own efforts. It would seem that she has felt in control of her life and that there is a sense of completeness in her life. A sense that she feels that she has used life wisely and to the full. She is also proud of her conduct as a wife, a parent, and a grandmother, and of her relationships with people. She says that to her "friendship is the spice of life. I have a little book that I keep and every time I meet someone nice I put them down in my book." Mrs O.R. continues to make friends. She says that she has "a new friend who lives upstairs. I've met her since I came here. She is a lovely person." That friendship has been established within the past fifteen months.

Mrs. O.R. seems to experience herself as being included in the world. Her world is ongoing. The adjectives central, active, continuous, luminous, indivisible, inclusive. safety bound and chosen seem to apply.

It would seem, on reflection, that Mrs. O.R. left childhood with a strong sense of efficacy which has contributed to her ability to exercise freedom, and to freely construct her own life. I do not mean this in a deterministic way, that we are bound by our childhoods. I mean that for some, and Mrs. O.R. is an example, a strong sense that life is contingent and that the contingency provides an interesting challenge, is acquired early in life. Mrs. O.R. talks about her childhood experiences which provided her with a sense of power, independence, and creativity.

Mrs O.R. now looks back on her life and can say, "I'm very happy to be the way I am."

Mr. M.E. Age 78 Years.

Mr. M.E. looks considerably younger than his seventy-eight years and appears to be in excellent physical condition. He does not think of himself as an elder and in his planning and thinking he sounds like a somewhat disorganized teenager. He lives in a one room apartment in Lions Manor and there is an air of someone just passing through about the place. There is a partly packed suitcase in one corner, an electric gutter on a stand in another and a large silver trophy cup on top of a dresser. Beside the bed there are magazines on horse racing and on running.

It is rather difficult to follow the story of Mr. M.E.'s life as he jumps all over the place and changes subject mid way through a sentence. His face is highly mobile and lively and reveals the emotion he is struggling against, as he talks.

I sense that Mr. M.E. has never felt in control of his life. When he was five years old his father was killed and he describes "right after that" as being the saddest time of his life. He lived on a homestead with his mother and six brothers and sisters and says, "I don't think I had been to school for three whole years in my life." He describes his mother as "an angel" and comments that "It is only when you grow older do you realize how difficult it is to feed and clothe seven kids on the stinking rotten pension they gave

her". He adds that "It's unfair but there really is a law for the rich and a law for the poor."

There is a sense of chaos, not only in the telling, but it would seem also, about the living of Mr. M.E's. life. He describes himself as being "Always kind of timid, kind of sensitive" and as being a "loner". He wanted to be an Olympic runner but says that a weak stomach prevented that. He comments that "I've had ulcer pains ever since I was twelve". His trophy cup is for winning a ten mile river run. He says his time for the run has never been beaten. He worked for the City of St. James, as a clerk, for forty years. He comments that "I stayed with the City for forty years because I was scared. It was too much of a risk for me to quit my job and go riding." It seems that his desire was to be a jockey. Whether this was a real or realistic desire is impossible for me to judge. During much of the time he worked for the City, Mr. M.E. also had his own band and travelled around playing at various functions. He says that the band paid for his house but that it became too exhausting doing two jobs.

Mr. M.E. is a very nervous, jumpy person, and says "I'm on relaxing pills." He explains his nervousness by saying that "our family, we are inclined to be sensitive." He is a drinker but says that "the reason I know that I am not an alcoholic, is that there is a bottle in there and only the top third is gone.....Every once in a while I'll let myself

go for a week without a drink and there is no craving." He says that he drinks to calm a terrible nervousness that he feels inside his stomach. He has been a member of A.A. but no longer attends. He spent two years in King Edward hospital from black outs and he blames them on drinking caused by family problems. "I was sick mentally in these days. I just can't pinpoint it. It would be around the eighties. I was in for two years."

Mr. M.E. was married for twenty five years and he blames the break up of his marriage on being away from home so much. He adds that his wife was the one who wanted a divorce but that "She shouldn't have because she was doing the same as I was." The same thing was having affairs. His response to the divorce was "anger, and I carried this anger." It seems that Mr. M.E. had, for a number of years, an affair with the singer in his band. The singer sounds totally irrational and is probably an alcoholic. She continually smashed his things, including he says, twenty-six telephones, his typewriter, etc., and that if he had loved her he "probably would have killed her."

Mr. M.E. has two children from his marriage, a son and a daughter. His son visited him a few days before my first interview and this was the first time he had seen his son in a year. His son is an Anglican Priest and had a "nervous breakdown" while studying in England for his Ph.D. He is in more constant contact with his daughter and on her recent

visit she had asked Mr. M.E. for a thousand dollars for some trouble her son was in. He was only able to give her five hundred dollars.

Mr M.E. was recently knocked over by a car but is recovering very quickly. He says that "In two weeks I'll be ready to do two hours speed walking." He comments that it is "amazing to me how well I feel physically." I am not sure how realistic all this is as it sounds to me as though he still thinks of himself as a boy preparing for his big race. He says that the one thing that he can't forgive himself for is for "Partly quitting in a race." and that he doesn't believe "you can be forgiven for things you purposely did." He must carry with him much guilt.

The things that are clear about the life of Mr. M.E. is that the death of his father, when he was five years old, had a profound effect. The death seems to have left him with a great nervousness that expressed itself as an ulcer by the time he was twelve years old. That great nervousness has never left him and his drinking has been an effort to control the feeling of it. It seems that from five years old there has been a sense of unreality about the life of Mr. M.E. To become a great runner, a great jockey, a great musician, seem to be part of the unreality. It is probable that being 'real' was felt to put his life at great risk. The unreality appears to remain to this day.

It seems that, from very early in his life, Mr. M.E.

learned that he could not be in control over his own life, that he could not construct it in a manner to conform to his own desires. This lack of sense of control appears to be associated with the death of his father. Without a sense of control there is no sense of freedom. Without freedom one is not free to form beliefs and purposes that can direct life. The result of this is that the life of Mr. M.E. has been extremely chaotic and this chaos has been driven by a deep nervousness and anxiety that he has not resolved.

I wish to add, as I wish to leave the correct impression, that in many ways Mr. M.E. is a very charming person. He was interesting and moving to interview and it would seem has considerable talent and ability. Amid his confusion, he lives his life with a lot of childlike enthusiasm. He still had a sense of humour and was able to laugh at some of his own life predicaments. There are benefits and costs even to unreality, but high life satisfaction is not one of the benefits.

Mrs. J.I. Age 81 Years.

Mrs. J.I. is a very smartly dressed, warm, lively, woman who looks younger than her years. There is a very soft, friendly, gentle, relaxed air about her that seemed to me at first to be too much, to be not quite real. I thought that to be that relaxed, to be that happy, she must be avoiding some real issues. I do believe that she is that relaxed and that happy and manages it by being able to live fully in the present. I expect that she is also capable of being tense and unhappy but that these play a minor role in her life.

Her apartment in Lions Place is very comfortably furnished and has lots of photographs and pictures and home made ornaments.

Mrs J.I. was the twelfth of fourteen children born to an Icelandic fishing family in the Interlake Region of Manitoba. She said that she did not go to school until she was eight years old as she did not speak a word of English. Her home was a very busy place as often as many as twenty fishermen, who worked for her father, lived in the attic and basement. She describes her father as being a great organizer of entertainments and that there was always something arranged to entertain the fishermen. She says that her dad had a very good system with people. With the children "He always took one by one into the office, took us

on his knee, told us how good we were and how much he loved us. We got so much praise for everything we did." She describes her mother as "a very wonderful person. A very good cook, very artistic and a midwife." After school Mrs. J.I. stayed home to manage the office for her father and look after the three children of a sister who had died. She also assisted the local doctor as a midwife.

She met her husband when he worked for her father, was engaged at twenty-four and married at thirty. In talking of the time she met her husband, she says: "I remember what he wore. He was the quietest of all the bunch. He was the one I wanted. It was not so easy to get him. A very clever man." When they were married Mrs. J.I. lived on the farm with her mother-in-law for twelve years till she died. She says that "we got on famously. There wasn't a day my husband did not thank me for being so good to his mother." She comments that "Work is no effort for me. I am very quick. Everything is fun for me. when I was married it was such fun to iron, such fun to bake." They continued to farm and had a son and daughter and moved to Winnipeg in 1965. The husband took a job as engineer on a fishing boat. Three weeks later the boat capsized and the body was not found for two years. Mrs. J.I. observes that it was hard to lose her husband. "That was the hardest. I cried every single night when I went to bed. I didn't let the children know."

After the death of her husband Mrs. J.I. worked as

office help and as a live in housekeeper and lived with her sister for eleven years until her sister died of cancer. She, herself, developed cancer three years ago. She says that "I got over the cancer, over the operations very well.... I expected it to be much worse....I haven't taken a pill since the cancer, not even an aspirin." She lost all of her hair from the treatment but says "I made turbans, six or seven of them to match my blouses....and my hair came back." She has cataracts in both eyes that make reading difficult but loves to watch programmes about "real things" on T.V. She has a very bad hiatus hernia and everything she eats has to go into the blender.

Mrs. J.I. describes her life as an elder in the following way:"It's wonderful. You can do what you like, say what you like. I find it very important to be busy and have as much fun as you can - music, dancing and clothes. I'm always having fun. I love to knit and sew." She adds that "I am one of the lucky ones.....That's because I had such wonderful parents. I had such a wonderful husband." She comments that "I always know what is in style. I'm still young. I don't think that I ever grew up. I feel very young. I love to dance. I could dance all night. When the music is on I just can't keep still." She adds, "I'm always having fun. I've more visitors than anyone in the building." She observes that in the month of February she attended seven dances and eight exercise sessions.

Mrs. J.I. has three brothers and one sister left alive. She comments "That when the boys come to the city they stay with me. After they go I always find money hidden. A ten dollar bill here. A twenty dollar bill there." They are a very playful family. She seems to maintain close contacts with her children and their families. "Even the grandchildren phone me all the time." She is worried about her son who has an alcohol problem and she hopes the problem is over. She has found it hard to come to terms with his drinking and says that this "is the hardest I have gone through in my life. He is a wonderful man. Wonderful and kind in every way but he does drink too much....."

Mrs J.I.'s daughter is married to a man who is verbally abusive. "He is very hard on the girls you know. Sometimes they say they hate him." This is a grave concern to her. It seems that both her son and daughter phone their mother with their problems.

Mrs. J.I. has close friends and observes that she "can meet people very easily." She has a special friend in Lions Place. "Everybody thinks we are sisters. We are always together. Her daughter says it has been a different life for her since she met me. Oh I see her every day. Many times a day. Oh I love her."

Mrs J.I. would like to be remembered as an honest, good person. She says, "I think I have done my best. Done my very best. I couldn't have done any more for anyone.

As I'd said at the beginning I am convinced, in spite of her worries, and perhaps even some guilt, about her son and daughter, that Mrs. J.I. is very happy and contented as an elder. She laughs easily and has obviously a great deal of fun in her life. There is something very childlike about her delight in things and she has, to a considerable degree, managed to overlook her physical limitations.

It would seem that Mrs. J.I. has always experienced a sense of freedom in her life. She was valued, praised, and appreciated by her parents and chose for herself the man that she wanted as a husband. It seems that all through her marriage Mrs. J.I. and her husband continued to do little things to delight each other, and a sense of playfulness has prevailed with her to this day. She is the central hub of her family and her brothers and sister and children and grandchildren all consult with her. Life has not always been easy for her but she has managed to maintain a lightness of response, a playfulness towards things. She is proud of the way in which she has conducted herself and there is congruity between her beliefs and actions. She thinks of herself as being generous, caring, loving, friendly, youthful, and fun.

Mrs. H.R. Age 81 Years.

Mrs H.R. is a lively, small, woman who speaks English with a pronounced French Canadian accent. She looks healthy and well but requires a stick to manoeuvre around. She says that the stick is due to arthritis in her hip. Her apartment is very tidy and clean, that is important to her. It is also comfortable. There are family pictures on the walls. She likes to talk and after the tape had been turned off she told me secrets in her life. It is as though I was being used for confession.

Mrs. H.R. was born and raised in a rural Manitoba French community. Her parents farmed and she was one of ten children in her family. She says that "We were very happy because we had good parents. They never beat us up." When she was thirteen she was sent to a convent school and she comments that "I cried all the time because I didn't like it." She was eventually sent home. "After that when we got to be sixteen and eighteen, we went to dances.....we were not allowed to go to halls, but we did go a few times." Mrs. H.R.'s aunt was a mother superior at an orphanage in Winnipeg and she went there to work in the office. She says "I didn't speak a word of English and at times didn't know what to do. They laughed at me." She met her husband through her sister and comments that "I hated him the first time I saw him.....There was a guy at home I liked, but my

mother said my health wasn't so good and I couldn't work too hard and I should live in the city....And so that was it." She was married at twenty-two and went to stay with her husband's aunt. There "I was raped I was pregnant and I was sick and she was telling everybody that I was dirty. So I said: get me out of here by tomorrow or you will never see me again." They moved and "we lived in an attic....then I had a baby." After moving several times they bought a house which they fixed up and which Mrs. H.R. finally sold in 1977. Mrs. H.R. had eight children, the last one at age forty-six. There are twenty-four years between her first and last child. She now has twenty-six grandchildren and fourteen great grandchildren but has not seen all of them. When she describes her married life she observes that her husband "when he came back from work, he read his paper. He never helped with the family at all." Mrs. H.R. related how some people say that if you do not have a very good life when you are young you hope that you come back and have a good life. She says "I could come back and have a good life." She also comments that she "just loved dancing" and that "My husband didn't dance, and he was jealous when I danced with the guys. I was making dates, so they noticed the expression on his face. So now he died and now I am free." After the death of her husband Mrs. H.R. had a boyfriend. She says that "we had a good time together. We stayed home and had a good time together. My husband and I

couldn't discuss anything, but I could talk to him about anything. It was okay." She was fond of her boyfriend. "I was really nuts. I was in love with him, and he was in love with me because he had been without booze for some time. But I wouldn't marry him. My money would have gone so fast." It would seem, from the description that she provides, that the boyfriend was probably an alcoholic.

Mrs. H.R. has experienced some considerable health problems in the past two years. A year ago she was in hospital for five months with what she describes as a seizure. She says "I nearly died twice. I guess I had something else to do here." She says she is now well and expects to live for quite a while.

Mrs.H.R. describes herself as having bad nerves. She likes to play cards but sometimes the other players can get on her nerves. I infer from some passing comments that she experiences periods of depression. It would seem that through her married life Mrs. H.R. had a sense of being helpless, of being in a situation that was not to her liking but that had to be endured. Mrs. H.R. has lived her life in the belief that she had to remain obedient to her parents. She says "I always pray every morning. I have lots of prayers. This is the way we were brought up. We had good parents." Obedience to her parents has meant suffering for her own life, for her own sense of what she wants from life. This enduring seemed to her to require that she disown the

despair that she experienced or disown her "good parents". The despair disowned has likely led to the present depression. Such a conflict between obedience and personal desire is bound to produce many guilt experiences and, in her marriage, it was impossible for her to be both obedient to herself and to her parents. Faced with the conflict Mrs H.R. chose not to construct her own life, in freedom. She must now struggle with the little satisfaction that can be derived from a sense of a life that has been less than fully lived.

Mr. I.N. Age 84 Years.

Mr. I.N. is a small, somewhat dapper man. There is an air about him and about his surroundings that suggest a different place and a past age. He speaks English fluently but with a heavy German accent. Mr. I.N. is now beginning to be physically a little frail but his memory and recall are excellent and quick. He says, "You see, I'm eighty-four I'm going downhill....I don't want to get ninety years old." He lives in an apartment hotel and the walls of his apartment are hung with pictures, his works of art. Around the room there are display cabinets filled with objects that have been gathered by Mr. I.N. in his trips around the world. The art objects are very important to Mr. I.N. and he showed many of them to me and explained their artistic merit and place of origin.

Mr. I.N. was born in Germany. His father left his mother when he was very young and his mother died when he was eight years old. He then lived with his grandmother for a few years but she died. He next lived with his aunt. He says that he would have been "better off in an orphanage. My mother was too sick, and my grandmother was too old, and my auntie she also died. I was sixteen years old and on my own." He managed to pursue his education and became a school teacher in a Hebrew school. He comments, "I lived five years

under the Hitler regime. I was kicked out of teaching." He escaped from Germany and ended up, as he was German, in a prisoner of war camp in Canada. Mr. I.N. had a twin brother who did not escape and died in a German concentration camp. Mr. I.N. was held as a prisoner for three years, in three different camps, before the Canadian Government saw fit to acknowledge that he was not an enemy and release him.

Mr. I.N. taught school in small rural locations in Manitoba for twenty-seven years. He observes that he "never would have survived as a teacher in a big city. I had small classes. They have little respect for a teacher here." As he talks of his teaching experience he conveys a sense that he deeply regrets having lost the high respect due, as he describes himself, "a man of culture". He received that high respect as a teacher in a Jewish school in Germany, but gained "little respect" as a teacher in Canada. He considers that the best time of his life was when he was going to teachers college in Germany. Mr. I.N. retired to Winnipeg nineteen years ago. He choose to retire in Winnipeg, he observes, "Because...You see, I'm a man of culture and I want to live in a big city. The opera. I'm an opera fan, and the theatre." Mr. I.N. sees North America as being a "morally decaying society...The private lives of Hollywood stars are our Hall of Fame. In France the Hall of Fame is the Academie Francaise. These are composers, writers, artists." He comments, in support of moral decay,

that "Students of mine are doctors and lawyers. They don't want to get married, they live with their girlfriends....they make a mockery out of marriage....marriage is the foundation of our civilization." He says, "I don't see anything so good about religion.", but attends the synagogue for social reasons.

Mr. I.N. never married but says that he was engaged in Germany before he had to flee. His passions have been travelling, opera, and collecting art. He comments: "I'm a world traveller you know. I have travelled sixty countries. I did travelogues for public schools and service clubs." He has not travelled for two years. He says that the only thing that he still does "is art collecting". He comments that he has over one hundred and fifty operas in his music library and says that he knows most of them. He adds that he listens to music several hours a day. When I arrived for both interviews I could here, from outside his door, non classical music being very loudly played.

Mr I.N. plans that his art collection will be his memorial after his death. Each part is labelled on the back to be assigned, after his death, to one of his former students. He says that "In ten years I'll be a forgotten man. I will have never lived." It seems that his works of art are intended to extend the time of his being remembered. He responds to my question "How long do you wish to live." by answering that he is looking forward to dying. "I don't

want to be ninety years old. Once you reach a point in your life you start to go downhill. I'd like to live another year or two but no longer." He clearly regrets not having had a family of his own, and comments: "You see there is lots to do if you have a family of your own, enjoy your children. Other people what do they enjoy?" He hastily adds, "I enjoy lots of things you know."

Mr I.N. continues to maintain contact with some of his former students and with relatives, cousins, in various parts of the world. He is lonely but not totally isolated. I sense that his life has slowed down for him, considerably, in the past two years. Till then his interest in opera, travelling, collecting, and entertaining, had supported his life.

There is an air of sadness about Mr. I.H. He seems like a man out of place and time. A man of old fashioned culture and values in a modern, aggressive, hedonistic world. I suspect that he has felt out of place and time ever since he had to flee Germany forty-nine years ago. In Germany as a teacher he was valued as a man of culture. Here, when hetaught in rural Manitoba, this little dapper man with a broad foreign accent and a love of opera, probably felt unrecognised, unappreciated. The sadness, I believe, is in large part due to the perception that Mr. I.N. has that his life has not matched his expectations of it. His highest sensed possibilities for himself have not been reached. He

has been unable to match his expectations to the realities of his life or change the realities to match the expectations. The difficulties and the losses that Mr. I.N. experienced in his early life, may well have acted to limited his perception of the possibilities that he had to construct his life after the tendency of the inward forces or to permit his expectations to grow and change as his experience of the world expanded. Mr. I.H. has failed to dare to be free and this has inhibited the formation of beliefs and purposes that are sufficient to fully support his life. His life satisfaction is less than complete.

SECTION III.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND INSIGHT INTO LIFE SATISFACTION

Human nature is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing.

John Stuart Mills - On Liberty.

Chapter 17.

Concluding Observations.

Before I attempt to review what it is that I may have learned, from this endeavour, about life satisfaction and the lives of elders, I wish to comment on the purposes that led to my investigation. There were two prime purposes that prompted this effort. The first of these is that, as I stated at the beginning, I find the lives of elders to be interesting and it appeared useful to understand, from a meaning perspective, what contributed to their life satisfaction. This was of interest to me, in part, because I am approaching the age where the answers to the question of what provides life satisfaction could be important to me in my own living. I sensed that perhaps by exploring the issues and listening and being with elders as they, and it was inevitable that they would, struggled with issues of meaning, purpose, and death in their lives I might be brought to resolve the same issues in my own life. In part, this investigation was a practicum where the subject for change was myself. It is difficult for me to evaluate, as I am too close to the subject, whether I have been substantially changed by the experience. I do have a strong sense that the process of change has been well started and it will take time to know how far that change will proceed.

I am certain of one change which has resulted from this undertaking. That is that I shall never again be able to encounter any elder without having a much deeper and fuller appreciation of the struggles and successes that must have brought that elder to his or her present situation. I will see each elder more fully as a rich, complex, valuable, and complete human. In retrospect I know that part of my judgement of elders was stereotypical and limiting. I did not believe, in my heart, that one could live vibrantly, could be fully alive and care and share in the shadow of death. I must now accept that this belief was not founded on the reality of life but was a projection of my own feelings of futility onto the lives of all elders.

The second reason for my interest was not mentioned at the beginning of this investigation. I was somewhat aware of the second reason but I did not think to think about it. I did however come to think more about it as I proceeded with the research. The reason is, that whatever services I may provide, as a social worker, to any client system, these services must be directed towards some definite purpose. I have heard social work purposes expressed as "making life better for the client"; as "helping the client solve problems"; as "improving client functioning"; and as "easing the client's distress". There are also very many other possible descriptions of social work purpose. I have always been somewhat confused by what seemed to be inconsistencies

in the understandings that supported the stated purposes. Some of the understandings seemed to promote social control, and appeared directed to maintaining the existing social hierarchy. Others expressed a need to keep society tidy and docile. Still others seemed to be directed at having clients tolerate and live with their own distresses. This appeared in some interventions where the clients were clearly directed, in the name of reality, to believe that at the very best their lives could only be worthy of enduring. Other purposes seemed to be very subtle attempts to sell western, capitalist, middle class values. In most of these instances it seemed that the seller was not aware of the end to which their 'help' was directed. It was apparent to me that as a helper, unless I constructed for myself some clear understanding of an overarching purpose to any intervention, with any client, that it was very likely that I would be serving a purpose that perhaps was not in the clients best long term interest and was one that I did not believe in or subscribe to. It is also the case that many clients are unable, at the beginning of receiving help, to see the possibilities, the options that are available to them. That very inability to know and to respond to the options is in fact the very matter that brings many people to be clients. The purpose of any helper must therefore include aiding clients in discovering the possible options and must be directed to helping clients construct the freedom that

permits them to respond to the options. Helping options must contribute towards enriching life, towards a sense of a full and meaningful existence, towards high life satisfaction. These purposes are precise understandings that were made particularly clear through my readings in existential philosophy and existential psychotherapy and they were reinforced through the interviews with the elders. These understandings will be brought to my future work with elders and to work with clients of all ages.

'Life satisfaction' seemed to me to be a phrase that somehow conveyed an overarching possibility for a purpose for all helping, as I believed that everyone must surely aspire, although not always consciously as it may not be seen to be possible, to be satisfied with their lives. 'Life satisfaction' appeared to be a simple overarching purpose. It transpired that it was far from being that simple. I began by collecting articles from many journals about life satisfaction. The focus of my research was directed to the articles that dealt with satisfaction in the lives of elders as it seemed that satisfaction was an issue that came into clearer focus in a persons life as the years advanced. I collected and read about eighty of these articles and began to have a strong sense of dread. It seemed that the more I read of these articles the less I seemed to know about life satisfaction. My hope of arriving at an overarching conception that would guide all my social work practice was

not being realized. I was now confronted with new problems to resolve. (1). Why was it that the research in life satisfaction did not help me with my understanding. (2). If it required that I find another approach, what could that approach be.

I attempted to explore question (1) in Chapter 4: Research Considerations and there are some aspects of this to which I wish now to return. I do not wish to labour points that have already been made but I am interested in reconsidering whether some of the arguments that were proposed still seem to stand for me at the end of the project.

The methodology adopted for this project required that I resist the use of instruments to measure the concepts and thus avoid assigning numerical values whereby correlations could be mathematically established between variable concepts. I also resisted approaching understanding by the use of any formal method of content analysis applied to the elder interviews. I was persuaded that both quantified research, even on a single case study basis, and content analysis would not have provided the insights that I sought. Mythicization, the operation of memory as an instrument of meaning, and the fact that 'meaning' as opposed to 'happening' is important to human life satisfaction would have all negated finding that might have seemed to be illuminated by quantified research and by content analysis.

The writings of Freud, of Jung, of Carl Rogers, of all the existentialists, of Erikson, of Maslow, of the Gestalt therapists, and of very many others who have contributed to the understanding of human beings and of human life have based their research, their systematic attempts at understanding, on insight gained by patient observation and consideration of their fellow man. The meanings that structured the observations and considerations were arrived at by the contemplation of the meanings in their own lives. The understandings arrived at by these researchers are confirmed in their acuity as they strike chords in the experiences of the readers, chords which confirm their awarenesses of the experiences of their own lives. Such confirmation accounts for the continuing importance that is given to the works of these researchers who all seemed to believe that an approach to understanding of human life through insight is not only a valid, but a necessary approach. It is necessary because it is the only approach that permits the understanding of any event in a human life to be made in context of a wider understanding of that life. It avoids the trap of seeing the abstracted symbolic representation of a single item, or a collection of single items, as being more real than the reality of life itself.

I remain persuaded that my decisions on an approach to life satisfaction were good ones for I have found no other way to obtain an appreciation of the temper of a human life

other than to set out some philosophic position and then to attempt to view the life as a gestalt from that philosophic position. This is what I have attempted to do. Science and research are procedural tools which originated around a world and life understood to function as a machine. A different philosophical vision requires a different understanding of science and research.

The answer to the second question, what other approach was possible, came from my attempt to define what it was that I believed about people. I did not believe that an analogy that saw people as being similar to machines was a useful analogy. I was certain that man's perception of himself, the self reflective quality of humanness, was an important element of understanding. Existential philosophy seemed to provide an acceptable comprehensive concept of humanness, which emphasized man acting towards himself on the basis of his perception of himself, and promised to be a starting place for my investigation. It grew from there. I discovered that there were many writers and researchers who had contemplated human life and life satisfaction from the prime position that humans are reflective and that their perceptions of their own actions are central to their responses to their own lives. I have attempted to bring together some of the insights of these writers that I might gain a broad understanding of the elements in any life, that in the context of that life, provide life satisfaction.

Some of the responses that I have received from those with whom I have discussed this project suggest that they see this enterprise as a rather esoteric, remote, intellectual one. I do not see it as being in any way remote or esoteric. For me it seems to lie at the very practical, day to day, heart of being a social worker. Everything that I do as a social worker needs to be directed to some clear, human, purpose. To intervene with a client without some clarity of purpose, which lies within a wider human purpose, seems to me to be rather cavalier, rather offhand. I would wish, before I dare to intervene in the lives of clients, before I offer myself as a helper with some profession of expertise, that I arrive with a clear and supportable, human based rationale to direct my help. This investigation, then, has had for me a further purpose, which seems equally as important as the primary purpose of understanding life satisfaction in the lives of elders and of changing myself, and that is of establishing a clear, overarching, human based rationale that can guide social work practice.

As I have proceeded to look at life satisfaction in the lives of elders my understandings of life satisfaction have become clearer and more refined and I feel assured that life satisfaction, as it has been defined in this research, does in fact provide an overarching, human based, rationale that can provide a suitable purpose for all social work practice. Life satisfaction, as it has been elaborated, is a proactive

concept that values individuality and freedom and is directed towards supporting each individual in fully expressing in their lives the unique tendency of the inward forces, the highest sensed possibility, that must provide meaning and purpose for that life. This project then, seems to me to be the base, the foundation, which will guide, direct and support my work with people. The issues of life satisfaction that intervene in the life of an elder are the same issues that intervene at all ages.

There are many other understandings that I have learned from this exploration into life satisfaction in the lives of elders that may direct my interactions with elders. Some of these have already been tested during the interviews and were guided by the insights that I had gained, up to that point.

What seems to me to be an important element of my learning from this work is the conclusion reached that any attempt to understand issues that operated in a life without having some wide appreciation of the life as a whole, would be ill advised and would almost certainly be based on erroneous judgements. As the interviews with each elder proceeded, and as the elder was provided with patient opportunity to tell his or her story, new understandings and insights continued to evolve. These understandings and insights did not come from any particular issue being presented but from issues in the context of other issues and

in the context of an entire life. The process can not be rushed and can not be narrowly focussed. Some issues only appeared to take on meaning in relation to other life incidents far separated in time and in mood.

A further useful part of my learning was that the focus on 'life story' as opposed to 'problem' seemed to provide a useful direction for intervention with many clients. In the telling of the 'life story' all of the elders managed to value their own experience of their lives and problems emerged, not as though these constituted all of life, but as issues in a life and were seen as things to be resolved or borne. Problems seemed to be expressed, within the fabric of a life story, easily and naturally and it seemed that for many the opportunity to talk about experienced problems within the context of their lives normalized the problems for them. Many could thus distance themselves somewhat from the experience of their difficulties and came to view their own struggles more rationally.

I observed that the invitation to all of the elders to tell their life stories and to share their views and opinions with me was clearly experienced by them as being a valuing act. The very fact that someone was prepared to listen attentively as they told of their lives and then to invite their opinions seemed for many to make their lives more worthy and for others to confirm their sense that their lives were worthy.

It was interesting to me to see that not one elder objected to my forthright questions about their own deaths but answered such questions eagerly. I conclude that to discuss the serious issue of their own death with them seemed to be taken as a signal of respect, as acknowledgment that they were being received as the mature competent persons that they were. It do not believe that it is a mark of respect to circumvent issues that may be laden with emotion and that seems a valuable awareness to guide working with elders.

I have confirmed from this endeavour that the existential philosophic view of human life provides a framework that can often by a very useful one to structure understanding of issues in a clients life. Death, freedom, isolation, and meaning are descriptions of issues that evolve from the nature of being human and as such require consideration in their lives.

It now feels appropriate that I attempt to synthesize some of the understandings that I have arrived at which directly concern life satisfaction in the lives of the elders interviewed. These are for me valuable learnings.

The first of these understandings rather surprised me. It probably should not have, but there is such a time span between infancy and the life of an elder that the connections can be easily forgotten. The understanding I refer to concerns the enormous part that early life

experience can and does play throughout an entire life. It would seem that Freud did not overstate the importance of childhood experience. Issues from childhood seemed to echo through the lives of some of the elders that I interviewed and were seen to play a very important role in their life satisfaction. Among these childhood issues, those that concern themselves in some manner with death, or loss, appear to be particularly potent. It is clear that, in the lives of some of our elders, some early traumatic event, around the issue of death or loss, has invaded and directed every aspect of their lives. The residue of the early trauma has made it difficult for these elders to confront the endlessly reoccurring events that remind them of their own mortality, that is of the desire for life and the desire for death, and has seemingly led many to construct much of their lives around attempting to avoid confronting that which they must inevitably confront. The tension between the need to avoid and the need to confront that which can not be avoided, seems to have created in these elders powerful feelings of anxiety and discomfort, and has directed their living away from performing the tasks that may have been required of them for a sense of completeness. Early issues around death may express themselves as phobias; may express themselves as a sense of futility about life; or may bring a focus on the lives of others that excludes a sense of one's value for oneself. These unresolved traumas around death may

be seen in the way we form and manage our relationships and they will certainly ultimately constrict the formation of a life supporting system of meanings and beliefs. The message seems to be, that unresolved early life trauma around the issue of death, so pervades the total life of the person traumatized that its effects intervene in all of life. The effects seem to be heightened in the lives of elders. The effects of early life trauma seem to me to be an important issue to be considered when working with all clients. It would serve little purpose, for example, working with clients to improve their marital relationship if an underlying, unresolved early death trauma led one of the partners to use the relationship as a bastion, a protection, against the fear of death and of life. Death, isolation, freedom and meaning are root human issues that I found to be strongly connected.

I am not suggesting, with the discussion of the effects of early life trauma, that early life events determine life. It is merely that these events do provide issues that require to be resolved if lasting effects are to be avoided. It is probable in fact, that most early life traumas do get resolved and leave few marks on a life, as it is only the unresolved ones that can be observed to operate.

I wish, in passing, to emphasize the present life perspective of existential approaches and to briefly comment on intervention with early life trauma. The past can not be

relived and early trauma can only be resolved in present time. It is then the manner in which a trauma effects present living that needs to be the subject for intervention. The intervention may, in fact, only require that the manner in which present living and life satisfaction are being inhibited by past experience, be brought into awareness and this, paradoxically, may elicit the feelings of the trauma, and produce resolution.

It seems certain that to successfully provide help to a client it is not necessary to understand the genesis of any particular life satisfaction difficulty, but such understanding can provide a more subtle appreciation of how the trauma may operate and illuminate the precise nature of problems in present living. Very early life trauma around loss or death, for example, can have little to do with anxiety around the specific issue of mortality. The awareness of mortality seems not to occur until about eight or nine years of age. Other elements of the loss would then be seen to explain the trauma associated with the loss. These other elements may be a sense of having been abandoned and of the loss of an important support. The loss might have created a sense of anxiety that important supports can not be depended on. The important element may be the transmission to the child of a general sense of family anxiety or fear which is experienced in its association with a significant loss. The important point is that the

understanding of the experience of a particular past event in the context of any life, can help direct present life focussed interventions.

All of life satisfaction is clearly not fixed in childhood trauma. Life satisfaction is created in the process of living and there appear to be a number of elements of living style that contribute to a sense of completeness and of satisfaction. The first of these elements is well covered by the phrase "To thine own self be true." That element is clear in the lives of the elders who appeared most satisfied with their lives. All of these elders had lived their lives in ways that made them proud of themselves and they had risked or persevered on a number of issues because doing so expressed and valued the individual perception that they had of themselves. An interesting societal consequence of being true to oneself, since being loving and sharing seem essential elements of self truth, would be a more just, more caring, less competitive, more peaceful, less wasteful, society. The phrase "to thine own self be true" re-expresses the idea that is central to many of the forty-one issues of life satisfaction which I elaborated in Chapter 11. and is reflected in the tonic adjectives of Erikson's adjectival pairs.

The question of the clear perception of boundaries is an important one to life satisfaction. It is one that R.D. Laing (1967), Rollo May (1983), and Ernest Becker (1973),

see as being particularly important to life satisfaction in western industrial society with its rational corporation man, and the pressure to lose unique, individual, idiosyncratic behaviour. The problem is that if the perception of one's own boundaries, of where one ends and where society, these outside of us begins, is confused or unknown, it becomes impossible to be true 'to thine own self.' The purposes served must be those of someone else or of some group and the living of one's life becomes centered outside of oneself. To live a life that satisfies, it seems clear that one must live for one's own reasons and for one's own unique, individual, purposes. To live otherwise will ensure a sense of dissatisfaction, a feeling that one's unique purpose for life has been lost to some outside purpose. That this can happen appears to be demonstrated in the lives of our elders.

The willingness to take risks appears to be a further element that is important to life satisfaction. Risk taking is closely allied to the sense of being free. It is allied to the understanding that the task is given to us to construct our own lives. Life is contingent. For some people the flow of their lives may seem to easily follow their hearts desire, their sensed highest possibility. That is that the unique person that they sense themselves to be may be expressed, with little conflict, in their day to day living. They may without change in direction construct their

own lives in a way that values who they know themselves to be. Such people seem to construct their lives by being daring in a great number of almost imperceptible small daring steps. Others appear to delay making changes until they become strongly aware that their lives are not proceeding in a way that supports their unique values and purposes and noticeable, daring, changes in direction require to be made to align their lives with their values. Many remain stuck and it appears that to be prepared to risk being alive requires that one be emotionally ready to die. Life only flourishes in the face of death. The interviews with the elders seem to reveal some elders who were not prepared to risk being free to construct their own lives and others who were prepared and who are satisfied with their own daring and their own living.

One element that would seem to contribute greatly to life satisfaction is that of being engaged, committed, to the lives of others and to the world as a whole. The engagement can not be remote, flat, safe, but must be vital, energetic, and be experienced as being of great importance and concern. It seems that it is extremely difficult to remain vitally involved if one does not sense that people are fundamentally good and that the world is a desirable place that is going to continue, and that there is an upward trend in human affairs. The elders who appeared to be most satisfied with their lives were the same elders whose lives

were lived in intimate involvement and who were very optimistic about the world.

Closely connected to vital involvement seems to be the willingness to experience despair. To remain alive and connected it is essential that we experience the world. The world is experienced through our senses, through our feeling responses. To remain sensitive to feelings it seems that it is necessary to permit the experience of all feelings including despair. To avoid the experience of despair it is necessary that the entire range of affective responses be lowered and the lowering of effective responses brings with it a kind of deadness in our feeling reaction to our experience of the world. When we lower our feeling responses to our experience of the world the tendency is to move to an internal cerebral loop, the world as a safe idea, and we fail to connect with real present time experience. The avoidance of despair requires that life be made to feel less real, less vital, and less immediate and connections to others and the world become more tentative less involving. It is made manifest in the interviews with the elders that those most involved are those who are willing to feel the most, are willing to experience their despair, are those most satisfied with life.

It would seem that all of the elements that contribute to life satisfaction connect with all of the other elements. To be true to oneself requires that one be active and alert

in order to experience one's aliveness and requires simplicity that one might know who one is as an individual and who one is in connection to the world. The elders who seem to be most satisfied with their lives are the same elders who seemed to be most active and alert and those whose lives seemed to convey a certain simplicity.

The issues that were set forth in Chapter 11, as being indicators of high life satisfaction, are all other descriptions of the issues discussed above and these are evident in the lives of the elders who appeared to be most satisfied with their lives. There are, however, some of these issues that require a little further commentary.

Congruence between belief and living is a necessary element of high life satisfaction. Without congruence a war exists between idea and action, between experience and purpose. Internal conflicts place one at war within oneself and this creates a sense of tension, of disease and of unrest. The highly satisfied elders seemed to display a high level of congruence between belief and living.

The highly satisfied elders also appeared to be very much engaged in present living. They were interested and concerned with their relationships and their activities now. Their histories seemed to exist for them, not as some artifact to be treasured, nurtured, but as preludes to enrich the present moment.

The elders who seemed most satisfied with their lives

were strongly committed to goodness, truth, and beauty and these were not, for them, mere ideas to be contemplated. In a very real way these words, goodness, truth, and beauty seemed to symbolize the lives of the most satisfied elders. It is as though these were the very things that were expressed through the ways in which they lived their lives. The concepts had been internalized and become real.

A sense of naturalness and spontaneity and of continuous freshness and appreciation was clearly more evident in the lives of those elders who seemed most satisfied with their lives. They trusted and valued the unique, idiosyncratic individual that they sensed themselves to be and permitted that to show, to be expressed in their living.

Finally, from the list of issues, I wish to comment on 'a sense of life supporting meanings and purpose'. It would seem that the most satisfied elders had all constructed for themselves an individual, unique set of life supporting beliefs and purposes that validated and gave meaning to their having lived. For some the life supporting meanings and purposes were centered in some traditional religious affiliations. These traditional religious affiliations, for the most satisfied, appear to have been the starting point for the construction of unique understandings. Their religious beliefs had been beginning points from which they had freely formed their own meanings and purposes. Their own

truths were more valuable to them than were the formal religious pronouncements.

I am pleased with this exploration. I am satisfied that I have learned much and have a clear sense of the issues that are important ones for life satisfaction. I sense that I, myself, have been the central beneficiary of the project and that I have been the important subject of my intervention. Many of my ideas, beliefs, awareness, and feelings have been changed, modified, or advanced by the project. I am satisfied that whatever work I may do with elders will be served by the changes I have experienced and by the understandings, by the insights, that I have gained. I am also satisfied that life satisfaction, as it has been defined, provides for me a sound goal for all social work practice.

There appears to remain one important question that I have not yet addressed which concerns working with elders on the basis of the understanding that I have arrived at through this exploration. Many elders are not vitally involved in the world, do not have a clear sense of themselves as individual, are not strongly connected to others and do not have a sense of a life fully lived. What can be done? I believe that there are many things that can be done. The first thing that we can do is to deal with our own prejudices that we bring to our feelings and beliefs about being an elder. Only then can we value each elder as a

unique, worthy, valuable individual. That is important for being treated as a unique, valuable, individual tends to contradict the distress that keeps us stuck in disowning our uniqueness and our value. Being treated as being completely worthy, capable, and effective is the first step in being completely worthy, capable, and effective.

A further thing we can do is to share with each elder our optimism about the world and about people. The tenor of our times is to view the world in a despairing way. Sufficient purpose and meaning to support life can not be fabricated solely from despair. There is a difficulty for we can not share optimism about the world if we ourselves have not resolved our own issues concerning death, purpose, and meaning. Those who plan to offer themselves as helpers can only help when they are clearly aware of these issues in their lives.

We can also be prepared to hear the views and feelings of elders concerning the world knowing that their time lived has contributed, though this may not always be obvious, something special to their ability to view the world. Some elders need to be reminded that there are many things that need to be done in the world that they are best equipped to do. That they are needed and that their sharing and caring is important for all of us. With this the social stereotypes that paint elders as being less capable requires to be endlessly contradicted. It is difficult for many elders to

remain concerned and involved when no one seems to care what it is that they think or feel. We must model caring through genuinely caring what they think and feel.

Many elders often feel deprived of a real opportunity to contribute to the lives of others. This deprivation contributes to their sense of disengagement. When we work with elders we can help provide opportunity for them to be engaged, to be valuably connected. We can recognise and treat them as being whole, complete, mature, special individuals who have earned their specialness through the process of much experience, and that this is a valuable asset.

All interventions with elders must value the life of each and we must know that given the totality of his or her experience each has always done his or her very best and deserves nothing but praise.

This exploration has remained, for me, an exciting endeavour from the beginning to the end. I know that in many ways it has changed me. I sense that it has been a valuable part of my growth and I see that a move towards the resolution of some of my fundamental issues concerning life purpose and meaning has been for me the most meaningful part of the experience. There is little else that I can imagine doing that would have afforded me more challenge and more fun. The bonus to it all is that I believe that I have learned the things that set me on the task. I have gained

insights and been changed in ways that I know will continue to serve me.

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