



ASSOCIATION FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION

The 2018 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

Edited by:

Jon K. Loessin

Wharton County Junior College

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Dallas, Texas

March 9-11, 2018

The Year 2018 Proceedings of the ASSR

The Association for the Scientific Study of Religion

Presents

*The Year 2018
Annual Proceedings of the ASSR*

Edited by:

Jon K. Loessin

*Dallas, Texas: ASSR
March 9-11, 2018*

President's Note

Welcome once again to the *Proceedings* of Association for the Scientific Study of Religion (ASSR). It is again both an honor and privilege to serve as ASSR President and as editor for *The Year 2018 Proceedings of the ASSR*. Year after year, the *Proceedings* are another fine collection of papers and presentations from both our perennial authors and presenters as well as a host of new academic talents who bring with them new styles and topics. In addition to our professional academic papers, the ASSR also includes student papers in the proceedings as submitted and presented at the annual meeting.

The quality of these *Proceedings* attests not only to the fine work that has been accomplished by the efforts of many who participate and promote our meetings through research, writing, attending our sessions, and sponsorship through both donations and the purchase of this collection. I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who helps to make the ASSR what it has been, what it is, and what it hopes to become. Joining the ASSR only costs \$15.00 yearly (or a one-time \$100 lifetime membership) and your support and participation in our yearly sessions and helping to make them successful by writing and presenting papers, chairing sessions, contributing to the *Proceedings*, and attending the presentations of others. It is important for our future that every member of the ASSR not only encourages new membership at every opportunity but solicits scholars throughout the colleges, universities, and organizations at which you reside to become involved in our group through chairing sessions, writing and submitting papers, or holding office.

I hope all of you have a good year and the ASSR will be looking forward to your participation in the ASSR in 2018-2019. Be sure to visit us online at: www.assronline.org, complete with online publications of papers from past meetings (see the **Archives** on the site). Hopefully you will share this site with colleagues and students alike. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Jon K. Loessin, 2017-18 ASSR President/Editor

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Civil Religion and the Schism Among Evangelicals Regarding Political Action in U.S. Politics: “Idolatry of the State” Versus “God and Country”

J.B Watson, Jr.
Stephen F. Austin State University

Introduction: Classical Formulations of Civil Religion

This paper will provide an exploratory look at the changing nature of U.S. civil religion, and highlight the changing dynamics of civil religion that may play a role in the social interface of the political and religious systems in American society. It is suggested that the value of an overarching civil religion may help to explain the schism regarding the choice of the “best” approach to cultural change among evangelicals - direct partisan political involvement versus the “little platoons” nonpartisan faith-based social action approach. Civil religion may represent a middle ground for evangelicals and other U.S. religious groups to amplify their impact on the larger culture outside of their local faith communities. Civil religion was a term originally used and coined by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract* (1762). He framed civil religion as a group of universal religious beliefs which he believed governments must work to uphold and maintain for its citizens. Religious beliefs of the citizenry focused on the acknowledgement of a deity, a belief in an afterlife in which virtue is rewarded and vice punished, and a belief in the value of religious tolerance. These beliefs served as a foundation for civil religion. Rousseau asserted that civil religion consisted of these basic beliefs that a national government should be careful to uphold. Rousseau also argued that individuals' religious opinions should be beyond the reach of governments. Civil religion was to be constructed and imposed from the top down as a centralized source of civic virtue. Rousseau noted that “there is therefore a purely civil profession of faith of which the Sovereign should fix the articles, not exactly as religious dogmas, but as social sentiments without which a man cannot be a good citizen or a faithful subject” (Rousseau, 2013:1). Civil religion, in this framework, served as a source of social integration that helped to strongly link the citizenry to the nation-state by providing it a form of sacred authority.

French sociologist Emile Durkheim also studied national culture in a broad sociological framework, though he never directly used the term civil religion. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1913), Durkheim was clearly influenced by the role of shared symbols in French society and the social obligations they reflect. Historically, he observed that “the former gods are growing old or dying”- resulting in a new social reality whereby modern society could create “a renewal of collective sentiments.” He described this process as stemming from “hours of creative effervescence during which new ideals will once again spring forth and new formulas emerge to guide humanity for a time.” (Durkheim, 1954:475). Civil religious ideals, then arise from national civic religious rituals. As Durkheim (1951:351) argued, “our dignity as moral beings is therefore no longer the property of the city-state; but it has not for that reason become our property, and we have not acquired the right to do what we wish with it.” Emile Durkheim, then, conceived of civil religion as a

spontaneous phenomenon arising *sui generis* - from society itself - as a non-coercive force defining the self-identify of citizens, serving as a potential antidote to growing individualism (Gorski, 2017). For Durkheim, the social integration and social regulation functions of religion could also contribute to the creation of both civil order and governmental stability. Religion, in terms of its affective, symbolic and social cohesion-building capacity can be harnessed to create an overarching civil religion. Clearly articulating a sociological perspective on religion devoid of reductionism (from his perspective), Durkheim observed; "if religion generated everything there is of essential in society, it is because the idea of society is the soul of religion" (Durkheim, 2013:374). Though he did not use the term "civil religion," his foundational ideas about religion suggest a broad-based conception of the emergence of religious phenomena in social realms not traditionally associated with essential elements of religion. The exponential growth of research on implicit religion in the global context in the social sciences, it could be argued, is based on this Durkheimian perspective (Roberts and Yamane, 2016). Implicit religion may be defined as an investment of a central religious dimension in concerns which may not usually be called religious (Hinnel, 1995). Mainstream religious phenomena are often identified as having secular elements; implicit religion suggests that what are considered to be secular commitments can also be culturally interpreted via a religious frame. Thus, the term 'implicit' directs attention to social behavior usually seen as largely secular. Implicit religion is a useful analytical concept because it is holistic in nature and exemplifies some form of commitment; Likewise, this concept reflects a unique relationship between the sacred/profane and the secular. Examples of potential implicit religions are sports, consumerism, environmentalism, and human rights. Civil religion, in this framework, could be seen viewed a form of implicit religion, a form of the "civic divine" (Sutherland, 2017). Thus, anthems, flags, holidays and civil celebrations are some of the cultural representations of the nation's collective imagination in producing the civic divine.

Civil Religion: Virtues of the Republic

In his classic 1967 essay, the late sociologist Robert Bellah posited that the United States had "an elaborate and well-instituted civil religion," that existed alongside of and "rather clearly differentiated from the churches" (Bellah, 1967:1). In the social science literature over the past few decades civil religion has also studies under different monikers such as civic piety, religious nationalism, public religion, and implicit civic faith. To Bellah, civil religion provides an implicit quasi-religious, overarching sanction for the national civic order, including, but not limited to the political system. Civil religion may also benefit from the religious sphere of society via a generalized sense of divine justification of and support for civic society and a nation's practices. Thus, civil religion involves the nation-state's usage of consensus-building, implicit religious sentiment, imagery, concepts, and symbols for its own purposes. Over time, civil religion effectively uses an array of established rituals and allegiances to create a civic ethos to bind people together and provide a collective sense of spiritual unity connected to national identity (Bellah, 1967). While civil religion, framed as a form of implicit nonsectarian national religion may include generic beliefs about a higher power directing the nation and significant events that

seem to reveal “God's purposes,” Bellah was careful to note that civil religion was not a “political religion” that was in any manner affiliated directly with Protestant Christianity:

While some have argued that Christianity is the national faith, and others that church and synagogue celebrate only the generalized religion of "the American Way of Life," few have realized that there actually exists alongside of and rather clearly differentiated from the churches an elaborate and well-institutionalized civil religion in America...this religion-or perhaps better, this religious dimension - has its own seriousness and integrity and requires the same care in understanding that any other religion does (Bellah, 1967:1).

While faith communities (e.g., churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples) are important social underpinnings for civil religion, they are not directly functional elements of civil religion. Religiously-based norms and values, however, provide generalized cultural support (inputs) for a theologized ideology of the secular nation-state.

American civil religion, then, operates as a type of theologized national ethos. Religion journalist Karen Winston, in a report detailing the decision to allow the late evangelist Billy Graham to lie in state at the U.S. Capitol, described modern civil religion this way: “even though the United States has no official religion and is made up of up of adherents of every religion and no religion at all, there is a set of common symbols, rites, rituals and traditions that serve Americans the same way religions do for adherents. Think of the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, the singing of the national anthem or “God Bless America,” a military gun salute, the honoring of veterans on Memorial Day, etc. These rituals are valued, expected on certain occasions or holidays, and they unite Americans of different backgrounds in their observance” (Winston, 2018: 1).

Major Elements of Civil Religion

Civil religion benefits from designations of documents, shrines, leaders, and events as sacred elements of national identity in the U. S. context. Examples include: (1) the American Revolution and the Civil War; (2) prophets such as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln; and (3) shrines associated with Washington, Lincoln, Bunker Hill, and Gettysburg. Similarly, sacred texts are part of the civil religion narrative; examples include the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Gettysburg Address. National celebrations and ceremonies such as Independence Day and presidential inaugurations events are reflective of the civic ethos as well. In particular, Presidents have served as the “prophets and priests” of civil religion by narrating the nation's rituals and in a generalized way, reaffirming its essential creeds as part of national celebrations and in times of crisis (Gorski, 2017). Bellah (1992) described the U.S. republic as a secular form of government for a nation of with a preponderance of religious citizens - making civil religion an important cultural touchstone.

Loge (2018) observed that a bedrock element of civil religion is this assertion: America is a special place, and we're in it together. Civil religion includes the idea that the American experience can best be interpreted in the light what Bellah (1967) referred to as ultimate and universal reality. In his 2017 book, *American Covenant*,

Philip Gorski observed that civil religion speaks to Americans who have a view of the “American project” as having a moral and spiritual core. Civil religion also acknowledges that America has done some profoundly wrong things and has failed to achieve “a more perfect union,” but continual striving toward that goal is possible (Gorski, 2017). Loge (2018:1) further denoted this feature: “Our civil religion says that America is an exceptional place because it is not a place at all. America is exceptional because it is an idea in which its citizens participate and an ideal toward which our leaders have a moral obligation to strive.” Civil religion, then is qualitatively more than just the comingling of politics and religion. Civil religion means that ideas well outside the bounds of the traditional religious realm become elevated as sacred regarding the civic secular arena. These ideals can serve to create a sense of connection among politically heterogeneous groups.

Dykes (2013) identified several core tenets of civil religion. He argued that these elements tenets that have been sufficiently contested in a variety of U.S. historical contexts: (1) the fundamental and non-negotiable equality of each human being; (2) the sacred nature of the right to vote and to hold one's government accountable in a government that is of the people, by the people, and for the people; (3) the principle of reciprocity - the idea that good government helps foster shared prosperity when everyone contributes to the common good; and (4) freedom of conscience, freedom of religion, freedom of association, and freedom of expression. These principles are consistent with Bellah's Durkheimian notion of civil religion as a fusion of national symbols and principles of shared identity (Gorski, 2017).

Potential Contemporary Influences on Civil Religion in the Trump Era

There are no shortages of competitive ideologies for civil religion in contemporary American culture. Gorski (2017) argued that the civil religion tradition in modern democratic nation-states may be especially impacted two principal competitors both historically and currently, religious nationalism and liberal secularism. Religious nationalists advocate total fusion of religious and political spheres, while liberal secularists advocate total separation. Civil religion advocates view the two spheres as independent but occasionally overlapping. In the American context, religious nationalism has not been prominent as a large-scale national movement. Rather, a generic nationalism movement has been identified as a prime mover in the election of Donald Trump, and evangelical voters have been identified as key to his election in November 2016. Secularization may make the coalition-building construction of civil religion in the modern context more difficult but not impossible. Recent research has noted that secularization does not erase everything once considered sacred; on the contrary, sacred ideas can still coexist with secular perspectives (Demerath, 2007; Kasselstrand, 2015).

Some observers have argued that the “making America great again” theme of Donald Trump, and its focus on ideas such as “getting the best deal for the American people” has eroded civil religion principles. Civil religion is a model for forging consensus that may transcend differences based on political party, religion, ethnicity, race, and gender. Consequently, Presidents typically play a central role in emphasizing “founding principles” and utilizing identifiable rhetoric that is likely to denote national unity, and potentially integrating diverse social and political groups

into the fold of a common social fabric and a sense of shared national political destiny (Carlson (2017)). Founding principles may include convictions that we are created equal, that we are endowed certain inalienable rights, and share common dreams and pursuits. In his analysis of the Trump Inauguration and his first few months in office, Carlson (2017:1) observed that, “rather than reaching out to all Americans, Trump’s Presidency has been about him and his base. His rhetoric, rallies, and precipitous election campaign...have fractured and strained the model of American consensus, not expanded or solidified it. Trump has ignored the lessons of innumerable presidents.”

Church historian Martin Marty (2005) once observed that American civil religion comingles theism, patriotism, competitive individualism, and boundless faith with the near-boundless potentialities and optimism of economic growth and prosperity. The increasing emphasis of individualism in American culture - what some analysts have referred to as radical individualism - may threaten the ongoing “maintenance” of civil religion as a routinized element of national culture. One impact of individualism is what is “the great narrowing” of moral frameworks (Haidt and Kesebir, 2010). That is, the range of issues that one would label as “moral” has narrowed considerably. In the past moral principles associated with the concept of “liberty” were traditionally accompanied by the values of public virtue, character, duty, community and care. In contrast, discussion of moral issues tend to give priority to individual rights as the most important moral principle. As Michael Mascola noted:

This great narrowing has come at a cost. As rights have been extended to increasingly diverse social groups, we have come to appreciate the diversity of ways of being that are possible in the world. As a result, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify any single system of shared values and beliefs. Under conditions of moral conflict, whose values and virtues should prevail (Mascola, 2016:1)?

This increasingly individualized model of personal morality could limit the consensus-building capacity of contemporary civil religion over the long-term. Mascola summarized this conundrum this way: “If we cannot agree on shared values and ways of being in the world, in a pluralistic society, who am I to say what is right? Who am I to impose my values on you?” (2016:1).

Conclusions and Implications

Swenson (2009) observed that Bellah’s framework for civil religion “appears to honor the freedom of citizens and provides a base for civil liberties and social cohesion” while guarding against their potential overemphasis on imposition and conformity. In addition, Dykes (2013: 2) pointed out the pressing need reinvigorate civil religion today “because there are many who insist, absent any valid historical evidence, that we are a “Christian” nation and that the founders of the country intended it to be that way.” This commentary is especially important to consider in light of increasing U.S. religious diversity and the growth of “nones” (non-religiously affiliated individuals). An overarching civil religion also avoids the tendency to impose individual “faith agendas” or individual allegiances in developing a vision for the nation’s role in the world or in times of national crisis (Luge, 2018).

The sociological relationship of religious system and the political system involves two social institutions undergoing rapid social change. Typically, "religion" connotes major organized faith traditions that may have been practiced for generations - religious traditions, sacred texts, "holy" days rituals, and deeply held beliefs practiced within a congregation. Sociologist Emile Durkheim noted that religion helps to create solidarity and is marked by distinguishing the sacred from the profane. Robert Bellah delineated civil religion as involving more than just the mingling of politics and religion. Civil religion means that ideas beyond the traditional religious realm become elevated as sacred.

This evolving relationship between the U.S. religious system and the political system in a nonpartisan sociological framework deserves greater scholarly attention. In a national culture characterized by potentially contentious debates regarding the church-state separation and religious freedom (religious liberty), significant change in both the religious and political systems is highly likely. In addition to these two social issues, changes within religion such as the growth of consumer religion and growing generational differences (in religion) such as the growth of the "nones" - especially among millennials - may significantly affect the future nature of U.S. civil religion. Westerlund and Hallencreutz (1996:2) noted that religion's subordination to politics in secular societies has "laid it open" as a societal resource, arguing that civil religion has utilized highly effective civically-focused religious symbols and practices to foster national integration. View in this respect, Religious Studies scholars could analyze past, current, and future expressions of civil religion as fertile ground for exploring unique interactions between the political and the religious within democratic-based nations (not just the U.S.). By contrast, political religion typically refers to the practices of totalitarian states. In addition, scholars could explore the construction of more top-down, coercive forms of civil religion - sometimes described as political religion - that may be more likely to emerge in totalitarian movements and totalitarian states (Gentile, 2005). The contemporary role of religion in imparting legitimacy to prevailing political values and practices (e.g., Democratic or Republican, or Libertarian) also needs to be mapped out by researchers. In a significant sense, American civil religion can be framed as the only "religion" that can support the American republic and be potentially beneficial to "believing and non-believing" citizens alike (Gorski, 2017). Understanding the role of civil religion as a means of observing and supporting overarching "universal" founding principles that make democracy possible should be an important item on the ongoing research agenda of Religious Studies scholars.

Biographical Note

J.B. Watson, Jr., Ph.D., serves as Associate Professor of Sociology and Gerontology Program Coordinator at Stephen F. Austin State University (SFASU), Nacogdoches, Texas. His work on Service-learning has received national recognition from the Points of Light Foundation and Newman's Own Foundation. His research interests include contemporary U.S. evangelicals, religion in consumer culture, spirituality and aging, and civic engagement in higher education. He was the recipient of the First Annual Association for the Scientific Study of Religion (ASSR) Frank Forwood Award for Excellence in Presented

Research (2008). He serves as Vice-President for Organizational Development of ASSR. His undergraduate mentor, the late Dr. Harry Hale, Jr. (University of Louisiana-Monroe), was a co-founder of ASSR.

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From Jim Crow to Bonhoeffer to Holocaust: Lynching, Harlem Renaissance, Holocaust, and Racial Healing

Chuck Pitts

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This paper comes with an audacious title, but nonetheless as a modest proposal. The objective of the paper is to supply an answer to a question asked of me after a trip to Berlin, Terezin ghetto in Czech Republic, Prague, Mauthausen Concentration Camp in Austria, Auschwitz, Krakow Poland, and Berlin, visiting what seemed like a multitude of memorials and museums related to the Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis on Europe before and during WW II. These memorials focused on many things—besides the obvious. Terezin focused on the Jewish school founded there in the Jewish ghetto during the war. The school children left behind hundreds of drawings and poems and stories. Unfortunately, very few of the children survived the gas chambers of Auschwitz. In Prague, the fabulous Pinkas synagogue includes the names of all Czech Jews lost in the Holocaust. As the Prague travel website states, “The Holocaust Memorial in the Pinkas Synagogue is one long tombstone inscription commemorating those for whom a tombstone could not be erected.”¹ At Mauthausen Concentration Camp in northern Austria, the visitor can find flags of countries of origin of all those interned here, as well as memorabilia given by family members of those who died here. The memorabilia line the walls of the crematorium. Auschwitz cannot be described in a sentence. However, one visiting exhibit lodged itself in our minds. A photographer had visited Auschwitz survivors all over Europe and interviewed and photographed them. Their quotes are moving—both inspirationally and heartbreakingly. One survivor, Shlomo Venezia, said, “I survived, but I wasn’t saved.” Another, Leon Weintraub, said, “As a survivor, it gives me special satisfaction to stand in front of this expression of megalomania. I regard myself not as a victim, but as a victor.” Another, Anna Hyndrakova, concluded, “but they didn’t kill all of us! Life goes on.”² In Berlin, the Holocaust museum is named, “Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.” It is, indeed, a memorial. It is the story of people—most of whom died in the Holocaust, but it is also the story of some who survived to live on. It is story of so many survivors that prompted the question that later prompted this paper. Why does it seem that most (not all, but most) Jews who survived the Holocaust have been able to leave that history in the past and move forward in life, while in the American experience African-Americans have not moved on as well from slavery and later persecution?

The question intrigued me, and I offered a tentative answer. However, further events during the summer would add to my answer. In July, I participated in a seminar at Rice University that focused on the experience of Black Americans during

¹ See <http://www.prague.eu/en/event/432/memorial-to-the-jewish-victims-of-the-holocaust-from-bohemia-and-moravia-childrens-drawings-from-terezin-1942-1944>.

² These quotes were part of photographic exhibition at Auschwitz, June 2017. The contents of this exhibition can be found in Stefan Hanke, *Concentration Camp Survivors: Portraits by Stefan Hanke*, trans. Danko Szabo (Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2016).

Jim Crow years. The required reading included a biography of Ida B. Wells and selections from W. E. B. Du Bois. I also had just read *Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America*, by Michael Eric Dyson. Then, I picked up the book, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology and an Ethic of Resistance*. These influences—Holocaust sites, Jim Crow, Dyson, and Bonhoeffer—may seem a disparate collection of material. However, my objective in the next few minutes is to weave these sources into a coherent proposal for an answer to the question above.

I will begin with Bonhoeffer because he serves as a hinge for my proposal. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, himself a victim of the Nazis, has an obvious connection to the Holocaust, but perhaps one to Jim Crow and race in America that is just as powerful while not as obvious. In 1930-1931, Bonhoeffer spent an academic year at Union Theological Seminary in New York. While he found the seminary for the most part uninspiring and vapid, he found life-changing inspiration in an unlikely place—Harlem. During his stay in New York, he listened to the preaching of Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., at Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. In his 2005 work, *Bonhoeffer and King: Speaking Truth to Power*, J. Deotis Roberts discusses briefly the impact of Powell on Bonhoeffer, both through his preaching and his introduction to the writings of W. E. B. Dubois, James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen.³

From Cullen, he learned of the “Black Christ,” a concept that Williams believed impacted him profoundly, a belief that is supported by his own report on the fellowship in New York.

I heard the gospel preached in the Negro churches. ... In contrast to the often lecturelike character of the “white” sermon, the “black Christ” is preached with captivating passion and vividness. Anyone who has heard and understood the Negro spirituals knows about the strange mixture of reserved melancholy and eruptive joy in the soul of the Negro.⁴

In contrast to the white theology he saw in white churches, Bonhoeffer found a theology of the gospel in Harlem, as well as black churches throughout the southern US.⁵

In his travels through the southern US and Cuba, the treatment of black people struck Bonhoeffer with intense effect. In a letter to his brother, he wrote:

I also found it noteworthy that the Spanish population apparently gets along much better with the Negroes than do the Americans. The separation of whites from blacks in the southern states really does make a rather shameful

³ J. Deotis Roberts, *Bonhoeffer and King: Speaking Truth to Power* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 46.

⁴ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, Vol. 10, *Barcelona, Berlin, New York 1928-1931* (Louisville: Fortress Press, 2008), 315.

⁵ Interestingly, Adolf Deissman, who had visited the US in 1929 and read Bonhoeffer's report of his fellowship in New York, wrote a letter to Bonhoeffer, agreeing in general with Bonhoeffer's assessment of American churches, “specifically concerning the Negro churches,” see *Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Works*, Vol. 11, 118.

impression. In railways that separation extends to even the tiniest details. ... The way the southerners talk about the Negroes is simply repugnant, and in this regard the pastors are no better than the others. ... It is a bit unnerving that in a country with so inordinately many slogans about brotherhood, peace, and so on, such things still continue completely uncorrected.⁶ In this letter, especially the line, “and in this regard the pastors are no better than the others,” the reader can see the early evidence for Bonhoeffer’s theological connection with the cause of the oppressed. As Roberts concluded, “It was in New York that this German Lutheran theologian first began to truly understand the issues of racism and nationalism as serious theological problems.”⁷ He would carry this new understanding of the gospel back to Germany with him.

This new understanding of the gospel was a direct challenge to the German nationalism that had exploded onto the scene with the rise of the Nazis. The German National Church was the ecclesiastical arm of this nationalism. The confessing church of Bonhoeffer and Niemoller, especially after 1933, was a response to these movements. In August, 1932, at an international youth conference, Bonhoeffer chided the German Christians (and other Christians who celebrate their own national identity along with their Christianity).

Has it not become terribly clear, again and again, in all that we have discussed with one another here, that we are no longer obedient to the Bible? We prefer our own thoughts to those of the Bible. We no longer read the Bible seriously. We read it no longer against ourselves but only for ourselves. If this entire conference is to have had a great meaning it would perhaps be to show us that we must read the Bible in an entirely different way by the time we meet again.⁸

What was this “entirely different way” of reading the Bible?

For Bonhoeffer, reading the Bible seems to now focus on the gospel as addressed to the poor, the oppressed, and the weak, rather than the wealthy and powerful. This new way of reading the Bible is expressed poignantly in a sermon preached in Berlin in May 1932. Bonhoeffer challenged the prevailing interpretation of the story of the rich man and Lazarus found in Luke 16. He was decrying the tendency to spiritualize the text so that the wealth, poverty, power, and hunger were spiritual rather than physical.⁹ Bonhoeffer argued that the rich and powerful—who are most of us [those to whom he is speaking]—must see in this text the gospel of Jesus Christ. The responsibility of those with means is to bring about the healing, filling, renewing work of Christ—especially as evidenced in the story of the Good Samaritan.¹⁰ Reggie Williams pointed out that this understanding of the church’s responsibility to relieve suffering was the role of what Powell, pastor of Abyssinian

⁶ *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Vol. 10, 269.*

⁷ Roberts, *Bonhoeffer and King*, 47.

⁸ *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Vol. 11, 377-378.*

⁹ If only I had time to discuss here my own and a friend’s experience with interpreting this text in an evangelical church in Texas where we formerly served.

¹⁰ *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Vol. 11, 443-450.*

Baptist Church, called the “model church.”¹¹ This understanding of the church’s role in society impacted Bonhoeffer in a practical way.

Bonhoeffer came back to Germany and went to work in the poorest neighborhoods of Berlin. In this backdrop he also lectured on Christology. Reggie Williams summarized this new understanding of the gospel and the church and tied it back to Bonhoeffer’s years in New York. Using Bonhoeffer’s terms of bourgeoisie and proletariat for powerful and weak (and rich and poor), Williams summarized:

The bourgeois Jesus is an oppressor’s Jesus, who is removed from his historical context, which would be a truer representation of him, and embedded as theological support within the social ideologies that practice domination. The Jesus-plus-power mixture is lethal for the oppressed and oppressor alike. It disallows Christianity any access to guidance from the life of Christ and reinforces ideologies that maintain the inferiority of proletariat humanity. But the recovered Jesus disassociated from oppressive structures, as Bonhoeffer describes in his Christology lectures, is present in the African American tradition of Jesus that stimulated Bonhoeffer’s service to Germany’s proletariat neighborhoods.¹²

As the Nazis and the German church became totally intertwined through the “Führer principle” and the “Aryan clause,” Williams concludes, “The German Christian movement was a *volkish*¹³ Christian movement, mobilized by a theological worldview that was the German equivalent of American white supremacy.”¹⁴

This conclusion from Williams brings us back to Bonhoeffer’s visit to New York. Exactly what was the America that Bonhoeffer encountered in 1930. First, the migration of southern blacks to northern cities was at a high point. There were push and pull factors in this migration. The push factor was the increasing persecution and oppression of black people in the south. The pull factor was the availability of work in the factories of the north.¹⁵ Second, the beginning of the Great Depression caused employment issues, which led to many problems that are beyond the purpose of this paper. Third, the Harlem Renaissance had begun a cultural, literary, philosophical, and theological rebirth for black culture in America. Fourth, the effects of Jim Crow laws had reached fevered pitch in the south, with little opposition from the north. We will turn now to this latter reality—Jim Crow America.

The experiences of those suffering under Jim Crow Laws is too large a topic for this paper, but a brief description of the treatment of black Americans during these years is necessary. In this brief discussion, I will focus on the writings of Ida B. Wells and W. E. B. Du Bois.

¹¹ Reggie Williams, *Bonhoeffer’s Black Jesus: Harlem Renaissance, Theology and an Ethic of Resistance* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2014), 93.

¹² Williams, *Bonhoeffer’s Black Jesus*, 117-118.

¹³ In this context, “*volkish*” refers to the focus on the German people as the center of everything under the nationalist Nazi rule.

¹⁴ Williams, *Bonhoeffer’s Black Jesus*, 120.

¹⁵ These were certainly not the only factors contributing to the migration, but they will have to suffice for our purposes.

Ida B. Wells was born a slave in Mississippi in 1862. She was, therefore, the first generation that would grow up after slavery, in the age of reconstruction (generally 1865-1877), when some strides were made for inclusion of black people in the south into the economy and government. These changes would take a severe change after 1877—and I would not want to mislead anyone into thinking that changes were monumental before 1877. With the end of official reconstruction, came the push back in southern states, and the northern states had no fortitude for any further racial wars. The federal Civil Rights Act of 1875 was repealed as unconstitutional in 1883 and *Plessy v. Ferguson* ended hopes of inclusion (let alone equality) when it legalized “separate but equal” in 1896. In her biography of Ida Wells, Mia Bay summarizes the importance of these events. “Until it was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), *Plessy* ruled over an era of cast-iron segregation under which blacks were required to use not only separate train seats, but separate schools, hospitals, orphanages, insane asylums, poorhouses, and public bathrooms.”¹⁶ By the time of *Plessy*, Wells was a journalist in Memphis, having left Mississippi for reasons that included growing persecution. She would spend most of her career fighting against lynching of black people, mainly in the south.

As Bay points out, lynching is different from other persecution because the lynchers claim “justification and social legitimacy.”¹⁷ Wells, first in Memphis and later in exile in Chicago (after her printing office in Memphis was destroyed and her life threatened), researched and wrote against the evils of lynching. Most lynching victims were black men (often very young) who were generally accused of violence (usually of a sexual nature) against white women. Bay wrote that “Wells was the first journalist, black or white, to research the causes of lynching and amass evidence debunking the rape myth so often used as justification.”¹⁸ In fact, her research (as evidenced throughout Bay’s book) proved that most of the lynching victims were easily exonerated of the charges of rape. As one might suspect, white men suspected of raping black girls were seldom even punished, while black men accused of raping white girls were typically dragged from their jail cells (or the courtroom) and killed. The lynchings typically included hanging the victim (usually for torture and not to kill immediately), various forms of torture that tended to include hot irons, mutilating and then burning of the body (sometimes to cause death and sometimes after death), and finally picking through the remains for souvenirs.¹⁹ Wells researched every case of lynching that she could find reported and found few of the victims were guilty of their crimes, and fewer received any defense or investigation of claimed alibis. Lynching was the creation of a “sexual politic” for the purpose of “subjugating Southern blacks.”²⁰

¹⁶ Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 56.

¹⁷ Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 96.

¹⁸ Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 103.

¹⁹ Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, includes descriptions of several lynchings, for example, see 126-127, 132-134, 173-175.

²⁰ Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 127.

Wells, like Bonhoeffer, found little objection from the church to this treatment of black Americans. The desire of Christian denominations and organizations for work together nationally required those in the north to accept the mistreatment of black people in the souths by their fellow Christians. This led Wells into a vocal condemnation of Christian leaders, such as Dwight L. Moody and Frances Willard, for their failure to speak out against lynching and other atrocities propagated by their southern associates.²¹ We will return to the church and civil rights.

W. E. B. Du Bois was a few years younger than Wells, born in 1868. Du Bois was highly educated, including degrees from Harvard. In 1903, his work *The Souls of Black Folk* was first published. We will look at two foci of the book. First, Du Bois agreed with Wells that any hope for black society in America included activism, not the accommodationism advocated by Booker T. Washington. While Washington believed that black people could achieve recognition and inclusion by remaining segregated but by improving themselves academically and professionally, Du Bois and Wells believed that this accommodationist approach would only maintain subjugation of African-Americans in America. Du Bois led a protracted battle with Washington and his approach, which was, of course, supported by virtually all whites.²² However, unlike Wells, Du Bois developed a sociological foundation for understanding the situation of black people in America.

Du Bois described the black predicament as a “double-consciousness.” Black people, according to Du Bois, were stripped of self-consciousness because they were forced to always look at themselves through the eyes of others. He wrote, “One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.”²³ Because of this “double-consciousness,” black people were caught in a vice between who they were, who they were seen to be, and how they were treated—but with no way out of this cycle.

This double-consciousness is a good place to move forward to modern America. With the end of “separate but equal” in 1954 and the subsequent civil rights legislation, has the double-consciousness been removed, or might the remains of this pattern of thinking be a key to understanding the current race issues in America? Let me begin this concluding conversation with a small selection of events to lay a foundation.

First, when Martin Luther King, Jr., went to Birmingham to participate in civil disobedience in support that that city’s black community, he was arrested. The day after he was arrested, a statement from eight white clergy members was published in local newspapers. This statement, while tacitly supporting the cause of equality,

²¹ Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely*, 184-189.

²² W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1994), 25-35, *passim*.

²³ Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, 2.

called MLK's appearance in their city as untimely. What was needed in Birmingham was restraint and the observation of the "principles of law and order and common sense."²⁴ The obvious question in my mind—hindsight, of course—is, "whose common sense?" These are the same arguments faced by Du Bois and Wells decades earlier. Working slowly through proper (read: legal and white) channels will eventually bring about needed change.

Second, in his book *Tears We Cannot Stop*, Michael Eric Dyson described the events after the O. J. Simpson acquittal in 1995. He argued that the black celebration of O. J.'s acquittal was not necessarily a celebration of Simpson's innocence. Rather, he wrote, "you must see that the bitter taste left in your mouths was but a small taste of what black folk have swallowed from our first moments in this nation. ... Not until the Simpson verdict did many of you claim that you were finally awakened to what black folk had to know every day. But if so, you went back to sleep pretty damn quickly."²⁵ Dyson argued that white America was appalled to see a guilty black man acquitted of a crime against white Americans, without considering that black America had watched white Americans go unpunished for crimes against black Americans for centuries.

Third, Edward Gilbreath described his experience as a young black editor, and only black editor, at *Christianity Today*, the flagship evangelical magazine. He describes his experience much like Du Bois a century earlier.

From a young age, many of us have been told that it isn't good enough just to be good. As a black person, you had to be better than whites in order to make it. I think this notion was probably even more true in past years, but there will always be some whites (and even blacks) whose opinions of African Americans are so low that they're just waiting for them to slip up. Oftentimes, whites don't even realize they think this way. It's a reflexive response.²⁶

While many would argue that Dyson and Gilbreath are overreacting or race-baiting (I have heard these claims from many people in my own social circles), their experiences are recounted over and over again by black men in America. The double consciousness of raising black sons with a fear for how they may be treated by police officers or other officials is still present in America. Neither Dyson nor Gilbreath has a reason to make up these stories, nor do my own black friends who have told me similar stories. Yet, both of these men express their experiences of persecution, sometimes overt and sometimes not. Gilbreath, while working in an evangelical publication, even admitted that "whites don't even realize they think this way. It's a reflexive response." These experiences, along with their historical precedents, suggest a culture that has not forgotten or removed itself from its racially charged past, with a clear predisposition toward whites.

²⁴ Edward Gilbreath, *Birmingham Revolution: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Epic Challenge to the Church* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2013), 81.

²⁵ Michael Eric Dyson, *Tears We Cannot Stop: A Sermon to White America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2017), 58-59.

²⁶ P. 86.

These contemporary stories bring me back to the initial question of this paper. These concluding comments should be understood as tentative, personal conclusions, rather than academic conclusions based on expertise and years of research. First, white Americans need to acknowledge that the racial conflicts in American culture have not been resolved. Perhaps Americans could learn a lesson from Germany's responses to the Holocaust (particularly since the reunification of Germany and the end of Communist control of Poland). The Germans have memorialized their mistreatment of the Jews. They have owned it as their nation's sin. However, a common attitude of white Americans is that slavery ended 150 years ago, and no one alive has ever owned a slave, and black people need to take the opportunities that they have today and move forward. The problem is that a national sin never owned has never died. Perhaps instead of fighting the removal of Confederate monuments, white Americans in the south should offer to put up hundreds of monuments to the victims of lynching, which would begin to show that we have owned our public sins.

Second, white Americans need to listen. Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a case in point. Rather than calling those in the BLM movement unpatriotic and anti-police, white Americans need to hear their black fellow Americans. For example, Dyson explains that the tendency to see BLM as unpatriotic is missing the point. Nationalism is supporting the nation "regardless of moral or political virtue, ... summarized in the saying, 'My country right or wrong.'"²⁷ Dyson argues that patriotism loves a country's values enough to challenge the country's leadership if the country strays from those values, values such as "liberty and justice for all." For hundreds of years, white Americans have controlled the conversation. It is time to give over that control—to whatever extent that is possible.

Third, related to Dyson's arguments, white Americans need to acknowledge the anti-black racism that is intertwined with white American culture, even if it is often covert, and sometimes even dormant in modern American culture. When a national identity becomes entangled with a sinful attitude and behavior, that national identity should be called into question, which will require owning the sin and hearing the oppressed and offended. I find Williams's conclusion concerning Bonhoeffer helpful. "The transformation that Bonhoeffer experienced in Harlem, in addition to the crisis of Christian identity in the midst of the Confessing Church movement, became for Bonhoeffer a struggle to disentangle the coupling of Christianity with national identity."²⁸ What I hear Dyson and Gilbreath suggesting is that historic American culture, including the dominant Christianity, is entangled with a racist bias that must be addressed.

In conclusion, I believe that the answer to the question at the beginning of this paper is to own and even memorialize the reality of racial hatred that has characterized much of American history. This will require an admission that American culture, throughout its history, has been entangled with a white

²⁷ Dyson, *Tears We Cannot Stop*, 116.

²⁸ Williams, *Bonhoeffer's Black Jesus*, 135.

nationalism that still often pervades American conversations, including political and religious ones. Germany did this after reunification and the fall of Communism, which probably at least partially contributed to the conciliation between Germans and Jews. Like Bonhoeffer, Christian leaders need to see the historic connections between racism and historic American national identity and religion (i.e., American Christianity). Then, like Bonhoeffer, we must commit ourselves to the disentanglement described by Williams. Like Bonhoeffer, those who step into these actions will find that road costly—hopefully less than they cost him.

Chuck Pitts, PhD, was born and raised in Pasadena, TX. As such, he grew up in a bastion of racism in south Texas, unrecognized as such by Pasadenans, but well-known to African-Americans in the Houston area. He attended Houston Baptist University, and later New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, earning a Master of Divinity and PhD degree in Old Testament and Biblical Archaeology. After nine years church-planting in Minnesota, he taught at Houston Graduate School of Theology for 16 years. At this multi-racial seminary, he was first challenged with the racial issues in current American culture. After being a budget casualty, he has now taught history (including a course on the Holocaust) at Sam Houston High School in Houston. At this Title I school, his desire for “justice and liberty for all” has only been further increased. Dr. Pitts has been married for 35 years and has two grown children and three grandchildren.

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Poverty in the Midst of Affluence in the Twenty-first Century U.S.: A Social Scientific Critique of the Theodicy of Suffering

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The social sciences complement religion and theology in terms of explaining the causes and conditions of the marginalized working poor, the underclasses, and the masses who live on the brink. Rational actors possess the ability to employ policies and practices that contribute towards wealth concentrated in the hands of a few with the assistance of lobbyist, special interest groups, and political action committees as major actors in terms of the distribution of resources. Furthermore, there lies theological implications that explain arbitrary forms of deprivation which indeed produces real suffering, destruction, and death that cannot be dismissed as simply God's will. Although Max Weber and other classical and some contemporary social theorists have produced explanations for the relationship between religion, economic deprivation, and social change the given paper seeks to appropriate the context to draw from globalization and postmodern theories, and the "prophetic tradition" of Christianity which entails religious discourse and action which aims to expand the connotation of justice beyond existing conventions.

Introduction

Twenty-first century explanations of poverty and its accompany suffering draws from ancient arguments regarding determinism and free will. Such prior arguments ignore the idea that poverty and its related suffering has structural causes. Structures by design enables the powerful to position themselves where they can impose their will on others with minimal resistance. The greater problem associated with evil lies when individual and collective suffering consequential of an aristocratic construct becomes regarded as the will of God, rather than tolerated by God. From the dawn of modernity to the present, skewed power distributions within the U.S. has resulted in genocide which resulted in the mass slaughter of Africans in an involuntary Diaspora and indigenous societies, economic support for caste systems like the Apartheid regime of South Africa, the exportation of arms and capital to El Salvador which further enabled repression and the mass killing of tens of thousands. In the twenty-first century, structural positioning predicts infant mortality, crime victimization, and life expectancy.

The omnipotence of God who gives rational human creatures a will and ability to exercise the will has resulted in sectors of society to deny the existence of God or God's sovereignty. Because human creatures have free will, they can choose either God's will or another contrary will. Furthermore, individuals who lack sufficient power or economic resources become vulnerable to the loss of their will and ability to change their social and economic condition.

Western Christianity has reached a stage of development in which its identity has been tainted by collective guilt of playing a major contributing role towards the construction of suffering. "Christian theology cannot afford to be an abstract, dispassionate discourse on the nature of God. In relation to humankind; such an

analysis has no ethical implications for the contemporary forms of oppression.”¹ Yet, there lies hope for the Western Church to reverse such trends to ameliorate the cumulate effects of past and present poverty which persists with the context of relative affluence.

Literature Review

The article entitled “Poverty and Our Social Order” by James H. Copp (1970), provides a critique of the “war on poverty” as that with mixed results. Although it did reallocate funds and advance social programs that ameliorated the effects of deprivation for sectors of the U.S. population. However, its shortcoming rests in its inability to make structural adjustments which contributes to poverty. At the time the article was published, a few years have passed to assess the impact of the legislative initiatives on individuals and groups. The article does not imply that such policies failed as claimed by supporters of neoliberalism economics or laissez fair approaches. In the twenty-first century, claims that the “war on poverty” as conclusive and comprehensive functions as a supportive claim that poverty’s existence rest solely on the individual. Copp refutes such claims by acknowledging that eliminating the cause of poverty was not the real intent of such policies. Claims of fairness entails that the same rules equally apply to all people and institutions; yet fair does not automatically equate to justice as in one of the themes of John Rawls in *A Theory of Justice* (1971). Free enterprise as an economic order empowers those with favorable positions within such order while disadvantaging the excluded who collectively lack the means to compete on a relatively just basis.

Beyond mere commentary of a cult classic movie, in the article entitled “Between Apocalypse and Redemption” (1992), Michael Eric Dyson provides a discussion of the role of a community as a space with resources to solve its own local problems and provide a unique moral authority. However, when communities become deprives and isolated from essentials such as grocery stores, employment opportunities, and networks that extend beyond the community, then in Therborn’s terms “killing fields” becomes formed. “Such conditions rob the neighborhood of one of its basic social functions and defining characteristics: the cultivation of a self-determined privacy in which residents can preserve their identities”² A loss of identity functions as a denial of an aspect of a group’s sense of humanity. The importance of having an identity has parallels with the void that religion fills. A basic human need that frequently becomes overlooked is having an answer to the purpose of one’s existence. The result of such conditions is political nihilism defines as a condition in which “one’s political institutions are incapable of responding to one’s social needs.”³

Introducing Black Theology (2001) by Bruce Fields argues that Christianity in America has lacked a wholehearted effort to get rid of racism from within. Furthermore,

¹ James H. Cone. *A Black Theology of Liberation*, 20th ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1990) 17

² Michael Eric Dyson “Between Apocalypse and Redemption: John Singleton’s *Boyz N the Hood*” *Cultural Critique*. Issue 21 (1992) 129

³ Lewis R. Gordon. “Du Bois’s Humanistic Philosophy of Human Sciences” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Volume 568. (2000) 272

the faith has fallen sort of call it out as a form of evil. As an evangelical scholar, Fields labels racism as a form of idolatry because it constructs a form of supremacy that does not belong to the human creature. *A Theology of Black Liberation* (1990) by James H. Cone emphasizes that Christianity has provided a “safe haven” for system racism. Although Cone does not explicitly call racism out as idolatrous, he stresses that human creatures have not moral authority to interfere with the God given humanity of others. According to Cone, “being fully human means being against evil by joining those who are victims of evil.”⁴ In Martin Luther King Jr.’s book entitled *Where Do We Go from Here?* (1968), he identifies silent bystanders of racism, especially its beneficiaries as more dangerous than those who perpetuate it. Cone presents a similar message by declaring that trusting God does not mean do nothing.

The book *The Killing Fields of Inequality* (2013) by Goran Therborn provides a social scientific analysis of the life-threatening effects of poverty through such as premature death, infant mortality rates, stress, and long-term illnesses. Furthermore, the author addresses the effects of geography and the concentration of poverty with and victimization of violent crimes. Furthermore, the author addresses the effects of geography on victimization of violent crime by stating that cities with the highest murder rates positively correlates with high levels economic disparity. Throughout the book the author elaborates on three distinct types of inequality which include: vital inequality which addresses the human creature’s life chances mostly in economic terms, existential inequality which deals with human worth or the value and devaluation placed upon one’s personhood. Racism, sexism, classism exists as forms of existential inequality. Resources inequality deals with power such that a deficiency in such an area prevents one from having the means to overcome their deprived situation.

Crucified People (2014) by John Neafsy presents how Western consumerism has cultivated a society that become oblivious to the suffering of the poor in other parts of the world and its role in contributing to such conditions. A significant portion of the book focuses on martyrs with privileges backgrounds on a global level whose lives were lost while confronting powers while combating poverty. For example, Archbishop Oscar Romero “paid the ultimate price of martyrdom for taking sides with the abused poor in El Salvador.”⁵

The book entitled *Unified We Are a Force* (2016) by Joerg Rieger and Rosemarie Henkel-Rieger addresses the problem of religion as playing a contributing role in fortifying an imbalanced economy. As a social institution religious leader has collective become unconscious of the innate pressure to support elite interests. The authors argue that the middle class, working class, and working class have fallen in place in support of elite interest through the proliferation of multiple broad and subtle means of divide and conquer. Unlike Marx, the authors do not condemn religion but identify the over emphasis on other-worldliness, the construction of top-down images of in the likeness of earthly kings and workforce managers, and prosperity gospel that aristocratically constructs God in the image of the capitalist class.

⁴ James H. Cone. *A Black Theology of Liberation*. 88

⁵ John Neafsy. *Crucified People: The Suffering of the Tortured in Today’s World*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2014) 7

The article entitled “Theodicy, Christology, and Divine Hiding” (2018) by Paul K. Moser, the author compares between full-explanation theodicy and partial-justification theodicy. Humans have a finite understanding of an infinite God. Therefore, humans holding God morally accountable for allowing evil to exist becomes flawed due the humans limited ability to know and understand. Instead of addressing God as morally accountable, Jeff Johnson suggests that God’s reason for allowing evil exist has moral sufficiency.⁶ Although God has the power to fully disclose the ultimate purposes that accompany the consequences of existence, the author provides three explanations the lack of humanity’s grasp of such. Although God allows unjust suffering, humans lack the moral depth to comprehend God’s will, God’s will transcend human intellect, and “God’s allowing unjust suffering and evil is constitutively complex.”⁷

What remains unanswered is the idea that God provides human creatures with the necessary resources to meet human needs. The first problem lies in human creatures preventing other humans from receiving that which God has made readily available, the second problem lies in the problem of human stewardship of resources, and the third problem entails the proliferation of waste and destruction of such resources. Rather than humanity looking to God for an explanation for human constructed injustices or resorting to agnosticism for simply not having the cognitive means to comprehend God’s activity on God’s level, the human dilemma entails how can human beings use the free will that was given by God become used to relate to God and to fellow human creatures.

Discussion

For most of U.S. history, race has functioned as a caste system such that individuals theoretically can experience economic mobility while the social structures remain firmly intact. As racial and ethnic underrepresented groups attain status through piercing “glass ceilings” the structural barrier remain almost untouched which results in the masses of those same groups to remain marginalized. “Race occupies a position that rivals the supremacy of God and in turn imparts value for that person or group.”⁸

Although patriotism has been broadly understood as having a love for one’s country, true patriotism becomes nullified if one does not wholeheartedly love the people of one’s country like the unconditional love given to members of the family in an ideal situation. Patriotism can become a form of idolatry when one refuses to accept the idea that the God of one’s home nation is the same God of all nations. Patriotism can be regarded as good if it is used to promote love for the unloved; but becomes evil if it becomes exclusionary. The excluded and despised are who Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of The Earth* (1961) describes. “Liberation theology has attempted to use social analysis to both explain and deplore human suffering. Its key texts bring into relief not merely the suffering of the wretched of the earth, but also the forces that promote

⁶ Jeff Johnson. “Inference to the Best Explanation and the Problem of Evil” *The Journal of Religion*. (Volume 64, issue 1: (1984) 58

⁷ Paul K. Moser “Theodicy, Christology, and Divine Hiding: Neutralizing the Problem of Evil.” *The Expository Times*. Volume 129, Issue 5. (2018) 192

⁸ Bruce L. Fields. *Introducing Black Theology: Three Crucial Questions for the Evangelical Church*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2009) 60

that suffering.”⁹ The relevancy of Farmer’s claim entails that life in an industrialized nation exist in relationship with all other nations. Isolationism serves as popular political rhetoric; however, the extreme suffering that exist among external populations reminds are public displays to the privileged that humans are fragile creatures.

A significant portion of the world’s human creature lack the experience of a human being due to absolute deprivation such that poverty becomes life threatening. Such persons tend to endure the effects of vital inequality, existential inequality, and resource inequality concurrently. As a result, members of such populations have “the unequal capability to function fully as human being, the unequal ability to choose a life of dignity and well-being under prevailing conditions of human technology and human knowledge.”¹⁰

The Horatio Alger myth has been deeply embedded into the fabric of the U.S. narrative, but underestimates the reality of preventive barriers the disables society’s most fringed members from running the race of economic competition. “The references to those who are unable to run is an embarrassing point for a system based on the notion that people have a chance to compete and to strive.”¹¹ During the last forty years in the U.S., productivity and wages have a negative correlation. For the unchurched, media images become Christianity’s default model which disproportionately presents “the prosperity gospel” as normative.

The Gospel of prosperity is not a program that lifts up the working majority or raises the poor out of poverty; almost like the lottery, it empowers a few and leaves the rest hoping for success that will never happen.¹²

However, religious expression of solidarity between the various tier below the capitalist class have been censored by the mass media. During Martin Luther King Jr. Day and anniversaries of his assassination in April, the public typically receives a truncated version of Martin Luther King Jr.’s famous speech entitled “I Have A Dream” (1963) includes the last three minutes but omits the first fourteen minutes which devotes a significant portion to the last of economic justice amid affluence.

One of the consequences of poverty entails the lack of means to protect self from the onset of violence in its many forms. In the case of those who administer torture, the victims become dehumanized while the executor loses an aspect of their own humanity.

Some are emotionally and spiritually crippled by the violence that torture has done not only to their victims, but to their own consciences. Too much rationalizing of evil behavior has desensitized them to normal human feelings of empathy and guilt.¹³

⁹ Paul Farmer. “On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below” *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*. Volume 3, Issue 1. (2009) 20

¹⁰ Goran Therborn. *The Killing Fields of Inequality*. (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity, 2013) 48

¹¹ James H. Copp, James H. “Poverty and Our Social Order: Implications and Reservations” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*. Volume 52, Issue 5 (1970) 738

¹² Joerg Rieger and Rosemary Henkel-Rieger. *Unified We Are a Force: How Faith and Labor Can Overcome America’s Inequalities*. (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2016) 83

¹³ John Neafsy. *Crucified People*. 39

American Christianity has the power to force the nation to confront the evil of racism if it can transcend its own identification with the status quo and deal with the real tensions that remain prominent in its undercurrents. "When the church fails in this prophetic role, as in the situations of confronting racism and recognizing system sin, it loses credibility and power before the watching world and runs the danger of disapproval before the Lord."¹⁴

Conclusion

Prior research does indicate predictable race and class patterns within Catholic, Evangelical, and Mainline Christianity; however, further research can explore the extent that its leaders and the institutions support the interests of given racial and economic factions. There exist multiple requisites for Christianity to consider in terms confront real tensions which result in real suffering through various forms of deprivation. Within a context of a polarized society in the U.S. along race, economics, and geographic lines research questions can explore the relationships between faith and the given variables and the possibility or genuine reconciliation beyond a superficial remorseful apology with the goal of building trust between dissenting groups. Authentic Christianity put into praxis requires more than a profession of faith that disregards its moral obligation to ameliorate the suffering of others as one would prefer in return. The given faith entails a way of life that embraces courage and integrity in the same like and same manner as the One in whom its people profess they follow.

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Environmental Warnings or Coded Morality and Religious Fears? The Adaptive Function of Tales Told to Children

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Abstract

Across culture, adults tell children scary stories, and children are thrilled and delighted by the supernatural monsters and sometimes horrific events. To better analyze a collection of Ecuadorian folktales told to children (aged 9-12), I conducted additional fieldwork and literature review about children's stories and their purpose. A review of scholarly literature shows that there may be many explicit and implicit purposes for these tales. Those purposes and the resulting functions may vary on the part of the storyteller and social structure, however. Are the monsters proxies for perceived moral ills? Religiously-grounded ideas of specific danger? Or do the stories explicitly communicate the reality and risk of evil by warning of dangerous contexts? Anthropological literature has proposed the adaptive importance of scary tales keeping children out of dangerous environments, but how culturally determined or transferrable might those dangers be? The prevalence and salience of these stories suggests that there may be many adaptive benefits in caretakers scaring children...at least a little.

Introduction

Again and again, children's stories reference scary topics, and the way these stories are made scary is by adding in supernatural creatures, happenings, and consequences to the everyday environment (Bettelheim 1976, Coe et al. 2005, Warner 1998 and 2016). I am particularly interested in how the supernatural dimensions of the story are used in combination with relatively horrific story elements so frequently and are so popular with children despite a popular modern social ideal that children need to be protected from "disturbing" content. Why do our social structures explicitly state that appropriate entertainment for children needs to be "rated G" or devoid of violent or disturbing content when even a cursory review of popular children's stories, movies, books, and folklore reveals a genre filled with monsters, cannibalism, death, and taboo violations (Bettelheim 1976, Warner 1998)?

And it's not just adults presenting horrific stories to children. Children choose the scary stories. Last year I presented on how a set of children's legends from coastal Ecuador matched the cross-cultural pattern of "scary" or creepy stories told to and preferred by children (Chandler-Ezell 2017). These children were told to present a story or legend told to them by an older relative or acquaintance about their area in coastal Ecuador. All of the children chose scary stories as their favorite to write up—despite having several from which to choose. A review of popular children's stories cross culturally shows that this should not have been a surprise. As I have continued to study and analyze these stories, and to compare them to

children's folklore around the world, several patterns and questions have emerged. My goal in this presentation is to discuss a few patterns and what their function and relevance might mean for the benefits of scary stories for children and perhaps give some answers to the questions of "Why do we tell children scary stories?" And "Why do the children like it so much?"

Patterns in Children's Stories

Let's look at the patterns here with a simple example that applies to so many children's stories from so many cultures:

1) First, children's stories do indeed contain heavy elements of scary, often horrific events and characters.

Example: The European tale of Little Red Riding Hood has a little girl who must go through dangerous, wolf-infested woods to take food to her grandmother. If she does not obey the rules, "wolves" will gobble her up. She interacts with the wolf, and just barely, cleverly avoids a terrible fate.. or so she thinks. The wolf actually runs ahead, eats/runs off her grandmother, takes her place, and lies in wait in the supposed safety of grandmother's house (Where on Earth is supposed to be safer than Grandmother's house?), and tries to eat her. She barely escapes a terrible death by having a woodcutter arrive just in time to rescue her by chopping up the wolf. Then Little Red Riding Hood, the woodcutter, and Grandmother (if she survived, which she does not in all versions of the story—she is often "eaten by the wolf" if not terrorized and locked up or chased into the woods), eat the snack together. This is scary stuff, and Red still has to get back home.

Little Red Riding Hood is just an example, we could see these themes in popular European folk tales like Grimm's tales, Mother Goose, Hans Christian Anderson, and anything Disney appropriated as well as in the tales told across China, in The 1001 Arabian Nights, Polynesia, and the Americas. Wherever you look, we see these scary, supernatural tales (Warner 2016 and 1998). Even in modern children's Bible Stories, we see an emphasis on scary, thrilling stories. My own volume of Bible Stories for Children had the thrilling stories of David and Goliath, Daniel in the Lions' Den, Judith, Jonah and the Big Fish and more, which I remember being read to me as a child with great excitement and worry about the terrible fates awaiting these young heroes. The Ecuadorian legends contain many terrible monsters familiar to pan-Hispanic folklore such as La Llarona, the devil, el duende, and other terrible monsters that will eat or kill unwary children in much the same way, with the implicit warnings of the devil, monsters, and the consequences of sinful or careless behavior.

2) Second, children love to be scared, and show preferences for and even delight in these scary tales.

Everyone here knows the story of Little Red Riding Hood, as it has been popular for generations, and you have probably heard multiple versions, remembering the thrill of excitement with the wolf, disguised as Grandma, threatening to "Eat you up" with her big teeth. The stories listed as examples above

are useful examples simply because these stories are so popular and so embedded into the experience of childhood and parenting. You may even be more reflective about these stories if you have been a parent or grandparent simply because you have the adult experience of reading multiple versions to your children over and over and over.. and watching their thrilled reactions. You know how much they crave these stories and demand them. Don't think of leaving out a tiny detail, or trying to make them less scary—they will know. And don't think that just because they've heard one version that they don't want to read four more versions, no matter how many times they squeal or hide under the covers, because they love them. Children love these thrilling tales and gobble them up with big eyes and rapt attention. But why? The psychological literature has a lot to say about why scariness is important in children's stories and socialization, but not much on why children like it so much.

The consensus from psychology seems to be that children learn appropriate fear behavior from adult caregivers. Muris et al. (2009 and 2010) and Huijding et al. (2011) cite the importance of parents warning children to be cautious of unfamiliar animals, situations, and strangers. Broeren et al. (2011), Askew and Field (2007), and Field et al. (2001) emphasize that adults' fearful behavior serves as an indirect but very influential pathway to teaching children to fear novel, risky, or atypical situations and contexts. This matches very well with Coe et al.'s anthropological hypothesis that children's stories serve as an additional and important explicit mode of embedding fear of dangerous situations (2006). Coe et al. go on to posit that societies which take care to encode children's stories with warnings about dangerous situations have an evolutionary advantage because it serves to keep more children safe. The psychological and anthropological literature agree that teaching children to be fearful of things that are actually dangerous is an important adaptation.

The problem is that supernatural creatures are not real, are they? By definition, supernatural monsters and actions are the domain of things that do not obey natural rules. The supernatural falls into the realms of folklore or religion. Most folklore is not religious literature, and though both often include supernatural elements, not all is sacred. The scary children's folklore we are discussing are folk and popular culture, told in a secular setting. They are fairy tales (Warner 2016). The genre is heavily flavored and seasoned by the religious and mythological language and themes of the society, but not considered to be sacred, or religious text. Most adults do not consider them to be "true." Even when the tales use themes, characters, and motifs from religious texts, they are still folk, popular culture and not the province of religious practitioners (Warner 2016). Stories are generally told by caregivers and elders—not priests (Coe et al. 2006, Warner 2016). So the children delight in the stories, which is to the benefit of the society and its' adults, because they readily consume messages that improve their survival. *Scary stories are good for children and good for the society that tells them to their children.*

- 3) **Third, adults seem conflicted about how scary children's stories can be.** On the one hand, you have adults attempting to tone down stories and lessen the impact of the fright, on the other, even adults seem somewhat fascinated

by the gruesome stories, as evidenced by the popularity of modern fairytale based horror... for the last 350 years.

For example, you see modern storytelling revising the terrible fates of characters, even the villains, to try to take away the gruesome details. Hearts are not actually eaten, cannibalism does not really occur, the wolf “runs off into the woods” instead of being cut to pieces by the woodcutter who rescued grandma and Little Red Riding Hood. “Disney-fied” versions of stories are notorious for sanitizing some of the more gruesome details while painting the lurid, scary build up to the stories. For the past century, we have seen a whitewashing of the bogeyman into a misunderstood character who really isn’t all bad (Warner 1998).

This seems to be a poor decision from an evolutionary standpoint. Scary stories are thrilling to children, seem to help them process developmental issues, and improve survivability. They also often cause nightmares and anxiety in children, however, so caregivers seek to console their child audiences by moderating the scariness and the more gruesome variants of stories.

Part Two: Questions and Answers

Given these patterns, there are several questions raised that I am particularly interested in as I study the Ecuadorian legends in particular, and stories for children in general.

1) First: Why do adults tell scary stories?

If adults have concerns about how scary the stories are, and are worried that they are inappropriate and possibly even damaging to children, why do we keep telling children scary stories?

The answer seems to be that even though a few adults believe scary stories are bad, many more adults, for generations upon generations, have told children scary stories because they are evolutionarily adaptive. Kathryn Coe, along with Craig Palmer, Chris Cassidy, and Nancy Aiken, have written about the evolutionary adaptiveness and cultural functionality of the type of children’s stories that elders tell children. To summarize very briefly, they propose that these stories have warnings about environmental, cultural, and behavioral dangers. Groups that told these sorts of stories to their children taught behaviors and warnings that reduced mortality and led to more surviving, safe kids who in turn passed these stories down to their own kids. Coe et al (2006) go even further to state that the narrative, poetic, and dramatic (non-sacred) style of popular children’s stories are essential to their success. “Journalistic” or “just the facts” style reporting of dangers did not prompt the emotional and imaginative response that oral narration and performance did, and were less effective. This matches well with what the psychological literature found that children seeing adult fear reactions and emotional responses as well as hearing them was important to absorbing the warnings and adopting fearful behaviors. So, we tell children stories that have good narrative structure, altered to provide catchy names, repetitive themes, and dramatic delivery with memorable character development. We also spice up the dangers by adding in supernatural and

mysterious elements that increase the drama and attempt to emphasize the extremity of the potential risk.

For instance, our stories are about terrifying monsters and horrific circumstances that are, frankly, beyond the normal range of danger that most children will actually face. But that added supernaturalism in the stories is a part of dissociation that makes these performances just distant enough from reality to be a safe space for expression and acting out fears. The fantasy element, according to psychologist Bruno Bettelheim, allows the children to “externalize and thus, hopefully, resolve these issues on an unconscious level in a healthy manner.” (Bettelheim 1976). Bettelheim’s *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976) and other works from the 1940s onward, used a Freudian analysis of European folk tales to look at the issues that society, especially children, needed to learn to understand and work out to be mentally and socially healthy. He was the first to propose that gruesome and horrific fairy tales were not a morbid or naughty form of deviant or prurient behavior, but a healthy coping strategy for life’s tragedies and problems.

So, why do children like being scared? They like being scared in stories because these are not actually horror. They are a little fear, in a controlled circumstance, with an adult or caregiving giving a safe environment for the child to practice experiencing the fear, with the knowledge that the adult is there, that the story is safely bounded in fantasy, and that these types of stories are usually structured with either “Happily ever after”, or a set of guidelines that will protect them from such a fate. The stories always provide environmental warnings about the places, times, and contexts where such things happen as well as what to do in a similar situation to outsmart the monsters. Escape and avoidance are the most important messages of these scary tales.

Briefly, more about the scary before we move on:

Marina Warner’s *Once Upon a Time: A Short History of Fairy Tale* (2016) and *No, No, the Boogeyman* (1998) explore the specific themes of ogres, monsters, and the Boogeyman.

From Warner’s *No NO the Bogeyman: Scaring, Lulling and Making Mock*. Pg. 6

“But the scared response is not identical to this brand of horror. Being scared by a story or an image—scared witless, scared to death—can deliver ecstatic relief from the terror that the thing itself would inspire if it were to appear for real. The children’s word ‘scary’ covers responses ranging from pure terror to sheer delight, and the condition of being scared is becoming increasingly sought after not only as a source of pleasure but as a means of strengthening the sense of being alive, of a command over self. Hellish themes—infanticide, damnation—seep into the most light-hearted songs and stories for the nurse current by the end of the eighteenth century and then spread into Gothic entertainment in various genres. Both children and adults, hearing the tales, playing the games, contemplating the images and even learning the songs, find their double in the mirror that these fragments hold up to them: they are made to stare at the possibility of their non-being, at death itself, but they then

discover that they are still alive, outside the tale. Thus, the state of pleasurable fear has emerged, in our own times, as a common response to philosophy's old command, 'Know thyself'; the changing features of the bogeyman mirror the insecurities and aggression of those who see him."

Conclusions

These stories teach children to be afraid of liminal, dangerous locations and people. Don't trust strangers. Don't go out at dusk or night. Don't venture into strange territory or areas that are forbidden because society has forbidden those for very important reasons. While a child or even an adolescent may know "crocodiles live in the river", they may think that they are savvy, and that they don't see any crocodiles, so they can disobey and play in the river despite warnings. If, however, they believe that there are monsters that prey upon children who venture there alone.... They might hesitate. Think of the consistent theme of dangerous woods, full of wolves. The wolves are both the actual wolves that plagued much of Europe after the Black Death depopulated large areas and the dens of thieves and criminals desperately starving in the woods who would prey upon the unsuspecting or unprotected. Little Red Riding Hood, from our introduction, is the original Stranger Danger story. These stories teach kids to stay out of dangerous situations.

Warner's *Once Upon a Time* (2016) states

"... the historical reality that can be excavated from fairy tales does not carry the memory of extreme horrors, specific tragedies, or individuals, but rather dramatizes ordinary circumstances, daily sufferings, needs, desires-and dangers especially of dying young" (91).

Religiously, we have an added dimension. For what monster is more terrifying than the devil or one of his demons? What peril is even worse than death but the loss of your soul as well? By making the monsters supernaturally scary the dangers become even more meaningful. There is also the chance to show that the morality and principles of your faith will protect the child from all of life's perils, giving them comfort that even when your parent is not with you, your Father will be.

Biographical Note

Karol Chandler-Ezell is an anthropologist whose research interests lie in adaptive behavior, supernatural belief patterns, and ethnobiology. She has been working with children's stories and their supernatural themes to better understand their nature and appeal. She is currently an Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, Geography, and Sociology at Stephen F. Austin State University.

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Intimations of the New Copernicans in the Johannine Christianity of the New Thinkers

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“When addressing the history of ethical humanity, we must particularly emphasize the essential singularity of all that is spiritual. More than for any other aspect, we may say that for the long existence of ethical development, mere repetition of a great spiritual constellation is impossible; every truly spiritual achievement, even if it could be duplicated with qualitative accuracy and equal intensity, would still involve new values imbedded with and alongside its pure repetition.”¹

Introduction

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy taught three epochal Christian millennia, emphasizing Redemption and Creation in the first two, and Revelation accompanying the flowering of the Spirit in the third. The Johannine third millennium was to encompass a single, unified humanity, which is a central theme in the New Copernican thesis. To the degree that the quest for direction in a new millennium requires an openness to experience, Rosenstock-Huessy responded, “The Living God cannot be met on the level of natural reason because by definition He crosses our path in the midst of life, long after we have tried to think the world into a system.”² The experiential and practical anti-system of Rosenstock-Huessy described the Johannine era as a reality produced through human experiences in the creation of new ways to converse, to engage in serious dialogue, and to achieve harmony even amid great diversity in our pluralized world—in the context, at least for now in North America, of a new *social imaginary*.

The philosopher Charles Taylor defined the *social imaginary* as “the ways people imagine their social existence, how they fit together with others, how things go on between them and their fellows, the expectations that are normally met” and their concerns for “normative notions and images that underlie these expectations.”³ Events of the last century and the profuse, mixed responses to them attest to a tense global period. The present shift in attention or consciousness, appears in many forms and is unmistakable. The new social imaginary and an accompanying frame shift have emerged from those circumstances. “One of the aims of the New Copernican research is to provide language for this intuited shift,” John David Seel writes. “It would *be a language amenable* to the “phenomenological and existential sensibility” of millennials, tractable of lived experience.”⁴ Appropriately, then, the narrative-visual-musical arts throughout the digital media supply much of the language, as for example the Windrider Institute and their productions demonstrate.⁵ But most crucially, the new social imaginary and *frame shift* should not be dismissed or ignored, for as the millennials continue to come of age they are “the hope of the church.” The implication is that the church should embrace the millennials and what they offer.⁶

The New Copernicans prize extensive interrelationships between individuals, “dense networks” for mutual support, “meaningful, love-filled moments”⁷ and the “intimacy of personal presence rather than transactional business.”⁸ The “New Copernican” frame and “the contemporary explorers of a new way of appropriating human society” have been more noticed recently. It is a cultural presence touching other movements as different from each other as the “emerging church” and the “Burning Man” phenomenon (“the ideal type of New Copernicans”). I believe there are interrelationships and I hope to clarify a few of them here. The New Copernican “reality” is developing alongside discussions about the millennials, the “nones” who claim no faith position, non-traditional religious affiliations and attitudes, and more cosmic yet often down-to-earth religious sensibilities in the arts and music; think “Christian Metal.”⁹ More than anything else, the New Copernicans express a new model, more than a new brand, and a radical frame shift that the millennials carry or represent intuitively and experientially. It is a new paradigm that demands a response.¹⁰

Various web sites have followed the developments among the New Copernicans, and in January 2018 John David Seel’s *The New Copernicans* appeared.¹¹ According to John David Seel, members of the millennial generation, born between 1980 and 2000, orientate to life, learning and reality with heavy emphasis on experience, “messy, provisional, and intrinsically relational.”¹² He writes, “The New Copernican thesis is that the millennial generation is the major carrier of a fundamental shift in the American social imaginary—the way people imagine their world. This new cultural narrative or social imaginary may completely reshape our understanding of human society.”¹³

The millennials also are called the “Mosaics”, a term preferred by the Barna group because it suggests more descriptive complexity than “Millennials” or other terms. David Kinnaman lists the qualities common to both the Mosaics and Millennials; these are: eclectic lifestyles, nonlinear thinking styles, fluid relationships, cut-and-paste values and personalized spirituality, open-minded attitudes, and technology-fueled expectations. Seemingly boundless tendencies to self-expression, a preternatural optimism, an unprecedented dedication of time to media interactions, identification with a small, interdependent but fluctuating tribe of peers, moral pragmatism, confidence in processes, and a high level of spirituality but usually without specific religious commitment. They are second Harry Potter generation but have no frame of reference for understanding the spiritual themes in the books and movies.¹⁴

David Seel argues that we must adjust our attitudes and perceptions toward millennials. They are the largest American generation, most often misunderstood or underestimated, and vital to the American future. All our extensive modernistic cohort research has imparted information but not wisdom about the millennials. The millennials can tell us best that, as a generation, they want to repair or replace what they see wrong about the values and life-practices of the generation before them, and they are about much more.¹⁵ Whether Millennials or Mosaics, the New Copernicans’ responses to reality already have created alarm in contemporary American churches and a *S.S. Titanic* warning already affecting the evangelical church bodies. The millennials have much to teach the older generations, even those who already have adopted much of the new social imaginary or frame.¹⁶

The New Thinkers

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (1888-1973) was a polymathic scholar, a general historian, an authority on medieval European law, in much of his later scholarship an unorthodox sociologist, and much else. He invented a neo-scientific field called *metanomics*, a fully experiential, experimental sociology grounded in the intentional employment of formal, dialogical speech in real human situations, but without the imprimatur of the professional social scientists or grammarians. His metanomics undergirds most of his voluminous scholarship, but is more likely to be expressed simply as his sociology of the Cross of Reality. He developed this analytical tool for use in teaching and for interpreting the true behavior and speech of people and societies; he wanted to equip the individual and society to respond to crucial daily experiences over time. The formal dialogue that he indicated was vital in his system, for example, accomplishes personal transformation, and grammar was “the discipline of changing from one form into another,” which refers to the “multiformity” that all people experience as their life-roles and relationships change over time. Grammar “unlocks the door to the soul. He who would explore the soul must fathom the secrets of language.”¹⁷ Language as dialogue or inspired utterance creates and affirms in ways analogous to the actions and words of God. Rosenstock-Huessy taught in his “Cross of Reality” that “each and every language-created community has a past and future in time, and an inner and outer face or dimension in space.” We speak of “the true”, “the real”, even “our God”, “by virtue of oaths, pledges, acts of faith on the part of those making such affirmations.” The world we make depends on our belief and trust in ways of living that *are revealed in theology and worship, and that are secure or durable in the present and in perpetuity.* “[It] is we who decide what belongs to the past and what shall be part of the future.”¹⁸

Enduring human societies depend on the reliable, consistent use of language, and such language comes from serious, formal, intentional discussion and dialogue. Conversely, “War, crisis, revolution and degeneracy are lopsided diseases of one and the same body: speech.” According to Rosenstock-Huessy, “Speech that is not spoken everywhere results in war. Speech that is not spoken on all necessary avenues of life inside its own area results in crisis. Speech that was not spoken yesterday ends in revolution. Speech which cannot be spoken tomorrow brings decay.”¹⁹ His insight echoes a friend’s inspiration, Franz Rosenzweig, whose *Star of Redemption* climaxed with his representation of the human face in the figure of the Star: “The mouth is consummator and fulfiller of all expression of which the countenance is capable, both in speech as, at last, in the silence behind which speech retreats: in the kiss. It is in the eyes that the eternal countenance shines for man; it is the mouth by whose words man lives.”²⁰ People always must choose how to respond *crucially* to the offerings and demands of the day and over time, even in death.

Remarkably, Rosenstock-Huessy’s own redemptive, revelatory and revolutionary anticipations of the Christian future share similarities with those of the Millennials or Mosaics or New Copernicans, none more so than in the assertion that the Christian future involves a church without walls. Franz Rosenzweig offered a slightly different view, acknowledging the Johannine church as “amorphous and necessarily unestablished,” but, “always dependent on the established Church.” The

Johannine church also finds a model in the Russian church that epitomizes Christian hope. It “is not built: it can only grow.” Rosenzweig’s example is peculiar to immediate post-Great War Germany, but he insisted that the Johannine church is the new home of Christians who find they must convert to this completed, hope-filled expression of Christian faith. His statement is startling at first, but compels reflection about a faith that is lost but cannot simply be found again. Nones or fugitives from the church cannot simply “return” to it. There must be some reframing that facilitates a relevant, meaningful and truly attractive call, invites response and facilitates renewal and restoration on all sides. Adding to the impact, he also declares that the “Johannine completion” would be impossible without the Jews, for it “flows directly from the eternal people of hope . . . toward the Christian peoples more experienced in love and faith than in hope.”²¹ These statements do, however, strike at the heart of Rosenzweig’s intellectual and spiritual relationship with Rosenstock-Huessy as Jew and Jewish Christian, as does their conviction that Christians were in a certain sense “pagans”. They spoke not evangelically but philosophically and spiritually concerning cultural matters as much as from individual belief. If the contemporary churches in the German Empire had the “form of godliness” but not the power,²² then the Johannine completion was the matrix of conversion and the only source of hope. According to Rosenstock-Huessy, all souls, Christian or pagan (he speaks to German survivors of the Great War), must, like Ruth to Naomi, overcome unbelief, wounds and transgressions and find real life in the Spirit, who, like the heart of a loving spouse, lifts us up so that we all are in turn able to love one another and to bear one another’s burdens.²³

The New Thinkers strove to reframe their world moving forward.²⁴ For Rosenstock-Huessy, incarnational speech led the way to God and to the anthropurgy through which people can be like God. The goal always includes “truly human society,” wherein down-to-earth Christianity that transforms people is a secular demonstration of the gospel; in the Johannine sense heaven is present in daily life in uncanny but effective ways.²⁵ People are changed when they respond, as Rosenstock-Huessy expressed it, “Truth is vital and must be socially represented—*Respondeo etsi mutabor* (I respond though I will be changed).²⁶ Responding to revealed truth, each person must make costly commitments, and they cannot be cheap or lightly taken.

Harold Stahmer emphasized that Rosenstock-Huessy gave society first place but without neglecting the individual: “the antinomies and anxieties surrounding the dark nights and moments of individual souls alienated and estranged from their fellowmen” need not be if society rather than the individual is primary, because then every person has his or her needs met. The Mosaics / Millennials who transit their days in the company of their small tribal groups understand this intuitively and practically. The paradox is that in achieving a high-functioning society that relies on a “high regard for speech” both society and individuals are strengthened. Such achievement has been a social priority in the most opportune times through the church and public education, but that priority now suffers.²⁷

Existential Crisis, the New Thinking, and the Cross of Reality

A century ago the New Thinkers sought innovative ways to speak and new avenues for dialogue in which Speech Thinking is the tool by which activities become acts of creation; in any generation, there is the potential to “make epoch” through communication. This possibility is real if believers oblige themselves to pursue friendship and honest conversation with the Mosaics / Millennials / New Copernicans. The New Thinking paradigm assumes “the centrality of speech, time, history, and faith.” The “grammar of the soul” is logical, intuitive, and gives structure to the soul. “[G]rammar is the key that unlocks the door to the soul. He who would explore the soul must fathom the secrets of language.”²⁸

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy (1888-1973) and his best known interlocutor Franz Rosenzweig (1886-1929) had begun a dynamic intellectual and spiritual dialogue that redirected each man’s life and career from 1913 onward.²⁹ Coming of age during mounting imperial crisis, they served in the German imperial army during the Great War and found terrible and provocative grounds to question the reasons for Europe’s torments. Rosenstock-Huessy later expressed their urgency in 1918 as they grasped for adequate responses to the monumental crisis that meant the “end of German statehood.” He himself

“never again believed in a sovereign Germany—it was evident that the spiritual powers by which God’s Spirit was represented in the German nation as in any other of the West, that is to say the Church, the Government, the institutions of higher learning, all three had piteously failed. They had not been anointed with one drop of the oil of prophecy which God requires from our governors, from our teachers, and from our churches, if they shall act under the grace of God. Not one of them had had any inkling of the doom or any vision for any future beyond mere national sovereignty.”³⁰

Recognizing he could no longer serve this “apoplectic” trio of Church, Government, and Institutions, he could not “become a parasite of German defeat.” He could not sin against the Holy Ghost that way. He experienced *metanoia*, “the unwillingness to continue,” which was the experience of “decision” or being “cut-off from one’s own routines in a paid and honored position.” Being “called into a new, dangerous form of existence which did not yet exist,” Rosenstock-Huessy responded in faith to create “new ways of life.”³¹

Forced to accept Germany’s failure and summoned to new life directions, Rosenstock-Huessy and other members of the Patmos Circle responded to challenges that now appear profoundly greater than those our contemporaries face, but one must be naïve to believe that to be precisely true.³² Firstly, the day-to-day challenges and threats facing many people are no less demanding than those imposed by war, and they are experienced socially as well as individually. This is the experience of many Mosaics / Millennials in our cross-pressured world. Secondly, Rosenstock-Huessy would probably not dwell long on any difference in degree between the major and minor decisions people make individually, and, moreover,

especially the decisions of societies and governments. All human responses to times and situations are *crucial* daily experiences that require moving forward.

According to Rosenstock-Huessy, the war's end prompted

*“a period of total renewal and overhauling. If any period may be called one of emigration, this was it. When I immigrated into the United States with my wife in 1933, it was nothing like our inner immigration upon Patmos achieved after 1915. After that year, we lived totally unconcerned with the prevalent departments or divisions of existing social order and thought. The niceties of the antitheses faith and science, capital and labor, object and subject, Protestant and Catholic, lost their validity. We entered a much more open situation. I suppose that any crisis brings this experience. We, however, were dedicated now to never going back behind it and to devoting the rest of our lives, instead, to a return to normalcy, to the new norm of this extraordinary experience.”*³³

These words evoked the experiences of war veterans, but also the experience of the New Copernicans, notwithstanding that the Patmos Circle members were among millions of war survivors trying to get their lives together in 1918. This is quite the point, however, because the new frame shift does not signify empty seeking or rebellion but serious questing for a monumental generation, many of them fugitives from their parents' faith and congregations because they find little strength or relevance in them. Despite the “quiet drifting away” or fugitive status from the churches, Millennials desire spiritual meaning and experience with God, but they will not seek these in ways their elders approve or understand. Yet they typically need help to make sense of our bewildering times, claims Seel, and why, and how to seek the faith that meets their needs, and traditional ways are increasingly unlikely to work. They lack the language to grapple with their needs and desires, but their elders and the churches lack the language to help them. The generation that reached adulthood around the year 2000 are “the poster children of seekers or explorers because they maintain an open mind and adopt a provisional attitude toward belief and reality, all the while longing for more.”³⁴

In their thinking, actions, and relationships, the New Copernicans embody a social imaginary in which they are explorers and not passé “dwellers”, tending to be “open transcendent” and drawn to “true myths” in their spirituality as opposed to “closed transcendent” and inclined to propositional religion. They are “open immanent” in their searching for knowledge, “haunted doubters” and susceptible to the Nova Effect, that is, “the explosion of different options for belief and meaning in a secular₃ age, produced by the concurrent cross pressures of our history.” Teresa of Avila is more appealing than Billy Graham. Celtic or premodern spirituality, including pre-modern Christianity, appeals more because of the emphasis on exploration, journey, and pilgrimage. The New Copernicans prefer experiences such as “boutique hospitality” that emphasize the quality of relationships, authenticity, and home-cooked shared meals. For the New Copernicans, relationship is paramount, basic to reality, and verbal rather than nominative, and, as Seel observes, Trinitarian but also universal. “We need to recapture the Celtic priority of belonging before

believing, of building relationships first before demanding creedal affirmation . . . churches need to provide safe places for honest conversation—in effect, an alternative to secular third places.” Millennials in turn can help the church to regain authenticity, much like the court jester whose job is to tell the truth to power. Seel shapes an appeal to believing readers to understand above all else that the “haunted” New Copernicans have deep unmet needs and desires just like anyone else at any other time, and that believers and the churches need to regard them as persons whose dominant interests and concerns about the world coincide with their heartfelt spiritual longings. The church has the right answers leading to God and healing but needs to find the right ways to communicate those answers.³⁵

Working Toward a Generational Correction

What, then, does Rosenstock-Huessy offer for generational correction? He wrote, “Whenever I can pick out a new “chronology” or era, I feel like a collector who has discovered a new butterfly.” This was his answer and antidote to textbook periodizations and the tendency of scholars and teachers to prize “facts” above “periods”, for “a system of periods embodies the hierarchy of values of a generation.”³⁶ He resisted the perception of the historian as “merely a scholar.” Some human events, “experienced life”, leave such a mark (The Battle of Waterloo, for instance) that the historian can only acknowledge the human experiences and references to an event or period and the names these have created: “Man is a name-giving animal. Conscious experience is the presupposition of a new name.”³⁷ Historians may only define and correct names, and the historian’s moral task is, as with Thucydides, to unify and restore memories and so heal real wounds, and to preserve national memory. Without this process, various national, social and racial mythologies become substitutes.³⁸ Again, the emphasis is on acknowledging genuine human experiences in each generation or period, retrospectively, presently, and prospectively.

John Seel asserts that the Millennials as New Copernicans accept the role of contingency in life, are more postmodern than modern, and more open than closed to alternative sources of knowing and belief: “We are all touched by an acute awareness of alternative positions to our own.” The observation though not strictly novel speaks to the intensity of our awareness. This why even traditional truth and practice of elder generations is not safe from fact-testing--verification is a more intense process requiring action, not just saying so.³⁹

One of Rosenstock-Huessy’s critiques resonates with the New Copernican preference for exploration, experience, and authenticity. His embrace of a faithful life required evidence of a genuine life. He indicated the contemporary Gnostics, even those in the church, who prized knowledge without experience, who “have not entered the realm of experience in which the man himself is the fruit of lips, and the heart of somebody else’s lips.” The call of Juliet to Romeo, of wife to husband, of Jesus to followers, is the matter of one who “learned to know himself as called forth to be the lips of the soul whom he loved.”⁴⁰ Called as “You” by the lover, one responds, acknowledging the lover, also knowing that in the event, one also may speak for or on behalf of the one who initiated the love. This is analogous to the willingness of friends to speak up for one another, for brothers and sisters to speak

for others. This is the ideal of Christian fellowship, but it is the same set of interactions among any human association, as few as two friends and as many as the people of a large nation, yet one regards others not in the abstract or in terms of space but in terms of names and living relationships experienced in time, and times. The “times of our lives” are “marriages, baptisms of children, and funerals,” and the holidays, among other experiences; “time-based celebrations [that] seek to determine our thoughts, lifting them up in time, rather than space. They preach: Let us think of all spaces as structured times, as hours.”⁴¹ This set of relations is crucial for reaching and embracing the Nones, and certainly anyone. The typical modern ponders quizzically the proposition about the meaning of their own time; many Millennials and New Copernicans are more likely to recognize the meaning instantly. They already live in the realized ascendancy of time freed from the hegemony of space, particularly external space, the fourth dimension, and “the habitat of death.” It is not only space that is multidimensional, but time also has three dimensions, past, present, and future. External space, the space of nature, catches the castoffs of time, so that many things “exist”, nameless though perhaps labeled, without any possession of real time. People may sense this. Whether they are welcomed into loving relationship, and thus into a new time of life, and for life, will determine whether they receive a name and new meaning. The questing and journeying of the Mosaics / Millennials / New Copernicans suggest they want something more.⁴²

Rosenstock-Huessy directed his Cross of Reality (or Actuality referring to the practical goal of actualization) to these matters as a way to be more aware of the dynamics of human experience in time and space. The book *Hegemony of Spaces* “was written to make us aware of the processes behind social transformation, and the kinds of loves that need to be nurtured for us to live better. It was written to make us freer, . . . by helping set us on a path ‘on which this reclamation of our freedom over spaces and across times can be accomplished.’”⁴³

Rosenstock-Huessy proposed an instrument and method of working through modern problems in his Cross of Reality and “grammatical thinking,” as distinctive approaches to modern problems. He combined the prospect of life in the Spirit and John’s witness as “the first Christian theologian” to the Incarnation, teleologically anticipating the arrival of the New Jerusalem “as a healing of the nations without any visible Church at its center.”⁴⁴ Yet its reality is already present even while we anticipate it, he wrote, observing that “for the one who lives in the End-time, two things are coupled together—the expectation of the Second Coming [*die Parusie*] and its delay—the contradiction out of which one lives.”⁴⁵ For Rosenstock-Huessy, living in belief meant that he kept trust during an indeterminate but surely present interim time. His system left room for the secular spaces we inhabit. Summarizing the scholarly interdependence of Franz Rosenzweig and Rosenstock-Huessy in the relationship between the Star and the Cross of Reality and planetary revolution, Wayne Cristaudo wrote,

“But the heavens are not implacable—they revolve. And Rosenstock-Huessy noted the meaning that the revolving planets of heaven would come to have for the Christian peoples—revolution. For those peoples took their understanding of how life on earth should conform to the promise of the heavenly father by bringing a world out

of joint back into accord with the planetary order that fulfils the promise of the love that, in Dante's majestic formulation, 'moves the sun and other stars.' The story of the Christian peoples is as much the story of revolutions as of implacable command, or rather of the implacable command requiring the loveless hells that are built through selfish and blind pursuits."⁴⁶

Speech-Thinking, the New Copernicans, and Kingdom Immanence

Speaking from the promise of the third article of the Apostles' Creed about Jesus' conception by the Holy Spirit, Rosenstock-Huessy envisioned the objective of reviving "all dead branches of the generations of mankind, the re-inspiring of every mechanized branch of the generations." The power behind the virginal conception "so prevails over (or reclaims) a life that we must change our roles again and again—and so something more is required. If our life has been transformed this way, then we must be able to lay hold of the Spirit again and again. And with this he, the Spirit, must also be able to be discovered again from year to year and decade to decade." Our spiritual discoveries will always be manifest in the form of new verbal expressions, language and speech, across the generations and with each new day. Our new life in the Spirit includes a change of vocabulary so that we can lay hold of what is revealed to us with original authority, as "glorious as on the first day."⁴⁷ This pattern of belief and response is congenial to the New Copernican mood and mode of exploration, openness, and the desire to take in new horizons. The New Copernican is creatively and experientially open to a new and always evolving social imaginary including reconsiderations of oneself in community. The New Thinkers would emphasize speaking before thinking, not that one does not think through what is to be said, but that in the saying one's intentions, plans and agreements occur in time and are realized. The New Copernicans are seeking new ways of speaking at the same time as they follow unconventional paths.

Pentecostalism and the Spirit in Evidence

The Church and the generations pray for breath. Spirituality is a ubiquitous but not always palpable meme. It also evokes the Johannine Age of the Spirit, that is, the third millennium after the advent of Jesus Christ. Pope John Paul II regarded the Second Vatican Council from 1962 to 1965 as the new path to and preparation for the third millennium and his papacy as a reminder that the Church rightly sacrifices time to God.⁴⁸ Pope Francis continues teachings implied in Vatican II that require judicious attention to and reframing of the Church's work through time. His assertion in *Evangelii Gaudium* that "Time is greater than space" resounds with that major absorption in the work of Rosenstock-Huessy, as if tracking his own comment; for example, the "constant tension between fullness and limitation" involves the fullness of newly apparent horizons in tension with the enclosure experienced in the limitation of the moment. Because "time governs spaces, illumines them and makes them links in a constantly expanding chain, with no possibility of return," the Church can focus on generating "new processes in society." The Church must "engage other persons and groups who can develop them to the point where they bear fruit in

significant historical events.” Not only is Pope Francis recognizing the value of “slow evangelization,” *Evangelii Gaudium* agrees with the axiomatic process of “making epoch” in Rosenstock-Huessy’s teaching. The principles and processes also leave open the horizon of faith to be communicated with and through all the generations.⁴⁹

Movements in American Christianity since 1900 have shaped American religious consciousness and habits. The emergence of Pentecostalism at the turn of the century seeded new congregations and denominations, though they were only one sector of activity in a new Age of the Spirit. The opportunity of an open door to universal mystical and spiritual experiences has included the burgeoning of Pentecostal Christianity in the Third World. It also has produced, alternatively, a pluralism that grinds against Christian, especially Protestant, orthodoxy and in the ways Pentecostals read and interpret the Bible. Even the position and insights of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy have been taken in directions that are uncomfortable for this writer, if only, for example, that a panentheistic view of human anthropurgy that appears to efface the Otherness of God may go too far. One of his students, Clinton C. Gardner, has made explicit the coalescent identity of the Holy Spirit and the human spirit, and of the divine Logos and the word that is at work in persons, even all of humanity. He wrote, “Thus, when we explore the mysteries of how speech, the word, works in us, we are simultaneously exploring how the Holy Spirit works in us.”⁵⁰ Gardiner is helpful in characterizing the Eastern Orthodox and mystical insights and influence of thinkers such as Solovyov, Bulgakov, and Berdyaev, and their probable influence on the panentheism of Whitehead and Hartshorne.⁵¹ His enthusiastic advocacy of the concept of anthropurgy and incarnational Christianity is a reminder that Christians need not forsake God’s work through His Spirit in their lives. His other affirmations give me pause, however. He interprets the Rosenstock-Huessy’s Cross of Reality in ways that appear to supersede the author’s intentions—this is my impression—when he writes,

“Indeed, that cross is best understood as a dynamic model of just how speech works in us. It shows us that we live in an infinitely richer realm than that described to us by natural science or by most traditional theology. We are neither the cold observers of the world outside of us nor the faithful children of a God above. Instead, we live at the heart of reality. We are the agents for the evolution as well as the revolution of matter and spirit. There is no outside prime mover like the God described by Descartes, Spinoza, or the deists. Nor is there a supreme being, above and beyond, like the God of the theists. The only motion of the spirit is within human souls and between human souls. God speaks, or fails to speak, in each of us. He is infinitely close, not infinitely distant.”⁵²

Perhaps, though, I am simply uncomfortable with the implications of the post-secular yet pre-modern systemic conception of Rosenstock-Huessy, for he not only suggests but affirms the full embodiment and expression of the Holy Spirit in the words and actions of responsive human beings. Why cannot God be transcendent while immanent? That would mean that I also am uncomfortable with the extended implications and applications of the experiences of Israel with Yahweh as well as the

things Jesus and the Apostle Paul declared about the Kingdom and the Church. Christians have not exhausted the height, depth, and breadth of their teachings. That is, perhaps, precisely the point, as Rosenstock-Huessy might say; that is, every generation must build on what is past, be fully resident in the present, but be preparing, interpreting, and validating what we know to be true as we proceed to the future. And what if this audacious promise of communion is the goal of all New Copernicans, let alone all human yearning? Should we not allow its possibility and be open to the changes the Spirit brings? Still, when Gardiner, writing about “God as a whole humanity,” states that “Perhaps we could even say that God knows himself only in us, enjoys himself only in us, and has no other being than his life in us,” I can imagine the conviction, but I need more wisdom from the Church Fathers and patient study and prayer on the point.⁵³

The Johannine vision is dynamic and full. Its conception lay with Joachim di Fiore. His three ages of human history were, as Phyllis Tinkle put it, “an Age of the Father, now past, an Age of the Son, still present, and an Age of the Spirit, emerging.”⁵⁴ The Third Age was to find all humanity turned not to the Father or the Son, primarily, but to the Spirit, “the third member of the Trinity.” Tinkle and Sweeney state that “This would be a moment marked by a decreased importance in ecclesial structures, sacraments, creeds, and clergy, when all people would begin to relate more directly “as friends” to the Divine. Joachim saw the seed of this idea in the imagination of St. Paul, quoting 2 Corinthians 3:17, ‘Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom.’”⁵⁵ Anticipating the history’s culmination, “Joachim was studying the meaning of God, looking at the trajectory of human history, and identifying a new day of openness, inspiration, and intimacy between God and earth.” Tinkle and Sweeney accentuate the freedom and movement of the Spirit, which is “unsettled, not settled, wild, not tame,” as Jesus exclaimed in John 3:7-8: “the wind blows where it chooses.” The Spirit’s choice, of course, has included the Pentecostal movement.⁵⁶

Rosenstock-Huessy observed that Joachim of Fiore inspired “an new monastic religion” fulfilled in Francis of Assisi and contrary to Scholasticism. “In his terms, the Virgin Mary had to conceive a new son by the spirit. This son was a new people, with all the power (*postestas*) under heaven that was promised by Daniel.” Joachim prophesied the advent of a new era of salvation to occur between 1201 and 1260. This new era, valuable at least metaphorically, continued the revolution begun with the founding of the feast day of All Souls in the Church calendar three centuries before. It was the Johannine future, according to Joachim. John, the Apostle of charity, is made the patron of the new age of pure spirit.” The Joachimite left-wing, the Spirituals, prepared for Wycliffe, Huss and Luther, as part of a revolution set for the “new ideal of poverty” that demonstrated an earlier true expression of Christianity than that which was evident in a church a papacy choked with wealth. Francis of Assisi validates the vision of Joachim while remaining a faithful son of the Church, recalling its past, but, with the begging friars, modeling the life of a new era like unto the radical life Jesus Christ revealed to the world.⁵⁷

Matthew Del Novo distinguishes Pentecostalism from Protestantism and calls Pentecostalism post-modern, belonging to the passing of ideology and entry into “an age of interpretation.” Franz Rosenzweig held Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as the “first father of the spiritual era of Christianity, and Del Novo nominated him the first

father of Pentecostalism because of his “experiential, developmental, and personal (in a word, hermeneutical)” connection with it, and because of his “admirable secularity” within which he “incarnates the Johannine third age of the Church.” Pentecostalism claims the liberty to interpret the Bible in ways inimical to Protestant readings; like Goethe, Pentecostals exhibit creativity and autonomy in interpretation and application. There is also greater creativity and liberty in their relationships with the Spirit that cannot be restricted.⁵⁸

Seel dedicates important attention to the New Copernicans and their tendencies in belief, from atheism to New Age-ism to Christian mysticism, to name a few. He has responded with a specifically evangelical plea that Christians should comprehend the narratives of the New Copernicans and seek genuine relationships with them. Rosenstock-Huessy’s metanomics covers these possibilities in part because his system was developed alongside others who like him experienced an extremely cross-pressured situation. His solution lay finally in the matter of being-with in a new “experiment” in which persons were put in first place, each as a philosopher employing a new philosophy in which “the method of sound common sense” was a “method of scientific thinking.” The approach was not standard science, in fact contrary to modern ideologies and science, and as well “a human category that doesn’t exist in nature, and doesn’t exist in theology.” Harold Stahmer wrote, “In other words, two or more people coming together ‘despite’ differences creates something new that is of the originals but also beyond the strictures of the originals, and so may open a new way into the future, together.”⁵⁹ Speech, that is, language, grammar, dialogue, and most importantly, intentional, even formal dialogue such as legislation and jurisprudence, was the vehicle of human belonging and transformation. Again, Rosenstock-Huessy proposed a new scientific approach to understanding persons through the grammar of the soul, a *novum organon* or new instrument and method. “Since it is the discipline of changing from one form into another,” he wrote, “grammar is revealed to us as the organon of both the study of the soul and the study of the people. The life of the people arises from events which shape and transform it. This way grammar renews the way history is written.”⁶⁰ The New Copernican emphasis on narrative is congenial to his proposal.

Challenging Modern Dualities/Dualisms, Or, Multiformity as a New Insight

Rosenstock-Huessy and the New Copernicans both observe a division between dualistic thinking and the forms of thinking and believing that achieve mature creativity and growth. He challenged the legacy of Descartes and Nietzsche in modernity particularly in the conception and interpretation of spaces.⁶¹ Cristaudo and Huessy emphasize this problem in their Introduction to *In the Cross of Reality*, volume 1; wherein Rosenstock-Huessy interrogates our fundamental presuppositions about reality. They write, “Descartes and Nietzsche also—to change the metaphor—bookend the preoccupations of modernity that keep us oblivious to how our real, time-gaining powers are the key to our survival of death.”⁶² Truly fruitful or productive living must properly include the experience of resurrection as the person and the society must die to the old and live to the new. They write that resurrection is not a “spatial experience” but “a temporal process that is conspicuous in the institutional nature of our social existence. We are partitioning

creatures. We partition spaces (as Rosenstock-Huessy argues, into the two predominant spheres of play and seriousness), and we partition times (via our many personal, social, cultural, secular, and religious calendars). Moreover, quoting Rosenstock-Huessy, ‘Our freedom consists of being able to perpetually partition new times and spaces.’⁶³ His arguments relating to freedom as a concept described and expressed in modern thinking challenge modern Enlightenment notions of freedom. Cristaudo and Huessy remind us that “freedom is a condition of how we live” and that it demands space and time in order to continue, which in turn requires a “founding” of “a new space to express a new means of solidarity that will enable others to live more freely over time.”⁶⁴ Perhaps the most important statement in their introduction points to Rosenstock-Huessy’s affirmation of the lost value of pre-modern humanity and “the archaic idea of divine service,” itself a bald-faced challenge to the regimes and proponents of ultra-modern ideologues, including those of the university disciplines whose commitments are cultic and thus warrant his naming them as “divine service.”⁶⁵

Rosenstock-Huessy does not bear analysis without his conception of the relationship of space to time, and he does not associate them blithely or directly. For most of us, the dedicated interpreters are essential here.⁶⁶ He consistently described an immanent, non-transcendent, that is to say, secular Christianity in that Christianity could be fully and transformatively present in the world. It was his anthropological understanding of the God-summoned human being that one received the Spirit, and thus could be ever renewed. It is “incarnatory” or incarnational Christianity, and it is the origin of revolutionary, redemptive, and revelatory development in the world.⁶⁷

Rosenstock-Huessy’s book *Planetary Service: A Way Into the Third Millennium* examined the source of mankind’s response to the command to care for the planet. He taught about three millennial time frames, noting “the predominance [or hegemony] of spaces” in the second millennium. Spaces are “developed time-spaces” or “projected times,” so that times such as revolutions or weddings connect vitally to spaces and places. We recognize the priority of time in expressions such as timeliness, early, late, or the “fullness of time.” Rosenstock-Huessy emphasized “experienced, living time.”⁶⁸ His vision of a “planetary age” and “a single, common time-space” and other cross-contingencies sounds like globalization, but it is a true globalization focused on people in harmonious relationship. He foresaw the decline of emphasis on states and the rise of global economic interconnections. In the midst of these emerging characteristics—or their prevention and frustration—the church needs to find new ways of expression and new ways to bring people together.⁶⁹ This is a critical, or crucial factor determining faith with members of the millennial generation, including the New Copernicans. George Allen Morgan summarizes the desirable scenario, in which

“small groups of people from contrasting backgrounds should represent Christianity incognito without ecclesiastical authority or denominational labels. They should begin by listening to their members curse the troubles of living in today’s industrialized socioeconomy. Thus the preaching Church should become a listening Church, hearing confessions of social rather than individual sin and then achieving a

loving and understanding response, setting experience in better perspective. Such should be the Johannine Christianity of the future, acting as a good Samaritan to the tired souls of a workaday world, inviting people to meet together in hope without requiring faith, awaiting inspiration by the Holy Spirit, the healing spirit, which comes when two or more are gathered together. As people commune together in this way, they might shed the armor of class, party, profession, or race that separates them and thus move toward the unification of humankind, which is the goal of the third millennium.”⁷⁰

In the 1950s Rosenstock-Huessy asked how humanity was to emerge and escape from the “Egyptian darkness of a mechanized age.” He was less concerned about the longevity of humans or societies than about the renewal of life in both. He saw the necessity that everyone be fully accounted for by our incarnation in “this Son of God, who is said to embody at once Bride and Bridegroom, Word and Flesh,” what Nicolas of Cusa called “gods of a time.”⁷¹ This was the prerequisite for planetary service.⁷² His *The Hegemony of Spaces* as a critique of, a counterproposal to, and a redefining of sociology refused to accept a “science of man” requiring that human beings be objectified and quantified. He shuddered that people should be known “exactly” or understood fully as in the case of utopian or dystopian societies that “lay claim to ‘knowing’ what we humans are, but they don’t *acknowledge* us.” He proposes a sociology that acknowledges and affirms “The creatures who speak a language and form societies on this basis”⁷³ Rosenstock-Huessy stated the purpose of the second volume of his *Cross of Reality (Die Vollzahl der Zeiten--The Fullness or Full Count of the Times)*, and it is worth quoting for its value in setting a benchmark for comparison to the longings and challenges facing the New Copernicans, indeed, most of our millennial generation. Noting the last generation, forty years before the year 2000, he wrote:

“Through it our history of suffering becomes more transparent; it simplifies itself. At the end of the second volume, the author as well [as] his patient reader will find themselves liberated from the prevailing detours of philosophy and not only pointed toward the new paths, but rather assigned to it. No other ways are left to us. All the same, the crossroads are more important than any particular road; the return from one way to another is of greater concern to a real human being than this path or that road. Therein consists the freedom we must reclaim. Our freedom consists of being able to perpetually partition new times and new spaces.”

Most assuredly, Rosenstock-Huessy declared that the cross of Christ was at the center point of history and the basis of a confident, scientific advance in understanding.⁷⁴

The New Copernicans are representatives of a fresh, holistic approach to knowledge that countenances different kinds of knowing, including knowledge through both the physical and metaphysical sciences. Their emphasis on the immediacy of experience in connection with natural and human environments is not

so far different from that of Rosenstock-Huessy, but the distinctions are important. Both go beyond typical religious approach or understanding in favor of a fully immanent spirituality (or God!) and experience-based belief.

The researchers and Christian workers who describe and grapple with the New Copernican phenomenon are themselves drawn both to crises of the “traditional” churches as well as to the movement or members of what cannot be fully known or described in the so-called Emerging Church—the similarities are real. The New Copernicans, though, may be gnostic, antinomian, atheistic, or agnostic; attempts to label them besides the new moniker deflect the identification of a “changing American social imaginary” pervasive as the air we breathe. Seel claims then, that “Instead they embrace the cross-pressured nature of contemporary life embodying the experience of hyper-pluralism.” Following the philosopher Charles Taylor, he contrasts this insight with the philosophical postmodernism that has been a segment of Enlightenment thinking. The millennials’ bent toward reserving judgment and exploring truth from varied approaches may thus be the fulfillment of a less rationalized postmodernism. Alternatively, it could be an inclination I could call “premodern” or even ancient-traditional, such as in Celtic Christianity. It is not specifically pagan though some people may be open to paganism’s offerings. This statement alone may captivate us for now in a comparison with the earlier New Thinkers. Rosenstock-Huessy advised responding to hurried, confusing times, “our age of acceleration” by taking or making time,⁷⁵ Another antidote was his proposal for a “Pirates’ Esperanto,” a new use of language to “fill the gaps left by the silencing of each group destroyed by technological progress.”⁷⁶ Modern technological-industrial time has swallowed up and muddled human time.⁷⁷ Our media exceed human capacities to absorb and reflect, so we are in “symbiotic” (trans-human?) relationship to numerous technological devices, but are we then properly human? Time saving does not equate to life-preserving. At what “wavelength” do “the souls of men respond?”⁷⁸

Rosenstock-Huessy called his book *Planetary Service* rather than using the term “world”, or as we would more likely say, “global.” Usage determines meaning; the term “planetary” emphasizes the locality of earth as distinctive, moreover unique, and certainly not abstract as by various “world-views” and their sometimes-destructive effects. Paradoxically, the term “planetary” evokes Voltaire’s *Candide* at work in his garden, at last, but more than that. Rosenstock-Huessy put it this way:

“As I have already pointed out, the expression, “world” doesn’t really mean either “heaven and earth” on one hand, or “planet” on the other. The “world” has nothing to teach us--loveless and silent as it is--therefore everybody can form his own opinions about it. But you cannot use educated people’s philosophic opinions to master either the “earth” or the “planet.” The Earth demands that we work, toil and sweat. The planet demands that we participate, engage ourselves, and join up passionately. Your philosophy of life is worthless garbage compared to your sweat and tears. I’ll take your philosophy seriously only if you risk your life for it. That is ancient wisdom. Living souls between heaven and Earth have never risen from being clods of earth

to being members of the hosts of the Lord. The hosts of the Lord obey and believe without seeing and forming opinions.”⁷⁹

In his book *Planetary Service*, Rosenstock-Huessy relates the story of Charles Péguy who died at the Battle of the Marne in September 1914. Péguy wrote before the battle about breaching the boundaries of hell in order to “save from the torment those souls damned to stay forever distant” though he himself should be damned. He wrote that “we must save ourselves together.” In response, Rosenstock-Huessy declared, “We must reach God together.” The exchange indicated what was axiomatic for him: that what we say and do in the present to transform daily existence means no less than does our aim and hope for heaven. He spoke as a war veteran. He declared that the military dead of the “war of 1914” all died “in defense of the old borders of Europe.” War dominated the first half of the twentieth century, war and responses to it continued in the second half and beyond, including the destruction of nation-states or their citizens who were out-of-bounds.⁸⁰ Rosenstock-Huessy sought to vanquish the prevailing patterns by invoking the “moral equivalent of war.” His work is shot through with the emphasis, and it matches emphatically with his teachings on fulfilling the Christian gospel in the present and in harmony with the determining teleology of the faith.⁸¹ That teleology involves a common destiny for all humanity: “Without destiny there would only be females and males, yellow men and black men, Bostonians and Los Angelenos, eternally divided. But beyond these are the sons and daughters of the *One Man*. A common destiny for all the children of man has been discovered for us.”⁸² His stance fits a world in which all distances have been reduced to zero, so that numerous old boundaries, including the obstruction of distance, have functionally been removed. Yet other spatial and time boundaries remain or are being continually created in current experiences. That Rosenstock-Huessy would believe these matters could be changed may be taken as scandalous, but no more so than the exclamations of the Apostle Paul that the Cross of Christ had removed the “barrier of hostility between us.”⁸³

If there is a thematic statement from Rosenstock-Huessy for this paper, it might best be the one arising from his analogy of new generations as “pirates” who will “attempt” new things in ways that most of society would question or even reject, particularly regarding speech, presumably in all of its rhetorical forms:

“Speech has long since expressed this secret.⁸⁴ It is just that the militant number-magic of technology has outshouted quieter speech. The pirate of peace will have to salve the planet with a drop of the oil with which the prophet anointed the king of peace, and with which all pious kings have been anointed ever since. *The pirate, layman, or Samaritan who remains unrecognizable is the uncrowned king of today*. But even if uncrowned he must not remain un-anointed. His calendar unofficially continues the calendar of the saints. Don’t laugh at me. I am not getting unctious just because I dare speak openly of anointing the princes of peace. The word “anoint” only means that someone must be freshly prepared for something which awaits him in the future. When a bride leaves her parents’ house, her father used to

put the same burden upon her. “The young bride leaves her parents’ house: go, love, and suffer.” No one, least of all the bride, can guess what will be demanded of her on the morrow. Joy or sorrow? Always the unexpected. In this, every soul is like a bride. The uncrowned kings of the third millennium are indeed all uncrowned, but like the shepherd boy, the son of Jesse, all may know themselves anointed by the prophecy that *the world is waiting for them in order to become a planet*. World government, what a scourge of God! The planetary peace, how light a yoke.”⁸⁵

The Full Count of the Times: Anticipating the Transformation of Christianity

The New Copernican Movement is perhaps but one contemporary demonstration of a “semi-millennial” shift in spiritual emphasis that has been evident for the last century. Here at the 500-year mark of the Protestant Reformation, as studies continue to proliferate, there is ample evidence that the Reformation, made epoch as a clear break on many levels from the Western Church, from Roman Catholicism. Luther broke but did not perfect the German Reformation alone; the protesting princes at Speyer in 1529 were among the major parties who reshaped the German Empire so that by the nineteenth century civil service was a paramount calling. The Anglican Reformation of Henry VIII was a “caricature” of it, corrected only in the English Revolution, the Civil War of the 1640s and the Glorious Revolution of 1689. Rosenstock-Huessy takes this pattern of revolution back another six centuries, however, beginning with the Papal Revolution, his modern millennium. Considering his reflections on history, contemporary developments should not be surprising.⁸⁶

Wayne Cristaudo described Rosenstock-Huessy’s great work of sociology as “a work of *actualization*,” (thus, the *Cross of Reality* or *Actualization*) and was intended to reveal “the processes behind social transformation, and the kinds of loves that need to be nurtured for us to live better.”⁸⁷ George Allen Morgan wrote that “Rosenstock-Huessy is a positive and forward-looking thinker. While warning against many chances of catastrophe, he inspires us with faith, hope, and love to do the seemingly impossible.”⁸⁸ His holism accounts for much of this—it includes such a multidimensionality as “global” thinkers would appreciate, and his anthropology deepens understanding through his emphasis on the pattern of “multiformity” that explain the richness of human roles and responsibilities in the lifespan of persons and societies. Concerning the centrality of Rosenstock-Huessy’s holism, Morgan wrote, “Holism is the clue to Rosenstock-Huessy’s stand against reductionism in all fields, against explaining the whole by the parts, the present by the past, the higher by the lower.”⁸⁹ This is good discussion fodder for engaging New Copernicans.

Perhaps a true comparison lies in the degree to which the avowed aims or tendencies of the New Copernicans fit with what Rosenstock-Huessy presented as a new science, more human and intuitive yet practical and effective. He built his system, if it can be called that, on the proof of experience, not of individual observers but of groups and societies that already had demonstrated the efficacy of focused efforts to renew or strengthen their bonds. They knew from experience how to advance from the present to the future, confident about their formal roles in

conversations that built up and improved their communities. The entire array of processes could be considered real-life experiments in which the participants themselves are both the subjects and the object of the experiments. They conduct a continuing experiment, based on the principles and convictions learned through hard experiences and the wisdom of the group. The core methodology is not so much methodology but the personal and mutual commitment of all members to end objectives. Their accomplishments were the product of their efforts in concert.

Rosenstock-Huessy proposed that his “experiment” was a matter of “planetary” and therefore ultimate importance. He preferred to say “planetary” rather than world or global society; for the term stipulates that we have only our planet, Earth, and we must focus our responsibilities toward one another accordingly. Ecology, economy, ecumenism, should be priorities. These all relate to wholes, agreement and collaboration. He wrote about his law professor, the eminent jurist Otto Gierke who recognized that humanity had become a world society. Moreover, people said that “Otto Gierke sees men without their skins on.” Rosenstock-Huessy asks, “Would it help us to look at the peoples of the world without their skins on—that is—without borders—and how would we react if the peoples of the world could see themselves without their skins on?” He reflected about the first and then one of the latest universal radio broadcasts, one in 1917 during the Russian Revolution, the other of Pope John XXIII in 1963, and concluded, “So both the atheist and the Christian are already speaking to men without regard for borders or skin, namely to all mankind.⁹⁰ Media have burgeoned and advanced since then, but are we still blinded by outward appearances?

Rosenstock-Huessy also focused on borders, which, in a new, planetary age had progressively been disappearing such that the planet had become a neighborhood. The modern communications media and travel have revolutionized the human experience of the planet, reducing its scale and size. It makes sense that Rosenstock-Huessy emphasized our “planetary” situation. We are more conscious about the persistence of barriers as obstructions to peace because of the twentieth-century great wars, the Holocaust/Shoah and the many genocide campaigns, and since the advent of movements for civil rights, peace and reconciliation. Our efforts do not guarantee peace, for as long as boundaries of any kind exist there will be conflict, and some conflicts will become war—the wars themselves reveal the drastic lengths required to change physical, national boundaries, or to breach them. War and revolution work together, typically with epochal effects: “The revolutions of mankind create new time-spans for our life on earth.”⁹¹

Rosenstock-Huessy also proposed “the formation of a common service into which every young person would be pulled during life, so a new language could be spoken on earth.”⁹² Concerning barriers, boundaries, or borders, he recalled that even the Church had recognized the borders of states could only be changed by war. In his time the “last czar” Nikita Khrushchev had uttered the same fact.⁹³ He received his perspective during wartime service at the Marne and Verdun; he was no stranger to war as an army officer. There was no guarantee against war; war was also serious and not a game. One must differentiate between seriousness and play in committing to a course of action. Play is low or no risk, and ultimate risk presents the greater possibility of death. Short of abolishing war, Rosenzweig-Huessy grasped William James’ “moral equivalent of war” as befitting his own proposals.

During the interwar years, he had poured great effort into youth service movements as a way “of changing borders without a war.” Responses to his efforts were mixed over time: “I have spoiled my career in the cause of peace service corps several times in both Germany and in the United States.” He recognized, however, that similar and effective efforts for “planetary peace” were likely to go unnoticed in the process.⁹⁴

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy elaborated an economy of salvation that, paradoxically, because of world war, makes all people on earth neighbors and contemporaries. He strove to demonstrate, Wayne Cristaudo writes, “the processes that bind us into a common era, the ones that have brought us to a common path and a common task.” Rosenstock-Huessy saw that people had access to historical knowledge but could not discern the “historical waves” in “a temporal process that conforms not to mechanical time but rather to the ruptures and new paths opened by events.”⁹⁵

It is easy to miss the comprehensive vision and implications. Rosenstock-Huessy may be accused of idealism or enthusiasm, but that does not subtract from the deliberate and comprehensive nature of his proposals, for, without using theological, biblical or dogmatic language, or the language of scientific rationalism, which he avoids, he constructed and described a system based in an anthropurgy of the Spirit and expresses it in clear, everyday functional language. He accomplished this over a fifty-year career, revisiting the main themes and perfecting them (in the sense that when one’s work is done it is complete, just as when one dies his or her own life is complete, or perfect). This observation comes in review of his major works and his late-life works that progressively focused on the themes that dominated his attention. Living speech is given through the divine Spirit and can be used for good and for harm; even so, language can contradict the Spirit of God and thus be a harmful force. Like Franz Rosenzweig, Rosenstock-Huessy asserted that language and speech shape all things. For Rosenzweig speech occurred before thinking, and for Rosenstock-Huessy speech is “hierarchical” in that it is shaped by persons and groups according to needs; for example, there are daily, pedestrian speech, casual speech, and the gradations of formal speech that constitute the major tools of our integration with one another as individuals, institutions, and communities within the larger society. Without speech none of these can be created or sustained.

Clearly his thinking on these matters, based as it is on sustained common-sense observation and study of the functions of human relationships at all levels show us the actual relationships of persons and groups in society and how they have been made to work. This general insight suggests how contemporaries may wish to respond in a society that has lost much, perhaps most, of the will and the ability to build and to maintain the relationships and institutions of past generations, at least as they were and for the same reasons.

The New Copernican claim is that within the new social imaginary one and all are confronted with a new set of priorities and attitudes that require different expressions and actions because much that characterizes the priorities of former generations does not resonate with the new generations. What makes this truth noticeable, even poignant, and potentially threatening is the scope of the change that it reveals. The “Grammatical Method” of Rosenstock-Huessy was proposed as a

new social science that accomplishes what the modern “radical liberal paradigm” cannot do, that is, to accommodate time and speech and to synchronize “antagonistic distemporaries”.⁹⁶ The New Speech Thinking facilitates dialogue and collaboration where societies have come to expect they cannot be made to happen. Also, then, it is likely that Rosenstock-Huessy would insist that the new framing and the language it entails specifically reveal new realities to be considered in a new set of circumstances that themselves are part of the revelation. The revelation and the changes associated with it are not contrary to belief but are new expressions of belief. Yet it is not a total replacement of other and older systems and expressions of belief, but a renewal of genuine belief that is being communicated in ways amenable to an entirely new set of overlapping generations. The fathers have spoken and the sons have responded, but not according to the fathers’ intentions; the sons and daughters of this age who are seeking new ways of comprehending and expressing belief do so because the older ways do not meet some fundamental need; neither do they square up with the revised social imaginary.

Those who study the New Copernicans as well as the scholars who study the New Thinkers have observed how the contemporary global contexts have shaped the needs of the new generations. The proliferation of media and their positive use as tools in every area of human life have been both overly touted and underestimated. Consider the opportunities to subvert poverty using cellular telephones as tools for personal and small-business banking in third world countries with inadequate banking systems, and also the continuing debates about the good and bad implications of personal and community life with personal digital devices available at all times. Certainly the fresher means of communicating social and moral agenda for reform are predominantly conveyed through the most prominent forms of digital and broadcast media. The Windrider Institute is present on the World Wide Web where they show how they are involved in cinema development for cultural transformation. The New Copernican movement and research about it is represented on the Windrider website in a series of top quality videos and gets further attention from a small number of closely associated bloggers. All of them are associated with new initiatives in evangelical action.

In the Great War period and for a decade or so afterward, the Patmos Circle in Germany gathered their best responses to the provocations, challenges, and their own fears about the future of faith and culture and published them through the Patmos Press, which was at the time their way to publish a view counter to all that was alarming in wartime and Weimar Germany. Only a few years later they might have had the new medium of radio to use, though only with access and the money to afford it. Instead the Third Reich appropriated radio to advance an intended new national and world order and to constrict all things contrary to it. In our era the new and the ever-refined media can be positive or negative tools, but who can deny that, for Americans, cinema and home video are not only major influences? On one hand the plethora of viewing choices attests to the commercial success of the media; on the other hand, the emphasis on consumer choice favors the postmodern tendency of the customer to be as selective and self-serving in media choices as he or she is in reading. Reading options abound as well, so that the reader’s “interests” or “appropriation and use” prevail; ultimately, no literature could be read as scripture, that is, as having an authority apart from that of the reader.⁹⁷ Perhaps the New

Copernican model manifests a decentering and disruptive “poetics of postmodernism.” But I suspect that Rosenstock-Huessy would see the conflict simply as a matter-of-course; all language and speech and the creations that flow from it demand our habitual caring attention: “Language cannot be kept alive on ice or in dictionaries. The law of deterioration from inspiration to routine holds for speech as for other phases of life. Every time we speak we either renew or cheapen the words we use.”⁹⁸

Another motivation for New Copernican research is to supply new language to help a fresh generation find adequate words to express their experiences, disappointments and hopes. Yet if the New Copernicans include a renovative and fresh subset of a major generation, perhaps they have already begun to supply the language they need already, and in terms suited to our common secular experiences. Rosenstock-Huessy himself also tended to confound traditionalists as well as modernists and progressive liberals. He could, and did, use the language of Christian belief and commitment forcefully, but in his scholarship he developed means of expressing the meanings behind his orthodox Christian faith and the actual expression of such a faith in functional, practical ways, that is, neither as people speak with one another in religious conversations, nor as a pastor would deliver a Sunday sermon, and certainly not as a theologian speaks or writes according to theological conventions. I understand that in Great War and postwar Germany Rosenstock-Huessy knew he could not speak in explicitly religious ways about society, history and politics. He could not do so easily without drawing complaints in certain American situations, either! He could, and did, speak, teach, and write, however, in ways consonant with the Scriptures, incorporating well-considered principles and social understanding. This was true in Germany, but it is surprising that over almost forty years he completed most of his work in an American context and adapted it from the German to the American situation so that Americans could accept and make use of it; if he was to be successful as a teacher he was required to accommodate to American cultural and intellectual predispositions. And succeed he did, helped also because he had spoken and written English proficiently since his youth. Rosenstock-Huessy changed his basic cultural language in order to communicate his system and its meanings to and for Americans, using American examples from their own cultural history and contemporary life. With them he was not the German professor but an American scholar.⁹⁹

Conclusion

John Seel, in *The New Copernicans*, reflected on the “haunted” experience of the New Copernicans. They were like the pagan Celts in their intense awareness of the world’s enchantment. All of life was subliminal yet only barely so, the boundary between the natural and spiritual worlds being diaphanous, slight. The New Copernicans desire to improve the world for everyone and for the world itself. The call for fellow pilgrims to lead New Copernicans “to a relationship that adds to and completes these longings” resonates with our present theme. The church should be doing this, even encouraging “the emerging spirit of reenchantment” that seeks experience with the supernatural source of satisfaction, the only source “that fits the lock of the deepest longings of the human heart.”¹⁰⁰

I have come to recognize that the New Thinkers as a group must include Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig, and, depending on the level of interest, their recent interpreters who have begun to probe their thinking and proposals more thoroughly. If Rosenstock-Huessy is correct, that is, if the future of revolution leaves none of us unchanged, then we may well choose to settle for such a future. If he spoke the truth about the benefits of positive revolutionary transformations, then we may exercise faith in the power of speaking to one another about the work to be done for the planet and our common good.

Biographical Note

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¹ David Baumgardt, "The Inner Structure of the Yom Kippur Liturgy," in *The Jew: Essays from Martin Buber's Journal, Der Jude, 1916-1928*, edited by Arthur A. Cohen, translated by Joachim Neugroschel (University of Alabama Press and Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America).

² Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Christian Future or the Modern Mind Outrun* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 96.

³ John Seel, "The Rise of the New Copernicans." Think Different. <http://www.evangelicalsforsocialaction.org/spiritual-life/think-different/> (accessed February 15, 2018), quoting Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Harvard, 2007), p. 171-172. Social imaginaries differ from worldviews and are consistent with popular culture, especially in narrative media and music. Stories and storytelling are centrally important.

⁴ John Seel, "The Rise of the New Copernicans."

⁵ Windrider Institute and Windrider Forum, www.windriderforum.info/new-copernicans-series/ (accessed January 21, 2018). John Seel draws insights from Charles Taylor, James K. A. Smith, C. S. Lewis, Alasdair MacIntyre, Iain McGilchrist, and Father Thomas Halik, on issues of the role of story and narrative as remaining crucial for societies, and on individual authenticity, the importance of the "given horizon" of our lives (Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 171-172; *The Ethics of Authenticity*, Harvard, 1995, p. 37); the linking of life-frames through stories (C. S. Lewis, "Bluspels and Flalansferes: A Semantic Nightmare," in *Selected Literary Essays*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 265); the importance of belonging within a story (MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, Notre Dame, 2007); and an appeal to "right-brain" approaches to reality and experience for greater meaning-making (McGilchrist, *The Master and His Emissary: The Divided Brain and the Making of the Western World*, Yale, 2000, p. 137). Seel engages other commentators, reinforcing the propriety of New Copernican research.

⁶ David John Seel, Jr., *The New Copernicans: Millennials and the Survival of the Church* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2018), xxvii; and "The Rise of the New Copernicans," citing Paul H. Ray and Sherry Ruth Anderson, *The Cultural Creatives: How 50 Million People Are Changing the World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001).

⁷ Perhaps Rosenstock-Huessy's "fruitful time", not technological time: *Planetary Service: A Way Into the Third Millennium* (Jericho, VT: Argo Books and The Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy Fund, 1990), 91. Rosenstock-Huessy envisioned a planetary "peace service corps" (like the Peace Corps that was inspired by his work in Germany) of young people who would need to understand their work would be hindered unless they could break from western, technological or industrial concepts and measurement of time; only the "time of healthy hearts" would be fitting (90-1)

⁸ Seel, *The New Copernicans*, 209, 125.

⁹ On the Burning Man, Seel, *The New Copernicans*, xxiii, 90-91; "The Culture." Burning Man. <https://burningman.org/culture/> (accessed February 1, 2018); Robert Barron, "Evangelizing the Nones." in *First Things*. <https://www.firstthings.com/article/2018/01/evangelizing-the-nones?trk=NL20171226> (accessed January 12, 2018). Silent Planet is a Metalcore band fully in the

secular genre and whose members are Christian believers. Silent Planet.

<https://www.silentplanetband.com/> (accessed January 25, 2018). Seel, *The New Copernicans*, xxv, 42, acknowledges the term “millennial” that Neil Howe and William Strauss described in *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation* (New York: Vintage, 2000).

¹⁰ Seel, *The New Copernicans*, 204,

¹¹ Windrider Institute and Windrider Forum, www.windriderforum.info/new-copernicans-series/ (accessed January 21, 2018).

¹² Seel, *The New Copernicans*, 56-60; “The Rise of the New Copernicans.”

¹³ Seel, “The Rise of the New Copernicans”; *The New Copernicans*, xxiii, xxv-xxvi, 3-7, 9-14, 19-20, 41-45.

¹⁴ David Kinnamon, “The Mosaic Generation: The Mystifying New World of Youth Culture.” http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/200604/200604_028_mosaicgen.cfm (accessed February 15, 2018).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Seel, *The New Copernicans*, xxi-xvi; “The Rise of the New Copernicans.”

¹⁷ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Practical Knowledge of the Soul*, trans. by Mark Huessy and Freya von Moltke (Norwich, VT: Argo Books, 1988), 15.

¹⁸ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Speech and Reality* (Norwich, VT: Argo Books, 1970), 19; quoted in Wayne Cristaudo, “On the Social Significance of the Divinity of Speech: From Hegel’s Anti-Dualist Metaphysics to Speech Thinking,” *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy*, 9:2 (2013): 168-171.

¹⁹ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Origin of Speech*, ed. Hans Rosenstock-Huessy (Norwich, VT: Argo Books, 1981; reprint by Wipf and Stock Publishers, Eugene, OR, n.d.), 18.

²⁰ Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption*, translated from the 2d ed. of 1930 by William Hallo (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), 423. Not incidentally, Rosenzweig referred to the end of Moses’ life, when “God sealed this completed life with a kiss of his mouth. Thus does God seal and so too does man” (423), referencing the early tenth-century homiletic commentary in Deuteronomy Rabbah XI 10, itself a narrative that emphasizes the greatness of Moses and the sovereign responsibility of the Holy One over souls. The dialogue of Moses and the Holy One is a trenchantly personal and revelational encounter.

²¹ Ibid., 284-5.

²² II Timothy 3:5.

²³ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy “Die Tochter,” in *Die Hochzeit des Kriegs und der Revolution*, Die Bücher vom Kreuzweg, Folge 1. (Würzburg: Patmos-Verlag, 1920), 285-288.

²⁴ The New Thinking (*Sprachdenken*, Speech Thinking, Grammatical Thinking) drew from Johan Georg Hamann, Isaac Bernays, F. W. J. Schelling, and others, though Rosenzweig and Rosenstock-Huessy did not appropriate their influences identically. Rosenzweig decisively gained insights from Schelling and placed the challenge of faith and intellectual endeavor in a corrected relationship as a premise in the New Thinking that conceptual thinking does not surpass existential being and realized action. Among the more immediate influences on both Rosenzweig and Rosenstock-Huessy were Rosenzweig’s cousins Rudolf Ehrenberg and Hans Ehrenberg and other members of the Patmos Kreis (Patmos Circle, 1915/1918-1923). Rosenstock-Huessy, however, was most influential overall in developing the New Thinking and crucial as a catalyst for Rosenzweig’s *Der Stern der Erlösung*, *The Star of Redemption*. Yet all were involved in the “revolution” of the New Thinking. See Wayne Cristaudo, *Religion, Redemption, and Revolution: The New Speech Thinking of Franz Rosenzweig and Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2012), xix, 6.

²⁵ “. . . the kingdom of heaven is within you” (KJV) Luke 17:21.

²⁶ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution: Autobiography of Western Man* (New York: William Morrow, 1938; repr., Norwich, VT: Argo Books, with introduction by Page Smith, 1969; repr., Providence, RI: Berg Publishers, 1993, with introduction by Harold J. Berman; new publ., Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2013), 740-741.

²⁷ Harold Stahmer, Introduction to Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, ed., *Judaism Despite Christianity: The 1916 Wartime Correspondence Between Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), xvi-xviii, xxii.

²⁸ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Practical Knowledge of the Soul*, trans. by Mark Huessy and Freya von Moltke (Norwich, VT: Argo Books, 1988), 15.

²⁹ Their wartime interactions, friendship, and spiritual-intellectual synergy are featured in Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, ed., *Judaism Despite Christianity: The 1916 Wartime Correspondence Between Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011). Upon marrying Anna Margareta Huessy-Walthy (1893-1959) in 1914, Rosenstock added her surname to his own (xxiv). Also see the chronological table, xxiii-xxviii.

³⁰ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *I Am an Impure Thinker* (Norwich, Vermont: Argo Books, 1970), 185-6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 186-189.

³² The Patmos Kreis in 1915 included Rosenstock-Huessy, Hans and Rudolf Ehrenberg, Werner Picht, and Victor von Weizsäcker. After 1918, with Leo Weismantel, they started the Patmos Verlag (Press), and published *Die Kreatur* (The Creature) with the Roman Catholic Joseph Wittig, the Jew Martin Buber, and the Protestant Viktor von Weizsäcker as editors; Franz Rosenzweig was by then active with the group. Max Hamburger, the brother-in-law of Rosenstock-Huessy was the chief donor for the press. For the group their publishing work served not only to address crucial themes in religion, society and politics, but to reduce the sense of alienation they felt, much like exiles, and it was their way of coping with the frightening openness and vulnerability they felt after the crisis of war. See Harold Stahmer, introduction to Rosenstock-Huessy, ed., *Judaism Despite Christianity*, xix-xx.

³³ (Emphasis mine). Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Bibliography--Biography: Including a Meditation by Rosenstock-Huessy entitled: Biblionomics* (New York: Four Wells and Vail-Ballou Press, 1959), 17-18. Also quoted by Harold Stahmer in the Introduction to *Judaism Despite Christianity*, xx-xxi. Similarities to New Copernican experiences and priorities are discussed, yet the experience described involves a trajectory toward maturity: "Unless you can chart and encourage both movement and direction, you have no way to name maturity or immaturity." Richard Rohr, *Falling Upward: A Spirituality for the Two Halves of Life* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2011), 8-9.

³⁴ Seel, "The Rise of the New Copernicans."

³⁵ Seel, *The New Copernicans*, 28-9, 34-5, 43-4, quotation 48-9, 121-31, 133-8, 141-2. Seel describes three "paths of pilgrimage by which people have migrated from old to new social imaginaries," 101-107; definition of the Nova Effect, 112-13, quoting James K. A. Smith, *How (Not) to Be Secular: Reading Charles Taylor* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 142. The "secular₃" denotes "3-D" or three-dimensional secularity. Seel, citing Smith (140), explains "cross pressure" as "the awareness of various spiritual options and the feeling of being caught between the echo of transcendence and the drive toward a self-sufficient naturalistic life."

³⁶ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution*, 690.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 690-2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 696-7. See Howard J. Berman's comments in the introduction, xiv.

³⁹ Seel, "The Rise of the New Copernicans."

⁴⁰ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Fruit of Lips or Why Four Gospels*, ed. by Marion Davis Battles (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications), 86.

⁴¹ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *In the Cross of Reality*, Volume 1, *The Hegemony of Spaces*, ed. by Wayne Cristaudo and Frances Huessy, trans. by Jürgen Lawrenz (New York: Transaction Publishers, 2017), 254.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 254.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, introduction by Wayne Cristaudo, xxvii; 3-5.

⁴⁴ Stahmer, Introduction to *Judaism Despite Christianity*, x-xvi.

⁴⁵ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Heilkraft und Wahrheit: Konkordanz der Politischen und der Kosmischen Zeit* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk GMBH, 1952), 38.

⁴⁶ Wayne Cristaudo, *Religion, Redemption, and Revolution: The New Speech Thinking of Franz Rosenzweig and Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, UK: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 31-2.

⁴⁷ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Heilkraft und Wahrheit*, 36.

⁴⁸ Michael Pakaluk, "What Ever Happened to the Third Millennium?" *The Catholic Thing*. February 6, 2018. <https://www.thecatholicthing.org> (accessed February 10, 2018).

⁴⁹ *Evangelii Gaudium: Apostolic Exhortation of the Holy Father Francis to the Bishops, Clergy, Consecrated Persons and the Lay Faithful on the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World* (Rome: Vatican Press Section 3, The common good and peace in society, para. 221; and Time is greater than space, para. 222-225. Or, *Apostolic Exhortation on the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World* (24 November 2013),

http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papafrancesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html (accessed February 10, 2018).

⁵⁰ Clinton C. Gardiner, *Beyond Belief: Discovering Christianity's New Paradigm* (White River Junction, VT: White River Press, 2008), 199-200.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁴ Phyllis Tinkle, with Jon M. Sweeney, *The Age of the Spirit: How the Ghost of an Ancient Controversy is Shaping the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2014), 111.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 114-5, 135-43.

⁵⁷ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution*, 586-9.

⁵⁸ Matthew Del Novo, "Goethe, the First Father of the Third Age of the Church," in Wayne Cristaudo and Frances Huessy, eds., *The Cross and the Star: The Post-Nietzschean Christian and Jewish Thought of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy and Franz Rosenzweig* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 243, 245, 264, 273-5.

⁵⁹ Harold Stahmer, Introduction, *Judaism Despite Christianity*, xviii-xxii.

⁶⁰ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Practical Knowledge of the Soul*, 52-53.

⁶¹ Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Hegemony of Spaces*, xvi-xxiv;

⁶² *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xix, xli-xlii.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, xxiv-xxv. Cristaudo and Frances Huessy referred to *The Hegemony of Spaces* as "an extremely difficult work," which, like so much of his writings, requires a particular caution and patience, for Rosenstock-Huessy "was a torrent of insights and ideas," that came in waves of "associations and insights," and appeared disorganized to others.

⁶⁷ Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Christian Future*, 130

⁶⁸ George Allen Morgan, *Speech and Society: The Christian Linguistic Social Philosophy of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987), 28-29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-71.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, *Soziologie, Bd. 2, Die Vollzahl der Zeiten* (Stuttgart, BRD, 1958), 309-311, 314;

⁷² *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷³ Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Hegemony of Spaces*, lii-liiii.

⁷⁴ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Die Vollzahl der Zeiten*, 282.

⁷⁵ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, 106-7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 97. Rosenstock-Huessy advances the persona of radical change-agents as pirates who, despite the older definition of "pirate", step in to rescue or resurrect or correct what "the authorities" and the traditions no longer had the power to heal, etc. He cites Paul and Barnabas as pirates from the point of view of Nero (75). Further, ". . . every step of technological progress destroys or at least threatens a step of human progress, because it shortens the periods of time which mankind hitherto constructed and expanded with unending faith." (99)

⁷⁷ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, 50-63, 52.

⁷⁸ Two generations ago R-H wrote, "When we turn on a television set, our eyes can keep up with things, but the person to whom the eyes belong cannot." He was pleading especially that Westerners exercise patience with the "developing" countries they presumed to help: help in western ways in traditional societies could not "go slowly enough" or it would be ineffective at the least and possibly damaging. *Planetary*, 54, 56.

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- ⁷⁹ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, 66-67.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.
- ⁸¹ In his foreword to *Planetary Service* (xviii), R-H affirms that one who knows his destiny has much to say to the authorities of the day; admitting this for himself, he wrote, "This book does not look down on objects or things. It admits to the sin of remaining prepared here below to learn from above."
- ⁸² Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, xvii.
- ⁸³ Ephesians 2:14.
- ⁸⁴ For service on this planet to happen, "the molecule of peace must be able to attract and hold the willing human atoms who have completely different religions yet are moving so close to each other these days." *Planetary Service*, 115.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 115-116. Emphasis mine.
- ⁸⁶ *Out of Revolution*, xv, xvii, 362, 290, 516-561.
- ⁸⁷ *The Hegemony of Spaces*.
- ⁸⁸ Morgan, *Speech and Society*, 115.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, 3.
- ⁹¹ Rosenstock-Huessy, *Out of Revolution*, 14.
- ⁹² Rosenstock-Huessy, *Planetary Service*, 1.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9, 13.
- ⁹⁵ Wayne Cristaudo, *Religion, Redemption, and Revolution: The New Speech Thinking of Franz Rosenzweig and Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy* (Toronto, Buffalo, & London: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 236.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 459.
- ⁹⁷ Wesley A. Kort, *"Take, Read": Scripture, Textuality, and Cultural Practice* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 1-8, 14-17, 69-70.
- ⁹⁸ Rosenstock-Huessy, *The Christian Future*, 130.
- ⁹⁹ Rosenstock-Huessy, *I Am an Impure Thinker*, 174.
- ¹⁰⁰ Seel, *The New Copernicans*, 153-5, 183.

The Synagogue of Satan: A Case Study in Anti-Semitism

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*In English-speaking countries such as the United States, the percentage of people with negative attitudes toward Jews is relatively low when compared to developing countries. Unfortunately, there are pockets of virulently racist individuals in the population who, for whatever reasons, anti-Semitic and deny the history behind the Holocaust. Because of the nature of its membership and the stability of its platform, Stormfront is home to a community of white nationalists who still prescribe to anti-Semitic beliefs that go back generations. A discussion from the Theology Section of the Stormfront site was analyzed for this paper. Findings indicate that a whole new generation of people are still influenced by not only Hitler's rhetoric from the Third Reich but also America's home grown extremist theology, Christian Identity. Some of the more seasoned discussants in the Stormfront discussion are on a mission to pass on racist and anti-Semitic dogma to the younger members of their white nationalist community. They do this by posting links in the discussion thread, citing passages from racist/anti-Semitic literature, and recommending books such as *The Union Jack* for those who want to know more.*

Hannah Arendt referred to anti-Semitism as a nineteenth century ideology virtually unknown before the 1870s; although hatred of Jews has been documented from the end of the Roman Empire through the Middle Ages (1968, vii). In Nazi Germany, according to Arendt, the anti-Semitism of Hitler and the Third Reich caused Jews to lose their power in business, politics, and education while, at the same time, retaining much of their personal wealth. In an attempt to explain individual hatred of Jewish people, Sartre (1995: p. 7) defined the anti-Semite as an individual who blames Jews for all his misfortunes, proceeds to deprive them of their human rights, expels them from his country, and resorts to extermination if that method best serves his own special interests. Former Director of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham H. Foxman reports that American Jews can live, study, and work anywhere they want with little fear of overt discrimination or threat of violence; however, he warns that here in the United States, Jews continue to be a target for religious bigotry (<http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/jewish-world-features/1.575150>).

Racism and anti-Semitism are closely related concepts especially given the fact that Jews were historically referred to as swarthy and/or black and suffering from "choleric and melancholic temperaments" (Pritchard, 1973: p. 186). By the mid-nineteenth century, all races were described in terms of being either beautiful (white) or ugly (dark). Descriptors such as black, Jewish, diseased, and ugly became entrenched in the literature of the day (Knox, 1850: p. 134). By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Western European Jews were virtually indistinguishable from other people with regard to language, dress, and general appearance although they were still considered a separate and distinct race (Mosse, 1975: pp. 90-91). The history of racial Jewishness encompasses the many ways that both Jews and non-Jews have defined what it is to

be a Jew. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not Jewish blood that set them apart but rather religion.

This paper begins with a discussion about anti-Semitism in the United States. I introduce some of the early leaders in the British Israelist and Christian Identity movements. Links to Hitler and Nazism are also discussed. Next follows a theoretical perspective to help explain how anti-Semitic and racist beliefs emerge in human societies and why they have staying power. Many of the same references to Jewish people that Hitler espoused during the years of his Third Reich are still present in discussions on *Stormfront.org*, an Internet Web site for people who self-identify as white nationalist. One of these discussions will be analyzed in the findings section. A discussion about the findings followed by concluding remarks about how stereotypes and misinformation continue to result in prejudicial rhetoric aimed at Jewish people in the twenty-first century.

HOW JEWS BECAME THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

A cottage industry of anti-Semitism emerged in 1930s America. The Anglo-Saxon Federation of America was affiliated with the British-Israel World Federation, located in London, England.¹ In the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America newsletter (1932: p. 79), the editor states that “Jews are not the chosen people of God.” He goes on to say that the success of Jews in business and industry was in part due to propaganda when in fact, as a group, they undermine Christian civilization. According to his column, the Christian Church failed to recognize the distinction between Judah (the Jews) and Israel, the home of servants of God who just happened to be Anglo-Saxon-Celtic people. The dogma espoused by believers supported the notion that until Jews converted to Christianity, the Anglo-Saxon House of Israel would remain under siege.

A key figure in the 1930s California Federation was Philip E. J. Monson who eventually founded the Kingdom Bible College and the Covenant Evangelistic Association (Barkun, 1994: p. 53). His goal was to wage a back to the Bible crusade in an effort to combat modernism, among other things. Both the college and his evangelistic group advocated a national-historic interpretation of prophecy instead of the Jesuit inspired futuristic interpretation that favored the autonomy of Jewish people living in Israel. Monson’s agenda and teachings stressed the need for salvation through the blood atonement of Jesus Christ; the baptism of the Holy Spirit; and the return of Jesus in the millennium. Anti-Semitism and hatred of Jews was a cornerstone of his writing and rhetoric.

Monson also influenced one of the architects of what was to become Christian Identity, Wesley Swift. The years following World War II are deemed by many historians and other scholars as an age of remarkable religious enthusiasm. It is generally described as a period of interfaith cooperation that diminished long-standing theological and racial divides and helped to usher in an era of social harmony (Douthat,

¹For a full historical analysis of the connections between British Israelism and Christian Identity, refer to Michael Barkun’s classic *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*.

2012). This cooperative spirit further heightened the emotional and communal appeal of religion for many Americans who, by mid-century sought relief from endless rounds of social turbulence and wartime violence of the previous half century. However, many of these same scholars failed to acknowledge the hostile, dark and violent strain of religious revival that developed simultaneously alongside the interfaith coalition that indirectly produced the rise of American neo-Nazism.

Swift was born in New Jersey in 1913, ordained as a Methodist Minister in 1931, and for reasons not known, moved to Antelope Valley (near Los Angeles) in the 1930s. This is where some scholars believe he came in contact with Monson and began developing his Christian Identity perspective at this time (Barkun, 1994; Milwicksi, 2014/2015). By the end of the Great Depression, Swift had become an active member of the Ku Klux Klan. In 1944 he rose to the official rank of Kleagle. This leadership position came with the responsibility of recruiting new Klan members. Although still a young man, Swift was recognized as a great organizer and he was able to raise the Klan's local profile by initiating a series of cross burnings and rallies. His bombastic oratorical style and his exceptional memory ensured Swift a great following when he spoke in public venues - something he did extemporaneously for hours at a time.

By 1946, Swift had enough status and money to open his own church in downtown Los Angeles. His congregation included many people with Klan connections. That same year, Swift met Gerald L.K. Smith and their fateful relationship was vital to the development of neo-Nazism in postwar America (Milwicksi, 2014/2015). Through Smith, Swift quickly acquired more important connections that expanded his role to include right-wing nationalist and anti-Semitic circles. Swift received invitations to preach in numerous California churches and developed a reputation among southern California's right-wing religious extremists. Maximizing all opportunities he established his first formal Christian Identity church called the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation.

After roughly 10 years, Swift rechristened his Los Angeles church The Church of Jesus Christ Christian. It was dedicated to the tenets of Christian Identity - most particularly the removal of all Jewish influence on white Christian biblical history. His teachings and sermons formed a lasting spiritual doctrine for religious-inspired racism and anti-Semitism that to this day remains a favored dogma for American white supremacists and neo-Nazis (Ridgeway, 1990). Wesley Swift rose to prominence by largely withdrawing his version of Christian anti-Semitism from the public arena. Where his mentor (Gerald L. K. Smith) stressed politics, Swift grounded his movement theologically and developed a race based dogma that made not only Hitler's Nazism, but also traditional American prejudices justifiable; and, more significantly, ordained by God.

In Nazi ideology, words contained biologic components or subliminal meanings especially when referencing Jewish people. In a speech to officers of the Third Reich, Heinrich Himmler (1946: p. 572) began with an explanation of the motives underlying perpetration of the final solution to the problem of the Jews: "Anti-semitism is exactly the same as delousing. Getting rid of lice is not a question of ideology. It is a matter of cleanliness. In just the same way, anti-semitism, for us, has not been a question of ideology, but a matter of cleanliness, which now will soon have been dealt with. We shall soon be deloused. We have only 20,000 lice left and then the matter is finished

within the whole of Germany.” Propagandists for the Third Reich portrayed Germany as a living organism infested by the Jewish disease that threatened to cause the death of the nation (Raffles, 2007: p. 535). Extermination would stop infestation of poisonous parasites once and for all.

When Nazi policy made news in the 1930s and 1940s, there was a scientific shift in thinking about the race concept in general although racial Jewishness did not vanish completely. As Christian Identity emerged as a right wing alternative to traditional Christianity for extremist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Jewish physical traits and religious beliefs were highlighted in sermons, speeches, and literature. Even mainstream media publications such as *The Atlantic Monthly* put forth the question about how to handle the “Jewish” problem (Nock, 1941: p. 6). Other media outlets followed suit with reports about how the Nazis were taking steps to solve the race problem. Consequently Christian Identity minister, Wesley Swift, indoctrinated his congregation with sermons about the racial inferiority of Jews. Jews were also demonized in a Henry Ford sponsored editorial column in the *Dearborn Journal*. These anti-Semitic newspaper articles were eventually published in pamphlet form, *The International Jew*, and distributed by Hitler in Germany during the Third Reich (Ridgeway, 1990: p. 43).

THE PARASITE HYPOTHESIS

Social constructionists view knowledge and truth as created rather than discovered by the mind (Schwandt, 2003). Furthermore, certain constructionist concepts may correspond to something real in the world. This idea is consistent with the work of Berger and Luckmann (1991) and Hammersley (1992) who posited that reality is socially defined while helping explain how the world is understood by social actors. As Steedman (2000) notes, most of what is known and most of the knowing that is done in everyday life tries to make sense of what it is to be human, as opposed to scientific explanations about the way the world works. Individuals or groups of individuals define their own reality. This branch of constructionism is not concerned with ontological questions or questions of causation.

According to the social constructionist perspective, society exists as both objective and subjective reality. The former is brought about through the interaction of people with the social world. In turn, individuals become accustomed to routine in their daily lives. For instance, any frequently repeated action becomes a pattern or a habit, if you will, which can be reproduced without much effort. In time, repetitive behavior along with expectations produce a general store of knowledge for human actors. The process becomes institutionalized by society to the extent that future generations experience this type of knowledge as objective. In other words, it is to be expected. Additionally this objectivity is continuously reaffirmed by the individual’s interaction with others.

Berger and Luckmann (1991) maintain that language is one of the most important ways that subjective reality is maintained, modified, and reconstructed. Among human groups there is shared meaning and understanding, so much so that concepts do not need to be redefined each time they are used in everyday conversation. Assumptions about reality are by and large taken for granted. Subsequently, Burningham and Cooper (1999) discussed constructionism as either contextual or strict. Contextual constructionism recognizes objective reality and its

influence, while strict constructionism maintains a relativist position; the belief that there are multiple realities and all are meaningful.

This brings us to the discussion of concepts such as racism and anti-Semitism. According to Koenigsberg, Hitler's ideology contained a deep structure of cultural belief systems helped along by the use of recurring images and metaphors contained in his rhetoric (<http://www.libraryofsocialscience.com/publishers/essays/koenigsberg-why-do-ideologies.html>). For example, Hitler described Jews as a disease or diseased, vermin or subhuman, and as a parasite infecting the body of the German people. Core fantasies and myths structured Hitler's perception of reality and energized national action aimed at ridding Germany of the Jewish parasite. Hitler portrayed Germany as a living organism comprised of Aryan flesh and blood that was superior to all others and under attack by some virulent, internal force working toward its ultimate destruction.

The objective of Nazism was to take whatever actions were necessary to assure that Germany would continue to live and the evil diseased Jewish vermin would die. Hitler was able to persuade the German people to come together to support his policy of extermination. Hitler believed his own rhetoric so much so that during the years leading up to the Third Reich and after, he whipped the people into a frenzy ordering them to undertake a life or death struggle to save both the nation and the *Volk*. Hitler's socially constructed reality about how Jews were going to destroy Germany became the reality of mainstream Germans, some of whom did not hate their Jewish neighbors.

Bein (1990: pp. 369-373) notes that in Nazi ideology words assumed a biological aspect. Hitler not only described Jews as parasites and vermin but also used the terms bacteria and viruses. He argues that language inherent in the images used to describe Jews gained such power over the German people so as to make image and reality one and the same for a large portion of the population. Nazism is an extreme example of the social construction of reality. Hitler and his henchmen, e.g., Goebbels and Himmler, among others propagated the myth that if only Jewish citizens could be eliminated, Germany would prosper and live forever. In very simplistic terms, bodies become diseased and die and something has to be done to fix the problem. The only solution was to be the final solution. Portrayal of Jews as undesirable, toxic, malignant viruses manifested as social reality and ended in the Holocaust. Among contemporary white nationalists, the same rhetoric can still be found on Internet sites such as Stormfront (<http://www.stormfront.org>), Divine Truth Ministries (<http://www.divine-truth.org>), and Kingdom Identity Ministries (<http://www.kingidentity.com>), to name a few.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this paper was collected from *Stormfront.org*, the first hate related site to fully come online in 1995. Stormfront has evolved over time into an online community that is supported by voluntary monetary contributions. The site was first a private dial-in bulletin board to allow members of the David Duke for Senate Campaign to keep in touch. The year was 1990. In 1994 the site went public but only attracted a handful of visitors. According to its founder and current administrator, Don Black, in March 1995, with no paid advertising, the site attracted 1700 visitors and 21 years later shows no signs of slowing down. Discussion forums are visited by over 40,000 people each day and traffic often spikes much higher which sometimes overloads servers.

Users of the site can become members at different levels. Individuals who contribute at least \$5 a month and supply a username will be added to the Sustaining Members users' group, which will mean they get a "Friend of Stormfront" designation under their username, custom titles, and larger Avatars. They are also allowed to start personal blogs, join social groups, and access a private forum and chat room that is not available to non-contributors. Data relating to anti-Semitism came from one discussion in the Traditional Christianity forum at <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f83/> titled "The People Who Killed God on a Cross" at <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1207431/>. Analysis of the archived *Stormfront.org* data began on July 10, 2017 and ended on Wednesday August 9, 2017.

Over the years researchers such as Bowman-Grieve (2008), Brown (2009), De Koster and Houtman (2008), Meddaugh and Kay (2009), and Weatherby and Scoggins (2005/2006) have analyzed virtual communities such as Stormfront to gain insights into how extremist movements utilize the Internet to disseminate information and recruit new members. The study consists of an interpretative analysis (Hijmans, 1996) of discussions based on years of work in the field with people who identify as white nationalist and who represent many different groups in the movement. Posts were selected based on relevance sampling (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 120), whereby discussants state their opinions, ask questions, and argue with each other regarding specifics about Christian Identity and hatred of Jews.

This type of sampling technique works well for a content analysis of a site such as Stormfront because it is not meant to be totally representative of the whole population of texts. As Krippendorff (2004) states, specific content excludes units that do not represent relevant information for the analysis. Regarding privacy issues, there continues to be debate about whether online posts to sites such as Stormfront are public or private (Eysenbach and Till, 2001; Paccagnella, 1997). Most, but not all, members of the Stormfront community use pseudonyms rather than their real names. Exceptions include leaders in the movement such as Billy Roper and David Duke. According to Eysenbach and Till (2001, p. 1104) if a discussion contains 10 or fewer posts, the argument can be made that informed consent might be necessary. This discussion contained a total of 73 posts from 14 discussants.²

FINDINGS

A Stormfront discussant named *Coldstar* started the discussion on April, 12, 2017 at 11:05 PM with the following statement regarding the people who killed God on the cross:

They are today known as Jews. Their religion is based on the Talmud and the Kabala and they have made anti-semitism and not believing in their kabbalistic 6-million holocaust an international crime.

Jesus Christ, God, called them the children of their father Satan. Believing in him and his words would save the world from their lies and falsehood.

² None of the Stormfront posts have been edited by the author. You will encounter occasional misspellings along with other grammatical errors.

But because this world is evil men who should know better have returned to worship their money and returned to them the powers of the fallen ones.

Therefore, today, in Christian terms, antisemitism = believe in the true Jesus and Savior.

As Christians who want to be true to their God we must forever take a stand against the evil of the Babylonian Talmudic Pharisaic Jews who were and again are enslaving and destroying humanity.

The following morning on April 13, 2017 at 5:05 AM, *three in one* responded: Every year leading up to Easter I hate the jews more, if that's possible, for murdering our Savior and then denying Him His rightful place as their Messiah.

Every year I lament the fact that the jews grow more powerful by feasting on the blood of Christians. The jews killed Christ during their Passover, and the fact that He resurrected doesn't negate their role in His murder. The parasite jews use their Passover to suck our lifeblood through their control of the media and the banks.

Our Lord described the jews as the spawn of Satan, who practice the dark arts and worship Satan as their god in their synagogues. All good Christians should be aware of the evil that the jews do and be prepared to defend ourselves against the serpent jews.

Coldstar not only started this discussion, he dominated throughout the four months of the thread's existence. He responded in the following way:

Yes, absolutely. Are there even any churches left which preach the true Gospel? How will the young people understand what Christianity is all about when their preachers tell them that Jews are God's Chosen? Making this false claim will only cause young people to turn away from Christianity.

What can we do to help change this unfortunate situation? Is there anything at all that we can do that will have an impact?

The Bible states that in the last days Satan will be on the loose again for a little season, and he will go out to deceive the nations once again. He will be allowed to literally go to the ends of the earth to get as many people as he can under his reign to do his evil biddings. All of these misled and deluded people will get to surround the camps of the Saints (where Christians dwell) so that the Saints are under attack.

It appears to me as if this is happening right now under the leadership of the Jews!

Could it be that the Millennial rule of Christ's people is already past?

After several discussants posted external links touting the myth that Jews worship Satan and that Jesus condemned the Jews and that is why he was crucified, *PureIntensity* added to the conversation:

Pontius Pilate is the perfect example of how Jews operate.

They backed him into a corner and forced him to make a decision he did not want to make. To the point where he washed his hands of it (literally).

They have been using the same strategy over and over ever since. They are too few in numbers to do their own dirty work. They would not have the influence they have today if they did not have so many collaborators.

Almost a month after the discussion started, *Coldstar* comes back to the discussion with a revelation about British Israelism and how, for him, it answers a lot of questions about the correct ways to interpret the Bible. He posts a link to a book called *The Union Jack* that was mentioned several times in the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, Bulletin No. 35, as a book worth reading. In direct response *three in one* posts the following:

I believe that the jews were behind the crucifixion of Christ, and whether they drove in the nails themselves or manipulated the Romans into doing it is immaterial. **The jews killed Jesus**, and no proclamations to the contrary by mealy-mouthed paid-off popes is going to change my mind on that score.

The jews are all born liars, and one of their biggest lies is that they, or their ancestors, had nothing to do with the death of Christ, that it was all the fault of the Romans. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, wanted to let Christ go, but the jews threatened a riot and Pilate sought to placate the jewish mob by turning Him over to the jews to be crucified.

Furthermore, the jews still celebrate the death of Christ in their synagogues of satan, and call for the destruction of His religion, which is Christianity. The quotes from Jews posted above by *Coldstar* prove this point. The destruction of Christ's religion is necessary for the world rule sought by the satanic jews, which will herald the coming of their own kingdom, in which Christians either will be killed outright or be slaves to be worked to death by the jews.

Jews love to cause pain and suffering to Christians, which is why so many jews become doctors, so they can witness the suffering of Christians first-hand. I suspect that this is also the reason why jews own meat-packing houses, so they can enjoy watching the painful death of cattle caused by their inhumane kosher slaughter methods.

Every jew that refuses to accept Jesus Christ as their Messiah, and refuses to repent the role that their ancestors had in causing the death of Jesus, is guilty of deicide, the killing of the Son of God, as much as if they had been present at Golgotha and nailed the Savior to the Cross themselves. The

only way that the jews can absolve themselves and wash off the stain of killing Christ is for the jews to accept Jesus as their Savior. However, the jews with very few exceptions refuse to do this, because that would mean that they would have to repent of their many sins, which jews **never** do, and because it means they would have to give up their claim of being the chosen people, which is a lie anyway, because the jews lost their special status when they crucified Christ.

All in all, the jews are a danger and a threat to Christian society, and it's a shame that more so-called Christians don't understand this and take steps to remove the devil jews from our midst.

Posts to this thread ended on August 3, 2017 at 9:19 PM. The final post is shared here from a female discussant called *Twyztd Valkyyrie* who identifies as a devout Catholic:

I have a picture of pope st Pius X right across from me :D it's the one where he looks sad, it was actually taken after his sisters death.

It's not really the Catholic Church! It's a brand new satanic denomination, they even threw out the vestments, destroyed the altars, wrecked the churches and built new stadiums instead and burned the hymnals. They worship Lucifer (JPII introduced the luminous mysteries to the rosary. Luminous. Seriously, he could only be more obvious by saying lucifer) and man and are Kabbalistic.

My husband showed me some of "the young pope", the hbo show of "Pius xiii" and I'm pretty sure they're supposed to be mocking tradition and the papacy and the church and show how evil and bad he is, but it backfired. Catholics love Pius xiii and I wish he was pope :o

In my church we still recite the prayer for the conversion of the Jews during Easter. The perfidious Jews :D it was removed by the luciferians for being mean. Eff that noise, bring me the firewood!

DISCUSSION

This discussion, as most on Stormfront, was male dominated. There were two other women besides *Twyztd Valkyyrie* who posted in this particular thread. Discussions in the Theology Section on Stormfront are not open to public view. I was able to gain access by writing an Institutional Review Board proposal and paying the site Administrator, Don Black, a small fee. I have found over the years that in order to gain access to some of these groups that are part of the broader white nationalist movement, one is expected to give small donations to their church services or to defray expenses for food at rallies. As my goal for this study was to discover various ways people who align with the movement justify their racist attitudes with their religious beliefs, I elected to pay for access to this forum. With that said, some of the discussants were familiar to me such as *Coldstar*, *Klarn*, and *Twyztd Valkyyrie*, all three of whom participated in this discussion. In addition to having a relatively long term association with the site, they also provide financial support.

Wading through lengthy discussions on Stormfront can be tedious. I read every post, sometimes more than once. It was not surprising that the overall tone of this discussion was that Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. Discussants all agree that Jews are a problem and should have been eliminated during the Third Reich once and for all. Historical revisionism continues to be a focus for the Stormfront community, whether the discussion is about religion or about politics. The mention of a new world order orchestrated by Jewish Zionists was part of this discussion. Additionally, there was quoting of scripture throughout with points made by *Coldstar* that Jesus hated the Jews long before they killed him on the cross.

This discussion was also a source for many anti-Semitic and conspiracy tinged links. One of the reasons that it went on for some many threaded pages was due to the fact that entire passages from books, pamphlets, and other online sources were shared within the discussion. I was somewhat surprised that was no extensive discussion of Hitler beyond some bantering back and forth about how many things written about the Holocaust are not true and contemporary Jews use it as a ruse to keep themselves in power. One of the most hateful discussants, *three in one*, posted several times about how Jews worship Satan, they are the children of the devil, and they are Christ killers. This idea permeated the entire discussion.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Approximately 2.1 million citizens of the United States participated in an Anti-Defamation League world survey beginning in July 2013 and ending in February 2014. Many of the respondents harbor varying levels of anti-Semitic beliefs with roughly 9% of the sample answering “probably true” to a majority of anti-Semitic stereotypes (<http://global100.adl.org/#country/USA>). When asked if they think Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States, 31% of the respondents answered true. In response to the statement that Jews talk too much about the Holocaust, 22% responded true. Regarding power questions, 18% agreed with the statement that Jews have too much power in the business world and 15% agreed they have too much power in the international financial markets. Regarding Jewish control over global media, 12% agreed and 11% agreed that Jews have too much control over the United States government.

The survey also revealed that anti-Semitic attitudes are persistent globally and not just in the United States. When it comes to Holocaust awareness, only 54% of the global population polled had ever heard about it. In countries where there are very few, if any Jews, many respondents indicated they are anti-Semitic. In English-speaking countries such as the United States, the percentage of people with negative attitudes toward Jewish people is relatively low when compared to developing countries. Unfortunately, there are pockets of virulently racist individuals in the population who, for whatever reasons, hate Jews. Because of the nature of its membership and the stability of its platform, Stormfront is home to a community of white nationalists who still prescribe to anti-Semitic beliefs that go back generations. In the discussion that was analyzed for this paper, more mature members of the site such as *Coldstar* are conduits for anti-Semitic literature from the past. Social researchers and others who are concerned about equality and social justice must continue to investigate why young

people who are far removed from Hitler and the Wesley Swifts of the world continue to be influenced by their racist ideology.

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**Safeguarding America's Religious Past through Active
Preservation Efforts: Sustaining and Maintaining Spiritualism's
Rich Heritage through the Brick and Mortar Conservation of
Historic Camp Chesterfield—A Case Study**

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Introduction

The impetus, or desire and need, for communities and/or organizations to maintain historically, architecturally, and culturally significant structures and landscapes through historic preservation allows the past to be preserved and maintained by actively identifying, evaluating, preserving, and revitalizing their historic, archeological, and cultural resources. Current efforts to preserve the past through the historic preservation of historic resources are fundamental in understanding the heritage of a people and their cultural identity. If the study of history offers a window into the soul of a nation, historic preservation then provides a glimpse through this window into the past by sustaining a means to convey this understanding to future generations by promoting the revitalization and restoration of historically significant frameworks that serve to tell a decisive story. Camp Chesterfield, a Spiritualist camp located in central Indiana dating back to the 1890s, is a very distinctive historic resource that serves as a contemporary window into the past, offering a glimpse into American religious history, providing a unique opportunity to delve into an era of religious history that is quite unique and exceptional.

As a destination for Spiritualists for over a century, the design of Camp Chesterfield evolved in tandem with the changing architectural tastes in America during the 20th century. The planning, platting, and evolution of Camp Chesterfield occurred sporadically, and at times in leaps in bounds, and these manifestations of physical changes in the landscape and buildings coincide with the ebb and flow of Spiritualism as a legitimate form of religious practice. This expression in the brick and mortar form of its structures and landscapes are a microcosmic view of the Spiritualist movement in general. For this reason, Camp

Chesterfield is one of the most important historic resources associated with the practice of Spiritualism in America.

This paper¹ outlines briefly the history of Spiritualism, Camp Chesterfield, and its historical significance, and current preservation efforts underway to preserve one of the most important, oldest, and still-operating Spiritualist communities in the United States. Efforts include the process of historical designation; the efforts to document its history through the archival digitization of historical documents and photographs, oral history testimonials, and written and technical documentation; and the physical preservation of its structures and cultural landscapes through the stabilization, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction of essential resources .

The research area of historical preservation consists of many varied facets of expertise—including history, planning, architecture, landscape architecture, and community development—that when combined together in a meaningful way fulfill the intended goal of bringing the past alive, and ultimately improving communities. Through the preservation of historical structures and landscapes, future generations are provided an opportunity to learn about the heritage of these landmarks and the people who built them.

Historic preservation provides humanity with a tangible connection with the past and the people who have come before us. Camp Chesterfield is a perfect case study of how the complexities of historic preservation are amplified when dealing with religious properties. Under normal historical preservation-related circumstances, these can be quite daunting and complicated—and even more so when they exist within a planned religious community. However, because of its long and colorful history, historically significant grounds and structures, and its prominence as being listed in the “National Register of Historic Places” by the *National Park Service*, Camp Chesterfield is a culturally and religiously cogent jewel in the crown of planned Spiritualist communities from the 20th century, and its listing in the “National Register of Historic Places” qualifies it to be preserved and revitalized as a living testament to the history and culture of the religion of Spiritualism in America.

¹ An abbreviated version of this paper was published in the *Bulletin of the University of Teacher Education Fukuoka* (2018) Vol. 67, Part I. Munakata, Fukuoka: University of Teacher Education Fukuoka.

The Dawning of Spiritualism

Like most religions, Spiritualism originated at a time when people were searching for meaning and substance in their lives while questioning the deeper realities of existence which included the idea of an afterlife and whether or not “ghosts” existed beyond the earthly incarnations of their human bodies. The concept of “spirit communication” was not new, dating back to time immemorial, because of a basic human need to make sense of that which is unknown. Prophets, soothsayers, prognosticators, fortune tellers, psychics, and mediums, have always been a part of the human condition. However, it wasn’t until two young sisters in upstate New York—Maggie and Katie Fox²—allegedly made spirit contact that was intelligible, and mutual, realizing that they could communicate with a disincarnate spirit that was haunting their home.³ Through a series of “raps,” they ascertained his name, how he died, and who murdered him.

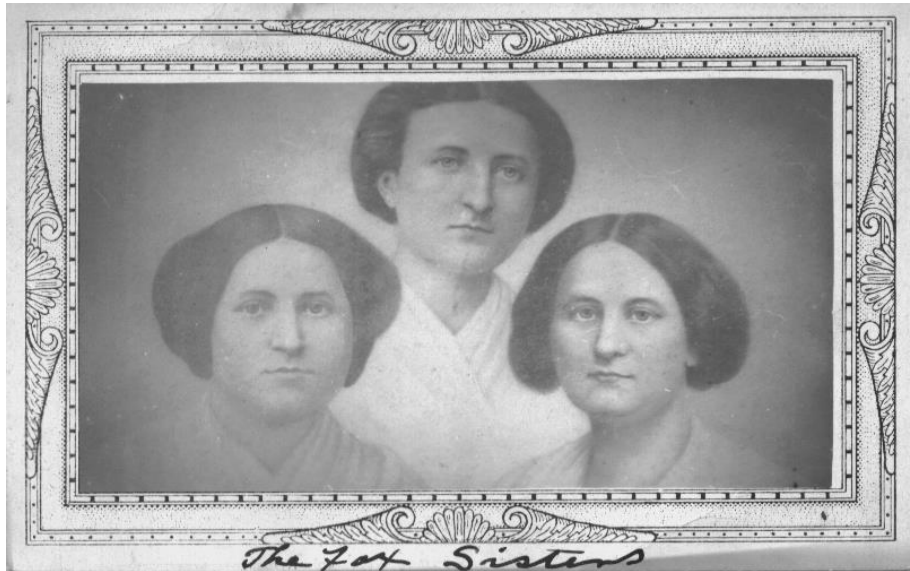


Illustration 1: The Fox Sisters: Maggie, Katie and Leah [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield’s *Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives*.]

² See Illustration 1. Initially, Maggie and Katie Fox were the ones who made spirit contact, but soon their older sister (after hearing about the “haunting” of her family’s home) returned to assist them and also realized she had the gift of mediumship and quickly began managing her younger siblings much like a contemporary stage mother would do in Hollywood today.

³ See Illustration 2. This is the home where the raps were first heard in upstate New York, in a small hamlet called Hydesville.

This revelation started a religious revival that was unprecedented in the history of the United States.⁴ Literally overnight, these country girls became national celebrities, and equally as fast, their new movement—Spiritualism—spread across the country. Notable writers,⁵ famous politicians, well-known doctors and fabulously wealthy magnates all were drawn to this new religion—one of three American-made religions (Mormonism, Spiritualism, and Christian Science) that developed in the 1800s in New York.



Illustration 2: The Fox Cottage after it was moved from Hydesville, New York to Lily Dale, New York in 1915 to preserve it permanently; unfortunately, it burned to the ground in 1955 under suspicious circumstances. [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield's *Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives*.]

⁴ In his book, *The Other Side of Salvation: Spiritualism and the Nineteenth-Century Religious Experience*, John Buescher found the Spiritualist movement boasted millions of followers in the 1850s—just a few years after the Fox Sisters initial revelation. “...the New England Spiritualists Association estimated the number of spiritualists in the United States as 2 million, and the *North American Review* gave its opinion that the figure was reasonable. The *Spiritual Register*, a popular annual serial compiled by spiritualists, estimated the number of spiritualists in 1860 as 1, 600,000 but suggested that the number of nominal believers was 5 million.” (x)

⁵ Mark Twain attended a séance in San Francisco in 1866, which he wrote about in several humorous short stories, including “Among the Spiritualists” (in *Territorial Enterprise*, January 1866); “Mark Twain a Committee Man” and “Spiritual Insanity” (*Territorial Enterprise*, February 1866). In addition, Sir Conan Doyle, creator of the world’s most rational fictional detective, *Sherlock Holmes*, was a devout Spiritualist. “He worked tirelessly, setting aside all other literary endeavors to prove the validity of Spiritualism to the world. The most definitive work on early Spiritualism, *The History of Spiritualism*, was written by Doyle.” (Leonard, T., 30)

As a testament to how pervasive the Spiritualist movement became in the United States, séances were held in living rooms across America, even in the White House.⁶ Spiritualism changed how the average American during the time viewed life...and ultimately death. Especially during and after major wars (Hazelgrove, 13), Spiritualism flourished. People wanted to make contact with loved ones who had passed over to the other side.

Spiritualism, as a religion, is really no different than most other religions except that its adherents believe that people do not die—bodies do—and after death, kin and acquaintances are able to communicate with those left behind through a sensitive called a “medium.” Spiritualist church services feature mediums who offer “messages” from loved ones on the other side to those in attendance. This is in addition to a sermon and songs that most people raised in a Christian tradition would readily recognize.

Initially, when Spiritualism began to draw huge numbers of members from other more mainstream churches, it was unfairly labeled as being a form of witchcraft or satanic worship by those which felt threatened by its claims (and those who had a vested interest in keeping memberships in their own churches high).⁷ The reality is: Spiritualism is a

⁶ In addition to purported séances in the Lincoln White House hosted by Mary Todd Lincoln, and attended by the President himself, it was revealed well after Lincoln had been assassinated that perhaps the President used at least one medium in decisions of national interest: “It is believed by some Spiritualists that the Emancipation Proclamation, which brought freedom to slaves and over which Lincoln presided, was expedited by spirit intervention. This is explained by medium Nettie Colman Maynard in her book *Was Abraham Lincoln a Spiritualist? Or Curious Revelations from the Life of a Trance Medium*. Nettie first met the President when she was 19, in December of 1862, in the Red Parlor of the White House, and she kept the confidentiality of that meeting for thirty years before revealing all. By that time, Lincoln was long dead and she a sick woman, confined to her bed.” (Leonard, M. 141; Horowitz, 61)

⁷ In 1854, a petition with 15,000 signatures was presented to the U.S. Congress demanding a scientific committee be formed to investigate Spiritualism and its otherworldly phenomena. “Lawmakers ultimately tabled the petition, even as a new debate raged among the nation’s clergy. Many clergymen became alarmed on June 10 [1854] when former Wisconsin governor Nathaniel P. Tallmadge became a charter member of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge. ‘Your pulpits—and we speak kindly when we speak of them, for they have holy office...have launched forth invectives. The cry of delusion and chicanery has been heard all over the land.... Policy was adopted...not only from the pulpits, but by the religious press of this country, namely that evil spirits have visited the earth still further to delude deluded mortals. What pity! ...It is very strange, if they believe this thing—that evil spirits can come to do evil on their earth—that good spirits will not be permitted by the good God also to come upon this earth to effect good purposes.” (Stuart, 176-177) Also, Tallmadge was a dear and old friend of Maggie Fox, a founder of Spiritualism, who was constantly being accused of everything from humbuggery to satanic witchcraft.

God-centered religion, accepting the sacred truths from all religious traditions, including Christianity,⁸ and is in no way connected to black magic or devil worship. This, however, does not mean that Spiritualism is welcomed with open arms within the larger religious community.

Even with religious freedom and diversity being a hallmark of American ideals and values, many mainstream religions look at Spiritualism askance, often regarding it disdainfully—similar to the way a wayward relative who does not fit the social norm is outcast as a black sheep within a family. The fact remains, however, that the Spiritualist movement (and later religion) has survived for well over a century-and-a-half and is still continuing despite the negative reception it has traditionally received by mainstream denominations (outlasting other religious movements, some of which are long defunct).

The Establishment of Historic Camp Chesterfield

Since 1886, Spiritualism has been a visible part of Indiana's rich and varied religious historical landscape through the auspices of the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* (IAOS), settling permanently on the banks of the White River in the small town of Chesterfield, Indiana officially in 1891. Affectionately called "Camp Chesterfield" by its members, this association has been a "spiritual center of light" for generations of Hoosiers.

A number of religious groups during the 19th century took advantage of Indiana's frontier spirit by choosing to settle there.

⁸ Spiritualist ministers and mediums often use scripture from the *Holy Bible* in sermons for worship services. An often quoted scripture which refers to "spirit gifts" comes from 1 Corinthians 12 (the following is from the *Good News Bible version*) verses 4-11: "There are different kinds of spiritual gifts, but the same Spirit gives them. There are different ways of serving, but the same Lord is served. There are different abilities to perform service, but the same God gives ability to everyone for their particular service. The Spirit's presence is shown in some way to each person for the good of all. The Spirit gives one person a message full of wisdom while to another the same Spirit gives a message full of knowledge. One and the same Spirit gives faith to one person, while to another person he gives the power to heal. The Spirit gives one person the power to work miracles, to another, the gift of speaking God's message; and to yet another, the ability to tell the difference between gifts, which come from the Spirit and those that do not. To one person he gives the ability to speak in strange tongues, and to another he gives the ability to explain what is said. But is the one and the same Spirit who does all this; as he wishes, he gives a different gift to each person."

In the 1830s, most religious organizations in Indiana were imported units filled with new arrivals from somewhere else. Furthermore, probably more churches were founded by the influence of missionaries than grew up spontaneously from woodland cabins. For the year 1836, there were 319 congregations throughout an eighteen county area of Indiana. Most of these met in private homes, barns, schools, or outside; less than half had regular church buildings for worship. Of the 319 churches, 118 were Methodist groups which evolved from a larger number of informal classes. Baptists had organized 75 congregations, the Disciples of Christ 42, Presbyterians 39, Friends 24, and United Brethren 11; there were 10 other miscellaneous groups. (Vanderstel, 2009)

These congregations set the stage, in essence, for what was about to occur on Indiana's religious vista. After the Spiritualist movement first began, it was not long until the movement spread far and wide, including its arrival to the borders of Indiana. For a number of years, there was no specific association in the state devoted to the religion of Spiritualism. Hoosier adherents were forced to travel to Ohio, Michigan or Illinois to attend "camp" meetings modeled on those made popular earlier by Methodist preachers who would travel as itinerant ministers to different parts of the country to preach, convert, marry, baptize, and even bury those in need of "ministering."

Similarly to mainstream denominations, in the beginning years of the Spiritualist movement, regular church meetings were conducted in people's homes, in public spaces, outdoors and eventually centered on a revival-type of tent meeting where people would go to hear messages, receive readings, and attend séances. Gradually, these tent services began to take the form of "camps" where people could go for several days or weeks to "camp out" in order to attend the services. Eventually, these tents began to take the form of rustic cottages where mediums would reside during the "high" season, from May through September.⁹

This is exactly how Camp Chesterfield began. After attending a Spiritualist camp at Frazier's Grove in Michigan, Hoosiers John and Mary Ellen Bussel-Westerfield of Anderson

⁹ See Illustration 3.

felt that Indiana needed its very own Spiritualist camp, so they organized the first meeting of the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* in 1886. Interest in this newfangled religion spread quickly, and in 1890, a church picnic was held on the grounds of what is now Camp Chesterfield, with a permanent home being made after the association purchased a sizeable parcel of wooded land on the banks of the White River in Chesterfield, Indiana in 1891. Indiana's own Camp Chesterfield is one of three of the most historically significant centers for Spiritualism in the United States (the other two being Camp Lily Dale in New York and Camp Cassadaga in Florida).



Illustration 3: A view of Camp Chesterfield's grounds and shanties circa 1900. [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield's *Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives*.]

Today, Camp Chesterfield is a thriving Spiritualist community that supports a number of buildings that are historically significant.¹⁰ From its earliest beginnings, Hoosier Spiritualists began constructing buildings to facilitate the religion which included a boarding house, hotels, a cafeteria, medium cottages that began as two-room, seasonal shanties which eventually evolved into year-round residences that are still used today. Throughout its long history, Camp Chesterfield has razed a number of the original structures, replacing them with mid-twentieth century buildings which include a cathedral, art gallery and

¹⁰ The Western Hotel, on the grounds of Camp Chesterfield, is officially recognized as an historic landmark, listed on the U.S. Park Service's *National Register of Historic Places* [Listed July 26, 2002] (www.nps.gov/history/nr/listings/20020726.htm)

museum, a cafeteria, and more recently an administration building, academic resource center, and bookstore.



Illustration 4: The Sunflower Hotel circa 1900. [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield's *Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives*.]



Illustration 5: Interior view of the Sunflower Hotel circa 1940s [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield's *Hett Art Gallery and Museum*.]

Upon entering its gates, the visitor to Camp Chesterfield is greeted by a nostalgic old hotel called "The Sunflower."¹¹ It is reminiscent of something out of a John Steinbeck

¹¹ See Illustration 4 & 5.

novel—the front porch, with its wicker rockers, allows one to be easily transported back in time to a bygone era. Another hotel on the grounds, “The Western,” built in the style of a 1940s roadhouse, is unique because of its authentic exterior and charming interior. Both of these historic hotels offer visitors an opportunity to go back in time, imagining how guests would have sat idly on the shaded porches—most likely escaping the hot Indiana summer sun—chatting to one another about the messages they received from their loved ones through one of the well-known resident mediums who lived in one of the many historic cottages around the perimeter of the camp.¹²

Early Hoosier Spiritualists were quite forward thinking and were involved in the free and progressive thought movements of the day. These people were very attracted to the idea of Spiritualism which advocated equality for women, Abolition, and the general negation of firmly held concepts of mainstream religion such as original sin, hell and damnation of wayward souls,¹³ vicarious atonement¹⁴ and the absolute divinity of Jesus.¹⁵ Dr. J.W. Westerfield, and his wife Mary, of Anderson, Indiana were two such people who actively sought out alternative ideas regarding politics and religion. In 1883, Dr. Westerfield offered a second floor room in the hall he owned (which also housed his drugstore on the first floor) in downtown Anderson to act as a general meeting place for the intellectuals who resided in the area.

¹² A portion of this text has been adapted from an earlier paper entitled “A “Spiritual Center of Light” since 1886—The Spiritualist Community that Talks to the Dead—Historic Camp Chesterfield,” published in the annual proceedings of the *Association for the Scientific Study of Religion (ASSR)*.

¹³ Spiritualists believe strongly in the concept that all souls are redeemable, no matter how wickedly they behaved during their earthly incarnation. Also, the idea of “heaven” and “hell” being locations is not a belief of Spiritualists; instead, Spiritualists view the concept of “heaven” and “hell” as conditions, with humans creating their own earthly “heavens” and “hells” according to how they live their lives during this particular incarnation.

¹⁴ The Christian belief that Jesus Christ died on the cross for the forgiveness of sins of humankind is contrary to Spiritualist teachings which focus on inculcating the ideology that each person is morally responsible for his or her own transgressions on earth and must make amends for those when on the other side.

¹⁵ Spiritualists view the historical Jesus as a wonderfully gifted Master-Teacher, healer and psychic, who attained the “Christed” state as a result of his good works and teachings while on the earth plane. He is no more divine, however, than any other person before, during or after his earthly existence—all humans equally have the divine spark of God within them.

According to the book, *Chesterfield Lives—1886-1986—Our First Hundred Years*, Dr. Westerfield was instrumental in the formation of the “Indiana Association of Spiritualists” and subsequently, Camp Chesterfield. It was during a trip to Michigan that he and his wife came up with the idea of forming an association in Indiana. At that time, Michigan had three functioning Spiritualist camps, but the journey to Michigan was long and arduous. Dr. Westerfield purportedly suggested (while attending Frazier’s Grove Spiritualist Camp, near Vicksburg, Michigan) that Indiana should have its own camp. Other Hoosiers who had also travelled to Michigan agreed with his proposal and the seeds that would later become the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* were sown.

It was further decided that Dr. Westerfield was the only one in their number in a position to enter into the preliminaries of the plan, as he had already retired from business and had the necessary means, ability and time to carry through on the matter.

In the next three years, he contacted Spiritualists in all parts of the state, reporting his progress concerning an Indiana Camp and also progress within the movement itself, and in the early fall of 1886 he called a mass meeting in his Hall in Anderson.

When all had assembled, and Dr. Westerfield had rapped his gavel for order, there were about two hundred men and women in attendance, many of whom manifested deep interest and took an active part in the deliberations. Dr. George Hilligoss was elected president; his wife, Caroline, secretary; and Carroll Bronnenberg, treasurer. (Harrison, *et al*, 10)

For three years, the association met at Dr. Westerfield’s hall in Anderson. “During that time, on November 5, 1887, they drew up the Constitution and By Laws making the society an incorporated body, legally qualified to transact all business pertaining to the organization and the religion of Spiritualism.” (Harrison, *et al*, 14) The next order of business was to find a permanent home for the association. Dr. Westerfield, in the meantime, was elected president of the association. He served one term and was succeeded by Dr. L.M. Blackledge, the association’s third president.

The annual convention of 1890 saw Dr. Westerfield again elected as the fourth president of the association. The convention was held at a church picnic on the Carroll and Emily Bronnenberg riverside property at Chesterfield. This was an amicable and generous gesture on their part, and was an outgrowth of the original membership of Carroll, Henry and Fred Bronnenberg in 1886. (Harrison, *et al*, 14)



Illustration 6: A group photo of camp attendees in 1905, including mediums and members of the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* (IAOS) [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield's *Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives*.]

The grounds—with rolling hills and valleys, fresh spring water, and ample forest—were previously revered by the Native Americans who had once inhabited the area. In fact, not far from this acreage are ten distinct "earthworks" built by a group of prehistoric Indians known as the Adena-Hopewell people. (Werner, 121) Spiritualism, since its earliest beginnings, has had an affinity with Native American culture. Many Spiritualist adherents have a Native American guide within their band of Spirit Guides.¹⁶ The rich Native

¹⁶ Spiritualists generally have five primary spirit guides who assist them: 1) a Doctor-Teacher who maintains a presence on the person's right side; 2) a Master-Teacher who is behind the person; 3) a Chemist (often Asian or Middle-Eastern) who is on the person's left side; 4) a Native American or Indian Protector who stands directly in front of the person; and 5) a Joy Guide (usually a child) who moves around the person but generally stays around the person's legs. (Leonard, T, 321)

American history connected to the Bronnenberg property on the banks of the White River made it all the more appropriate and appealing to the membership at the time.

Dr. and Mary Westerfield were greatly instrumental in the ongoing negotiations for the grounds, and on August 12, 1892, the 34 acres of land was purchased from Carroll and Emily Bronnenberg for \$3,325.00. The Westerfields and Carroll Bronnenberg each gave large donations to the association enabling this purchase. (Harrison, et al, 18)

The *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* (IAOS) rapidly grew and expanded after finding its permanent home on the grounds of “Camp Chesterfield.” Soon, however, problems arose as more and more people began to gravitate to the grounds in search of mediums to receive readings and attend séances, and to seek their own spiritual truth with likeminded people. To counteract this huge influx of spiritual seekers wanting to attend services and séances on the grounds, those early leaders began expanding the facilities to accommodate the masses of people coming through the gates.



Illustration 7: Early photo of “Broadway” (now Parkview Drive) circa 1900. [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield’s Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives.]

Initially, a large tent was erected in 1891 with a dirt floor to shelter people from the unpredictable Indiana summers which ran the gamut from heavy rain to unforgiving heat and humidity from the sun. This tent gradually had a wooden floor and platform for messages added, and eventually walls were built to make it an actual structure. This early

auditorium, built circa 1903, would have two more restorations and upgrades over its tenure until it was replaced completely in 1954 with what is now the “Cathedral of the Woods.” A boarding house was constructed early on, along with a full-service dining hall¹⁷ in 1918, and eventual hotels—The Sunflower (1914) and The Lily¹⁸ in the early part of the 20th century and then the Western Hotel in 1945. The efforts to modernize and construct cinder block buildings to replace the old wooden structures was headed by the stalwart and uncompromising Rev. Mable Riffle¹⁹ who made it her life’s mission to not only bolster the status of Spiritualism in Indiana, but also to expand and improve the grounds during her tenure as Secretary of the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* (IAOS).



Illustration 8: Camp Mediums group photo 1940 standing in front of the recently constructed “Garden of Prayer” grotto. Rev. Mable Riffle is located in the center grouping, next to the accordion player. [Photo courtesy of Camp Chesterfield’s Hett Art Gallery and Museum Archives.]

¹⁷ The original dining hall was razed to make way for the “Maxon Cafeteria” in 1955.

¹⁸ The Lily, sadly, was lost to a catastrophic fire set by arsonists in 1996. The Sunflower still exists but is not currently in use due to dilapidation and deterioration, but plans are currently in progress to renovate and restore it to its original grandeur by repurposing it for modern use and function. The *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation* (FCCF) is instrumental in finding funds and grants to preserve and restore this historical structure.

¹⁹ See Illustration 8.

The Preservation of Camp Chesterfield

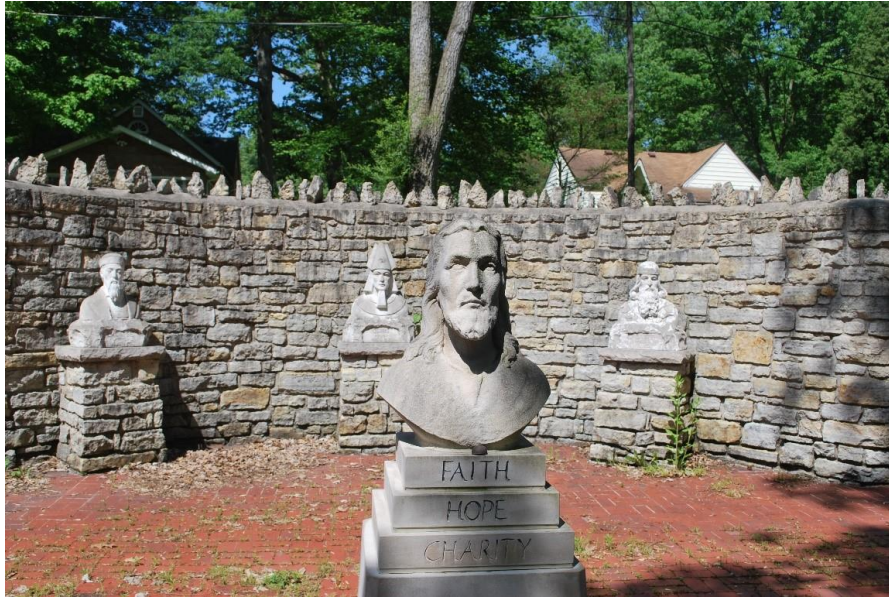
As an historic resource, Camp Chesterfield is presented with a multitude of challenges related to its specific form of worship and to its aging infrastructure. The current challenges that religious institutions (of varying denominations face) are often times magnified when those same institutions need to focus or redirect attention and resources towards an aging and historic infrastructure. Camp Chesterfield, which has survived assaults against its belief system (sometimes warranted—many times not) within the context of Protestant and conservative Indiana, is an incredibly important historic resource that provides an extraordinary opportunity to understand the complex history of Spiritualism in Indiana and the United States as a whole. When asking locals (non-Spiritualists) about Camp Chesterfield, the common response is, “oh the spook camp?” This misguided belief, which has been passed down from generation to generation by nonbelievers, has negatively influenced people’s understanding of the importance of this place.

Regional and Historic Context

East Central Indiana has the distinction of being the location of a late nineteenth century gas boom. The Trenton Gas Field birthed dozens of boom towns in the region and was instrumental in the development of Madison County and the Chesterfield area. This boom increased the population tremendously and indirectly “fueled” the influence and indoctrination of Spiritualism in the region. As the natural gas quickly ran out (lasting for around 30 years), the spark of Spiritualism—that it perhaps ignited—was by then too entrenched to dissipate and has survived for over 130 years. This longevity is even more important as a result of many camp meetings around the country failing or disappearing altogether. For this reason, Camp Chesterfield embodies one of the most intact and important places associated with Spiritualism in the United States.

As an historic district, the site consists of 40 contributing historic buildings, 9 structures, and 2 objects.²⁰ Camp Chesterfield is very distinctive, especially when placed in the context of existing and remaining vestiges of Spiritualist Camps and towns around the country.

As a



destination for Spiritualists for over a century—initially as a seasonal offering and later as a year round community, the constructed environment and landscape of Camp has evolved in tandem with the changes in American architectural tastes—including

²⁰ *National Register of Historic Places*, Chesterfield Spiritualist Camp District, Chesterfield, Madison County, Indiana National Register #095-409-51001. See Appendix 1.

Illustration 9: “The Trail of Religions” highlights Camp’s openness to all faiths and belief systems. [Photo courtesy of J.P. Hall, Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation, Ball State University.]

Illustration 10: Built in 1949, “The Western Hotel” is an example of was designed after the typical hotels of the era. [Photo courtesy of J.P. Hall, Assistant Professor of Historic



Preservation, Ball State University.]

vernacular cottages, to Art Deco Civic buildings, and at its apex, midcentury modern. In addition, Camp is sprinkled with iconic spiritual statuary ranging from all the world's major religions with an emphasis on Christian and Native American representations. It is truly a distinct type of historic resource whose importance is only beginning to be understood beyond the practitioners of Spiritualism. The planning, platting, and evolution of Camp occurred sporadically, and at times in leaps, and these changes in the landscape and architectural styles coincide with the intermittent practice of Spiritualism in America.



Illustration 11: Referenced as “Toad Stools” by Camp residents and visitors alike, these unique tables and chairs were the location that mediums did readings, and are an important historic resource and should be preserved. [Photo courtesy of J.P. Hall, Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation, Ball State University.]

As a boomtown (both spiritually and materially) and located in the context of a postindustrial conservative region of Indiana, Camp Chesterfield has had to deal with adversity during its entire existence. Additionally, like other auto industry regions, Madison County saw a steady decline in population during the last three decades of the 20th century. As a result, many of the communities (including Chesterfield) servicing the industrial center

of the County—Anderson, Indiana—have been faced with the negative consequences of shrinking populations, aging and failing infrastructure, a shift away from labor intensive manufacturing, and an overall brain drain. On top of dealing with shrinking populations and a postindustrial decline, the IAOS is navigating a changing spiritual landscape. Residents of Camp, members of the IAOS, and members of the preservation community, have come together in order to strategize about how to counteract the trends of the last few decades.

Grass Roots Advocacy

Following the grass roots formula that has often times become the genesis of saving and protecting important historic resources, conversations during the 2013 season revealed that Camp Chesterfield needed a volunteer driven group (working in conjunction with the IAOS) solely dedicated towards the preservation of its important historic resources. It was agreed upon that this organization should include members of the IAOS, residents of Camp, preservation professionals, and anyone interested in preserving this unique place. The *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation, Inc.* (FCCF) was incorporated in Indiana in November 2013 (incorporated as a 501c3 in spring of 2014). Their stated purpose is:

To facilitate and promote the historical and traditional preservation and protection of the grounds, structures, and facilities of Historic Camp Chesterfield, including the areas of commercial, civic and religious enterprises, structures, public buildings and private residences. To take remedial actions to eliminate the physical, and economic and social deterioration of Historic Camp Chesterfield's historic and traditional areas and contribute to its betterment. To disseminate information about, and promote interest in, the preservation, history, culture, architecture and public use of Historic Camp Chesterfield.²¹

Documentation and Promotion

The FCCF, with assistance from *Indiana Landmarks* and the IAOS, organized and strategized on how they could be effective advocates for historic preservation within the

²¹ *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation Articles of Incorporation.*

confines of an aging religious institution.²² Focusing first on attainable projects, the FCCF started with vigor to promote the importance of Camp as an historic resource. Although many residents at Camp already intuitively understood the significance of this place, the FCCF felt it was important to promote this concept in a meaningful and visible way outside the confines of Camp. Many regional residents never heard of Camp, and if they did, they did not understand its important placement in the timeline of American Spiritualism.

In May of 2013, in conjunction with the IAOS, the FCCF applied and received a “Historic Preservation Education Grant” from the *National Endowment for the Humanities* in conjunction with *Indiana Humanities* and *Indiana Landmarks* to produce a narrated video highlighting the history of Camp and its grounds. Additionally, the grant allowed them to produce and print a historic walking tour brochure.²³ This grant also provided seed money for the FCCF to spearhead an interpretive signage program that strategically placed signage at important resources around the grounds. These signs detail the history of significant buildings, public art, and important people in the history of Camp.

Additionally in 2013, the FCCF worked with the IAOS and applied for a *U.S. Institute of Museum and Library Services Grant* to digitize a portion of the collection in the *Dr. J. E. Hett Art Gallery and Museum* located on the grounds of Camp Chesterfield.²⁴ This included important documents, such as IAOS board minutes, early hotel registers, precipitated paintings, and historic photographs.²⁵ This collection is currently available to the public through the digital library website at Indiana University-Purdue University in Indianapolis (IUPUI).

²² *Indiana Landmarks* is the largest statewide historic preservation organization in the country. With nine regional offices around the state, the organization assists communities, nonprofit organizations, and individuals with historic preservation endeavors. Representatives of the “Eastern Regional Office” and “Heritage Education & Information of Indiana Landmarks” assisted with the formation of the FCCF.

²³ Both the video and walking tour brochure are available online at www.campchesterfield.net

²⁴ Dedicated in 1954, the Dr. J. E. Hett Art Gallery and Museum is a contributing resource to the *National Register* which listed Chesterfield Spiritualist Camp as a district. The museum displays artifacts from Camp Chesterfield’s and Spiritualism’s history. The ashlar faced limestone façade is typical of the mid- 20th century construction boom that occurred at Camp following WWII.

²⁵ The Dr. J.E. Hett Gallery is one of the largest collections of precipitated paintings in the world. Popularized by the Bangs sisters, these paintings are pieces of art—typically portraits—that were precipitated during séances.

Additionally, since Camp was listed in the *National Register of Historic Places*, the group worked towards recognizing this important designation by installing a bronze plaque at the gate entrance to Camp. With IAOS approval, the FCCF raised the necessary capital to purchase and install the plaque for all to see. Now, one of the first things that visitors and residents see when they drive through the front gates, is a material recognition by the Federal Government of Camp's historical importance.



Illustration 12: Rev. Prof. Todd Leonard dedicating a National Register Plaque at the entrance to Camp. [Photo courtesy of the Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation.]

Continuing with its promotional priorities, the FCCF worked to list Camp Chesterfield on “Indiana Landmark’s 10 Most Endangered Properties” list in 2015 and 2016.²⁶ This endeavor was seen as an important way to highlight the need for preserving Camp. In an

²⁶ Indiana Landmarks is the largest statewide historic preservation organization in the country and they market an annual list of the most important threatened properties statewide.

interview in the *Herald Bulletin* (2015) S. L. Miley reported that IAOS President Rev. Vicki Corkell saw this as an opportunity. Corkell states:

From the outset, it might seem like a negative. I don't see it as a negative thing at all," she said. The board really, as a whole, sees this as a wonderful opportunity," she said. "Landmarks historically has been so instrumental in helping Indiana historic structures to find solutions, look at things outside the box, and create avenues for resources that we might not have access to.

Brick and Mortar Preservation

In addition to promoting the historic significance of Camp, the FCCF is interested in advocating for the preservation and rehabilitation of specific buildings, as well. For a young organization, operating within budgetary constraints, this is often times a challenge, but with the assistance of the IAOS and *Indiana Landmarks*, the group set their sights on protecting and rehabilitating the "Lizzie Koch Cottage," an early 20th century structure. In 2014, the Lizzie Koch Cottage, a Contributing Structure to the National Register District, had sat vacant for almost a decade and deferred maintenance had taken its toll. A large hole in the roof of the structure had developed to the point that it was accelerating exponentially every year. Since it was a Contributing Structure, and the only remaining original two story cottage, the FCCF felt it necessary to attempt to save it, or at least stem any further deterioration.

The FCCF worked with the IAOS (the owners of the cottage) and convinced the board to allow the group to mothball the building. Mothballing, a term often used in preservation parlance, is the initial and sometimes modest buttoning up of a building in anticipation of further resources becoming available in the future. This was the approach that FCCF has taken with the Koch Cottage. With the generous assistance from the *Efroymsen Family Fund*, the FCCF received a grant—first to stabilize the deteriorated roof, then to replace it entirely.²⁷ This one act essentially saved the Lizzie Koch Cottage from tipping towards a point of no return. Also, the group used funds from the *Efroymsen Family Fund* to restore

²⁷ *The Efroymsen Family Fund*, a fund of the *Central Indiana Community Foundation*, supports a variety of causes inside and outside of Indiana. The fund works closely with *Indiana Landmarks* to fund historic preservation projects around the state.

the cottage's original double-hung wood windows. As of this writing, the group has removed later-applied asphalt siding, in hopes to paint the cottage's original lap siding. The FCCF, with an eye towards appropriate restoration, was guided in their efforts by the Secretary of Interior's "Standards for the Rehabilitation of Historic Properties."²⁸



Illustration13: The Sunflower Hotel. [Photo courtesy of J.P. Hall, Assistant Professor of Historic Preservation, Ball State University.]

Further buildings and structures need attention at Camp Chesterfield. A few cottages currently lay vacant, and some buildings are not being utilized or are being underutilized. One building's future, which has continued to be a topic of local conversation, is the long vacant (c. 1914) Sunflower Hotel. The Sunflower, which stands at the front gates of Camp, and was originally one of a twin-pair of hotel structures (the Lily Hotel was destroyed by arson in 1996) flanking the front gates, is currently at a crossroads. The future use of this structure is in question. During the summer of 2017, the IAOS applied for an "Efroymsen Family Endangered Places Grant" from *Indiana Landmarks* to look at the needs, future use,

²⁸The Secretary of Interior's "Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties," codified in 36 CFR 67 and recently updated in 2017, provide advice and guidance on the treatment of historic properties. The FCCF utilize the Secretary of Interior's "Standards for the Rehabilitation" to guide all preservation actions.

and associated costs of rehabilitating the Sunflower Hotel. The board has discussed potential uses of at least part of the building for overnight accommodations and meeting spaces; however, the board is open to alternative compatible uses that may provide additional revenue-generating opportunities, or affordable senior housing. The feasibility study is the first step in a multi-year investigation on how to appropriately repurpose the Sunflower for the 21st century.

Designation

Lastly, advocates for Camp believe that there is a strong case to be made that Camp Chesterfield is eligible for “National Historic Landmark” status.²⁹ When nominated to the *National Register* in 2002, Camp Chesterfield was designated as being only locally significant. The board of the FCCF believes that Camp Chesterfield represents an important national phenomenon and its historic contexts need to be reevaluated. Camp Chesterfield physically embodies the history, evolution, and peak of the Spiritualist movement in the United States. The Camp’s buildings, landscapes, public art features, circulatory patterns, and evolution of architectural styles, all embody this nationally important religious movement.

Although several Spiritualist camps still exist around the United States, only one other is listed in the *National Register of Historic Places— Southern Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association* in Florida—and none, except for perhaps the *Lily Dale Assembly* (a Spiritualist Camp in New York State), are as expansive, have as high a level of integrity, and retain as much physical material fabric as Camp Chesterfield. Additionally, the district was nominated to the *National Register* only under Criterion A (associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history) and a reevaluation should be considered so that Camp is also eligible under Criterion C—as the embodiment of a distinctive type and as whose components may lack individual distinction.³⁰

²⁹ *National Historic Landmarks* are resources that the U. S. Department of the Interior deem to be of national significance. At present, Camp is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as only being locally significant.

³⁰ The National Register Criteria for Evaluation are found in the Code of Federal Regulations, Title 36, Part 60.

As a designed landscape—that has retained its historic design, topography, association with the river, grading, architectural and public art features, and original circulation/pedestrian system—Camp Chesterfield should be eligible under Criterion C as a designed landscape in addition to being a district. Current discussions are underway with the *Division of Historic Preservation and Archeology* (DHPA)—Indiana’s State Historic Preservation Office—about upgrading Camp’s level of significance and the potentiality of the sites eligibility as a National Historic Landmark.

Conclusion

Today, Camp Chesterfield continues to exist due in large part to the original vision of its founding members and the commitment of its longtime secretary, Rev. Mable Riffle, who nearly singlehandedly expanded the camp’s structures and facilities by tapping benefactors to donate large sums of money to ensure that the association would continue well into the 21st century. The current dilemma of budgetary concerns facing the IAOS and Camp Chesterfield, coupled with its varied and numerous preservation needs, too will pass. Historically, Spiritualism has regularly endured times of great prosperity and times of near extinction. Like many other organizations who are charged with being the custodians of historical structures, archives, and folk art displays, Camp Chesterfield is at a crossroads regarding its preservation needs and concerns. In order to address proactively these critical needs, the IAOS, in association with the non-profit group “Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation” (FCCF), are actively pursuing a variety of avenues in the form of donations, grants, and fundraising to procure the needed funds to preserve and protect the historical structures and displays that are an integral part of Camp Chesterfield’s legacy, which in turn, is a part of Indiana’s religious history.

Camp Chesterfield, as it modernizes its appeal to a new generation of spiritual seekers, will continue to offer confirmation of life after death to those who come through its gates. Although the number of visitors and members may not be the same as in its heyday, as interest in the paranormal and communication with the so-called dead heightens, as well as interest in historical preservation, so will interest in this “Old Age” religion and its distinctive historical appeal. For nearly one-hundred and thirty years, Camp Chesterfield has been a “spiritual center of light” to many generations of Hoosiers, offering comfort and

healing to all those who enter upon its grounds. Preserving its historically unique and significant structures and displays is an important mission for those today to make sure Camp Chesterfield and its historical edifices continue into the next century.

Biographical Notes

Todd Jay Leonard is a professor in the Education Faculty for the graduate school (English Education) and is a faculty member in the “International Language and Culture Section” at the *University of Teacher Education Fukuoka*. In addition, Professor Leonard is a founding member and currently a board member of the *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation* (FCCF).

J.P. Hall is an assistant professor of “Historic Preservation” in the College of Architecture and Planning at *Ball State University*, Muncie, Indiana. Professor Hall is currently the President of the *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation* (FCCF) and is a founding board member.

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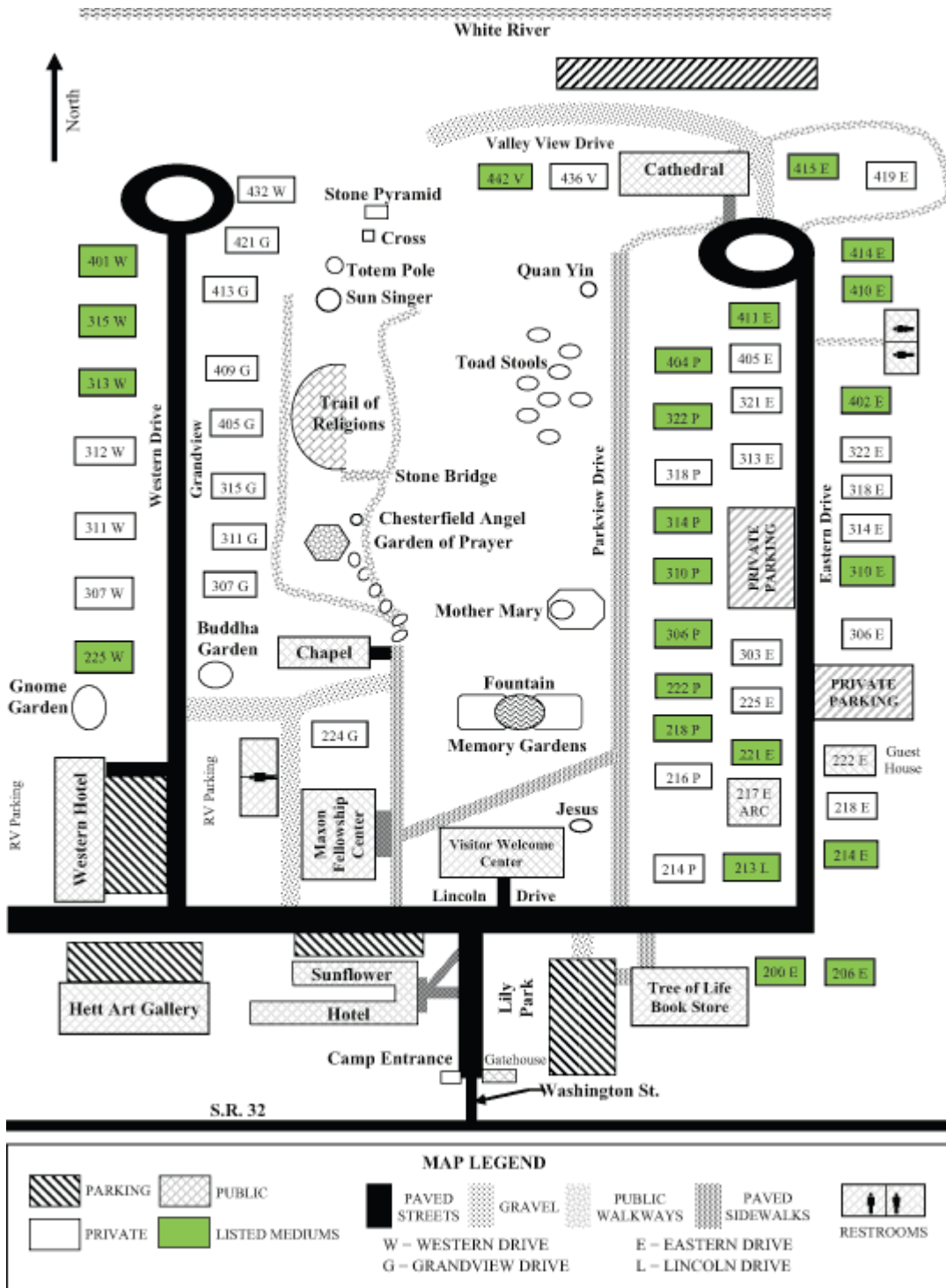
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Appendix 1: Structural and landscape map of Camp Chesterfield's grounds.



Parables in the Book of Malcolm: Lowry's *Under the Volcano* as a Postmodern Gospel

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“Try persuading the world not to cut its throat for half a decade or more...and it'll began to dawn on you that even your behavior's part of its plan.”

“No, my secrets are of the grave and must be kept. And this is how I sometimes think of myself, as a great explorer who has discovered some extraordinary land from which he can never return to give his knowledge to the world: but the name of this land is hell.”

--Malcolm Lowry, *Under the Volcano* (1947)

Introduction

On November 2nd, the final day of *Día de los Muertos* (The Day of the Dead) in 1936, Malcolm Lowry and his first wife Jan arrived in Cuernavaca, Mexico (a city with the beautiful yet ominous backdrop of the two highest volcanos in the Western hemisphere, the active Popocatepetl and dormant Izcattíhuatl) on what might have been described as a pilgrimage toward saving their ill-fated marriage. Wrecked by drink, depression, the inability to find sustained writing success, along with the glowering specter of imminent global conflict, their escape was a last hope attempt to demonstrate there was truth in the saying that indeed, “distance lends enchantment.” It was a last resort for his first marriage but was a relocation that would both enlighten and in many ways, spiritually doom the already deeply troubled author's persona. *Under the Volcano*, started just before the move to Mexico, would be completed over the next four years, but only after Lowry's wife left him for another man, followed by a period of deep depression and alcoholic excess, and his eventual debt-ridden deportation from Mexico in 1938. The novel is largely constructed from autobiographical events, allowing the work to progress during a time marred by psychological decline in a life already defined by disenchantment and despair.

The finished work features multiple levels of analyses (like the works of Thomas Mann, who was a prominent literary influence on Lowry), a Hardy-like extreme Euro-American realism (interspersed with moments of traditional Latin-American magical realism) and is a literary hybrid of Joyce's *Ulysses*, Dante's *Inferno* (of the *Divine Comedy*), Goethe's, Marlowe's, and Mann's versions of *Faust*, Mann's *Death in Venice*, Conrad's *Lord Jim*, Eliot's *The Waste Land*, as well as Milton's *Paradise Lost* (and many others). In Lowry, however, there is no possibility of a *Paradise Regained*. His time in Mexico, though marked by the dismal failure of the primary purpose for making the journey, actually served as a period of *spiritual*

awakening for Lowry (with emphasis on *spirit*—both in the mythological sense in addition to the literal). He transforms himself into an anti-heroic, messianic disciple of Faustian proportion but without consequence or possibility of redemption, as his soul had been sold long ago and he already lives in Hell (on the evil earthly plane) surrounded by a host of both social and personal demons who torture those who try to discover and understand the secrets of the world. Fatalism defines *Under the Volcano*—where no action taken would ever make any difference. To Lowry, it is never about making the wrong choices, but living in a world featuring the total absence of choice¹—an anomic existence that ultimately seals the fates of all.

His novel, today considered one of the classics of the twentieth century, is a chronicle of what might be called post-existential sadness and ultimately, fatalistic tragedy, but one that reveals an almost Gospel-like quality (extending to the level perhaps of a postmodern *Book of Revelations*), where Lowry, channeled through his protagonist Geoffrey Fermin, the ex-British Consul to Cuernavaca, reveals a life of profound sacrificial suffering—complete with endless hallucinatory self-medication and ultimately, self-immolation—a crucifixion by the evil forces that govern all human existence. But the Consul is no Jesus and there is no atonement (unless couched in a postmodernist context), but his story exposes through one man's life (and death) Lowry's mystical truths of human existence for everyone to witness with unsurprisingly, few bothering to heed his warnings of the hellish Earth that condemn all to the same fate—demonstrating that nothing really matters. All human life is constantly distracted by the pursuits of romantic dreams, quests for success, and lofty and optimistic aspirations of greatness ready to manifest at any moment—but this narrative is false and exposed herein, but with almost no one bothering to listen. Life tends to be lived on the “fantastic level”² but is in actuality, a futility of elusive illusions.

Echoing Lowry's styles, characters, and even at time phraseologies, American playwright Tennessee Williams had himself “escaped” to Acapulco, Mexico in 1940 to, as he said, “an elemental country, where you can quickly forget the false dignities and conceits imposed by success...to apprehend the vacuity of life without struggle” as “the heart of man, his body, and his brain, are forged in a white hot furnace for the purpose of conflict (the struggle of creation).”³ It is not surprising that just a year after Lowry (with significant editing help from his second wife, American actress and writer Margerie Bonner) finally realized the publication of *Under the Volcano* (1947), Williams composed *The Night of the Iguana* (1948) (set just south of Puerto Vallarta at Mismaloya) and which seems to include far too many similarities in characters, scenes, and wordings to *Under the Volcano* to be merely coincidental. Williams actually commented that he was surprised while in Mexico of

¹ “Under the Volcano by Malcolm Lowry.” The Quarterly Conversation.

<http://quarterlyconversation.com/under-the-volcano-by-malcom-lowry-review>

² A term taken from the phrase, “The Fantastic Level and the Realistic Level are the two levels upon which we live.” as spoken by the Reverend T. Lawrence Shannon, protagonist of Tennessee Williams' *Night of the Iguana* (1948)

³ Goodman, Richard. “Staying Out of the Clutches of the Goddess: Heeding the Wisdom of Tennessee Williams” (2008). *English Faculty Publications* Paper 87.

https://scholarworks.uno.edu/encl_facpubs/87

“the inertia and indifference the guests showed to all worldly events and even the Second World War” which “he blamed on the relentless sun, heat and strong drinks.”⁴ Lowry on the other hand, remained universally connected to the outside world and its evolving history. From his childhood memories of his Methodist authoritarian father, to the suicide of his roommate (and friend) at Cambridge University (for which he always accepted blame as his death followed Lowry’s rejection of his desire for a homosexual relationship), to his long path of personal destructions and a failing marriage, Mexico provided a lofty perch from which to see the world for once as an outside observer and coupled with the mythical elements and celestial visions of the Aztec and Zapotecan civilizations, Lowry sought to ritually conjure the mystical truths of human existence by summoning those ancient spirits.

Our clairvoyant Consul hallucinogenically aspires to a higher dimension of mescal-induced consciousness. By imbibing the ritualistic drinks of *pulque* and mescal, he is transformed from a priest into a god, as is the Aztec custom. Through “simultaneity of experience”, he embarks upon a telepathic crusade in search of civilization’s elixir of life.⁵

The idea of transferring the evils of an entire people into a single individual and sacrificing that individual to alleviate the suffering of an entire community is not uncommon in premodern cultures. Death, to the Aztecs especially, is a “mirror of life” to be celebrated symbolically and sacrificially to nourish the souls of the deceased on their *underworld* journey (such as the celebration of *Día de los Muertos*). Lowry himself wrote in one his later letters that the *Under the Volcano* had symbolically depicted the annihilation of the Aztec “Garden of Eden” represented by desecration of Mexico by Spanish invaders and the resulting and recurring “Fall of Man.” It is the Consul, a postmodern Adam, who is chosen to bear the weight of the sins of the world.⁶ Both Lowry and Geoffrey can be cast as figures that reject the present (the modern) by returning to the past—to resurrect ancient wisdom through esoteric ritual—the Kabbalah, Mesoamerican myth, numerology, and in general, the alchemy of alcohol.⁷

Plot and Structure

⁴ “The Night of the Iguana and Puerto Vallarta.” PuertoVallarta.net
https://www.puertovallarta.net/fast_facts/the-night-of-the-iguana

⁵ Foxcroft, Nigel H. “Psychogeographic Impact on Malcolm Lowry’s Consciousness: From the Zapotec and Aztec Civilizations to Taoism.” The IAFOR Academic Review (Vol. 1).
<http://eprints.brighton.ac.uk/13462/1/The%20IAFOR%20Academic%20Review%20v%20%201.pdf>

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Jordison, Sam. “Under the Volcano: the alchemy of alcohol.” *The Guardian*. 18 September 2013.
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2013/sep/18/reading-group-malcolm-lowry-under-the-volcano>

Under the Volcano is written intentionally in twelve chapters⁸ and the plot takes place over the course of a single day—November 2nd, the final day of *Día de los Muertos* (The Day of the Dead) in 1938. There are three protagonists, all consumed with guilt: Geoffrey Fermin (formerly the British Consul until diplomatic relations with Mexico had recently ended), a drunken failure; Yvonne (his ex-wife) for likely multiple acts of adultery and leaving their marriage; and Hugh (Geoffrey's half-brother) for not achieving enough in his youth (through his many choices of misadventure) and perhaps also having an affair with Yvonne. The trio "mope through lives that are very much already over"⁹ with many regrets and seeking their own renditions of atonement and redemption. Another character, Jacques Laurelle, a childhood friend of the Consul and now a French filmmaker who has had an affair with Yvonne (just as he had with one of Geoffrey's girlfriends in their youth)¹⁰ is a foil who serves as a vessel for universal symbolism and the exposure of the parallels of life between all people.

The first chapter provides the background of the previous tumultuous year. The next eleven chapters chronicle the fated day. Yvonne has just returned to Mexico to visit Geoffrey, but the purpose is not entirely clear. Perhaps she secretly wants a reconciliation or at least to repair their broken relationship and set it on good terms. More likely, she is there out of guilt and feels that she must try and repair his sordid state of hopeless alcoholism. When she arrives, he is drinking at a hotel bar *in order to sober up*,¹¹ as the Consul firmly believes that [paraphrased] "There are times when you have to drink yourself sober,"—a revelation of his plan for attaining several goals: knowledge, revenge, and martyrdom. His feelings set the tone for his understanding of everything later in the day:

...[I]t is hard not to identify with the Consul...the dark soul of this novel, and his complicated, painful feelings for Yvonne form the core of *Volcano's* tragedy. He longs for her, pines for a complete life with her, yet resents her, cannot forgive her, hates her. For what? For leaving him. For betraying him. But perhaps foremost, he despises her inability to understand his alcoholism.¹²

⁸ Lowry was a student of the esoteric Jewish Kabbalah where 12 is a significant number. Numbers fascinated Lowry and he once said that, "I have to have my 12...it is as if I hear a clock slowly striking midnight for Faust." (as stated in Goddall, Mark. "The enduring power and tragedy of Malcolm Lowry's *Under the Volcano*, 70 years on". *The Conversation* . 20 July 2017.

<https://theconversation.com/the-enduring-power-and-tragedy-of-malcolm-lowrys-under-the-volcano-70-years-on-72337> The number 7 emerges as symbolic in *Under the Volcano* as well.

⁹ Op. cit. "Under the Volcano by Malcolm Lowry." *The Quarterly Conversation*.

<http://quarterlyconversation.com/under-the-volcano-by-malcom-lowry-review>

¹⁰ Chapman, Marilyn. "'Alastor': The Spirit of *Under the Volcano*." *Studies in Canadian Literature*. Volume 6, Number 2 (1981) . <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/7967/9024>

¹¹ Turner, Edwin. "Under the Volcano—Malcolm Lowry." *Biblioklept*.

<https://biblioklept.org/2011/03/15/under-the-volcano-malcolm-lowry/>

¹² Ibid.

The character Hugh is a fascinating insertion into an already complicated situation. Not only has he been mediocre at life, having lofty goals but never realizing their promises, he continues to dream of historic relevance in heroic proportion. He is a romantic at heart, not unlike Jim in Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1899). Hugh, still only twenty-nine, has worked in the merchant marine for adventure (which was apparently not a good experience), had been a medic of sorts in Spain for the Loyalists (but fell from the back of the ambulance in which he was riding when a load of beer shifted they were hauling and fell on him), composed guitar songs to attain fame as a musician (though no one has ever heard of him or cares about his music), and he considers himself not only an underachiever, but already a fallen hero.¹³ His latest idea for glory is to leave Mexico (where none of the characters have any particular reason to be), sign onto a ship with a secret cargo of weapons to deliver to the Loyalists in Spain so they may defeat the Fascists in the Revolution. But Geoffrey (and Lowry) already knows that such inclination toward romantic idealism is always bound together with selfish egoism.¹⁴ Hugh is simply who he is and his failures are foreshadowed in the parable of the *pelado* and of the *horse* described herein.

Throughout *Under the Volcano*, in addition to all the clutter and collateral damage of fragmented lives described in painful detail, a number of parables are used by Lowry to make his point. A few examples follow.

The Parable of the Garden

The first parable involves the Consul's wandering into his neighbor's garden and seeing a sign that he mistranslates (or that has poor punctuation) as saying, "You like this garden? Why is it yours? We evict those who destroy!" He takes this to mean that humanity has no right to happiness and it is a "sign" that he should finally end his unrequited love for Yvonne. Later, the sign is re-translated differently to state, "Do you like this garden that is yours? See to it that your children do not destroy it!" This message, though still foreboding, conveys a slight hope that a garden might be preserved, tended, so that future generations will not prey upon each other. On the other hand, the Consul (and Lowry) cannot imagine that such a world might one day exist.¹⁵

In this world, there is only expulsion from Eden. There may be visible beauty surrounding everyone (as the snow-capped volcanoes are), but these are deceptive aesthetics to reality. Multiple other allusions to gardens and events within them culminate ultimately in Geoffrey's death at the hands of the local fascist police officials, most notably, the one called, "The Chief of Gardens."¹⁶

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Harrison, Keith. "Allusions in *Under the Volcano*: Function and Pattern." *Studies in Canadian Literature*. Volume 9, Number 2 (1984).

<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/8017/9074>

Human consciousness, when pitted against the powers of the natural world insures the death of all gardeners.¹⁷ The garden, is after all, where the agave grows as well as the place that the Consul hides his mescal. Thus, there is a universal tragedy of evil—the tragedy of humanity as inhabitant of what Swedenborg called, “a winter garden.”¹⁸

The Parable of the Pelado

While taking a bus tour to Tomalin to watch a “bull throwing” (like a bullfight without the blood), the trio encounter a wounded and dying Indian along the roadside. Hugh orders the bus to stop and he rushes to the dying man in an attempt to save him. The local ersatz police arrive and stop him, as it is against current Mexican law for even the British to aid a victim of a crime until the crime scene has been fully investigated. The Indian (or *pelado*) is indigenous to Mexico. The officials are of Spanish descent and belief, providing a parallel and symbolic warning to the threat of fascism emerging in Europe. The trio’s inability (especially Hugh’s) to aid the *pelado* demonstrates the futility of anyone to exert their will against the forces of evil, the invasion and subjugation of the conquered, and moreover, the looming threat of European fascism not just here but everywhere.

The Parable of the Local Authority

It is the final month of the year, the final hour of the day, in the final chapter of the novel, and the Consul has finally decided that he will end his desire for a long-term relationship with Yvonne. He wants to free himself from the misery of her absence and wants to set her free as well. Drinking at the Farolito, a bar at the base of the volcano, the host hands him a stack of letters from Yvonne sent to the Consul over the course of the last year. Geoffrey had already been suspected of being a spy rather than a writer¹⁹ (as he now claimed to be as ex-Consul), so the fascist authorities (and sympathizers) in Mexico tracked, confiscated, and previewed all his letters.

Yvonne had kept asking Geoffrey why he had not answered her correspondence regarding their relationship and a possible reconciliation, while Geoffrey had, during this period, been emotionally crushed by the absence of any communication from Yvonne over the course of the last year.

After the letters are handed over to the Consul, a drunken disagreement turned argument ensues with the local fascist police chief, who asks Geoffrey what his name was. (He is wearing Hugh’s jacket with some anarchist literature in the pocket, which the anarchists use a pretext for his interrogation.) The Consul

¹⁷ Turner, *op.cit.*

¹⁸ Middlebro’, Tom. “The Political Strand in Malcolm Lowry’s *Under the Volcano*.” *Studies in Canadian Literature*. Volume 7, Number 1 (1982).
<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/7977/9034>

¹⁹ McCarthy, Patrick A. “Wriider/Espider: The Consul as Artist in *Under the Volcano*.” *Studies in Canadian Literature*. Volume 17, Number 1 (1992).
<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/8152/9209>

declares his name is William Blackstone²⁰ and that he is a writer but is contradicted by the fascist police chief, who threatens him, shoving him repeatedly to the ground and then clutching his throat:

What for you lie?...You say your name is Black. No es Black...You say you are a wrider...You are no wrider...You are no a de wrider, you are de espider, and we shoota de espiders in Mejico... You are no wrider. You Al Capone...You a Jew chingao...You are a spider.

A clock chimed seven times and after, the chief then proceeds to shoot the Consul who proclaims that this is a “dingy way to die” once he realizes he has been mortally wounded. Geoffrey emits a final scream as the chief’s henchmen throw him down the *barranca* (the river gorge) that lies between the Farolito and the majestic volcano, over which a purifying thunderstorm is now building.

This allusion to the Inferno under Mount Purgatory herein, illustrates the unavoidable suffering of humankind. From prehistory, to pagan, to Christian, and beyond, into the future, the one human constant in all existence is conflict, war, and damnation—with another chapter of the same story facing the world currently—the descent into world War II.²¹

The Parable of the Branded Horse

The shots which killed the Consul spooks a horse being led by one of the fascist policeman and it breaks free galloping down a dark footpath through the forest—symbolically, a garden of humanity. Hugh and Yvonne, searching for the drunken Consul, have taken a shortcut through the forest to avoid the impending thunderstorm as they attempt to see if Geoffrey is at the Farolito, the final bar to visit in their attempt to find him. The horse, branded with the number “7” runs over Yvonne, killing her on the path and leaving Hugh (the marginal man who Geoffrey once referred to affectionately in his garden as “you old snake in the grass”) as the only remaining survivor of the trio and he has yet again experienced a failure—protecting Yvonne from danger.

The number “7” is generally and popularly associated with “luck” in Western cultures, but has far greater meanings in spiritual circles. In the Bible, it is associated with “spiritual perfection”—the number stamped on every work of God. It can also refer to the “seeker of Truth”—the quest to understand deeper, hidden, underlying meanings as the “7” knows that nothing is exactly as it seems and that reality is often hidden behind illusions (a fundamentally postmodern position). Finally, and ironically, “7” is also the number of the Commandment, “Thou shall not commit adultery”—of which Yvonne was guilty and sought atonement.

²⁰ William Blackstone (1723-1780). English jurist who declared that “Christianity is part of the laws of England” but stated that the law of England “gives liberty, rightly understood, that is, protection to a jew, turk, or a heathen, as well as to those who profess the true religion of Christ.” He was sympathetic to the cause of native populations and their legal protection.

²¹ Harrison, *op. cit.*

Geoffrey knew that he and Yvonne would not be going into the future hand in hand. She had left him after all following several affairs. But what the Consul was able to achieve was his own freeing separation from her while at the same time freeing her from the bondage of earthly evil—a postmodern sort of forgiveness, retribution, and the eternal worship of his goddess all at the same time.

By untethering the riderless horse, our consul causes a purifying thunderstorm of Messianic divine intervention which resurrects Yvonne, his Aztec ritual sacrifice who has [earlier] imagined “herself voyaging straight up through the stars to the Pleiades.”²²

Yvonne was elevated skyward, Geoffrey, thrown under the volcano.

A Brief and Simple Conclusion

Malcolm Lowry’s biographer once proclaimed that he “had no gift for simplicity.”
Under the Volcano

...can be read as an overtly political, religious, mystical or philosophical novel. It is about damnation, or fascism, or love. It is a tragedy and, at times, a comedy. Its metaphors and symbols can be studied and catalogued, but their meanings seem to shift as they recur, or when they are returned to on re-reading. The book refuses to take definitive shape. It is so elaborate that, in a sense, it lives.²³

On the other hand, *Under the Volcano* may be nothing more than the hallucinogenic musings of a rambling drunk—but even then, how much more postmodern can the wisdom of the ancients be?

Perhaps as a final reflection to sum up the entirety of *Under the Volcano*, the following passage presented by Jacques Laurelle in the first chapter, fusing past and present, and demonstrating the one constant of human existence, works beautifully. Comparing Yvonne and Geoffrey to the Mexican historical figures, Emperor Maximilian and Carlotta.²⁴

...how they must have loved this land, these two lonely empurpled exiles, human beings finally, lovers out of their element—their Eden, without either knowing quite why, beginning to turn under their noses into a prison and smell like a brewery, their only majesty at last that of tragedy... “it is our destiny to come here, Carlotta. Look at this rolling, glorious country, its hills, its valleys, its volcanoes beautiful beyond belief. And to think it is ours! Let us be good and constructive and make ourselves worthy of it!” Or there were ghosts quarreling:

²² Foxcroft, *op.cit.*

²³ Power, Chris. “Under the Volcano: a modernist masterpiece.” *The Guardian*. 02 November 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2011/nov/02/under-the-volcano-modernist-masterpiece>

²⁴ Harrison, *op.cit.*

“No, you loved yourself, you loved misery more than I. You did this deliberately to us.” And suddenly they were weeping together, passionately, as they stood.”

And then,

But now the mescal struck a discord, then a succession of plaintive discords to which the drifting mists all seemed to be dancing, through the elusive subtleties of ribboned light, among the detached shreds of rainbows floating. It was a phantom dance of souls, baffled by these deceptive blends, yet still seeking permanence in the midst of what was only perpetually evanescent, or eternally lost. Or it was a dance of the seeker and his goal, here pursuing still the gay colours he did not know he had assumed, there striving to identify the finer scene of which he might never realise he was already a part.²⁵

Biographical Note

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²⁵ Jordison, *op.cit.*

Grand Parenting...Intergenerational Stories of Wisdom, Faith and Gerotranscendence

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Introduction

Grand parenting is an important part of kinship and familial relations. Grandparents serve as wisdom keepers and placeholders in family systems that help to maintain historicity for the next generation. As a globalized meta-modern society continues to deconstruct, expand and contract in a seemingly random reaction to states of crisis, how do families hold on to the threads of history and tradition in ways that are meaningful in child rearing? How do religious practices play into intergenerational family structure? Do you have to be old to be wise and as individuals age, is wisdom associated with spiritual connectedness later in life? Discussion of related literature on religious aspects of grand parenting, wisdom and Gerotranscendence will be shared based on qualitative interviews with grandparents. The theory of Gerotranscendence, and various models of wisdom, as applied to grand parenting, will be examined as a way to support the role of older adults in society and family systems.

Grand parenting in Family Systems

Typically older generations in society begin to lose support as economic productivity and physical capabilities start to decline. Depending on the cultural attitudes, family functioning and resources available, older adults often become isolated and sometimes ostracized in communities. This is also a time when limitations of the physical body become more pronounced which can limit the level of physical activity and engagement for older adults. Interestingly, this is also a time when it becomes psychologically more important for older adults to remain mentally active and engage in the mentoring of younger generations (Ray 111).

Families and community can help temper and balance these dynamics for older adults by identifying strengths and areas of contribution to the family system. Grandparents that live far away can stay connected through social media, photo sharing, live video streaming or video conferencing making it more beneficial for children who are not able to see their grandparents face to face more often. All of these struggles are seen as significant to adaptation which can be defined as the ability to adjust and adapt to the environment in a way that allows for optimal functioning in order for an individual to meet their own basic human needs (Blackburn, et al. 94).

The question is often asked, how well does the individual fit or adapt to their environment in order to get their personal needs met? Learning to adapt and “go with the flow” of the natural world that a person is surrounded by is critical for surviving and thriving through healthy aging. Significant life changes, such as having grandchildren, can sometimes cause individuals to modify their core values and attitudes. This in turn can often trigger a cycle of change, modification, and adaptation at a core level that continues as part of the healthy aging process. These core values and attitudes are what psychologically carry adults through the inevitable changes in life and serve as navigational rudders for optimal development in later adulthood.

Becoming a grandparent is an example of one such major life change that many adults go through later in life that has the ability to impact not only an individual but their extended family and subsequent generations. There is also a natural slowing down and deepening in human relations that occurs in older age. This has an effect on the emotional regulation and selectivity of social networks as noted in the socioemotional selectivity theory first put forth by Carstensen in 1995 (Blackburn and Dulmus 69). This phenomenon can allow for grandparents to be less reactive and comprehend reasons behind actions that overextended parents may not have insight on due to busy lifestyles. A sharing of experience, strength and hope from grandparent to parent and grandchildren helps strengthen the lessons learned and can possibly reduce the negative impact of mistakes in life from one generation to the next.

Wisdom Keepers

Wisdom is something often associated with older age and higher levels of cognitive understanding. Sometimes it is thought of as a concept that is connected to experience over time and therefore requires an extensive knowledge base to draw from as an outgrowth on life experiences that would only accumulate over time. Wisdom itself is a somewhat elusive concept and there is not clear acceptance on how to provide a definition that covers the entire scope of its nature. Typically it relates to an ability to integrate and apply knowledge in everyday reality and strongly effects judgement and decision making. Wisdom involves an ability to offer guidance to others, a personal bank of knowledge to draw from very often based in experience, an understanding of moral principles, an ability to grasp the importance of time and to engage in compassionate relationships (Montgomery, Barber & McKee, 143).

Wisdom and life longing is a significant topic in the field of aging and impacts quality of life, lifespan development and psychological integration of life experiences. Life longings impact directionality in life and the management of loss and things unattained. This concept paired with desire and yearning has been researched and identified as part of a persons’ self- concept and is not considered something fleeting or passing later in life. In fact, later adulthood is typically characterized as a time for integrating and solidifying

self-concept by cognitive theorists that sometimes happens through a deepening of interpersonal relationships, spiritual quests or “bucket list” type experiences or spiritual quests. Life longings are really more about a “personal utopia of life” as it relates to the integration of desire, opportunity and life experience. Cognitive and emotional struggles are common later in life; obtaining a better understanding of the development and application of wisdom as related to the emotional struggle of life yearnings and interpersonal integration is significant.

This can serve to shed light on the evolution of marriage, child bearing, parenting and structural adaptation of family for the aging population. Individuals very often make choices around marriage and child-bearing based upon their own experiences in life. This might be illustrated by the choice to marry young before starting a career or perhaps waiting until later in life after obtaining education and career experience. Another example might be having been raised in a large family and then choosing to not have children or only have one child as a reaction to uncomfortable personal childhood experiences.

Gerotranscendence

Gerotranscendence (GT) is considered to be a new theory in the field of gerontology which was developed by Swedish sociologist Tornstram in 1989. GT is an expansion of psycho-spiritual aspects found in the developmental theory framework of Jung and Erikson (Tornstram 168). This theory focuses on a phenomenological understanding of lifespan development later in life focusing on three dimensions of self-reported behaviors that are known to characterize gerotranscendence: cosmic, self, social and personal relationship dimensions. Each of these three behavioral dimensions are characterized by specific components of behavior where in, the sense of self looks specifically at the older person letting go of and releasing their “body” in old-age, meaning they tend to become less focused with preoccupations related to appearance of the physical body and become more focused on the spiritual and/or altruistic side parts of self.

Results of studies on GT have found that older adults can experience a sense of connectedness and well-being within themselves even when they are living in situations where they are not in direct contact with family members (Tornstram 170) which seems to support a level of autonomy in meeting spiritual needs for connectedness. The strength of this individual connectedness is what helps to generate transmission of knowledge and wisdom between grandparents, children and grandchildren. Gerotranscendence relates to God, self and transcendence which serves to develop a sense of connectedness for individuals which is an important link to life satisfaction and having a sense of belongingness later in life.

Compatible with other theories of aging, gerotranscendence purports that individuals are constantly developing new and unique styles of engagement, process, and perception of the world around them, not through decline but through reshaping and redefinition. This sense of spiritual connectedness is one that GT captures in relationship to positive aging and is a key aspect of self-acceptance, self-care, and self-support (Wang, JJ, Lin, YH & Hsieh, LY, 581). Perhaps the most significant contribution of GT is one of transcendent behavior that helps explain spirituality within the context of positive aging for older adults.

Methodology

Interviews were conducted with six older adults, ages 56 to 90. All were High School graduates and four had advanced degrees. Selection of participants was based on snowball sampling that began with use of Facebook social media and extended to friends found through the researcher's church. Three were male and three were female. Each were Anglo except for one that was Arab American. The number of grandchildren that each had ranged from one to eleven and the age at which they became a grandparent for each was over the age of 50.

Prior to the interview, the researcher communicated with the participant and a) explained the research process and the main purpose, b) explained how the findings would be presented c) how confidentiality would be maintained and d) obtained verbal consent. The primary author interviewed each participant individually using telephone communication and note taking. Audio recordings of the interviews did not occur. Following the telephone interview, each participant received a consent form in the regular mail with request for signature.

A phenomenological approach was taken using principles of grounded theory when engaged in the interview process. Each interview took anywhere from 25 minutes and used a guided interview schedule. Even though the interviews were structured with the established guide, there was opportunity to go "off book" and allow for the participant and researcher to delve more deeply into the questions asked and answers given. Dialogue was used as a means for drawing out more information in a qualitative interview format that encouraged dialogue between the researcher and the participant.

Discussion

Intergenerational child rearing is a means to maintain familial connectedness that supports the role of grandparents in the family system. Finding ways to maintain family ties and support kinship ties between grandparents, children and grandchildren in meta-modern society has become more complex. Geographical distance is an issue for families that have become urbanized and often relocate long distances in order to obtain gainful employment. Several of the participants in this initial survey noted

geographical distance as an obstacle in developing a closer relationship with their extended family as grandparents. Some were able to find ways to bridge the gap while others sadly were not.

Primary themes emerged from the data regarding definitions of wisdom and faith. Descriptors such as “ancient knowledge”, “putting together everything we have learned throughout a lifetime of existence...”, “reaching conclusions about how things fit together in life”, “wisdom is obtained through faith, the two are connected”, “examples of wisdom relates to the beliefs that I try to live by, these are Biblical principles for me”, “wisdom is having a deep understanding of life and the deep interactions therein.”, “understanding how to have success in life and share this success with the next generation in my family”, “wisdom is a common sense concept related to how the world works and how to keep a family functional amidst an ever changing world.”

Faith was related to a variety of Christian practices for each of the six participants. Deepening their personal belief systems through attachments and connections with grandchildren was something that each person acknowledged. Practices such as prayer, reading and telling Bible stories, taking grandchildren to church and praying for their grandchildren were expressed by each. When types of prayer practices were discussed, each one noted the importance of praying together at meals and at bedtime. Others noted asking church members to pray for their grandchildren and actually teaching them prayers. Each felt it was important to pass on some aspect of their own personal faith tradition to their grandchildren by modeling spiritual engagement and upholding traditions in their family that had been passed down from generation to generation.

Conclusion

How does having all the options found in a meta-modern society affect the adaptation of older adults and the relationships they have with their children and grand-children in the 21st century? Gerotranscendence theory notes the importance of individuals to have a sense of love and belonging that can be found through membership and acceptance in a family system. As family members grow and kinship systems expand, sometimes the older adults in a family become even more marginalized depending on the access to and control of personal resources.

This situation regarding intergenerational grand parenting can be considered within the framework of social-structural lag which affects many aspects of older adulthood. The term social-structural lag was first identified as a concept by sociologist Matilda Wiley in reference to how behavior and attitude interact with opportunities in society by mutually shaping one another (Peine and Neven 130). Technological advances have created a

rapidly changing society where norms are shifting within generations creating challenges for families in communication and kinship relations.

Structural lag refers to the phenomenon that occurs when a society moves and changes in one direction without the compensation or modification necessary for the corresponding and related aspects that would also be impacted by the change. Examples include individual role definition, family structure, and employment opportunity. This has a corresponding result that causes systems and societies to become out of balance (e.g. an economic example is age of retirement and opportunity for employment). When this imbalance happens, there becomes a structural lag in the ability of society to meet the changing needs of older adults (Peine and Neven 137).

Faith is often what is seen as the glue in society when things get rough, unpredictable, and uncertain. It is common for human beings to rely on a concept of something greater than themselves that is in control of the environment around them that is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent. These six grandparents had much to say about the depth of their personal faith and how this related to a desire to share their wisdom and pass traditions on to the next generation. The faith and wisdom concepts appear to be the glue in the transmission of relationship and kinship ties that are acknowledged as being fragile in a meta-modern society faced with rapidly changing conditions. Understanding both the importance of and the fragility of kinship ties was a common theme revealed in the responses. These findings seem to suggest that the importance of grand parenting is very much like a solid adhesive that helps families thrive in reciprocal exchange through active engagement and celebration of tradition. Future research will continue in a similar fashion to go more in depth as to how this transmission operates to support healthy aging in families.

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Pokémon and Astro Boy: The Formation of a Religious Dual Identity Through Japanese Manga

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“The world is not beautiful. Therefore it is ”
From the anime, *Kino’s Journey* (2003)

“Humankind cannot gain anything without first giving something in return. To obtain, something of equal value must be lost”
From the anime, *Fullmetal Alchemist* (2003)

Abstract

This paper will examine two distinct features of the medium of manga. First, the progression through three different major periods of Japanese history will be examined. Those periods consist of the Heian (794-1185), Edo-Meiji Restoration (1600-1868, 1868-1912), and Showa (1925-1989) periods. Secondly, this paper will also examine how the dominant religions of Shintoism (c.6th century), Buddhism (c.8th century), and Christianity (c.16th century) influenced Japanese history, which in turn influenced future manga development.

Introduction

Manga is ubiquitous within Japanese culture and society, the presence and role of manga in Japanese society is one of intricate complexity (Pink, 2007). According to Poitras (2008), manga are Japanese comic books - although he also noted that this just one definition. Japanese comics or manga are recognizably more complex than their American counterparts, in both story as well as target age demographic (Poitras, 2008). The importance of manga within the Sociology of Religion rests upon the growing awareness that newly emerging religions are developing around manga-based ideas of story and characters. As religion changes to new forms, what it means to be religious changes in equivalence to the new forms emerging. This paper explores the pre-manga production process in response to religious beliefs and actions that took place over three major periods of Japanese history: the Heian (c. 794-1185), Edo-Meiji (c. 1600 - 1868, 1868 -1912), and Showa (c. 1926 – 1982).

Literature Review of The History of Manga

In her discussion entitled “The Problem of Existence in Manga,” Napier (2005) described how the Japanese have a long tradition of pictorial stories that date back to the story *The Tale of Genji* written by Murasaki Shikibu in the 10th century. *The Tale of Genji* is one of the first tales to be written down in the style of the novel, and it was written using a new system called “hiragana” - the syllabary from which the Japanese of today and the women of high Heian society formed local Japanese words (e.g.,

[su]+[shi]) (Hidaka, 2010). The story of *The Tale of Genji* takes place in the same century the story was written, and follows a noble prince named Genji in line for the throne (Asia for educators, 2009). Genji was made into a commoner by the emperor; this was done to cut costs on royalty, and the story is about his life after he becomes a commoner (Asia for Educators, 2009). Around the same time, a set of scrolls would be produced called the *Choju Giga* (e.g., the animal scrolls) (Ito, 2005). The *Choju Giga* as a work is usually attributed to the Bishop Toba Sojo who painted the scrolls as a humoristic portrayal of the bureaucratic nature of the Heian time period (Ito, 2005; PSJ, 2015). The scrolls are a set of four documents, and the people – royalty or other elites - who are depicted in the scrolls are depicted in the forms of animals (PSJ, 2015). This set of scrolls is usually known and regarded as the first manga, even though the scrolls have no words or speech and the medium relies on just the pictures drawn to tell the story (PSJ, 2015). Over the course of four hundred years, conflicts and civil strife changed the atmosphere and proceeded to make way for a new artistic medium to enter the scene in Japan during the Edo period, the *ukiyo-e* print.

The Edo period was a time of significant advancement made after years of political unrest had ceased from the prior two historical periods. As fighting ceased throughout the country trade grew and a mass influx of goods diffused over Japan, and with this, a new form of leisure was born (NGA, 1998, p.28). As part of this, new grand-scale leisure woodblock printing was made popular. The popularity stemmed from the fact that woodblock printing had already been practiced since the 6th century when the Koreans brought the art form - along with the introduction of Buddhism - over to Japan. Also, the means to make the products were relatively low cost in the Edo period (HMA, 2008). One of the most popular forms of wood block printing during this period in Japanese history was called *ukiyo-e* or “pictures of the floating world.” *Ukiyo-e* prints from the very start of their existence were made for the non-elite population and were thus initially conceived of as being “low art” (Library of Congress, n.d.). Over time, however, these easy to make prints, which were constantly modified, became a way to satisfy the voices of the people as the themes of *ukiyo-e* art tended to reflect a wide number of themes including relevant politics, historical events, nature, and famous personnel (Library of Congress, n.d.).

Ito (2005) addresses in her paper “The History of Manga” that Fredrik Schodt thinks manga is one of the direct descendants of *ukiyo-e* art, the other being *kibyoshi*, also known as yellow jacket books (Ito, 2005). *Kibyoshi* were pictorial-based books created from woodblock printing and contained humor, and satirical cartoons for adults (Ito, 2005). Other forms of woodblock printing included *Otsu-e* prints, which started out as religious talismans, and *Toba-e* prints which were prints modeled after the *Choju Giga* created during the Heian Period by Bishop Toba Sojo (Ito, 2005). When talking, however, about manga as an artform, it will be necessary to look back to the Edo period to look at one individual in particular: the artist Hokusai. Hokusai was an artist during the Edo period, specialized in *Ukiyo-e* prints with his most famous print being “The Great Wave.” With woodblock printing being so cheap and plentiful to produce during the Edo

period, the prints were often made by a team of four and were bound into rich and colorful books which were cheap to sell called “ehon” (Library of Congress, n.d.). The term manga would become popular with Hokusai and Hokusai’s manga which was a collection of drawing – they were possibly reprinted using the woodblock print technique (Princeton, 2014). The Meiji Period (c. 1868-1912) was a time of peace but also some turmoil after the Edo Period, due to the opiate trade and the slow democratization and modernization of Japan. However, the primary style of the Edo period Ukiyo-e prints survived to the end of the Meiji period (Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.). As for the other styles of Edo print – otsu-e, toba-e, and kyuga (crazy pictures) – they were often witty pictures or caricatures, now considered “punchi” or manga in the modern sense of the word (Ito, 2005). As art styles were dedicated towards witty humor, the manga was made into a tool for political satire in a time of rapid modernization of the society and government changes (Ito, 2005).

The Showa Period was rife with war (c. 1921 -1982) as at this point the Japanese had just gotten out of the “war to end all wars”, or World War I. However, the impact of the Second World War will need to be examined, as it was because of the dropping of the American-made atomic bombs that the true modern version of the manga was able to be born. The significant work by *The New Yorker* journalist John Hersey, called “Hiroshima” noted the participants who agreed to be interviewed at the time after the bombs dropped said they did not see anything but a flash (Hersey, 1946). The destruction nevertheless showed what the new energy of the day which was “nuclear energy” brought to the world table. This destructive power brought forth from an atomic bomb was felt through Japan in the form of a fatal blow to the Japanese war effort and brought forth a new era.

The manga created from this time were a product created from the translations of a belief of unwarranted aggression just witnessed by the Japanese as part of “three” atomic attacks (Szasz & Takechi, 2007). In 1954, hydrogen bomb tests codenamed - Operation Bravo were conducted by the United States at the Bikini Atoll on the Marshall Islands. As a result of these tests, a Japanese fishing boat was knocked over; thus the third and last attack was made, this attack followed the Nagasaki and Hiroshima bombings (Szasz & Takechi, 2007). These attacks brought about anger in the hearts of Japanese public with the American military. After the war, the American military began censoring information about the attacks. This caused Japanese artists to turn to storytelling to promote the other side of the war and what nuclear energy should stand for (Szasz & Takechi, 2007). As a result of these events occurring, manga produced in postwar Japan tended to report more political in nature instead of than just the causal sketches associated with past periods like the Edo. Japanese artists obtained a small amount of freedom from the American military during this time based on the idea that portraying tension as possible events in an artistic form could prevent potential riots breaking out from the citizens (Gibson, 2017). With the freedom given, some guidelines were put into place about what could not be published including most forms of war, violence, martial arts, swordplay, and the samurai class display (Gibson, 2017).

Although two major themes were open for Japanese artists to explore, according to Szasz & Takechi (2007), the atomic aftermath and atomic energy still were shown in manga, including but not limited Black Rain (1966), Barefoot Gen (1973), Astro Boy (1952), and Grave of the Fireflies (1967). Astro Boy, in particular, was a manga that dealt with these intense feelings of unwarranted aggression while balancing them out with nuclear concern. The main character of Astro Boy or Atom Boy in the original Japanese version was a direct replica of a scientist's son who had died, and Astro Boy was a robotic human powered by nuclear energy. In Tezuka's Osumu's works robots were often more human and had emotions of happiness, sadness, anger, and depression (Szasz & Takechi, 2007). Tezuka used the characters in works to replicate the world around him in post-war Japan. As well the feelings of humiliation that he felt from not only being pushed around himself, but also in the process having the national identity of Japan disgraced through the introduction of the American military (Gibson, 2017). Tezuka frequently referenced war and destruction in his works building on the belief that through the atomic bombs, Japan could start anew and could become better than before (Fuller, 2005).

Even though pieces of Japanese art like the Choju Giga and ukiyo-e have been around for hundreds of years, remarkably very few studies have been done on its reference to the future production of manga. However, there is an empirical gap when trying to understand the relationship between pre-manga and post-manga production and religion on a sociohistorical level. This paper will try to address these issues by looking at the relationship between the military, economy and the religion. This relationship will look at both the context of Japanese history as well the theory of functional harmony that will be used to show how the state of a period shapes how religion will be implemented within society at later periods.

Analysis and Elaboration of Concepts

The argument presented in this paper is that the function of religion, along with the style and function of art during each period examined within this paper corresponds to the timeline of a country's stability. A concept borrowed from music theory is relevant to this discussion functional harmony - "participates in directed motion toward a goal (such as a phrase ending or a target of tonicization) that affirms either a temporary tonic or the overall tonic of the composition" (Julien, 2001, pg.52). According to the abstract of the present paper three historical periods were consulted the Heian, the Edo-Meiji Reformation, and the Showa. Each period according to the overall stability has given a state of either tonic, subdominant, or dominant according to the theory of functional harmony. Overall the historical periods that were consulted for this paper feature in two separate cycles. The first cycle features the Heian as the Tonic due to the relatively peaceful nature of the country during the time period. Then, during the second cycle which starts at the beginning of the Edo which constitutes the Tonic of this cycle due again in part to the restively peaceful nature at the time. The Meiji Restoration then belongs to the Subdominant part of the cycle due to the gaining instability appearing with the beginning glimpses of the state's nationalistic ideology. The Showa can then be

considered the Dominant part of the cycle due to the major conflicts like World War II and the Cold War that took place. The paper Greil and Rudy (1984), has been used to explore the idea of encapsulation and the methods by which encapsulation can affect or transform individuals as well as societies.

The Military, The Economy, and, Religion

Manga and Manga production is kept in a perpetual relationship balancing a traditional past with a progressive future. This relationship is kept in motion through a distinct relationship between the military, the economy, and religion. First, the military protects the member of society but in that the military also helps to regulate foreign affairs as well as domestic affairs, and in time the progressive technology used by the military will make its way into the society as a new tool for use. Next, the economy can take many forms such as capital, trade, or resources, all of which are needed not only to produce manga, but in time the economic benefits will help to help make the process more. Finally, religion helps to maintain harmony for a society, but in time of upheaval and unstable action religion can take an active role in trying to quell instability.

Dual Identity of Religion

The concept of “dual Identity” within a religion sociohistorical-based context concerns the end of one cycle (e.g., Tonic, Subdominant, and Dominant) and the idea that any new ideas or events that occurs during the cycle will make their appearance in the new cycle. As a result, old ideas are often used in new and progressive ways that are often blended with religion. An example of this would be the atomic bombs dropped on Japan during World War II. In manga, the symbolism brought from the releasing of the atomic bombs on Japan made way in the 80’s and 90’s with films like *Akira* (1988) and *The Big O* (1999) (Fuller, 2005).

Conclusion and Implications

One purpose of this paper was to call attention to the scarcity of western academic research focused around the study of manga. Although research on the phenomena of manga is common in Japan, as manga is an important part of Japanese culture, it is very rare outside of Japan to see an academic article in mainstream academic journals. This paper is important for two reasons: 1. the construction of this paper was an attempt to demonstrate the value of a multidisciplinary perspective 2. there is presently a need to portray manga accurately in both the spheres of popular culture and academic research. The historical narrative constructed from scholarly sources is employed to call attention to the important events of Japanese history the impacted manga development. In the growing multicultural landscape being experienced worldwide, especially in America, the need to examine other viewpoints is critical. The information gained through critical examination of manga and their contents can help inform people on how to make informed critical decisions about other people, societies, and cultures. To analyze manga however, a complex framework is needed in order to contour to the many forms of participation and interaction with manga. This paper drew from the various disciplines of History, Sociology, Anthropology, and Music Theory in an attempt to create a framework for analysis. The framework brought forth in this paper, with

modifications, could be implemented as a tool that can be useful for future research on manga.

Biographical Note

Nicholas Elliott currently attends Stephen F, Austin State University and is a Senior with a major in Multidisciplinary Studies. He is set to graduate in May 2018. His areas of pursuit within Multidisciplinary Studies are Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology. Personal interests include watching anime, conducting Internet-based research, as well as playing the guitar. Current research interests are the psychosocial relationship between the reader/viewer and manga/anime, the relationship of present cultures to the cultures set within anime series and how their cultural background impacts viewer perceptions, the effects of artificial environments on religious beliefs/practices, and how environmental/architectural factors impact classroom learning in college settings

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