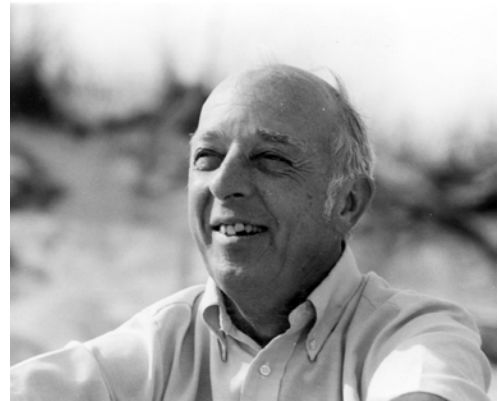


Joseph Church

- Born 7/10/1918 in Gardner, Massachusetts
- Spouse: Alexandria Zahariades
- B.A. in Psychology and Languages and Literature (1950) New School for Social Research, M.A. in Psychology (1951) Cornell University, Ph.D. in Psychology (1954) Clark University

Major Employment:

- Professor, Department of Psychology, Brooklyn College: 1965-1985
- Instructor-Professor, Department of Psychology, Vassar College: 1954-1965



Major Areas of Work:

- Cognitive development, language development

SRCD Affiliation:

- Editorial board of Child Development (1964-1968 and 1971-1975)

SRCD Oral History Interview

Joseph Church

Interviewed by Margery Franklin
November, 1993

Franklin: Joe, let's begin first with your family background.

Church: My father was an Army officer. He was the first Church to go to college. He went to Brown. My mother was a Providence girl. She got pregnant and they got married. My sister, who is ten years older than I am, was born shortly after that. Those apparently were hard times, back in 1909, 1910, the only work my father could find was for a furniture factory in Gardner, Massachusetts, owned by some relative or other. He worked there until the First World War came along. Meanwhile he and my mother had a second child, my brother, who was three years younger than my sister. Come the First World War, my father was made an officer because he was a college graduate. He went off to France and I was born while he was away at war, in July of 1918, so I never got to know my father until I was approximately a toddler. I'd always regarded my older brother as being my father. But my father decided to stay in the Army, having nothing better to do with himself which meant that we led a very peripatetic life of which I don't remember a great deal of the early years except that we lived at Fort Benning, Georgia, for a while. My first distinctive memories are of Kingston, Rhode Island, where my father was teaching at what is now the University of Rhode Island. It used to be Rhode Island State College. He spent a lot of his time being a Professor of Military Science and Tactics and at colleges and universities around the country.

Franklin: Was he still in the Army?

Church: He was still in the Army. From Narangasett we moved to Fort McKinley in Maine, which is on an island off of Portland, of which I have very fond memories, nostalgic memories. I've always wanted to go back and visit it again. I've never been able to do so. There are several specific memories, but one thing I remember there is that we had a Model "T" Ford and my Father used to sit me in his lap and allow me to steer the car around Big Diamond Island off the coast of Maine. I was taken, for some reason, for a bright student and my parents tried to start me in first grade at age five, back in

Narangasett. I was unable to learn to read, was, for all practical purposes, dyslexic, so they threw me out of the first grade. I was put back in school at age six and was immediately promoted to the second grade because by that time I had learned to read. Then, again, when we were living in Hawaii, I was skipped from the fifth grade to the sixth grade, which did not mean that I was a particularly brilliant student, because school always bored me, I never liked it. I never really understood what I was doing there or why I was there or anything of the sort. But I kept at it and eventually at age fifteen I graduated from high school in Cleveland, Ohio, where my father was the Military Advisor to the Ohio National Guard. My father wanted me to go to school and study architecture; I had shown some gift for drawing.

Franklin: Was that his idea of how you could turn drawing into a career?

Church: It was his idea of two things, of how I could turn drawing into a lifetime occupation. It was also a way to put me in school, because he thought I was too young to go to a regular college. So he thought a technical college somehow would be better suited to me. As it happened, I did not go to architecture school, I went to the Cleveland School of Art for a year. We then moved, my Father moved to a place outside of Baltimore, I went to Washington and attended art school there, the National School of Fine and Applied Arts. After that my father somehow got tired of supporting me. He and my mother had divorced when we were in Hawaii. I had come back to the mainland with my mother, had lived with various relatives. I finally rejoined my father in Cleveland when I was a junior in high school, simply because I refused to be an orphan anymore. In any case, this was 1938, there were no jobs to be had, I was 18 years old, so my father sent me to live with my older sister and her husband and her, at that time, three children, which I did until I was age twenty-one. I painted a lot. I looked for jobs, but never found one.

Franklin: Did you think of yourself as someone who was becoming a painter?

Church: The painting was what I did, I mean, I didn't think of it in terms of a career. Careers were outside my entire intellectual scope. I didn't know anybody with a career. My brother-in-law was an engineer at Westinghouse, but that was a job, it wasn't a career. And I had no particular thought for the future, I lived in the present, I enjoyed painting. Both the functioning and the abandoned steel mills and slag heaps and railroads and such that surrounded Pittsburgh where we were living were endlessly fascinating subjects for water colors and every now and then, when I visit a relative, I'd find one of these old water colors left from the good old days.

At age twenty-one, though, my father was putting the heat on me to do something with my life, so what I did was simply pack up and hit the road, a vagabond. It was not an unconscious thing. I knew in the back of my mind that I was heading back to my relatives in Providence and, after a spell on the road, I actually landed there and they found me a job on the New Haven Railroad starting at the very bottom. I was something that was called a lampman. It was my task to clean and oil switches, to clean signal lamps on the switches showing which way the switches were aligned, which meant taking scissors to trim the wick and making sure there were fresh wicks. It was a very dirty job, but my headquarters was in a signal tower where one controlled the flow of traffic through the Providence yards. During my tree time there, I learned to operate the signal tower and in due course I was hired as a signal station operator which was a terrible mistake. It was not that I was an incompetent signal station operator, simply that I was a daydreamer, absent minded. And trains sometimes would be standing there blowing their whistles, demanding passage while I was thinking of something totally irrelevant.

But I was rescued from this by the Second World War. I was drafted into the Second World War. My very first day at Fort Devens in Massachusetts I was put on garbage detail, which doesn't seem like a particularly significant thing, although it seemed totally suitable to me somehow. The only trouble was that they changed their mind about me while I was on garbage detail and I was supposed to be sent off to the Army Engineers somewhere, I think because I scored extremely high on mechanical intelligence, of which I have none. But on paper and pencil I can figure out the way gears work and pulleys work and levers work and all that sort of thing, and I scored reasonably well on the general classification tests.

There's no reason why I shouldn't have. It's the dullest stupidest thing I ever imagined. They have different arrangements of blocks and you're supposed to count blocks, including the ones that do not show in the structure and then this is an indication of your intellectual ability. They also have analogies and vocabulary and things of that sort, all very simple for me. But all I can remember is counting these stupid blocks and estimating how many blocks there were in the heap. But I think that my high score on the mechanical aptitude test marked me as a likely engineer, so I was supposed to go there except that I was on garbage detail, so they shipped me off instead to Louisiana where I became a member of the Airborne Infantry. The Airborne Infantry was a novel concept just being organized. There were two kinds of Airborne Infantry: parachutists and glider troopers. To become a parachutist you had to volunteer and one thing that I had learned very early in life growing up as an Army brat was that one never volunteered for anything. So I became a Glider Infantryman. I think that the organization to which I was eventually assigned was specifically designed not to go to war. I think it was an organization where they stored the children of influential families, went through all the motions of preparing them to be infantrymen. We flew in gliders, we lost quite a few people in glider collisions, crashes, things of that sort. But, our regiment had a peculiar history, it began as part of the, I think the 82nd Airborne Division, it became a part of the 82nd Airborne Division, and then became an autonomous regiment and at one point it was something called the 13th Airborne Brigade where we teamed up with another orphan regiment. We were collapsed into a single unit which meant that for a while there were two people for every position in the regiment, so that by that time I was a Master Sergeant Communications Chief and we had another Master Sergeant Communications Chief so we simply alternated. Sometimes it would be day by day or, if one of us wanted to take a week off or a month off, we could take it off and the other person would be the regimental Communications Chief. But we had a number of people from families whose names one would recognize. And I have a strong feeling that we were shunted aside to keep us from the rigors of active combat. For instance, we spent a whole year at an airbase in Nebraska. Why this was preparation for anything I cannot imagine.

Franklin: Do you think you were placed there because your father had been a longtime and faithful Army...?

Church: I suspect, yes. I suspect that my father may even have done some behind the scenes manipulating, but I never heard about it. In any case, we traveled from place to place, as I say, having no real identity, except as this autonomous regiment. I think we were the only autonomous regiment in the United States Army. But finally, during the Battle of the Bulge, the Army became very desperate for combat troops, so they put us on ships and sent us off to France. Luckily we got to France after the Battle of the Bulge was over. So we settled down in a little town called Sens, I think seventy miles south of Paris, with nothing special to do. Which meant that we did a lot of touring, you know, take three day passes to Paris or to Chartres or whatever. Once, maybe twice, we were actively mobilized, ready to go into combat and save the world for Democracy, but both times some other outfit took our objective before we got our gliders off the ground. Literally. So we never had to do any fighting. I got to know families in town so that we had mends. When the war ended for me, we had been sent to a school in charge of, we were supposed to learn sonar directional finding. The climax of graduation exercise was that we were all supposed to climb into an airplane, carrying our little sonar directional gadgets, jump out of the airplane, using a parachute of course, scan every which way and then find our way home with the sonar thing. I was not enthusiastic about the idea of jumping out of airplanes, as I said, I was free to volunteer for Paratroopers at earlier stages of my career, and yet here I was about to be drafted into the Paratroopers. The day before this exercise was to take place the war in Europe ended, so we reported to our little headquarters there in Chartres and somebody walked in and wrote on the blackboard "La guerre est finie! You will all report and get your passes to Paris". So we spent V-E night in Paris celebrating, and the following morning I got on the train and went back to our base in Sens. From there I took a furlough to England.

Franklin: Not bad.

Church: No, not bad. I was a Master Sergeant, I had a fairly decent income, I had nothing much to spend my money on, so a couple of us went to England, we went to a beach resort near Cornwall. It

was a very posh resort, and we just hung around. Then we came back to rejoin our outfit only to discover when we reached Paris that they were on their way back to the United States. So, instead of going back to Sens my friends went straight to one port -- I forget, Dieppe maybe -- and were packed onto liberty ships and sent back across the Atlantic with the eventual idea that we would go invade Japan.

Franklin: Oh, they weren't through?

Church: No, not with the war in the Pacific. This was in August, it was a beautiful trip across the ocean. Traveling on a freighter is great fun. When we went over, we went on a troopship, bunks piled twelve high and people jammed in like slaves on a slave ship. But, on a freighter you can sprawl out, you can sleep on deck, you could wander around and be at home. While we were in transit from France to New York, Hiroshima and Nagasaki happened, which brought a rather abrupt end to the Pacific War. So we went back from New York to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and just sat. Nobody quite knew what to do with us, as usual, except that we had spent a lot of time at Fort Bragg during our roughly three years of messing around, killing time, so once again we were on home territory. We felt very relaxed. I think our main occupation was playing poker or blackjack. My father at that time was living in Wilmington, North Carolina, he had retired from the Army on a disability pension -- he had a bad heart or something -- which was, I guess seventy-five miles away, so that I spent all my weekends at Wilmington visiting my father. He had a perpetual motion poker game going, he and his neighbors. My father was perfectly friendly then because I had an income from the Army. He wasn't worrying about the fact that I was sponging on him anymore. So we got along well. He married, he had married a woman with three children of her own and they had a child together so there was a family of four living there. But when the Army finally decided that they didn't really have any use for us anymore and shipped us off to our various points of origin, me back to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and demobilized us. And I went home to Providence, having no place else to go. I stayed there a couple of weeks, long enough to collect the Rhode Island bonus. Then I moved to New York City where I also collected a New York bonus for my military service and income from the GI Bill of Rights because my father had recommended this as a pretty good racket. It was a way to earn some money without having to work for it. You had to go to school but that was easy, I mean, it was boring but I never had any trouble passing courses or anything. I looked at all the available schools in and around New York, because I still had it in mind that I was going to be a painter.

Franklin: OK. That's what I was going to ask you, why you wanted to come to New York.

Church: I wanted to come to New York because that's where artists go.

Franklin: And where did you live when you first came to New York?

Church: Well, first let me get enrolled in the New School, which had no requirements whatsoever, it was an ideal setting for a bum like me. I lived originally on the border between Brighton Beach and Manhattan Beach. Housing was very hard to come by, especially housing that I could afford. So I shared a little seaside cottage with either two or three other families. Each one of us had a private bedroom, but we shared the bathroom and a kitchen. But since most of my classes were in the evening anyway, I pretty much had the place to myself, because these families would be away during the day and in the evening when they came home, I would take off. But something peculiar happened to me at the New School, I suddenly became interested in learning various things. I think it all began because I have always had, I can remember, a very strong interest in jazz, and jazz brought me in touch with black people, and being in touch with black people made me very much aware of prejudice, discrimination, things of this sort. It also made me aware that black people were human beings, which a lot of people seemed ready to deny, especially back in 1945. So I really became interested in the whole question of prejudice and how people become prejudiced. So I began taking sociology. And from there I moved to social psychology, because sociology didn't really seem to have the answers. And I learned a lot about the facts of prejudice, its culture and its details, how it was carried out. But, for me it was basically a psychological problem of "how can people manage to think this way?" Because, if they have any kind of

experience of living with black people, the kinds of things they believed about black people simply made no sense. And I think it occurred to me that people grew up prejudiced out of a process of lifelong indoctrination. Not always explicit, but, communicated in various ways. And this got me interested in the whole business of child development.

Franklin: Can I ask you a question?

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: Do you remember who you studied social psych with at the New School and did that make any difference?

Church: I studied it with Kimball Young, grandson of Brigham Young and with, well Gardner Murphy was between social and personality, but he was eventually my thesis advisor there. I studied psychology in general largely with members of the Gestalt School, some of the people you knew; Wolfgang Kohler, Hans Wallach, Mary Henle of course.

Franklin: Was Asch...?

Church: Asch was there, but for some reason we never met while I was at the New School.

Franklin: So, while you were at the New School you got interested in child development, because, even though that wasn't their particular area.

Church: No, but it was the idea of how people grew up and learned to assume identities and attitudes and values and things of that sort that really got me intrigued. And I fell in with Joe Stone.

Franklin: There?

Church: There. At the New School.

Franklin: I didn't know that.

Church: Yeah, and after a couple of courses with him, he pretty much adopted me and told me that instead of simply drawing the GI Bill, I ought to be getting credit for my studies and I ought to think seriously about getting degrees and credentials and things of that sort and maybe having a career in the field of psychology, which was a totally novel thing to me. Meanwhile, you understand, I got married. We lived very briefly in Brighton Beach, Manhattan Beach, but Alex couldn't stand the subway trip from there. Besides which, she went to Hunter College.

Franklin: That's what I was going to ask you.

Church: She was at Hunter and she had to take day courses. Which meant getting up early and riding in rush hour and things of that sort, which was not very agreeable to her. So through some mends of hers, we got first a basement apartment on 11th Street and then, after a year or so there, other mends of Alex's got us a very nice one room apartment on 17th Street just off Stuyvesant Square where we lived for the rest of our stay in New York. But meanwhile we got taking courses and the student advisor, Herman Eichner by name, also took an interest in me. He arranged that I would get, I think it was a year's credit for my art school experience, a year's academic credit for my military service, a year's credit for the courses I had taken on a non-credit basis at the New School, therefore my requirements for getting a BA degree at the New School consisted of taking credit courses for I think a year, maybe a year and a half. They didn't have any proper history courses so I had to go to NYU one summer and take a history course there. And I had to take a proficiency exam in French, which was no particular problem for me because I was quite fluent in French. And I had to take a Graduate Record Exam to demonstrate that I knew something about the world in general and psychology in particular. As a

matter of fact, I scored off the scale on the Graduate Record Exam, as though I had made it up myself. Back in those days it was very much under the influence of Hadley Cantri of Princeton. If you've read anything of Hadley Cantri, you know exactly--

Franklin: Yes, I do. But you had decided you wouldn't have been taking the graduate records then. You had obviously decided you were going on to graduate school.

Church: Yeah, but by 1950 I--

Franklin: And how did you decide where you wanted to go?

Church: Well, I actually wanted to go back to France and study there. In the summer of 1950 Alex and I did go back to France, I was going to go to the University of Poitiers, which looked like a nice place to live, but I suddenly realized that French psychology was quite radically different from American psychology and that even though there were some themes in common, they had a different tradition, different names. I had had a brief introduction to Piaget, but that was about as close as anyone had come to telling me about French psychologists. I decided that it wasn't worth the trouble of learning it all over again. In the years ahead, I did in fact read a great many French psychologists, but I wrote back to Joe Stone in something of a panic and said, "Look, here it's the summer of 1950, in a month or so classes are going to begin, can you get me into a graduate school?" So Joe Stone, an alumnus of Cornell, wrote to the people of Cornell and said, "I have this especially gifted student, I think it would be to your advantage to admit him." Cornell did in fact admit me so we got on a ship. We had to bribe our way onto the ship because there were no spaces available back in those days. And we settled at Cornell for a year. There I fell in with Robbie MacCleod. In a seminar of his, he put me to reading phenomenology because I read French and Merleau-Ponty had not yet been translated. And I was aware of one other thing, Cornell had a splendid program and I loved it for the same reasons that all the other students hated it. They too, had few formal requirements. They required that you pass your comprehensive exams, that you pass a language exam, that you write a dissertation, but they had no course requirements.

Franklin: I didn't know that.

Church: And everybody was going around in a panic, "What am I supposed to be doing with myself?"

Franklin: "What do I take now?"

Church: Yeah. I can remember people saying, "Read a book. There's a lab over there, go do an experiment. Whatever it may be, form a study group if you like." But this didn't bother me at all, because I had moved into the New School specifically because of it. I had no trouble finding things to read.

Franklin: But why did you decide not to--

Church: Well, the thing is that Cornell had one serious shortcoming, it did not offer developmental psychology. And reading Merleau-Ponty I was reading a great deal about developmental psychology with Jean Piaget on one hand and Heinz Werner on the other. And I asked around and it turned out that Heinz Werner taught at a place called Clark University. Which, in those days, incredible though it seems, was the only university that offered a Doctorate in Developmental Psychology, Genetic Psychology as we called it.

Franklin: Yes.

Church: So, I arranged to transfer to Clark. At the end of the first year I got a Master's Degree at Cornell, parted friends with everybody as far as I know. With Jimmy Gibson I had my first publication, he put me to work doing a review of motion pictures as a means of communication. The perception of

motion pictures, basically. This was a lot of fun, I wrote a rather extended essay on the subject and it got published.

Franklin: That's great.

Church: I think the Army or some military outfit published it.

Franklin: Well, he did a lot of, was funded--

Church: Yeah. So I don't think that there was any hostility involved in my leaving Cornell. In due course, when Robbie MacCleod retired, I was invited back to be one of the speakers at his retirement ceremony. Ever since then I've been getting things from Cornell, they want to know about what became of their Ph.D.s and I have to keep writing back and saying I never got a Ph.D. from Cornell. But, I went to Clark, which again, in those days was a place without any formal requirements.

Franklin: That's right.

Church: Language exam, comprehensive, dissertation. There was a third place, I think Johns Hopkins operated on the same principal, but these were the only three places which in this respect, again, Clark would be fine. I was pretty much on my own. I took a lot of clinical psychology because I really wanted to understand pathology. I didn't have any real notion to become a clinical psychologist, but for financial support, they assigned me to the Veterans Administration. And I worked for the VA during my three years at Clark. On the other hand, I found that I was at war with the clinical people there, John Bell, Fred Wyatt, I lost her name... the woman who went to Wellesley--

Franklin: Oh, I know who you mean but I can't -- Alpert?

Church: Yeah, Alpert. And the word was that they thought that I would be happier someplace else, because I had a way of talking up in class. And if I didn't agree with something that was being said I voiced my disagreement and tried to offer some substantial reason for--

Franklin: But you weren't on the Clinical Program?

Church: No, I was in the Developmental Program.

Franklin: But you were taking clinical courses and raising a lot of questions.

Church: Yeah, which apparently these people found very awkward, insubordinate to say the least. But before they got a chance to fire me out of Clark, I took my comprehensives and having passed my comprehensives with the greatest of ease, they had no grounds for firing me.

Franklin: Who else were graduate students then?

Church: Yeah, well, let's see... there was Bernie Meyers -- Bernie Meyers, Bernie Kaplan of course -- and Edith Kaplan, John Flavell and a lot of people in clinical, Howie Slepian, and what are the names...?

Franklin: No, but you were there when John Flavell was there?

Church: Yeah, he and I worked together in Boston VA. Bob Polio was there.

Franklin: A lot of those people were Veterans, like yourself weren't they?

Church: I think so, yeah.

Franklin: I mean people who had been in the Army and the war and had come back.

Church: Yeah, although I was the oldest of them, I was going on 35 by then and these others were fresh out of college. So I was an old man. Jan--

Franklin: Brule? Bruell?

Church: Bruell. He insisted on calling me Mr. Church, which made me feel very strange. But to some extent I was a misfit among these people because I was older. Even though a lot of them are our age, some of them had children, which we didn't at the time, but still regarded me as--

Franklin : You were sort of between the faculty and the rest of the students in age.

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: I'm sorry 'cause I may have interrupted you. You were saying you took your comprehensives.

Church: Yes, so that Heinz Werner called me in for a little lecture and told me I really ought to behave myself, that I could not take any more clinical courses but for economic reasons they would allow me to continue with the VA doing the clinical internship even though I was being ejected from the Clinical Program.

Franklin: So, it's the clinical people, that's what I was trying -- it's the clinical people you were being argumentative and they were actually not used to that, as I know myself.

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: I only took the one clinical course.

Church: Thelma Alpert, as a ploy suggested that I take another Master's Degree to prove that I was up to Clark standards. That this was apparently a delaying tactic to throw me off balance and get me maybe to quit and get the hell out of there. It turned out that in later years, Thelma Alpert and I became good friends and she even invited me up to Wellesley once to see if I'd be interested in a job there, which turned out to be totally unsuited to me. In any case I hung on, did a dissertation with Werner, which he hated.

Franklin: Really?

Church: Yeah, and he tried to make Bernie Kaplan his surrogate supervisor, thinking Bernie and I had such a tremendous case of sibling rivalry that we could hardly communicate. Sy Wapner was on my committee but he said he didn't really understand the point of what I was doing so if the other people approved, he'd approve it too.

Franklin: And what was it?

Church: This was children's' resolution of verbal contradictions.

Franklin: Oh.

Church: What I did was collect a bunch of proverbs that contradicted each other, give them to kids to define and say, "Look, these proverbs seem to say opposite things, how could both of them make sense?" And they'd do this and then I got a nice developmental progression in how children reconcile these proverbs. Starting usually with a discussion they would simply lump them together and make them into a single idea. In the end they could say, "Well, this applies in thus and such circumstances

and this applies in thus and such, different circumstances." They don't really contradict each other, they just seem to. If you think they are universal statements, then they are contradictory but each one has a limited domain of application.

Franklin: It sounds to me like the kind of work that Werner would have appreciated extremely.

Church: Well, I had submitted an array of possible topics and this is the one that he chose. It was partly a stylistic matter, something that I've had trouble with during my entire career. When I handed in the first draft of my thesis he said, "It sounds like a blend of French philosophy and the New Yorker magazine. You're going to have to change that." They could not stand things written in English.

Franklin: Yeah, that's certainly true. That wasn't just Clark, though, Joe, that's not just Clark.

Church: No, it wasn't just Clark. I remember Joe Stone telling me about somebody at Cornell, I think it was Madison Bentley, who submitted a dissertation and whoever was the chairman in those days said, "That's a fine job, now go muddy it up some." I can never see the point of writing obscurely when I can write simply and directly and to the point, and I kept submitting, in effect, the same dissertation to Werner, but he was sick at that time, I used to have to go up and see him in his sick bed, and I think I simply wore him down. He couldn't be bothered anymore, so he approved the thing, Bernie had to approve it since Heinz had and Sy had already said that he would accept the judgment of the other people, so they got me the hell out of there. I think they were extremely relieved to see me go, because I caused nothing but trouble, including the fact that I liked to write in English. This was intolerable to them.

Franklin: I did have to say, though, when I came to Clark, hot on your heels in '54, and when they mentioned graduates, they always referred to you with the greatest respect.

Church: Well, I may have scared them.

Franklin: I don't know but, I mean the impression I had of you before I ever met you, and I met you when you came back there for something, is very different. I mean it's just interesting to me that as a young graduate student I remember hearing you and your work referred to with, you know, I don't mean awe because they were your teachers, but with respect as if you had in fact been a very highly regarded student.

Church: Well, I was awfully smart, you know, and Heinz would bring up some esoteric, philosophical problem in class and I would know the answer, or he would introduce some mathematics other people didn't know about and I would know the answer, or if he had a question in physiology I would know the name of a muscle that would move the eyeball or something of this sort. And everybody was very much impressed with this, it was all crap, but--

Franklin: I wouldn't say that.

Church: But, I knew a lot, you see. Partly because I read, retained things, I was interested in things. I never applied any of my knowledge of anatomy and physiology, but at least I felt I got to know it once, even if I then went about forgetting it. One of the hostile people, as I think I've said, was Fred Wyatt.

Franklin: Yes.

Church: Both he and John Bell, I think, were eased out of their jobs. Fred Wyatt went to the University of Michigan. Some years later, his daughter became a student at Vassar and Fred Wyatt came back to pay a visit to his daughter and he said as long as he was at Vassar he certainly wanted to come pay a visit to the renowned Joseph Church. And he came into my office and we shot the breeze for a while and it finally dawned on me that Fred Wyatt had no recollection of ever having known me. Which, in fact, turned out to be the case and he was rather appalled when I reminded him that he had once

obliged me to come out to the Framingham VA Hospital where he had his office while he tried to get me to resign from Clark University. He had no recollection.

Franklin: Some things are conveniently forgotten.

Church: But, in any case, Joe Stone was waiting with a job for me. He and I had stayed friends all this time. And as soon as I finished, we packed up and moved from Worcester to Poughkeepsie. That's where we became parents and settled down for a nice, cozy life. Joe Stone and I wrote *Childhood and Adolescence* together. Our friend Charles Lieber was the person who first proposed this to us.

Franklin: You mean *Childhood and Adolescence*?

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: I didn't know that. Can we talk a little about that? The origins and the evolution of that book?

Church: Yeah, well, Charles had known Joe Stone and he was a fellow student of mine at the New School.

Franklin: I didn't know that.

Church: You know, we took courses together, we took math together and things like that. The first time we ever really became friends Alex and I were on a platform at the Long Island Railroad, we were going out to Babylon to take the ferry to Fire Island to go to the beach, and on the other side of the platform was Charles Lieber, waiting for the train to Long Beach, which was where he used to go to the beach. We got talking while we were waiting for our trains. That was the first we ever really became close and then after that we were really quite close friends. You know, we visited back and forth. Charles had a wife and a stepson. But when Joe Stone and I were together at Vassar, Joe was still teaching at the New School on Friday evenings, so one Friday evening Charles said, "After Joe's class, let's get together at Longchamps."

Franklin: Yeah, I remember, yeah. Where the Lone Star Café--

Church: What? No, that's Harlow's Drugstore.

Franklin: Yeah, anyhow, Longchamps, yes.

Church: He and Joe Stone and I had dinner together at Longchamps and he said, "Look, Joe Stone, you have an obvious command of the field of child development, Joe Church is obviously a very literate person who has studied with you and also seems to know a little something about child psychology, developmental psychology, I think you two people should write a book. And I, as an Editor at Random House--"

Franklin: Which he was by then.

Church: Which he was at that time -- "would be very glad to publish a book by you two people." So we said, "OK, yes, we will do it," you know, having been wined and dined at Random House's expense and Longchamps actually was always a very good restaurant, I don't know why it finally fell out of fashion.

Franklin: I don't know.

Church: They had first-class food that was relatively inexpensive.

Franklin: And it was a vintage Art-Deco interior decoration that people now would give their eye

teeth for.

Church: So, from that moment on we settled down to business, you know, we would write drafts, pass them back and forth, criticize them, and it was my task to put them into final literary form because I was the literary member of the team. But it was a pretty thorough collaboration, you know. Obviously I had a lot to draw on that I had gotten directly from Joe Stone to begin with. I had studied with him a solid year at the New School, had worked for him, in fact I did my Master's thesis under Joe Stone.

Franklin: Oh, I didn't know that.

Church: Yeah. It was on the psychology of deaf children. He was engaged in a long-term project on deafness. And I had written my Master's thesis on intellectual development of deaf children. So we had been working together--

Franklin: But, I mean, some collaborations, all collaborations have some problems, some are really fraught. This sounds as if it was a very natural, easy, productive collaboration.

Church: By and large, yes. There were times when we weren't speaking to each other, there were times I threatened to quit my job and go find a studio in New York and resume painting or something of the sort. There were times when it was touch and go whether we'd still be on speaking terms the next day, but we managed to work things out and Charles actually was a very effective mediator. If he saw that things were getting just too explosive he would come up to Poughkeepsie and sit down with us, take us out to dinner of course.

Franklin: It wasn't Longchamps but--

Church: It wasn't Longchamps but he would find us a lobster dinner and ply us with alcohol and gently get us in a much more congenial frame of mind so we could go back and say, "All right, let's shake hands," and whatever the rituals are by which you reestablish friendship.

Franklin: How long did, do you remember how long it took to--

Church: Well, we started, this was in 1954 and the book actually came out in 1957.

Franklin: So that's fast.

Church: Yeah, there was a lot of a lag, at least a year.

Franklin: Sure, at least a year for publication, right that's what I mean. So it was about two years in the writing or less.

Church: Yeah. The thing is that Charles' superiors at Random House were not nearly as enthusiastic about this project as he was. Jess Stein, who was the head of the department and the editor of the Random House Dictionary and various such things decided that this was not really a very good venture. For one thing it was not a very "textbookish" textbook.

Franklin: Highly readable.

Church: It was written in cursive English, which was not at all what was being done.

Franklin: No. But that's one of the reasons it became so, took over the field.

Church: But Jess said as long as we had a contract we may as well publish the blasted thing, so Random House printed up 3,500 copies of the book. And Charles, as a promotional device, started mailing out copies of this book to prospective adopters. He sent out 2,000 copies of the 3,500 that were printed.

Franklin: Leaving very few to sell.

Church: And Jess was tearing what little hair he had out of his head, my God, first of all we have this crummy book we shouldn't be publishing at all and now he insists on giving away 2,000 copies of it. And then the orders started pouring in and they had no books to sell.

Franklin: I didn't know this part of the story, Joe.

Church: Yeah, so there was a tremendous demand and they had to rush back and print the God-damned book on an emergency basis. Before they'd been so reluctant. We had problems, we had some pictures of pre-natal development and we couldn't get any original glossy prints so we took pictures out of a text book. We got permission from the author, but the author said, "I have no idea where my originals are and if you can use the things in the text book, fine." Jess says, "These will never reproduce." And I said, "For God's sakes can't you get somebody to run off at least one photocopy and see how it works?" Because the original reproduction was very good and they were very carefully photographed. And he said, "Nah, we can never do that. You must have these printers who are eternally in your debt, you know, they'd do anything to keep your business. We can't do that." So we just took a chance and printed the God-damned book with these photographs of halftone reproductions and it worked. But we never knew that it was going to work until we actually did it. Jess was always worried about the Benday effect of things that can turn up in these half-tone reproductions of half-tones. But once, in fact, the book began selling, then Random House realized finally that they had something worth publishing on their hands. Then they kept nagging us for years to revise it, but I think something like ten years went by before--

Franklin: Was it that long?

Church: Yeah. Before we ever got around to it because there were other things to be done. If you want a list of the things that I've published--

Franklin: Yeah.

Church: There's a nearly complete one at the end of my condensed vita stuff.

Franklin: Right.

Church: But we were trying, I was trying, I think Henrietta Smith and I were trying to get Vassar students to think of themselves not as conventional women occupying conventional roles, but to think of themselves as prospective graduate students, doctoral candidates, the teachers themselves, the researchers themselves, it was not easy, as you can see. I had one success, Claudia Richardson and I actually published a paper "Children's Interpretation of Proverbs," which was a spin-off of my dissertation. Henrietta and a student published a paper on differences between Japanese and American child rearing techniques. We got a couple of people off to graduate school, Ellin Kofsky and June Baker, both of them ended up at Rochester where they were working with John Flavell. Interestingly, Clark would not accept any of our students, even the obviously gifted ones like Ellin Kofsky and June Baker. I used to raise hell with Sy Wapner about the fact that Clark would not take any of our students.

Franklin: They did that, yeah. I had a similar experience, later. Their loss.

Church: But we did, at least in a few cases, get people to break out of their conventional marriage, school teacher--

Franklin: Can I ask you a question? One of the things that interested me about Vassar, was that Vassar as a school had a reputation for being very much on the forefront of a kind of feminist standpoint early on in the 20's and 30's. In the 50's and 60's, there was this sort of attitude or

stance that you're talking about. Would you say it was the more prevalent--

Church: Overwhelmingly. Yeah, I remember being part of a freshmen introduction, whatever--

Franklin: Introduction to College.

Church: Introduction to College. And the theme that emerged freshman after freshman was, "It is my duty to master the culture so that I can transmit it to my children." So, at one point I raised the question, "Hasn't it ever occurred to you that you might be the makers of culture?" "What's this guy talking about?" It just was so alien to them, it made no sense to them at all. When the Vietnam War became a big issue and there was a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society on campus -- I think there were three or four members of it -- it was hardly what you would call a revolutionary, radical atmosphere. There was great resistance. I remember when you and I were both teaching this language course I had one student, I was totally unaware of her until I got her term paper and her final exam, when I realized this was an enormously gifted student. Why the hell hadn't I discovered her before? But she had just sat there during the whole semester with her mouth shut, I had no indication that this was a brilliant person. She graduated and vanished before I ever really got the chance to know her. And it was heartbreaking to see something like this happen. You know, I would have loved to get to know this student as a freshman and work with her. Like one of the few cases I remember was a student who brought me a short story that she had written. She said that "now that I've taken your course, I realize how different the world looks to children and I thought I would write a story."

Franklin: How wonderful.

Church: It was a beautiful story. So here was somebody I was all prepared to adopt, to take to my bosom and such and she said, "I don't like it here at Vassar, I'm transferring to the University of Missouri. Good-bye." So, it was frustrating. It was frustrating, too because I was never a very good teacher, I think. Sometimes I would give a brilliant lecture, but other times I would hem and haw, I would forget what I was talking about. I remember one of my colleagues in the Philosophy Department that had been a student of Wittgenstein said that Wittgenstein would sit there and stare off into space for maybe 15 minutes everybody waiting, pencils poised to write down the words of wisdom when they came. Then he would clear his throat and say, "Nevertheless" and then lapse back into a coma. Well, that's the kind of teacher I was really. Once in a while, as I say, I would turn in a brilliant performance, but it was a fluke. Most of the time I simply limped along as best I could.

Franklin: Well maybe you're describing yourself perhaps too harshly in lecture, but I taught a seminar with you, I co-taught a seminar with you in language and cognition and in seminar you certainly weren't like that. You were a great seminar teacher.

Church: Well, there it's more relaxed and unstructured and there's room for improvisation.

Franklin: Yes. Yeah. It's a very different kind of teaching.

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: And you enjoyed it more.

Church: Oh I certainly enjoyed that kind of thing much more.

Franklin: Can I, I don't want to interrupt you but--

Church: Oh, go ahead.

Franklin: I want to ask you about, I mean I know that you, after you did *Childhood and Adolescence* with Joe Stone and you were publishing and doing research and working with students and

teaching, but you also must have started very soon in there working on *Language and the Discovery of Reality*.

Church: Yeah, because language was my real enthusiasm, or at least it had become so. I had not lost my feelings about discrimination, prejudice and things of that sort but I thought that I had a general idea of how it operated. I was much more interested now in culture and anthropological psychology and developmental anthropological psychology which never really existed, but I saw language as one of the central themes to be grabbed hold of, so I started almost immediately, yes, writing *Language and the Discovery of Reality*. I didn't know that was what it was going to be called, but I wanted to write a book on language development. And I did. So this was my main occupation for a couple of years. I remember an aunt of mine died, so I had to go up to Tiverton, Rhode Island, for her funeral and my brother and sister and various other people were there and they said, "As long as we're all here together, let's go to Providence and visit our relatives." And I said, "I can't do it. Tomorrow's Saturday and it's a working day, I gotta write." So I climbed in my car and drove through a tremendous rain storm back to Poughkeepsie, so I could be on deck the next day and start grinding out manuscript strokes.

Franklin: And that was published in the mid-60's?

Church: Early 1961.

Franklin: Oh.

Church: Again, Random House had a very low opinion of -- yeah, I have the letters on file from people who read it and said, "This book will never amount to anything, I think we should quietly just drop the project."

Franklin: Well, I mean I would say -- well I was going to ask you what would you think their questions or reservations were? I think it went against what was then the very dominant mainstream. I mean that that's the difficulty people had with it. It wasn't just that it was written in English, it had a point of view.

Church: Yeah, well the only real point of view that existed in psychology back in those days was the Skinnerian point of view. Chomsky was just beginning to emerge. He had written that devastating review of Skinner's verbal behavior which I think I cited in the book. Roger Brown was active in those days. I think that he made a real contribution in making people aware that grammar was a component, it wasn't strictly a matter of vocabulary. You didn't just learn a bunch of words and sort of piece them together item by item as you spoke or wrote. But Roger Brown is a nice guy, he's a dilettante. If I had realized what a menace to civilization Chomsky was, I either would have written an enunciation of it or maybe even hired a hit man to go out and remove him from the scene 'cause I really think that he had--

Franklin: Would you mind elaborating, could we take a little excursion here, yes, would you mind elaborating? In what way?

Church: He has taken a totally reductionistic approach to language as though there were all these little built-in mechanisms which processed words although there was nowhere any system for anyone to have any idea of where he is going with the statement. It happens one step at a time and some of the Chomsky analyses of how you get from the beginning of a sentence to the end are fascinating studies in schizophrenic reasoning as far as I'm concerned. As a little sample of the surveys, an array of choices: should this be the accusative or should this be the nominative or the dative or whatever, should it be past tense or present tense or future tense. There seems to be no provision made for either the verbal context in which people talk or write, or the situational context in which people talk or write. It's all as though it'd been all programmed in advanced. And Chomsky at times has said so. He has said that, in effect, there are no remarkable individual differences in languages usage which, to anybody who had ever given a vocabulary test, is about as preposterous a statement as you can make. But I think he offers a kind of security, a kind of clarity that people flock to because people are scared to death of

ambiguity of not absolutely knowing everything. If you offer a dogma, people will flock to it, and people did. At one conference, I denounced Chomsky as a racist, because his biological theory of linguistic development didn't allow for any cultural or social-emotional influences on this. It was built-in and, if anything, it may have undergone some maturational changes in the course of development, but there was no room for learning. And I would judge some by the things that Chomsky has written that his idea of learning is strictly limited to Skinnerian conditioning. It has never occurred to him that there are other kinds of learning.

Franklin : You mean so that when he argues--

Church: --about what he's still arguing against Skinners' concept of operant conditioning.

Franklin: Yeah. I think he would argue against the idea that his theory involves or leads to racist -- because it's universalistic. That's the whole idea.

Church: But then if he denies--

Franklin: But the manifest differences don't matter. It can show the two different forms of English. You know, the deep and surface structures are different--

Church: He can do this, perhaps, in terms of structure, he can find deep structure equivalencies across statements, even if they aren't equivalent. But it doesn't seem to occur to him to wonder about what people say. And of course the end product is so profoundly different from one person to the next or the representative of one cultural group to the next.

Franklin: So you spoke against him. Did you in fact write the rebuttal that's--

Church: Yes. That part got censored out of the published version of the lecture. That was the one from the British symposium in 1968 mentioned in your paper. No, but in a book called *The Ontogeny of Vertebrate Behavior*, a book Howard Moltz published, I write a chapter called "The Ontogeny of Language", and in there I assault him, Chomsky. And the reviewers asked, "What's the big idea, Church? Assaulting Chomsky? They really are soulmates. Why in the world should Church assault Chomsky?" So, it was just a waste of breath, but they thought it was some quirk on my part that I would turn against this guy or again maybe a case of sibling rivalry. He was one of the most respected competitors for renown--

Franklin: What year was that, though? I mean I know that chapter, but I can't recall it.

Church: It was -- the actual -- it should be listed there, 1969 thereabouts. Oh, here it is, 1971 it was published.

Franklin: So it was written in '68 or '69?

Church: Yeah.

Franklin: But that's, part of it is when it was published. I mean that as it was early. It was before the critiques against Chomsky started to mount.

Church: It could well be but I said that if he denies differences, if he has no way to account for differences, if differences actually exist, then they have to be biological differences. There's no alternative because he doesn't have any theory of learning. And it struck me as slightly preposterous when he and Piaget eventually had a debate -- and this apparently was a total fiasco -- and what nobody seemed to realize is that Chomsky and Piaget were espousing essentially the same view, but Piaget had the added component of maturation.

Franklin: Yeah.

Church: But there was no -- totally biologicistic. There's no room in Piaget for learning.

Franklin: Well, he wouldn't agree with that though, Joe. I mean--

Church: He wouldn't agree with it -- the finding where he makes some use of the concept of learning. Shortly before he died he wrote a paper, it's in some collection, where he conceded significance to learning. But he never -- as to being incorporated into this view. This book, I think it was in 1959 it was published, *The Growth of Logical Thinking*, I wrote a review of that, and I pointed out that in the index of this book, the word "learning" did not occur. The sequel, which actually dealt with an earlier stage of cognitive development, actually did have a section on learning, but it felt as though he had read my review and decided, "uh-oh, maybe I better say something on the subject of learning". And he stuck it in, but it was not integral. It's as though nobody ever really has a new idea. If it's a new idea, it's because it's been there all along but the right releaser mechanism hadn't come along to make it manifest. It's as though human beings, well, in effect it's a revival of the doctrine of innate knowledge or innate ideas.

Franklin: Well, that would surely fit Chomsky I know.

Church: It would certainly fit Chomsky but it also fits Piaget because there's no room anywhere that I can see, certainly not in his theory of education, for anybody to put anything new into the person, any new or novel way of looking at things. It's as though knowledge as it exists in the academy they say, all the stuff that goes into acquiring a Baccalaureate in France or Switzerland, this is the sum total of human ideation and knowledge and this is the normal process of maturation. Now, what Piaget does have room for is deprivation. That if people are not exposed to the proper stimuli, then these normal maturational processes will not take place and there will be deficiencies in the person's cognitive functioning. Again, this came as a shock to him in *The Growth of Logical Thinking*, but he suddenly discovered that lower-class high school kids didn't know the same things that upper-class high school kids knew. How is this possible that the same age took them through the same maturational processes? But I think he realized that something had gotten left out of the poor kids' education. It never occurred to him that anything extra had been put into the rich kids' education.

Franklin: I just don't see, I don't see Piaget that way. I mean, it seems to me the whole mechanism of the assimilation is designed to, I mean, that is the mechanism that would be called upon to account for how people take in -- how they learn.

Church: Yeah, but you're talking about accommodation rather than assimilation. Assimilation--

Franklin: Well assimilation and accommodation, I mean that if their schemata are formed in the process of -- accommodation accounts for change, but--

Church: Yeah, but -- normal progression of -- which leads to a Baccalaureate and then we have the abnormal pattern which is a product of deprivation. But there's no room here for novelty, for creativity, for imagination or find me a place where Piaget talks about imagination.

Franklin: No, there's nothing about imagination. No, I'm not defending--

Church: Yeah, OK I--

Franklin: I just think that assimilation and accommodation are what most people would call learning, but not with what most of us would call imagination.

Church: No, but I think you'll find that Piaget is locked into a system of belief that really has no room for knowledge or for paradigm shifts. I think Piaget would be very much upset if he encountered a

paradigm shift.

Franklin: Yes. Yes, I agree with that. Things have to be orderly, yes.

Church: There's a right way to think and there's a wrong way.

Franklin: Right. Absolutely.

Church: I never wasted a lot of time attacking Piaget or -- I was much more concerned with Chomsky because he was in my field which was language. Again, with Piaget, language just seems to be something incidental, as attached to the schemata and comes out at the right time, when you put the schemata into action, then I guess it becomes a scheme, I don't know. I lost track of a lot of this. But for me, I am totally intrigued by linguistic differences and the fact that some people do in fact use language creatively and imaginatively and playfully. But of course, again, the followers of Piaget and Chomsky have no sense of humor. You can't imagine them having a belly laugh. Whereas the children I knew always delighted in playing with language and trying new silly ideas and silly sound patterns, whatever it might be. Now, then through the use of silly sounds, they would discover a new word or a new idea or new combinations of ideas, but it would lead to a novel way of thinking. But as far as I can see from Piaget, it's only that as you give the child the appropriate stimulation at the appropriate age, then these things will take place, accommodation or call it what you will, the schemata will form and the child will progress normally. But, just between us, these aren't very interesting children. These are stodgy Swiss kids who have to consult their Swiss-made watches every 15 minutes and at a specified hour they're allowed one chunk of chocolate. They drink a lot of milk and yodel a lot.

Franklin: I don't know about the yodeling. I'm not sure that, that may be too deviant. Can I, I just, before we come to some of these questions, I know that -- I think that this must have been the mid-60's when you did the *Three Babies* book? And that was--

Church: 1966 it was published.

Franklin: Yes, but its exact title is *Three Babies: Biographies of Cognitive Development*. What gave you the idea, the impetus, how did you do it with the women who kept the diaries, your students?

Church: Well, originally I wanted this to be a large scale project, and I wanted an image of how babies, in general, develop, because people hadn't paid that much attention to the early years. There were a lot of baby biographies, but they didn't contain much interesting information. Whereas, having had a couple of babies of my own, having spent a lot of time discussing practical issues and playing around and horsing around and things of this sort, I realized that babies are very interesting creatures, in that they learned a tremendous, a lot very fast and even when they were being stupid, they were being stupid in an intelligent kind of way that indicated that they weren't taking things at face value, they were thinking about them and trying to formulate them and make sense of them. So, what I thought was, give them a kind of rough outline of the sorts of things I was looking for and have them keep records of the babies, again, with the help of, each one would have a tape recorder so they could simply dictate things as they went along, they could be doing the laundry and talking at the same time or preparing dinner or feeding the baby for that matter. They could record the baby's first utterances and babbles and things of this sort. Turned out this was an enormously difficult job. I don't know how many of them tried to do it for me. Mothers were easily available because I had Vassar students. Huge numbers of them sent me piles and piles of documents.

Franklin: Oh, they did? I didn't know that.

Church: Yes. Pure garbage. They were fascinated with the most superficial, least interesting things: "Today he said, 'ga-ga'", or "He smiled for the first time", or "He's got two teeth now". All the standard stuff that you would find in Gesell.

Franklin: In spite of the fact that you'd given them instructions or guidelines.

Church: Yeah, I told them to read Stone & Church as a general guide. We have more on infancy than I think any other textbook has. But anyway, out of this whole mass of material that came pouring in, I could salvage three records that seemed to suit my purposes, that seemed to tell the kinds of things about babies that I was eager to have people be aware of. Those were the three that formed the background. And I'm still in rather remote touch with one of the babies, although the other two, one's moved to New Zealand, so I don't find it easy to stay in contact with her family, and one family, the wife and husband broke up so the wife went her own way. When I went to Cleveland a few years ago, I tried to look her up, nobody knew what had become of her so--

Franklin: That was that.

Church: Although, what never occurred to me was going to the royalty office at Random House, because these people get a share of the royalties from the book.

Franklin: So they probably have their address.

Church: They may still even have their address, although it may go to old addresses and get forwarded from one post office to another until it lands in New Zealand or wherever. Or the sums may be so trivial, after all the book's out of print now. It went into a hardcover permanent kind of Library Edition, but it's selling something on the order of 35 copies a year so I don't think anybody was going to get rich off it, they finally sold their remainders to me and I still have shelves full of these books.

Franklin: You do! That's good to know. I have one, but I might be able to use a couple more.

Church: The thing was, it didn't work out. It was meant to be a major research program and it ended up with three case studies, and I'm not sure that these were in any way representative babies. But at least they are not grossly abnormal babies. I remember the review in *Child Development Abstracts*. It was extremely hostile, because these were all upper class--

Franklin: Even at that time?

Church: Even at that time. Why hadn't I gone out and gotten really representative babies? A cross section of babies? If only this stupid reviewer had known how hard I tried, and how futile it turned out to be because mothers, especially poor mothers, just don't have time to pay attention to these notes.

Franklin: No. And if they pay attention, I mean, right, and if they were good they'd give their first attention to the kid and not to the notes.

Church: Yeah. And also, again, you really have to have some background in the field simply to grasp the conceptual system that's at work here. The meaning of these things just doesn't penetrate to most people. Which is part -- most people live very happily with their kids and don't really know them. Even though I've had strong theoretical interest throughout, philosophical interest as much as psychological, I have always been very much concerned with the applications of knowledge to practical issues in rearing children. Whether it be in the family, in the school, in the community, whatever it may be.

Franklin: Well, and you see the, I mean, is that how you think of the *Three Babies* book? And then I was going to ask you about this other book that you published.

Church: I was thinking of the *Three Babies* book more in terms of a kind of narrative study taking your average -- maybe above average economically -- family setting and see what happens to a baby from the time it comes home from the hospital until it gets to be two or three years old. Age two was the official stopping point, but in fact, one of our babies got to be three before its mother called it quits. But this at least gives you a good introduction to the beginnings of language and of thinking and

reasoning and of taking stock of yourself, developing self-awareness. This is a remark of Ruth's: "Sometimes you're proud of me and sometimes you're not. Sometimes I'm proud of myself" This is a very insightful thing for a two year old to be saying.

Franklin: Very, indeed.

Church: And it's not the kind of thing that most people even notice, although I'm sure almost all two year olds somewhere along the way say something comparable.

Franklin: Yes. But I think it is the fact that it is the case studies, that is case studies, that all the texture is there that has made the book so useful. I mean, it has been very widely used as a text for the students as well as professionals.

Church: Yeah. I'm trying to think of the names of the authors of a textbook who declared it an "American classic", but again, it was a book that got nothing but hostile review. The other day I was having lunch with Joe, my son, and he was talking about his boss the composer of the rock opera *Tommy* and how he had written a new piece of music that was published and produced in London and got terrible reviews. It broke his heart. He was just crushed by that and he said, "Did you ever get bad reviews?" And I said, "I never got anything but." And it's true.

Franklin: I didn't realize that.

Church: I don't think I ever got a decent review in my life. (Correction: The New York Times Magazine gave a most favorable account of *Three Babies*.)

Franklin: But it doesn't seem to have interfered with your work being disseminated and sold, interestingly enough.

Church: No, apparently not. There was always somebody who didn't read the reviews or was inclined to ignore them. Somebody went and read the books and the articles I have written anyway.

Franklin: In line with what you were saying about being interested and concerned with applications, you did another book subsequently--

Church: Yeah, *Understanding Your Child from Birth to Three*. This was not a book that I wrote spontaneously, this was a book that was requested by Random House. They asked if I would write this book. Again, this book got good reviews because Random House wrote the reviews and sent them out as a press release.

Franklin: I didn't know you could do that.

Church: It turned out that outside of the New York Times Book Review and the Washington Post Book Review, maybe a few readers of the Los Angeles Times, almost all book reviews that get published in American newspapers were press release.

Franklin: Interesting.

Church: It may be slightly modified by the person who puts his or her by-line on it.

Franklin: I did not know that.

Church: But the enterprising publisher supplies people with the reviews, it spares them a lot of trouble writing.

Franklin: Did you find after you, did you enjoy -- I mean, I know the book was requested, not

spontaneously initiated, but once you were in the project--

Church: Yeah, it was something that I could do very quickly, off the top of my head. I don't consider it profound work, anyway. The thing is, again, it was a flop as in its original issue because it didn't have the gadgets, you know, everybody's teaching parent effectiveness training, this kind of thing, that kind of thing, there were no gadgets. It was simply, here's what kids are like and there's a sensible way to go about dealing with them. But no gimmicks, and no program or anything of that sort and no writing in for supplementary guides to this or that or the other, you know, toilet training for your child or your child's introduction to sex, or whatever it may be. It was simply a largely factual account of what kids are and what kinds of things make sense in dealing with them. In paperback, though, it took off. It sold very well as a Pocket Book.

Franklin: Great. Well, that's the form in which it really gets active--

Church: Yeah, and in general, I'm very sympathetic to paperback publishing, even though you take a beating with the royalties, but for dissemination of ideas, this is a much better medium than hardback.

Franklin: Joe, you were saying that after publication of *Language and the Discovery of Reality* you became involved in the field, very actively, of language and communication.

Church: Yeah. I got invited around a great deal and mingled with some fairly important people. I think that London symposium I was invited by mistake. I think they really wanted Russell Church, although why they wanted him for a symposium on language I'm not sure, but, they were a little surprised when I -- and I didn't really fit in.

Franklin: Who were the other people on that symposium?

Church: Let's see, Tom Bever was there, what I remember was -- who's the guy who discovered the -- Peter Medawar's wife was there and his daughter was there and I fell madly in love with both of them. I've forgotten, we could dig it out easily enough from the book that was published. Dell Hymes, Susan Ervin-Tripp, Courtney Cazden, Ursula Bellugi, an Israeli I.M. Schlesinger, Jacques -- a Frenchman, who's actually a very bright guy and I think really taught me more about Piaget than I ever learned before because he made it clear to me -- Jacques Mehler and a lot of others. Mehler was the one who made it clear to me that Piaget was very much a Cartesian rationalist, so that, in fact, if you wanted to understand something, you thought about it. You didn't really investigate it, but reason eventually would give you the answer to everything. And this really is why Piaget could not break out of his standard ways of thinking. Because he had so much faith in the rationalist tradition, that he could never say, "Well, let's just poke around and see what the hell happens, it might turn out to be something surprising and interesting."

Franklin: Yeah. Absolutely.

Church: And I remember a language thing at the University of Missouri at Kansas City where all kinds of major names in the field of communication turned up. I can dig it out from the publications that followed, but the names have gone. People would drive me into the boundaries between communication and education, for instance, which is a pretty good mesh when you stop to think about it. So for a good period, I spent a lot of time on the road giving lectures on various topics having to do with communication, with intellect, with imagination, with education, things of that sort. Including, I once followed the Bank Street conference, Innovations and Excellence I think it was called. Your mother got me involved in that if I remember correctly.

Franklin: Could very well be. Referring to Barbara Biber. And when did you leave Vassar? What year was that? What's the history?

Church: Well, in 1963 I took a leave from Vassar, because Vassar doesn't have sabbaticals, or didn't

have sabbaticals in those days, they'd give you faculty leave if you had some project you wanted to work on. And I was doing research on early infancy which eventually produced this *Techniques for the Differential Study or Cognition in Early Childhood*, I did research in well-baby clinics, which is some of the spin-off from *Three Babies*, I was trying to formalize it. I never finished, but at least I published guides that other people could use that gave them an idea of some of the things that you can do to demonstrate that babies are not quite the idiots they appear to be. So I spent a year in Hawaii doing research on infancy and the university gave me an office, access to secretaries, the usual facilities. While I was there, Chet Insko and I did this piece of research on ethnic and sex differences in sexual values, where we compared the sexual values of Japanese Americans, Chinese Americans, Caucasian Americans, which was part of a larger project which revealed to me that computers are not all they're cracked up to be, because we had worked out a five-dimensional system of values and roughly 100 items referring to areas or domains of values. As subjects, we had a couple-hundred people enrolled in an introductory course, which, Hawaii has the advantage of being ethnically heterogeneous. Then we found there was no way in the world we could analyze all of our data. We had just gathered so much information, that there was no way that it could be computerized. We finally took sub-groups of, I think, 24 people from each ethnic group and seven items dealing with sexual attitudes and analyzed these by hand with calculators, and published an article on it. But the main study which we thought would be earth shaking, because here was a novel approach to the study of values, and you could really come by anything that anybody thought about anything, was a bust. And what we hoped to do was find typical value patterns that might be representative of one sex or another or one ethnic group or another or one age, and we simply couldn't do it. The computers were not equal to it and I've been after computer people ever since.

Franklin: Really? I was going to say it might have been then or you didn't have the proper--

Church: No, look, you see, the computers could do the analysis, they could work out a program for it, but the simple act of entering these zillions of items of data into the computer has to be done by hand.

Franklin: Yeah, but that's always what...

Church: It would take something like a lifetime, you see. You have a hundred items on five scales and each, and five positions on each scale so it becomes five times five times five times five times a hundred.

Franklin: You could have taken a random sample. Anyhow, yes.

Church: We started out very ambitious and ended up very humble indeed. I would love to see somebody do, because I really think this is one of the few really sensible approaches to the study of values, you know. It's pathetic, but as far as I know, no one will ever know what we did.

Franklin: Well, maybe we could -- well, anyhow, the data still exist, you could hire--

Church: I don't even know where the data are anymore. We found out that we got some extremely revealing personal data about our subjects. So that we knew which girls would put out and which girls wouldn't, for instance. And it was rather awkward, you know. We knew that the campus beauty queen was as frigid as a block of ice.

Franklin: And you didn't have this material coded? Wasn't there a research ethics committee at the University of Honolulu?

Church: Well, we hadn't really realized how potent a tool we--

Franklin: Well, I think when you get into anybody's sexual attitudes you're--

Church: Well, the thing is that we had looked up the previous research, we were tom between having

them done anonymously and having them put their names on them and we found from previous studies that if you asked people to put their names on them they were much more likely to tell you the truth than if you let them do these things anonymously. So we had them put their names on them, so we knew what everybody thought about everything.

Franklin: Let's move on.

Church: We had them locked up in a vault at the University of Hawaii, as far as I know they're still sitting there moldering away.

Franklin: Yes. OK. So when you came back from Hawaii, you came back--

Church: Well, I came back to Vassar for a year, then went to Hawaii for another year. But, before I left for Hawaii the second time, Brooklyn College had approached me and offered me a job and I found the idea of coming from New York so attractive that I took the Brooklyn offer.

Franklin: And what year was that?

Church: Well, officially I started in 1965, but they let me take my year at Hawaii first, so 1966. And I had some hopes of working directly at Brooklyn and the Graduate School, but it just simply did not work out. There was a certain incompatibility between me and certain people at the Graduate School, so the friction was so constant, that I decided that I'd go back to Brooklyn and spend my life there. As it happened, then, I had a heart attack, various things, and eventually ended up on sick leave, disability. I went back and taught a final year pro forma because that enabled me to get all of my retirement benefits and such. But in effect, my career of working was cut short by my heart attack. Also the fact that I did not fit in there; the old timers really were committed to the traditional kinds of things. They were taking essentially Jewish slum kids and moving them into the main stream, which they've done superbly.

Franklin: Very well. Over many years.

Church: But, when they were confronted with blacks, with Hispanics, and what took them by surprise, when open admissions began, all Brooklyn's ethnics. Somebody forgot that there were Irish, Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, and Russians and what not in Brooklyn. All these people came flocking in and they posed educational problems nobody had anticipated at all. For instance, we had huge numbers of graduates of parochial schools, whose approach to education was not at all compatible with such a left-wing Brooklyn tradition. You know, even though people like Harry Giddeonse had fired left wingers right and left, there still was a powerful left-wing tradition. And when we suddenly had Catholic students to deal with, we found that we weren't communicating very well. They wanted to be told, and there was very little room for encouraging people to think for themselves, to think radically.

Franklin: It's of a different style, yes. I mean it is a different style.

Church: I think this was exactly why Brooklyn adopted this core curriculum which tried to rigidify and--

Franklin: Standardize.

Church: --standardize schooling. Well, psychology was left out of the core curriculum anyways, so it didn't matter to me, but I think it represented an attempt to establish some kind of order out of what had become a very chaotic situation. I didn't mind the chaos, what I minded was the old timers who couldn't take the chaos. They wanted to do things the way they had always done them. And they simply could not tolerate all these newcomers, these invaders, who came expecting something very different, demanded something very different.

Franklin: And what about the younger members of the faculty or the older members reigned? What

you're calling the old timers reigned?

Church: The young people seemed to have been thoroughly indoctrinated in the old tradition before they really had a chance to grow up and mature.

Franklin: It came right out of Graduate School. So, as you put it, your teaching life was, or your teaching work was cut somewhat short by your illness, but you don't sound filled with regret.

Church: I made personal contact with a number of students at Brooklyn, in a few cases I've carried them on through the years. So that this was satisfying, that I felt that I'd touched some individuals and made some difference in their lives. But, en masse, no I simply didn't do much of a job there, I don't feel I had an impact. I think that if anybody took my courses it was because I offered them hours of convenience.

Franklin: Oh, Joe, I think you're probably being a little extreme there. I'd like to talk, Joe, about how you see the history of the field, during the years that you've been in it, what you think are some of the major issues or changes and how you see your place in the field over this period of time that you've been involved, centrally involved in it.

Church: Well, the field has grown prodigiously. As I pointed out, if you wanted to become a developmental psychologist in 1950, 1951, when I started seriously working toward a doctorate, you either went to one of the Institutes of Child Development, like Minnesota, or Berkeley, or you went to Clark. The Institutes of Child Development were really interdisciplinary outfits, which I think someone characterized very well as "hotbeds of dustbowl empiricism." But they were not marked by any dedication to theory, to larger issues. They were largely concerned with teaching what was known about child development, maybe about psychopathology of childhood, things of that sort. Developmental psychology existed as a major enterprise only at Clark.

Franklin: Would you say a word about the distinction between developmental psychology and child psychology?

Church: Well, the traditional version of child psychology really was child clinical psychology. Child development was a broad, all-inclusive field that included child psychology, developmental psychology, a certain amount of philosophy, a certain amount of anthropology, and almost always a very large dose of education, child rearing, practical issues, raising children from birth to adulthood. Developmental psychology, I thought, really took more seriously the issue of human nature as it evolved in the individual from birth to maturity or, for that matter, to death, I guess. And the fact that people do undergo transformations, that there are metamorphoses in human character between the time they're born and the time they depart this vale of tears. And, for me, it's the philosophical implications for a study of human nature that I was primarily concerned with. I was concerned with social issues, I was concerned with the fact that schooling didn't seem to do much of anybody any good. But, even though I have all the records, and degrees, and credentials and such like things, I consider myself self-educated. School played a very minor roll in my development except as a place to have friends, to meet your peers, things of that sort. But, as an educational influence, it was virtually nil. And, even though most of the people that I've been involved with are concerned with questions in education, I don't consider any of them has made any real contribution to advancing the cause of making people smarter, more understanding, more compassionate, more involved in world affairs, more involved in society, less concerned with their own private pursuit of happiness or riches -- whatever it may be, fame, fortune -- and to a large extent I've always been something of a maverick, an outsider, an oddball, I've never really felt at home with people, even when I did things like being on the Editorial Board of *Child Development*, I very rarely accepted a manuscript for publication because I thought almost everything was--

Franklin: You mean in terms of who submitted or--

Church: It was not blind review, or on those rare occasions when it was, there were ways of letting people know that this was a manuscript that should be published, this was a manuscript that we could safely discard. I insisted on blind review. The only trouble was it got to the point where I could recognize almost everybody by his style.

Franklin: If not his or her references.

Church: Yeah. So I gave up on insisting on blind review after a while. But since I never accepted anything for publication anyway, it didn't really matter. What I thought I saw happening was a reversion to biologism.

Franklin: During which years?

Church: During the, I'd say roughly the period 1966 on. People suddenly discovered the genetic basis of intellectual differences, even though they were only repeating studies that had been done over and over again, that and that there was never any serious effort, I -- hell intellectual differences consist of what it means, Howard Gardner's varieties of intelligence or -- I lost his name -- Robbie Case, simply a prolongation of faculty psychology from the dark ages and I've heard more than one factorial analyst say, "Indeed we are dealing with faculty psychology, we are trying to isolate, through our factorial analytical techniques, the faculties that make up the human condition and each individual's particular endowment with a given faculty," which goes right back to Plato and the varieties of human nature he spoke of. So for me, in recent years, I've seen the field as enormously regressing and really not very interesting.

Franklin: Well, if there's that, I don't want to interrupt, but let's say there's that stream in the field; a sort of return to biologism, isn't there another stream running against it that's also in the field; Barbara Rogoff, Jim Werch -- context--

Church: I said that there is indeed a field, I was thinking specifically in terms of *Child Development* as representing the main stream. And most of these people, I think, are obliged to publish in the more peripheral sort of journals. But insofar as *Child Development* is the voice of SRCD, which represents the main stream, I have not seen--

Franklin: OK. I thought, I'm sorry, because I thought you thought that the field, as a whole, not just SRCD and Division 7.

Church: I was essentially talking about SRCD, yeah, and because of course this has been one of the main channels of communication in the field. There are these international groups.

Franklin: Well, it's also a question of what -- it's the theoretical position, and then it's also what kind of research is acceptable. So while you can read about all the critiques of traditional ways of doing research, and a return to naturalistic observation, it's not, when you read *Child Development*, that's not what's there. What's there is the traditional, if there were other articles submitted, they weren't published.

Church: Then there was the one offshoot of SRCD which was International Study for Infant Development, was it called?

Franklin: Something like that.

Church: Which I joined, but it seems to be very much in the SRCD tradition in that it's highly conventional and you see very little in the way of imaginative research or thinking. There's not much encouragement. I know that I never published in *Child Development*. The one time I tried to, I had some preliminary results which I thought were very interesting and deserved pursuing, but since they were not in final form, *Child Development* wanted no part of them. They wanted only archival

research. Something that was all complete, embalmed, ready to be entombed or stuck in a mausoleum or museum or something. It was not the kind of thing like -- what's it called -- Physics Newsletter that wants people to submit their ideas, their observations, their preliminary findings, that wants to keep the field alive. And I never found SRCD was particularly interested in stimulating people. But, I guess too, like all these organizations, APA, APS, whatever they may be, they too, become highly political organizations. They become the devices for career advancement rather than organizations for the advancement of ideas, for the exchange of ideas.

Franklin: Did you play other rolls in SRCD? I mean, I know you participated in their meetings, but you weren't in the governance?

Church: No. Since they don't have fellow status, I was never made a fellow. I was a fellow in APA, I was a fellow of the New York Academy of Sciences, I was a fellow of AAAS. So, but again, these were, they never seemed to indicate any real belonging. I certainly never participated in policy making. I could have done it at New York Academy of Sciences, but I had a very unfortunate experience there when I first joined the board on the psychology section. I was commissioned to do an attitude or opinion survey that would enable them to recruit more psychologists. This again was, to a large extent, a political ploy because they were concerned about the undue influence of the biomedical contingent in the New York Academy of Sciences, and too little influence from the social sciences. So I went to great pains to contrast an opinion survey with the idea that this had been approved by the Academy so that we could actually poll prospective members of the Academy. When I handed it in, nobody on the Psychology Board raised any objections, but the Academy hierarchy vetoed the idea. I'd put a lot of work into composing this opinion poll. And I was completely pissed off. I simply resigned from the board. If you have interesting meetings, I'll be glad to attend and hear what people say and be glad to drink your beer at the end of the meetings, pay my dues. And I gave the Board a paper at the Academy of Sciences that was duly published.

Franklin: You were saying before that you feel you described yourself as a maverick. OK. Can you elaborate on that a bit?

Church: Well, I think it comes out in a book that I intended to write after I retired, but never got to finish for various personal reasons that you know about that I don't think I have to put on the public record, but I wanted to write a critical book on everybody's theory on human nature because they all were essentially one dimensional; nature vs. nurture. But this doesn't take into account a lot of other things, like reductionism vs. holism and what you see more of in popular culture nowadays, what I call elevationism, the great revival of spiritualism in one sort or another. But these all belong on a continuum from total reductionism, where we're nothing but a collection of molecules bumbling around blindly in space, to people who have some degree of self-determination, self-control, of foresight, of planning, of self-regulation, to people endowed at the extreme with extrasensory perception, telekinesis, and to commune with people from outer space and practice exotic kinds of medicine. But, in fact, this is a very serious thing, because if you do not concede to people some capacity for willing, for self-determination, you're not talking about the same species that I'm talking about. Anyway, defined for seven different ways of viewing the human condition and unless you take account of all of them, it seems to me that you're going to have a pretty barren view. As I say, I was never able to finish the book, although it exists in outline form and the first chapter gives a crude summary of what the book was to be about and maybe someday someone will stumble across this unfinished--

Franklin: I was about to ask you whether you might take it up again, because--

Church: I would love to if my life experience ever permitted me to, but let me remind you that I'm 75 years old and not always in the best physical shape imaginable and I don't really foresee being able to do this. There are lots of other things that I also want to do that get shunted aside because of these same personal considerations that make life rather difficult at times.

Franklin: Right. Right. But you're saying that it's the nature of your interest and concerns and the

questions you ask which say that you're a Maverick.

Church: Yeah. In that I take this thing seriously and I'm not really interested in career making. As it happens Stone and I worked through five editions, which I had to fight over with Random House because they always kept trying to standardize it and make it like every other text book, even though it was outselling all the other textbooks that they wanted to make it like. Even though I've made a fair amount of money out of this work this has never been a major concern with me. I've always wanted to have enough money to live in reasonable comfort, I didn't want my children to wear rags or have holes in their shoes and things of that sort, but I think that an awful lot of my colleagues down through the years have been much more concerned with advancing themselves socially and economically and such than they have with trying to arrive at a better understanding of what human beings are about and how they function and how they can manage to be so brilliant and so lovable and so crazy and so despicable all at the same time.

Franklin: But then, *Childhood and Adolescence*, you're saying that, successful as it's been and as important as it was in some ways, that it's not the work you most identify with?

Church: Oh, no, by no manner of means. I certainly never regretted it. I feel that it's an honest piece of work and I'm proud of it. I think though that my language book and *Three Babies* are much closer to my heart. Certainly the book that nobody's ever read, *America the Possible*, is the one that I care about more than anything.

Franklin: Tell us, can you say a little bit about that book?

Church: Well, this is an attempt to redesign American society through the device of rewriting the Constitution. But it takes a very unorthodox view of human behavior and development and uses this really as a starting point for conceptualizing a society, but does not assume we are destined to wage war as our present society takes for granted, quite so destined to have large masses of people sleeping in the street or inadequate diets or inadequate medical care. A society in which a supposedly responsive democratic government does not act in quite the authoritarian way that our government has done down through the years. Or where there's not the same emphasis on secrecy and security, which really leaves human destiny to be much more to the individual, in observance of a set of principles, but tries to keep people from taking undue advantage of other people, which really tries to have people be humane even while they are being individualistic, which may be impossible but--

Franklin: Well, it's a good dream.

Church: I happen to think it's both possible and desirable and this book is designed to show how a society that tries to raise people to fulfill this ideal would go about it.

Franklin: Their usual reason.

Church: But it finally came out and a legitimate publisher did everything possible to bury it and keep it from attracting any attention, and succeeded very well. There were very few reviews and all of them extremely hostile, or contemptuous even. If you know the magazine *Choice*, which recommends books to libraries, the review in *Choice* was right to the point and said, "Not recommended for any library".

Franklin: That doesn't increase sales.

Church: Well, the thing is that when libraries did buy copies of it, Mid-Manhattan Library had two copies and I used to drop in occasionally to see how many people had read them. As far as I know, nobody ever took them out. They sat on the shelves for years and years. For all I know, they're still sitting there, totally unread.

Franklin: But, you said it's closest to your heart, and I take that to mean that the extension beyond

the boundaries of psychology or child development, developmental psychology as a narrow field, is the thing closest to your heart. The idea of having a formed society and plan for the future to make a better world.

Church: In fact this unwritten human nature book really is going back to constitute an introduction to *America the Possible*, to provide a broader philosophical foundation on which this other book is based. The only thing is I wrote the conclusions before I wrote all the premises.

Franklin: Maybe that confused people, Joe.

Church: Possibly so, but I wouldn't expect very many people to plow their way through 700 pages of text that would have been involved because people do have very short attention spans.

Franklin: That's true, and it's getting shorter, not longer. But having read the first chapter of the human nature book, as you call it, I think it's a much needed book. That's why I was asking if you had any plans to continue it. It's not a book that somebody else could pick up and write, it's your book.

Church: I assume, yeah. Although I drafted something like five or six chapters, I went back and started to reorganize the whole thing. I was going to provide at the very beginning a catalogue of facts of human behavior, incontestable kinds of facts, some of them based on experimental evidence, some based on everyday observation, but things that were undeniable about the way people behave, and derive a few principles from these and say that any eventual view of human nature is really going to have to take into account all this stuff, and that these one-dimensional approaches simply don't do it. So that it would start out with essentially facts and say, now, how do we go about making sense out of this?

Franklin: Well, it's a great idea. When you look back at the many years you've spent in the field of developmental psychology, what do you see as some of the main continuities or threads, central threads of interest that have continued, and do you see any major shifts in your interests for your work?

Church: I think, as I said, I began really with a concern for racial prejudice and this has continued to be. It has expanded somewhat, social justice in general is much more a concern, although I still have a special concern for racial prejudice, partly because I still have a special concern with jazz, so-called Afro-American culture, and I feel this is one of the grossest injustices in our society. So to that extent, if anything, my interest has deepened and broadened at the same time, though I'm interested in social problems in general. I guess I became essentially disillusioned with the academic life. The only trouble is if you want to publish and get attention, you almost always have to have some kind of platform from which you speak or else people will ignore you. Maybe if you're very rich and important you're all right, you can get an audience, but in general, unless you have a formal identity apart from who you are, your voice doesn't carry much weight. I'm not sure my voice is carrying much weight anyway, but at least people have listened briefly. I don't know that my reputation will endure at all, I mean, by the time I die, people will say "Who?"

Franklin: I don't think so.

Church: But I guess the thing is that I don't feel ashamed of anything I've done. I don't think I've ever done anything for corrupt reasons. And I've taken enormous pleasure in being a parent. And I think that my own children are a vindication of how I look at the process of child development. The thing is that we're still extremely good friends, we enjoy each other's company, we can laugh together and talk about things together and have arguments and fight and bond.

Franklin: When you look back now, which of the -- I mean we may have really covered this already, talked about the field, it sounds as if you don't see any major shifts, I mean, that you did various

projects but you don't think, when you look back on your career or your life's work, there weren't major turnings in the road.

Church: I think there has been a shifting focus from here to there, but everything belongs together, it all coheres somehow. Maybe I am the only one who's aware of its coherence, maybe somebody else would have a hard time connecting *Three Babies* and *America the Possible* or *Language and the Discovery of Reality and Childhood and Adolescence*, but for me they're all part and parcel of a single outlook if you like or Walton Schauungd. So for me there was a consistency and a coherence which may not be obvious to other people.

Franklin: Well I think, and correct me if I'm wrong, but I think that the consistency and coherence lies as much in the values and the approach you take to different topics or subject matter and the values that you bring to it as in the context, per se.

Church: Yeah, well, the thing is that I consider the very conceptualization of human nature is still unfinished business and will remain such. I never expected to produce a general theory of human nature, I wanted to produce ways of thinking about human nature that question and challenge conventional and established ways and maybe make a little contribution at least toward a more nearly complete or more advanced perspective. All I ask is for a little bit of progress, we will inch along rather than standing still or regressing.

Franklin: Well, I think I'm sorry that you don't think that you're going to complete this book, but I think that a lot of your work has, in fact, made very serious contributions to how people inside the field as well as outside of it think about human nature. Thank you. Is there anything else we should say?

Church: No, I think we should have lunch.