The 2017 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

Edited by:
Jon K. Loessin
Wharton County Junior College

Dallas, Texas
March 10-12, 2017

The Association for the Scientific Study of Religion

Presents

The Year 2017
Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

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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 2017 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 academic professional papers, the ASSR has included a student section in this year's proceedings of papers presented at this year's 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 is 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 2017-2018. 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, 2016-17 ASSR President/Editor

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Introduction

This paper will describe and examine a new community-based initiative, Adopt A Building, located in Nacogdoches, Texas. Adopt A Building was co-founded by Christian Huang and Francis Chan under the leadership of San Francisco City Impact, targeting the Tenderloin District of San Francisco. Adopt A Building Nacogdoches was established in September of 2014. This initiative will be described as a grassroots countermovement that addresses a growing consumer religion among U.S. evangelicals that often neglects involvement in community-based programs or ministries in favor of "internal" church programming. Adopt a Building is a program designed to create meaningful community impact by evangelical churches. We assert that the Adopt A Building program represents one attempt among evangelicals to recapture a "genuine" Christian spirituality and contribute to a rebalanced emphasis on a both a "soul-winning Gospel" and a "social Gospel" - a major theological issue in modern evangelicalism and a pragmatic organizational issue for church congregations attempting to addresses this perceived divide. We will explore the underlying theological basis for this community-based program, along with a cursory assessment of the social impact of Adopt A Building Nacogdoches. Nacogdoches is a community of 35,000, a college town located in East Texas about two and one-half hours north of Houston, and located on the developing Interstate 69 corridor.

The Origin of the Adopt A Building Concept: Religious Entrepreneurship

In 2011, a man named Christian Huang, a resident of the San Francisco area, received a phone call that would radically change his life forever. Ana, an old friend of his, called him, seemingly out of the blue after being gone for nearly two years. Christian and his wife, Cori asked simply where she had been for the last two years; Ana replied that how she was trafficked out of San Francisco and to Los Angeles. At this point, Christian worked as a national salesperson and was at the top of his company, but this phone call reignited his passion to help those living in the Tenderloin District (TL), an inner city area of San Francisco. His father, Roger Huang, had started a ministry called San Francisco City Impact (SFCI) in 1984 after having a heartbreaking encounter in the Tenderloin area (SFCI, 2016). Roger and his wife started by taking 50 sandwiches to pass out to the homeless on weekends. Thirty years later SFCI has grown to providing a rescue mission that feeds approximately 500 people daily, a thrift store, the City Academy (the only school in the Tenderloin), the Health and Wellness Center (a free clinic for TL residents),

Social Services, the School of Ministry (a program that allows college students to get credit while serving in the Tenderloin), a community church, an annual conference, and the Adopt A Building program. While Christian was talking to Ana, she told him that she was coerced by a pimp in a building only three blocks from City Impact's headquarters. This led Christian to quit his job and move back to the city. When Roger stepped down, Christian took over as Executive Director of City Impact. One of the first things he did, with the help of best-selling author and Pastor Francis Chan, was to start the Adopt A Building ministry. The motto was "every floor, every door" and that was the simple plan of action. The members at City Impact's church, as well as other volunteers from other churches in the Bay Area, were mobilized to "adopt" the apartment buildings and S.R.O.s (former hotels that now serve as Single Room Occupancy housing units) in the Tenderloin area. They visit regularly and intervene when necessary to address social needs of residents identified through the Adopt A Building outreach.

Adopt A Building and Social Justice Broadly Framed

"Social Justice" may be a term mostly identified with the political left's advocacy to see human rights issues at the forefront of politics, but social justice is not only a concern of liberal and progressive ideologies. Younger generations of Christians (on both sides of the political aisle) are incredibly concerned with social justice issues. One recent example of this includes the recent 2017 Passion Conference in Atlanta, Georgia where thousands of college-aged Christians committed themselves to sponsoring children through Compassion International. Over 7,000 children were sponsored and this completely "erased the list of children waiting for sponsors in El Salvador, Indonesia, Rwanda, and Tanzania." (Zylstra, 2017). Although these Christians do not see eye-to-eye with many who identify with the political left on certain social justice issues, other issues can easily produce common ground. Human trafficking/sexual slavery, hunger relief, chemical dependency counseling, education, and other similar problems our society faces are issues that the (political) left, (political) right, and Christians can address together without issues of cognitive dissonance on either side. While there are potentially thousands of faith-based programs that are concerned with social justice issues, for the purposes of this paper we are focused on one called Adopt A Building Nacogdoches.

Adopt A Building Nacogdoches: A Personal and Organizational History

A natural starting place for a case study of this community-based, faith-driven program is to ask this question: How in the world did this ministry - started in San Francisco, California - end up in a small town in East Texas? This is where the co-author (Travis Cox) comes into the story. In June of 2013, he moved to San Francisco for a summer internship at City Impact, and participated in a program that later transitioned into the current School of Ministry program. While he had several different roles at City Impact, his favorite part of the ministry was Adopt A Building (AAB). As an introvert, it was difficult at first, but to his surprise, he quickly became friends with many of the residents in his "adopted" building. His team of volunteers would knock on doors with food that was mostly donated from Trader Joe's to see if

anyone needed anything, and then just ask how they are doing. There are over 37,000 residents in the Tenderloin and most of them live in SRO's with little-to-no family in the city. Even the people who did not need food or information about the services of the Health and Wellness Center were often starving for simple human interaction and conversation. It was through this very simple and organic process that physical needs were met, friendships were built, and lives were slowly changed. Even after he left, he stayed in contact with many people he met in the Hamlin Hotel for well over a year. In the Summer of 2014, he returned to City Impact and worked directly with the AAB Coordinator. Many of his friendships from the previous summer continued right where they left off, and as wonderful as this sounds, it was not all easy. Many nights were spent praying for people in the hospital. Other days were helping a friend overcome his heroin addiction or another friend who struggled with alcoholism. It was the inner city after all, and many of these individuals had gone through more than he could ever imagine. Becoming friends with people wildly different than oneself stretched him as a person, though, and even more so as someone who considers himself a Christian. He remembered Christian Huang being asked about why City Impact does AAB, and Christian simply responded, "Because we're supposed to love our neighbors. That's really it." He was referring to what Jesus called the second most important commandment after loving God (Mark 12:30-31 NIV).

It was this "simple obedience" that led Bobby Smith, the Associate Pastor/College Minister of First Baptist Church in Nacogdoches to start a similar ministry for a lower-income apartment complex not far from the church. For about a year, First Baptist Church of Nacogdoches commissioned a group of women from the choir program to cook 150 meals monthly that a group of college students and young adults would take to the adopted lower-income apartment complex located only about a mile from the church. Theoretically, we wanted it to look just like AAB in San Francisco. Needless to say, there were major cultural differences that we had to adjust to, but the model was the same: start by meeting a basic need, see if there is anything else the church could for the individual or family, try to get to know whoever was behind the door, and if they were open to it, saying a prayer for them. First Baptist Church of Nacogdoches did this for about a year, when a non-profit that specializes in helping at-risk youth asked if what we did could be done on a larger scale. In a state of uncertainty and doubt, he commented something to the effect of "If you could get more churches to help, then yes, you could do this on a much larger scale." Before he knew it, there were about five Nacogdoches area churches that wanted to be a part of the ministry that was focused on helping and loving those in our community. We called it Adopt A Building Nac (AAB Nac), and for about the first year and a half, this continued as a 100% volunteer-driven ministry. Joe Dodson, a staff member of another local church, Grace Bible Church, who had also worked for City Impact when he was there, and myself rallied the partner church leaders and volunteers to distribute thousands of meals to a handful of lower-income apartment complexes and a trailer park in Nacogdoches. We had grown to the point of needing a 501(c)(3), and he was currently working on the paperwork of making AAB Nac its own non-profit. In March of 2016, however, after speaking with the Executive Director of an established faith-based organization, Love In the Name of Christ (or

Love INC) in Nacogdoches, we decided to become a part of their ministry instead of a separate 501(c)(3). There are around 130 Love INC's across the United States. Love INC in Nacogdoches works to validate and verify the financial and social needs that people have, and then, through the support network of dozens of local churches, raise the money to meet those needs. This support of "neighbors" - a term preferred over "clients" - primarily happens through rental and utility assistance, but also comes in the form of bus tickets to get back to family in times of emergencies, building wheelchair ramps, medical assistance, clothing vouchers, and many other miscellaneous acts to serve the people of Nacogdoches County. Another part of Love INC's ministry is distributing furniture that is donated by people in the community to give to those in need. Stereotypically, but not without warrant, many churches are hesitant - if not blatantly afraid - to try to reach out to low-income neighborhoods outside of their congregations for fear of being asked for help with bills, rent, furniture, and many other things and not feeling fully equipped to properly respond to those needs. The AAB ministry works as a part of Love INC's mission in a highly effective fashion because Love INC staff and trained volunteers specifically handle validating and verifying specific needs, as well as raising the support to meet those needs. More than just meeting physical needs, the hope is that church members will be able to develop relationships with the individuals they encounter in order to help meet emotional and spiritual needs as well.

Biblical Views and Social Attitudes on Poverty

"It is a sin to despise one's neighbor, but blessed is the one who is kind to the needy." (Proverbs 14:21 NIV). From the Levitical Law, the Book of Proverbs, and even the Books of the Prophets, there is a lot said on wealth and poverty in the Old Testament. According to the Canonical Gospels, especially Luke's Gospel, Jesus continued to talk about monetary issues as well. In Galatians 2, Paul says, "Only, [the Apostles] asked us to remember the poor, the very thing I was eager to do" (Galatian 2:10 NIV). Issues regarding poverty are obviously talked about throughout the entire Christian Scriptures. The question is, for modern Christians, who is "the poor?" As already discussed, the Adopt A Building ministry started in the inner city of San Francisco; Adopt A Building was continued in lower-income apartments in Nacogdoches, but compared to global standards even our country's "poor" are well-off. The poor in America may be relatively poor (based on the concept of relative deprivation), but Section 8 housing support is far better than a residing in a slum in India. Social welfare programs such as Texas Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), and food stamps keep most Americans eating, much less worrying about experiencing a famine. The vast majority of America's poor do not have any problem accessing clean drinking water etc. The awkward truth is that the American "poor" are often enjoying what billions of people around the world would consider luxuries. Regardless of this difference, we see consistently lower levels of education, poorer qualities of health, higher statistics on violence, and higher levels of drug and alcohol abuse in America's "poorer" communities. Carefully crafted faith-based initiatives can attempt to make some impact on low-income communities, even with their limited resources.

Faith-based Organizations, Social Capital, and Poverty
Money and material goods are not necessarily the answer to solving social problems associated with poverty. It does not take much time or effort to think of the dozens of Hollywood stars and professional athletes whose lives' are in disarray despite the amount of wealth they've accumulated. Many people living in physical poverty (and some who are middle class as well as upper class) still need non-material things like love, healthy relationships, joy, hope, peace, etc. As part of a faith-based non-profit (and specifically a Christian one), the hope of AAB is that the relationships built between the churches and residents will develop over time so that a healthier community will form and people in difficult places will find love from their neighbors as well as from God. AAB thus is building social capital. Social capital refers to the networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society, enabling that society to function effectively. Sociologist Robert Wuthnow (2010) asserted that religious practice and belief helps create and sustain social capital, and is an undervalued source for building new social capital in local communities. Political scientist Robert Putnam, in his classic book, Bowling Alone (2000) observed that American churches have long played a major role in civic life, and continue to do so, despite the process of secularization. Secularization, however, has caused churches to be more selective in their community involvement, given the growing religious diversity of local communities, since community-based ministries create an image of churches and faith-based organizations. Putnam regarded churches as an undervalued influence on "civic society": "Faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America" (2000:66).   Faith-based organizations are important inputs in civic life by developing services to the local area as a representative of supporting local churches, and indirectly, by nurturing self-sufficiency skills, inculcating moral values, and encouraging altruism by volunteers. In one sense, religion serves as an embedded process, and promotes social capital formation in unique ways that other sources of social capital cannot.

A final issue associated with building social capital is sustainability over time. Government programs that address the needs of low-income persons may suffer budget reductions due to economic cycles. Faith-based programs like AAB Nac, supported by motivated church members embedded in local communities operate on a different non-centralized non-governmental model in attempting to solve social problems and may be more sustainable over time as an effective community intervention (versus government-funded programs). The reliance on volunteer labor also reduces costs. We are not suggesting that programs like AAB Nac may supplant government-directed programs, but rather they may be uniquely effective because of their local community grassroots and faith-integrated approach.

In addition, faith-based organizations have a "civic comparative advantage" in volunteer mobilization, religiously motivated volunteers look to their spiritual beliefs as intrinsic motivation to serve others in local communities (Wuthnow, 2010). It may be useful to interpret the work of AAB Nac in this social capital framework, and we suggest that the work of other faith-based programs may benefit from assessing social capital as one outcome of their community impact. Civil society is built via social relationships. As Robert Wuthnow noted, "A community's strength lies in the

quality of those relationships whether they are enduring and supportive, whether they bring diverse groups together, whether they provide assistance when assistance is needed, and whether they make it possible for people to mobilize to achieve their values" (2010:14). Clearly, AAB Nacogdoches, in its short history, has created new social capital that is reciprocal in nature, benefiting both partner churches and the low-income residents targeted by the program. Future research would be fruitful in assessing social capital formation of faith-based initiatives like this one (Schneider, 2016).

Organizational Differences of AAB: San Francisco Versus Nacogdoches
AAB is is a freestanding ministry of San Francisco City Impact just as AAB Nac is one ministry of Love INC of Nacogdoches; they do have a few structural differences, however. The original AAB has several volunteers from multiple churches who come to City Impact in order to serve in the Tenderloin District. As a result, all of the adopted apartments get "severed" every Sunday. Besides the larger population, much of the food used in AAB is donated from groceries stores right before their expiration date. The Adopt A Building program in Nacogdoches is not just focused on one part of town, but rather on several lower-income areas around the city. In order to maximize the outreach in town, each church that has partnered with Love INC has their own "adopted" apartment (usually geographically near the church). With this each church is financially responsible for the food of the outreach; since we do not have groceries that are donated, churches usually grill hot dogs or hamburgers, order pizza, or cook simple meals like spaghetti to deliver to the residents. Since there is an added financial cost, at the present time, most churches in Nacogdoches that participate in AAB only serve their adopted apartments once a month. In both cases this is not a substantial amount of food, but for someone who is currently hungry, anything helps. In many cases where an empty pantry or refrigerator was found, the church (both churches in Nacogdoches as well as San Francisco) have immediately gone and returned with larger amounts of food. This is one way in which AAB is designed to meet a physical need. This is only the first step in the process of developing relationships, however. Ultimately, AAB is designed to meet not only physical needs but emotional and spiritual as well.
One large difference between AAB in San Francisco and Nacogdoches comes from the amount of community the residents have access to. In the Tenderloin District, many if not most people live alone, and many of the people living alone do not have any family in the area either. When a volunteer knocks on a door in the Tenderloin, the person behind the door is usually ecstatic just to talk with someone; this makes it easy to have long conversations and get to know people relatively quickly. This may be hard to believe for such a large city, but the inner city is a scary place, even many of the residents who live there. As these residents are afraid of the drug dealers on the streets and the gangsters and pimps in the buildings, many TL residents don't leave their rooms unless absolutely necessary. This lack of community or communication is not the case in Nacogdoches. In Nacogdoches, even the nuclear family is not often present in homes, almost everyone has some form of community around them that they are a part of (even if is not a healthy community). It may be family members, neighbors, gangs, etc. but the

residents of the adopted apartments in Nacogdoches are not dying to talk like most of the Tenderloin residents. While many residents in Nacogdoches are grateful for the food, and many even ask for prayer, it is far more difficult to get to know people on a truly personal level.

Another level of difference comes from the individual locations that the churches in Nacogdoches have adopted. One is large apartment complex that is known for being violent and regularly has gang activity reported there. Another apartment complex that is adopted is mostly comprised of people who have some sort of disability that hinders their mobility. The local church that adopted this apartment complex learned that the local Meals On Wheels program provided only weekday meals. This church now regularly delivers food to many residents every weekend. A third adopted area is actually a trailer park where young Hispanic families reside; the church that goes here focuses a lot of time on helping the children adjust to school and practicing their English language skills. Each of these church partnerships are a part of AAB Nacogdoches, and while the general idea of meeting a physical need with the intentions of developing ongoing relationships and meeting other deeper needs. The actual time and level of involvement with residents by church partners at these adopted places can vary greatly. AAB Nacogdoches local church partners have significant autonomy to address social needs that they observe, and also refer additional specific needs to Love INC staff (that can't be fully addressed by the local church partner).

Conclusions and Implications
We assert that the AAB model and AAB Nac represent a type of revitalization movement among evangelicals to recapture a "genuine" Christian spirituality and contribute to a rebalanced emphasis on a both a "soul-winning gospel" and a "social gospel" - a longstanding theological issue in modern evangelicalism and a pragmatic organizational issue for local church congregations. Evangelical leaders may be in search of meaningful alternatives to consumer religion, a commodified form of religion melding selected evangelical traditional religious doctrines blended with consumer-focused ideas of self-improvement (Eberstadt, 2010). Opportunities for meaningful community impact in the face of the growing influence of Christianity Lite (Eberstadt, 2010) may especially attract involvement from college-age adults and millennials, based on our case study of AAB Nac.

There is a need for increased applied research to evaluate outcomes of faith-based initiatives such as the case study described in this paper. As the late founding Executive Director of Love INC, Roger Aker (and SFA School of Social Work adjunct faculty member) was fond of observing, "Some people are bean counters and some people are doers." Not surprisingly, faith-based programs are often spearheaded by "doers" willing to lead out in community initiatives with limited resources with a strong sense of calling to the mission. This fundamental reality suggests a major questions for further research. What type of leadership within faith-based organizations is most effective in implementing a new community based initiative like AAB Nac? Unique leadership skills are needed to link with local churches across the denominational spectrum, diverse community members, and community leaders. Identifying the skills needed via research would be helpful to human service

professionals working in faith-based organizations as they pursue new, innovative ways to meet the needs of local communities.

Finally, Robert Lupton (2010), in his book, *Toxic Charity*, noted that well-intentioned missions projects and short-term mission trips can do more harm than good, and violate the "do no harm" ethical principle associated with any community-based intervention, including faith-based. The AAB Nac program, in one sense, addressed this concern by implementing a sustainable local model that involves that actively responds to community needs, and avoids an emphasis on volunteers' felt needs of being "attracted to solving problems that seem urgent and readily solvable" (Martin, 2016:1). Writer Courtney Martin, in describing the best practice model for young adults who intend to pursue social entrepreneurship in the developing world made the following observation: "There's a better way. For all of us. Resist the reductive seduction of other people's problems and, instead, fall in love with the longer-term prospect of staying home and facing systemic complexity head on" (Martin, 2016:12). Clearly, this principle spotlights a major strength of the AAB concept generally and AAB Nac specifically. Since AAB Nac is located in a college town, college students and local residents (of partner churches), there is opportunity to live out spiritual beliefs about serving the poor while also facing the complexity of systemic change. A major criticism of some evangelical churches, especially those emphasizing the seeker sensitive model of worship, is their emphasis on entertainment with a spiritual bent. Programs like AAB Nac represent an opportunity to do "hard things" by practicing servant leadership and, in the process, revitalize evangelicalism by offering an opportunity for "the faithful" to act on spiritual principles regarding service to economically disadvantaged residents of local communities. It will be well worth watching to see if similar innovative faith-based initiatives requiring grassroots participation expand and serve as a corrective to the advance of consumer religion (Christianity Lite) in other communities across the country (Eberstadt. 2010).

Biographical Note

J.B. Watson, Jr., Ph.D., serves as Associate Professor of Sociology, Gerontology Coordinator, and Co-Director of the William J. Brophy Sophomore Scholars Program at Stephen F. Austin State University (SFASU), Nacogdoches, Texas. He also serves as Faculty Co-Chair of the SFASU Service-learning Advisory Board, a campus-wide civic engagement initiative, and has received national recognition for his service-learning initiatives from the Points of Light 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 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 Lousiana-Monroe), was a co-founder of ASSR.

Travis Cox, B. A., serves as the Adopt A Building Coordinator for a non-profit organization, Love In the Name of Christ (Love INC), in Nacogdoches, Texas. He is pursuing the Masters of Theological Studies (Christian Counseling emphasis) online

from Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. He received his B.A. in Liberal Studies from Stephen F. Austin State University (SFASU), an interdisciplinary program focused in Psychology, Sociology, and Religious Studies; he also minored in Philosophy. His capstone undergraduate paper applied a group rendition of the Cognitive Dissonance Theory to develop a partial explanation for the recent demographic decline of Christianity in the United States. He was the recipient of the Outstanding Undergraduate Award for Liberal Studies. His current research interests include the compatibility/incompatibility of aesthetic pursuits in regard to different ethical theories, and also how the relationship between epistemology and hermeneutics affects theological interpretations.

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Camp Meetings and Spiritualism: A Report on the Status and Condition of Functioning Spiritualist Camps around America

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Introduction

The United States, from a time well before it was an independent country, began to be regarded as a spiritual haven for those who were seeking to worship as they pleased and without persecution. Many religious groups initially immigrated to the New World in order to follow and practice a spiritual tradition, belief system, or religion of their choosing; this is in addition to the socio-economic reasons that persuaded many of these early immigrants to leave their home countries to pursue a new life in North America.

These early settlers not only brought with them their belief systems, but they also gave birth to a society that gradually transformed the eventual United States into a country that became rich in religious history through the initial importation, gradual adaptation, eventual creation, and finally, active promotion of a variety of religious traditions and beliefs. With the exception of indigenous belief systems and Native American spirituality, which were already a part of the North American experience when the Europeans arrived to its shores, the majority of religious practices in the United States were originally imported from outside its borders.

The Puritan ethic, with its stodgy and unforgiving rules, was the cornerstone of much of the religious practices and beliefs throughout the early years of America's growth. Although the idea of religious reformation began in the mid-1600s in Europe, these "reforms" of church doctrine did not offer adequate flexibility to the eventual American adherents who were far removed from their European ancestors and who began to yearn for yet more freedom of religion and who felt a need to follow more unorthodox teachings and beliefs. Slowly, religions that were being firmly established in America began to break away further from their pious roots and began to come into their own.

Mid-nineteenth century America witnessed much religious upheaval as the young country was still flexing its spiritual muscles to become even more independent from the stoic belief systems that were formerly a part of the older European traditions. This spiritual unrest made the conditions right for new movements to form, which would eventually attract multitudes of followers: Mormonism, Spiritualism and Christian Science. These three religious movements (and eventual belief systems and religions) can be categorized as being purely "American-made" in that they were eventually exported (rather than imported) to the United States—founded by Americans for those who were tired and bored with the dogma that did not allow for any deviance from the social norm or belief system of the more mainstream and traditional religions.

From the earliest times when Americans first began to move westward as the country began to grow and expand, pioneers settled in remote areas in order to begin new lives in untamed territories. Religion was an important aspect of the American experience, but due to demographics, being able to have communal worship services proved difficult due to geographical considerations that isolated people from one another. The concept of evangelizing and spreading the gospel by means of a "camp meeting" became widespread around the United States in the early 19th century as a way to bring "religion" to those living rurally on the frontier.

As the United States grew, "camp meetings" quickly gained favor amongst established religions as a way to minister directly to a larger number of souls in the shortest amount of time. Camp meetings grew out of the religious tradition of "revivals" which gained in popularity during the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1840s)—an evangelical movement that was largely advanced by the Protestant religions of Methodism, Baptism, and Presbyterianism. The Western frontier offered much opportunity economically to early settlers, but it often meant people lived a life isolated from the civilized world. ([1]Leonard, 2016) Sometime later, Modern Spiritualism would borrow and adapt this idea to offer believers an opportunity to meet and socialize with like-minded people who had difficulty finding a Spiritualist association or church near where they resided.

During the summer of 2015, I traveled all over the United States visiting Spiritualist camps in order to survey the status of the religion and physical conditions of many of the remaining camps in order to obtain a clearer idea of how they have fared over the past 100-plus years.[1] The Spiritualist camps I visited include: Lily Dale Assembly (New York), Camp Chesterfield (Indiana), Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp (Florida), Harmony Grove Spiritualist Association (California), Western Wisconsin Camp Association (Wisconsin), Sunset Spiritualist Camp (Kansas), Mississippi Valley Spiritualist Association (Iowa), Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp (Illinois), and Woolley Park Ashley Spiritualist Camp (Ohio). For the purposes of this paper, I will briefly offer a report on the current condition and status of each Spiritualist camp included in my onsite visits.

Circuit Riding and Camp Meetings to Evangelize the Masses

The Methodists were the first to create a system of "circuit riding"[2] that enabled people to have some sort of religious life, if even fleetingly, when the circuit riding minister would visit their cabin on his normal rounds.

> Circuit riders had to be young, in good health, and single (since marriage and a family forced preachers to settle in one area and leave the traveling ministry). Unlike their counterparts in other denominations, Methodist circuit riders did not have to have formal education. Leaders of the new church wanted educated, trained circuit riders, but they wanted even more to spread their ministry to people on the frontier who needed Christian guidance. (Jordan, 1998)

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[1] The *University of Teacher Education Fukuoka* (UTEF) granted me a one-year sabbatical to do onsite research in the United States on Modern Spiritualism. In addition to traveling across America to visit Spiritualist camps and churches, I also gathered research and data on Spiritualism and I conducted a large-scale survey of Spiritualist mediums and ministers. The results of this study will be published in the future.

[2] It was the first Methodist Bishop in America, Reverend Francis Asbury, who came up with a solution to the perennial problem of getting ministers to the people who were scattered far and wide around the vast frontier. Reverend Asbury personally had travelled hundreds of thousands of miles ministering to people so naturally he developed the system called "circuit riding" where he dispatched men (whom he had ordained) to a predetermined circuit or territory. Often times it took weeks for a minister to make it to all the cabins in his assigned region, but along the way he would do the things that an ordained minister had to do: offer Christian burials to those who died, perform the sacrament of marriage to those who wanted to be married, baptize any recent converts, conduct services, and preach the gospel to families who were socially isolated from having any contact or opportunity to have any religious instruction. (Fleet, 1987)

Formal church buildings were quite scarce in the frontier regions with only larger cities with thriving communities being able to establish such churches. In order to combat this deficiency in the rural-religious "churchdom" of the wilderness, gradually a trend developed that incorporated the use of a large tent or crude structure which served as the center of a unique form of worship known as the "camp meeting." Usually held in a central location, camp meetings allowed adherents from miles around to congregate and worship together. This changed the fabric of the American religious landscape profoundly. Suddenly people had an opportunity to attend one of these meetings that not only offered them good, old-fashioned Bible-thumping religion, but also a chance to socialize with others. These revival-like meetings were often emotionally charged affairs with sentimental appeals to God to be saved, resulting in the congregants flailing themselves around and to the ground as if possessed, asking for forgiveness with the promise of living a righteous life from that day forward. Tens of thousands of people would attend these meetings over the period of weeks, with attendees staying anywhere from a few days to a week or more. Dozens of preachers would be moving about the throngs of people gathered, preaching and offering salvation to all those willing souls. (Fleet, 1987)

> Not far off women were already beginning to find their places on the rude plank seats in front of the "stage." They were leaving vacant a few seats in front. Those were the "anxious benches." Here the "convicted" [those whom God had chosen for conversion] would come to be prayed for when the preacher issued the invitation for "mourners." The only covering over the arbor sheltered the pulpit. On the stage was a knot of men solemnly shaking hands and conversing. On all sides of the arbor, row after row of vehicles [horse drawn wagons] crowded one another. Men were standing everywhere. The music struck up, quavering; mostly female voices singing two lines at a time as the deacon read them off. After another hymn, a preacher arose and the men came filing in, taking their seats on the opposite side of the arbor if the women had not filled them all; or crowding into the aisles and back of the seats occupied by their women folk. The minister, an ordinary looking man, dragged out an ordinary address while whispered conversations hummed louder and louder. Infants wailed fretfully. A dog fight started somewhere among the wagons.

> At length the evangelist arose. At once the congregation was electrified. "And what come ye out into the wilderness for to see?" he asked, fixing his eyes upon the congregation. His voice rose powerfully, "Ayr! Ye are come as a holiday pageant, bedecked in tinsel and costly raiment. I see before me the pride of beauty and youth; the middle-aged…the hoary hairs and decrepit limbs of age; —all trampling—hustling each other in your haste—on the beaten road—the way to death and judgment! Oh! Fools and blind! Slow-worms, battening upon the damps and filth of this vile earth! Hugging your muck rakes while the Glorious One proffers you the Crown of Life!" Women were in tears. "That's preaching!" shouted a gray-haired man. "Lord have mercy!" another besought. (Johnson, 392)

It was from this tradition of Methodist-based camp meetings that the Spiritualist movement borrowed the basic concepts, and adopted certain components, to create its own version of a mass gathering of the faithful in order to experience and share in the belief system. A major and key difference, however, involved the giving of messages from the departed to the living. A Spiritualist camp meeting basically functioned in a similar fashion, but instead

of fire and brimstone sermons, people were regaled with short lectures (often based on scripture) and a "message service" where mediums would stand on a raised platform in order to give to those in attendance mediumistic messages from friends and loved ones in Spirit.

In a relatively short amount of time, then, the Spiritualist movement began to attract a large number of adherents and without proper churches or gathering places in those early years, the idea of "camp meetings" took hold and groups of like-minded people began to gather to share Spiritualist ideas and to allow mediums an opportunity to meet and give messages to a larger number of people at one time.

> The first 50-year cycle continued bearing the weight of establishing a strong foundation for the new movement. Mediumship as displayed by the Fox Sisters became popular throughout the country. The leaders of the day recognized Spiritualism as a philosophy that could change the world. In fact, it was taken to England just four years after its inception. From there, its journey around the world began. Meanwhile, meetings were held in halls in many major cities of the northeastern United States. The philosophers drew large crowds who listened to their oratories. Soon, they could no longer find halls large enough to house the crowds. The answer to the dilemma was to begin open-air grove meetings. (2 Awtry, p. 7)

> [The ex-Methodists] suggested to the Spiritualists that it would be a way to serve the multitude that steadily increased in number. The leadership of Spiritualism [initially] looked at this grove meeting idea with deep suspicion. After much thought, they decided to implement it as an all day camp meeting. They expounded on how this new camp meeting should be different than the old Methodist grove meetings. Apart from the séance or picnics, it was based loosely on the lyceum movement. At first the speakers were quite comfortable with the Bible preaching. They treated Spiritualism as a kind of purified Christianity. At this time, the Spiritualists were religionists, liberals, and rationalists. This camp meeting style gave birth to the first Spiritualist Camp at Pierpont Grove, Malden, Massachusetts, in 1866; named after John Pierpont. In 1870, another camp was founded at Lake Pleasant, Massachusetts. Soon camps began to sprout up throughout New England, New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Florida and westward to the Pacific coast. (2 Awtry, pp. 23-24)[3]

Initially, many camp meetings were held on the land of people sympathetic to the movement who offered the use of their property. The widespread popularity of these camp meetings eventually necessitated the purchase of land to construct a permanent campground for Spiritualists to use during high season (June through September, usually). As these camps began to take shape around the nation, associations were formed that allowed attendees to become members.

In the very beginning, canvas tents were used at these camp meetings by the mediums and attendees; hay for horses had to be brought by the people as well as firewood to cook. (Harrison, *et al*. p. 19) As these gatherings became more and more popular, actual land needed to be purchased in order to accommodate the thousands of people who came from

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[3] Three of the earliest Spiritualist camps in the United States were established in Maine: Camp Etna (1876), Madison Camp (1879), and Temple Heights Spiritualist Association (1882).

far and wide to attend a Spiritualist camp meeting. Mediums sometimes made a wooden floor in their tents to make it sturdier, which eventually led to walls being added, making the structure a rustic shack. Gradually, these crude dwellings became more permanent and the shanty was born which allowed mediums a more permanent place to hold séances and to live during the camp season.

In the ensuing years after the first Spiritualist camp was founded, dozens and dozens of Spiritualist camps sprang up all over the United States. Largely summer gatherings, these camps maintained a vibrant following and were quite active—especially during and after major wars—throughout the twentieth century. A number of these grew to a size where they became year-round camps, sponsoring churches and services throughout the calendar year with many activities and events organized for members and regular attendees. Today, there are roughly only 20 camps around the United States (with a number of these inactive as of the writing of this paper). [See Appendix 1 for a listing of active Spiritualist camps in the US.]

A Report on the Current Condition and Status of Selected Spiritualist Camps around the United States

Lily Dale Assembly, Lily Dale, New York

By far the largest and historically best-preserved Spiritualist camp in the United States is "Lily Dale Assembly," located in the small hamlet by the same name in upstate New York, not far from Buffalo. Called "The Dale" by locals, it has been a very important and influential part of upstate-New York's religious landscape for some 136 years. Originally, the association was called the "Cassadaga Lake Free Association," then in 1903 the name was changed to the "City of Light," and in 1906 the name "Lily Dale Assembly" was decided upon which is the name that has endured for more than 100 years until today.

Located on the shores of Lake Cassadaga, Lily Dale Assembly enjoys beautiful vistas of water, forests, and rolling valleys where many of its structures and displays are located. It initially began with a mere 20 acres of land but has grown to include around 160 acres of land, including an old growth forest and a sandy beach on the lake. Many of the original cottages and structures remain today as they did when the original founders and members first envisioned them.

Today, Lily Dale has an Auditorium, Lyceum Building, Healing Temple, Lakeside Assembly Hall, Octagon Building, a U.S. Post Office, Fire Station, library, museum, two hotels (one inside the perimeters of the grounds called the "Maplewood Hotel" and the other just outside the main gate entrance called the "Leolyn Hotel"), a smattering of gift shops and businesses, as well as a full-service dining hall, a café, a coffee shop, and several outdoor gathering places (the Forest Temple, Inspiration Stump, Lily Dale Beach, Fairy Trail, labyrinth, rain garden, pet cemetery, and gazebo). A number of resident mediums also open up their homes as "guest houses" where visitors can stay in private rooms with shared toilet and bath facilities.

Every year, tens of thousands of visitors come to Lily Dale for workshops, events, readings, and scheduled activities. It is by far the best-attended Spiritualist camp in the United States and is under the umbrella of the *National Spiritualist Association of Churches* (NSAC), which maintains its office on the grounds. In addition, the Morris Pratt Institute (the by-distance educational arm of the NSAC) maintains a building with offices at Lily Dale, as well.

The "Auditorium," built in 1883 (and remodeled in 1901) stands today as it did when it was first built. Initially built to seat 1,200 people, demand soon outgrew the structure, but due to a clever design where all of the windows can be opened to allow cool breezes to

pass through, it also allows for an overflow of people to hear lectures and message services from outside the structure. The Maple Wood Hotel, built in 1880 originally as a barn to stable horses, is a good example of a "hung suspension building"—instead of building on top of the structure, it was built under and raised. When additional floors were made, the building was lifted up and the new floor built underneath. This hotel has a charm that transports visitors back to the late 1800s. A wrap around porch filled with rocking chairs allows hotel guests to sit and enjoy the peaceful surroundings, looking towards the lake in the distance.

When first entering the grounds, a gate attendant meets visitors where an entry fee is charged. Immediately on the right is the U.S. Post Office and toward the left is one's first glimpse of the Victorian-style cottages on "Cottage Row." There are well over 200 cottages occupied by Lily Dale members who either live there full-time/year-round, or who come in June and stay through September during the high season when the majority of visitors come through the gates. Some cottages maintain the style and feel of the original structure, but others are more modern in appearance and have obviously been reformed and added onto over the past 100 years. For the most part, streets are located on a grid system from South to North with street names reflecting Spiritualism's history as well as practical names such as East Street, South Street, North Street, and numbered streets: First, Second, Third, and Fourth.

During my visit there to do research, I was able to attend a number of activities and events. During high season, a daily schedule of events include several activities that are included in the gate fee; in addition, special workshops are offered for a fee, and some well-known celebrity mediums and Spiritual teachers are scheduled throughout the summer and people must buy tickets to attend these special events. Individually, people can contact mediums to make appointments for readings or healings, and daily and weekly events are included to allow anyone who happens to be on the grounds to enjoy some aspect of what Lily Dale has to offer in the form of mediumistic readings and circles. I found that it was necessary to pre-register for special events and to make an appointment for a reading in advance of my visit because due to the high volume of visitors and a finite number of mediums available, it is nearly impossible to get a "walk-in" appointment upon arrival to the grounds during especially busy times of the season (like days with special events, weekends, etc.).

Strangely, Lily Dale Assembly is not on the *National Register of Historic Places* and this is largely by choice, I was told. The Board in charge of Lily Dale Assembly traditionally has been weary of such a distinction fearing that it would limit their ability to do certain renovations and changes to the grounds when they feel it is necessary. There is a strict protocol that residents must follow, however, receiving board permission to make changes to their homes in order to insure that the overall feel and character of the grounds stay intact. On my visit, I was quite impressed with the high quality of preservation that had been done and with the exception of only a few cottages, the structures were in remarkably good condition and were well cared for, in general.

Lily Dale is certainly a jewel among the functioning Spiritualist camps around the United States today. It is one of the exceptions in that it has been able to maintain its functionality by attracting a large number of visitors each year, and has worked hard to maintain its structures from a preservation standpoint. Although there are some rough edges that certainly could use some tender loving care, in general it is in better condition than the majority and it should be around for a long time to come. Like any church-related organization, funding to do projects is a constant concern and although they do have a higher cash flow than most, the Assembly does struggle financially to keep such a huge operation running smoothly, year after year.

Historic Camp Chesterfield, Chesterfield, Indiana

Early Hoosier Spiritualists in the late 1800s 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, vicarious atonement, and the absolute divinity of Jesus. 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. 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 Frazer'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 Caroll 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 Caroll, Henry and Fred Bronnenberg in 1886. (Harrison, *et al*, 14)

The Native Americans who had once inhabited the area previously revered the grounds—with rolling hills and valleys, fresh spring water, and ample forest. 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. The rich Native 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.

Horses had to be stabled, food served, and lodging facilities had to made to accommodate all the people who were beginning to flock to Indiana's first and only Spiritualist Camp. In the early years of Camp Chesterfield, members and visitors were required to bring their own tents, hay for their horses, and firewood for cooking. The mediums would sit out in the grassy grove on chairs to meet with people wishing to have a reading.

By the 10th Annual Camp Meeting (the 15th Annual Convention) in 1900, the campground was free from debt and many improvements had been added. Fences, wells and natural gas lines had been introduced. More cottages, plus the original two Séance Rooms, the Dining Hall, the Lodging House, the Auditorium, the Bazaar, and the Store with a long watering trough in front of it, were actively in use. (Harrison, *et al*, 18) It was not long until the tents began to take the form of small two-room shanties with outhouses where the mediums could live and work. One room was for general living; the other used for readings and séances. As more and more people came through the gates of Camp Chesterfield, it became apparent that a more substantial infrastructure was needed to accommodate the throngs of people who were making their way to this "spiritual center of light."

Today, after more than 130 years of continual operation, Camp Chesterfield is still thriving and offering Hoosier Spiritualists regular services and events throughout the year. During the high-season (between June and October), weekly workshops, church services, healing services, and message services are regularly scheduled. Throughout the year, during the low-season, activities and events are offered along with healing, message and church services.

Unique to Camp Chesterfield is the IAOS' well-known and highly regarded education and seminary program: *Chesterfield Spiritualist Seminary and School of Metaphysics.* These programs are conducted through the "Academic Resource Center" under the strict supervision of the Education Committee (comprised of certified mediums and ordained Spiritualist ministers) and the Board of Trustees for the IAOS. Aspiring mediums and Spiritualist ministers have ample opportunities to develop their spiritual gifts to become certified mediums by participating in weekly development classes and enrolling in a number of residential intensives held throughout the year (either weekend or weeklong seminaries).

Interested students enroll into the mediumship and/or seminary program where they take classes, work with development teachers who are certified mediums or ordained ministers, to study toward certification to become a certified medium, healer, associate minister, and/or ordained Spiritualist minister. Upon completion of the Medium Missionary program, students who receive the spiritual call to the ministry may then enroll into the advanced seminary program to work towards Associate Minister and ultimately Spiritualist Minister.

The *School of Metaphysics* is designed for students who wish to be introduced to and to learn about and experience a more esoteric understanding of spiritual and metaphysical studies; this program is divided into three levels of achievement and although not certified in the same sense as the actual seminary program for mediumship and ministerial studies, students enrolled in this program are given Certificates of Achievement and the program is largely offered for self-enrichment.

Today, Camp Chesterfield has two hotels (one is in the process of being preserved and the other is fully functioning), a full-service cafeteria, a bookstore and gift shop, a museum

and art gallery (which boasts the most complete collection of Spiritualist paintings and historical artifacts anywhere in the world), a cathedral, a chapel, a guest house, administration building, an academic resource building, and numerous religious displays throughout its grounds: a meditation grotto, the "Trail of Religions" featuring busts of the founders and leaders of the world's great religions, a Native American Memorial and totem pole, a stone lighthouse, a cemetery, a labyrinth, and a variety of stonework bridges, displays, and statues. There are approximately 50 residential cottages and homes, most of which are occupied year-round. With the exception of one or two cottages in peril of being lost to neglect and the elements, generally the homes are in quite good condition and are all well kept.

Upon entering the grounds through a stone gate, visitors are welcomed by the majestic Sunflower Hotel to their left, and the more contemporary and modern "Tree of Life Bookstore and Gifts" to their right. Straight ahead is the Administration Building and next to it is the Maxon Cafeteria. The Western Hotel, built in the style of the old roadie-inns popular in the 1940s, the visitor is transported back to a bygone era before modern technology was the norm; it is located around the bend from the cafeteria. The Hett Art Gallery and Museum directly opposite the Western Hotel is a mid-century designed building that is architecturally unique in its style and structure. The "Chapel in the Woods" is located next to the cafeteria and the "Cathedral of the Woods" is located on the far side of the grounds, surrounded by mediums' cottages and spotted with trees and shrubs.

Camp Chesterfield is on the *National Register of Historic Places* as an "historic district," and has received several grants in recent years from state and local entities to maintain its historically significant archives, structures, and landscape folk art displays. The *Friends of Camp Chesterfield Foundation* (FCCF), a non-profit foundation, was formed in 2012-2013 to insure the integrity of the historical components of the campgrounds and to assist in preserving buildings, displays, and the landscape features through activities and projects. The FCCF has been instrumental in bringing attention to Camp Chesterfield through its fundraising activities and dissemination of information regarding the preservation needs of the association. Through the foundation's call for action and preservation work, Camp Chesterfield was selected to be on "Indiana's 10 Most Endangered" list as a way to bring attention to the preservation needs facing the IAOS.

The sense of peace and serenity that one feels when walking the meticulously kept grounds is testament to how the original founders strived to maintain the natural beauty of the landscape and much credit must be given to the current caretakers who work hard to ensure this is maintained still today. Maintaining a campus as large and intricate as this one requires a lot of hard work and dedication by paid staff, volunteers and members to keep it running smoothly as a church and to make sure the physical attributes are well maintained.

Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp, Cassadaga, Florida

The *Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association* has a long history in Central Florida, originally incorporating in 1894. The principal founder of the camp, George Colby, had received a message from his own Spirit Guide, "Seneca," during a séance he was attending in Iowa, advising him that one day he would be influential in finding and organizing a camp in the South. A well-known and highly regarded Spiritualist medium himself, he traveled around the country as not only an advocate for Spiritualism, but also as a trance medium, sharing his gift of mediumship with others. He frequently visited Lily Dale in New York, as well as other Spiritualist associations and camps.

In 1875, in search of a perfect spot for a southern camp, "Seneca" guided George Colby to a wilderness area in Central Florida in Volusia County where he homesteaded for twenty years. After a charter was granted to the association in 1894, he deeded the thirty-five acres of land to the *Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association* in 1895. The association later was able to acquire additional acreage increasing its area to fifty-seven acres. The name for the camp was taken from Lake Cassadaga where Lily Dale is located, and this new southern camp served as a location for many Lily Dale mediums to winter during the long, harsh winters of upstate New York.

Today, the Camp features the Cassadaga Hotel (which is no longer owned by the association but is perfectly preserved and offers guests a wide variety of amenities including a restaurant/bar, gift shop, and coffee bar), a central auditorium where services and events are held called the "Colby Memorial Temple," a small community library, the Caesar Forman Healing Center, and a camp bookstore and welcome center (which includes a gift shop and a meeting hall). In addition, there is the Andrew Jackson Davis Educational building, as well as numerous spiritual displays and naturally landscaped sitting areas throughout the grounds.

Unlike most Spiritualist camps, which tend to be in gated, fenced communities with clearly marked borders, Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp is intermixed with non-association buildings, homes, and businesses. The buildings and enterprises that are associated directly and officially with the camp are clearly marked, but it can be confusing as a number of buildings and businesses are privately owned and have no direct affiliation with the camp's board.

The hotel is a prime example of this type of symbiotic relationship—the Cassadaga-approved mediums need the hotel for visitors to use when people need to stay overnight to attend séances, services, and events that they sponsor; and the hotel needs the notoriety and reliability of the association's approved mediums that serve to draw many visitors to the grounds. It was my impression that the two factions tolerate each other, but the non-association people and their ways of doing psychic and mediumship-work around the officially sanctioned events are looked upon suspiciously by the association's mediums and ministers because the Cassadaga-certified workers feel an obligation to offer the public a certain standard of mediumship through certification which may not be as rigorous, perhaps, by the non-association affiliated mediums and psychics who do their spiritual work basically alongside them.

Although at one time the hotel was owned and operated by the association, the original structure burned down on Christmas Day in 1926. It was quickly rebuilt and maintained for sometime by the association, but was sold to a private owner in the late 1970s. Today, the hotel offers guests a trip back in time to the Roaring Twenties with its Art Deco themed lobby with a Mediterranean flair, an excellent restaurant and bar called "Sinatra's," and an opportunity to stay in a historically significant landmark, which has been completely refurbished and preserved. The front porch is quite lovely with its shaded awnings and numerous benches and tables for guests to sit and enjoy the ambience.

First and foremost, the Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp is a religious-based association and maintains a Spiritualist church with services for its members and visitors, as well as performing other religious-based events such as weddings and funerals—by no means do they consider what they do as merely entertainment for tourists who are coming for the day as a break from Disney World and Universal Studios to experience "ghosts" and "spirits." This close proximity and intermixing of businesses and workers, however, does make it difficult for the public to discern which part of the Spiritualist camp is and which is not.

The Information Center is located at the entrance to the community and does post events which are officially sanctioned by the association. A combination bookstore and gift shop are in this building, along with an office and a nicely sized meeting room with an attached

kitchen that serves as a meeting hall and venue for various events that are sponsored by the association. The association maintains a number of historical structures in the community, as well as the grounds that include park-like areas for sitting and a small lake.

The "Colby Memorial Temple" allows visitors to step back in time to experience how Spiritualist meetings and services must have been like in the early days of the camp. The building is arranged like an auditorium with antique folding seats, featuring a platform where message services and sermons are conducted. The original character of the building is noticeable upon entering, and it is nicely preserved and maintained. An area in the back and to the side is reserved for healings that are a part of the worship services.

Cassadaga is a vibrant and active Spiritualist camp, attracting visitors from all over the world. With sunshine in abundance, the camp operates year-round and has weekly events and activities scheduled throughout the year.   I had the great fortune to attend services and meet with resident and visiting mediums during my visit to this camp, who made me feel very welcomed. It was my impression, however, that like other Spiritualist camps around the United States, having members and parishioners that are a consistent part of the camp could be more; one-day visitors are, of course, welcomed and appreciated, but similar to other denominations, attracting members to make it a regular part of their spiritual lives is something that is plaguing congregations and churches all over and Spiritualism is no exception.

Wonewoc Spiritualist Camp, Wonewoc, Wisconsin

Since 1893, Wonewoc Spiritualist Camp has been an important and integral part of Wisconsin's religious landscape. Located high above the small town of Wonewoc (roughly 1,000 people), the camp occupies a beautifully wooded bluff typical of the State of Wisconsin, as it looks out over the town and surrounding countryside. Comprised of 37 acres, the camp enjoys an abundance of nature at its finest, offering visitors a sense of peace and serenity not found in modern society. Even though the short drive up the bluff indicates how relatively close the camp is to the town below, upon entering the grounds, one is transported to a different era in time resembling the late 19th century, making it hard to imagine that just down the bluff is the hustle-bustle of an active community and 21st century town.

Of all the Spiritualist camps I visited during my research, Wonewoc Spiritualist Camp, in my opinion, is the most historically authentic in that it largely appears to be untouched by modern society and looks remarkably as it did in the late 1800s. Unique religious and spiritual displays, along with the main structures positioned throughout the center area of the grounds, are ringed by rustic, one-room cabins that harken back to a time long ago. Walking paths around the perimeter of the camp, and through the heavily wooded   forest, allows visitors to become one with the natural beauty that is a huge part of this lovely camp. Almost entirely cared for by members and volunteers who are charged with the duty of being custodians to this historic camp, and who are responsible for making sure the grounds and old structures are maintained, it is indeed an incredible undertaking that is compounded by not only the age of the structures, but also by the unforgivingly long winters that descend upon this area from autumn until spring.

Although rough along the edges in places, and in need of some tender loving care and preservation, the character of the camp is not compromised because it is apparent that continuous work is being done to ensure the camp buildings remain sound and are cosmetically maintained. The sheer volume of work and effort, however, when considering the amount of time and energy needed—not to mention money—demonstrates the passion and will the members have to make sure their camp stays solvent and aesthetically pleasing to those who come there for a respite from the outside world.

Lovingly or suspiciously, according to one's own attitude or interpretation, the locals below the bluff refer to the camp as "Spook Hill." Open during high-season only because the severe Wisconsin winters make it difficult to access the camp during the height of winter, the camp offers visitors and members classes, workshops, services, and readings by certified mediums. The mediums' cabins do have electricity, but no running water. Some mediums occupy a cabin for the entire season, or for shorter periods, and use central toilet facilities and showers located in the center of the grounds.

Walking the beautiful grounds give the visitor a real sense of a bygone era, and with a little imagination, one can easily visualize wagons and horses of Spiritualist adherents from 100 years ago rushing about the grounds to attend séances, get readings, and to attend services in the historic old auditorium. Sadly, the main auditorium had to be boarded up some years ago after a weather-related accident involving a large tree which irreparably damaged it, rendering it unusable until enough funds can be raised to restore it to its original grandeur and beauty. The camp has 36 cabins, a dining hall and chapel, all which were largely built in the 1920s. One cabin is exclusively dedicated to séances and healing circles and has ample seating for a dozen or so attendees.

Upon entering the grounds, visitors are greeted by a small hotel where guests may lodge for overnight stays. This is the most modern building and is located at the very front of the camp which does not detract from the historically preserved feeling of the interior of the camp. An office and welcome center greets visitors where they are encouraged to go first upon arrival in order to sign up for readings, gather information about upcoming events and services, or to peruse the quaint little bookstore and gift shop that is located in this building.

Not unlike all of the Spiritualist camps I visited during my research, Wonewoc Spiritualist Camp struggles to maintain its aging buildings from Mother Nature with a small, but quite active congregation of members (many who are also mediums and double as volunteers to maintain the grounds and buildings and who manage the events and activities during high-season). Throughout the high-season, visitors and guests attend workshops, special events, message and church services, healing services, and sign up for individual readings. For visitors who simply wish to stroll the grounds, or meditate in nature, can do so by taking a leisurely walk through the forest to "Inspiration Rock" where they can sit in nature enjoying the quiet of the forest and surrounding area.

Sunset Spiritualist Camp, Wells, Kansas

Since the 1870s, Spiritualism has been a part of the religious fabric of Kansas. Initially, often meeting in adherents' homes, likeminded people gathered to exchange ideas and to offer and receive messages from Spirit. Around this same time, other mainstream denominations made their way to Kansas to set up churches: Methodists, Catholics, and Presbyterians.

By the end of the 1870s, enough interest had been garnered in order to set up a Spiritualist association charter, and in 1881 the State of Kansas officially sanctioned the "First Society of State Spiritualists." During the 1880s onward, meetings were held in various locations around the general area. At some point in the 1930s a decision was made to dismantle the camp where the annual meetings were being held, and moved the camp to Wells, Kansas where "Sunset Spiritualist Camp" was made and where it remains today as a fully-functioning, in rites and services, as a Spiritualist church and active Spiritualist camp.

> During these early years special trains were used to bring the people of Delphos to attend the meetings. A carnival-like atmosphere prevailed outside

the meetings. This was stopped when some undesirable people began to frequent the crowd. The members of later years felt the atmosphere of the very early beginning caused the non-believers to think of Spiritualism in a fortune-telling manner, rather than the serious religious manner in which other religions are regarded. It has been a long struggle to gain the respect and be recognized by other churches as a sincere religion. Due to the death of many and the fact that many had moved away, the camp was dismantled and moved to Wells in 1934. (Unpublished manuscript, p. 1)

Today, Sunset Spiritualist Camp has a small but loyal and enthusiastic following of members who actively support and attend a two-week "high-season" (during the month of June) where members and visitors gather for lectures, workshops, healing and message services, and to meet to discuss all matter of things "Spirit" and "Spiritualism." Each year's season offers varied events and activities for those in attendance. Throughout the year, however, a regular schedule of church and message services take place, as well as a number of development-related classes and special events with guest mediums who offer their gifts of Spirit during the off-season period.

   Although I visited the camp during the off-season, the President of the camp, Rev. Karen Lyons, warmly welcomed me and gave me a detailed tour of the grounds and buildings of this quaint and charming little camp, and all it has to offer its members and visitors. In comparison to other functioning Spiritualist camps around the United States, it is small in area, but what it lacks in acreage it more than makes up for in substance. I was most impressed with how meticulously maintained the grounds and structures were. Unlike many camps where mediums live in and own personal cottages, Sunset Spiritualist Camp has a number of "one-room" cabins that visitors and mediums use when visiting the grounds.

    I was treated to an overnight stay in a cabin which I found to be delightful. It had a desk, dresser, double bed and hand painted mural on the wall. Each cabin has electricity, but the toilet and shower facilities are located across the grounds and the camp provides separate facilities for men and women. This building has been recently renovated and is quite modern and nice. Using the facilities in the middle of the night, however, took some courage as a band of coyotes were howling in what seemed to be very close proximity.

   The camp is situated on the edge of rolling fields that include crops, horses, and cattle roaming. In addition to the individual cabins, the camp maintains a lovely chapel (covered in rustic field stones) that offers church and message services and also doubles as a gathering place for special events. It has a full-service kitchen and fellowship hall in the basement. In another building, a concession area decorated and appointed in a 50s diner motif, features a diner-style counter with tables and chairs where visitors and members can go to eat and relax between activities during the two-week season. An outdoor sitting space in the center of the grounds allows visitors to sit and enjoy the natural beauty of the camp and the cool breezes that sweep in from the surrounding plains.

   Unlike the majority of the other camps I visited during my research that incorporate much larger buildings, many residential homes, and on huge acreage, the charm of Sunset Spiritualist Camp is in its compact and simplistic, but effective, design and use of space. These aspects allow it to maintain an integrity that is true to its original purpose—a gathering place for Spiritualists during a finite season where they may stay for a tonight or the full two weeks to partake in and share the gifts of Spirit. To these ends, Sunset Spiritualist Camp is successful beyond measure.

Harmony Grove Spiritualist Association and Camp, Escondido, California

Incorporated in 1896, the Harmony Grove Spiritualist Association has been serving the San Diego and Escondido communities since that time.

> Harmony Grove Spiritualist Association is located on 13 acres in a beautiful oak tree grove a few miles west of Escondido. The association was formed and incorporated in 1896 to further the teaching of spiritualism as a religion, philosophy and science. At a 'Home Circle' through the mediumship of Mary James Even, daughter of Sylvanus and Mary Nulton, the attendants were instructed to organize a Camp meeting. The first such meeting was held July 4th, 1896. In 1897 Mr. Nulton leased to the association a 3 acre portion of his ranch now occupied by the Fellowship Hall and Medium's cabin. At that time the only way to get to the camp was traveling along a trail that followed the southeast bank of the Escondido Creek. Naturally a corral and long hitching post were provided for the many visitors. (HGSA Official Website, 2017)

In May of 2014, wild fires swept through the area and then suddenly changed course and destroyed nearly 80% of the historical Spiritualist camp's grounds and structures. I visited the camp in October 2015 and the remnants of the fire were still very much a part of the landscape. With the exception of a few buildings and medium cottages, the fires consumed the majority of the camp's structures, including its chapel, many residences and much of the natural landscape. Miraculously, the library was unscathed except for a small breezeway roof that connected a building that was destroyed.

I prearranged my visit to insure that I would be able to enter the grounds. Due to insurance concerns and liability, the public at that time was still not allowed entry except for specific events and activities. Posters announcing upcoming services and events dotted the public areas of the camp. Through it all, the camp never stopped functioning and sponsors events and services as much as is possible regarding the calamity that occurred. From the ashes a Phoenix rises, and this could not be truer than for this high-spirited little camp that has vowed to rebuild and is in the process of raising funds to do just that. During my visit, signs of activity were evident in the physical makeup of the camp, and the new growth of plants and flowers is testament to the power of life and nature as it begins the process of regeneration.

Located on the hills outside Escondido, a sign on the road to the camp warns visitors that the bridge may be flooded if it is raining heavily. As the winding road makes it way to the entrance of the camp, the natural beauty of the landscape is unmistakable even through the charred remains of twisted metal, wood, and trees that are still a part of the camp's post-fire terrain. Two residents reside in homes untouched by the fires in order to watch over the property and to maintain a continual presence on the grounds. Even through the ashes and destruction, glimpses of what was once a beautifully maintained and historically significant camp are saliently apparent. Through the efforts and hard work of those whom I met while visiting their lovely and quaint little camp, I have no doubt that it will return to a state of functionality that may not include the exact historically significant structures, but certainly it will be similar in scope and use. The spirituality that is ever-present in these grounds will continue on unabated.

Mississippi Valley Spiritualist Association, Clinton, Iowa

Since 1882, the Mississippi Valley Spiritualist Association has been located in a central location in Clinton, Iowa, encompassing an area that includes a large hill with a central valley. Originally consisting of 49 acres, it now occupies roughly 13 acres. It was given

non-profit status in 1909 and was very well attended and active for the majority of this time. It was somewhat active until 2013 when its annual meeting was held (and as of the writing of this paper, was the last time the website had been updated; I visited in August of 2015). In recent years, it has maintained a presence but one that is largely inactive with some events taking place but not consistently or regularly.

From the major thoroughfare where the entrance is located, there is no sign to direct visitors to the camp. This was removed by the current president and caretaker due to the fact that it is in the process of being reactivated and there were some issues with local kids coming onto the grounds to vandalize the buildings and homes. Once I found the entrance, a "No Trespassing" sign greeted me along with electronic surveillance. A warning stated that no unauthorized people were allowed on the grounds.

In the distance I heard someone working, so I parked my car and strolled up to a point where I could get his attention. I explained I am an historian and academic researcher and would like to walk the grounds and perhaps meet with someone who could speak to me about the current status of the camp. He told me the President, Dr. Holly Chase, would be returning momentarily and that I could walk around the grounds until she arrived.

President Chase did return and at first was quite taken aback that my car was parked near the entrance and that I had been walking the grounds despite the posted warnings. I quickly explained to her that the man said I could wait for her and that I could walk the grounds. When she realized my academic intentions and that I was very interested in the preservation of Spiritualist camps, she warmed to my presence and proceeded to give me a detailed tour of the buildings that are in use and even took me to her personal residence that she is in the process of renovating in order to live on the grounds fulltime.

The camp was in great need of maintenance and landscaping. Nearly singlehandedly, however, Rev. Chase was working diligently to ensure that the association stays solvent and somewhat active. The main building, originally built in 1892 and is still in use, is a lovely turn-of-the-century building that serves as the association's office and hotel. Periodic events are held where mediums are invited to serve those who attend these workshops and as of the time I visited the camp, this seemed to be on a nearly monthly basis during the summer season. Next to this administration/hotel structure is a chapel that serves as a séance room where message and church services are held. Seemingly, there was a rift in the membership at some point and a number of the residents sued the association regarding their homes and the right to ownership of the land (which is leased at Spiritualist camps, typically for 99 years). The association prevailed, but the court costs were very high and the long period of proceedings caused the camp to go into a largely inactive period from which it has not recovered fully.

Below the surface, under the overgrown herbage, and beyond the outward appearance of the dilapidated buildings, it is quite clear that this Spiritualist camp at one time was a vibrant and charming camp that served generations of Spiritualists from Central Iowa. Cottages that served as mediums' residences ring the perimeter of the camp, leaving a central area to serve as a park where at one time religious displays were positioned as statues and benches can be seen through the overgrowth.

During my conversation with Rev. Chase, it became clear that although the camp is now struggling financially and physically due to the harsh Iowan winters and human neglect from not having people living on the grounds or regularly attending activities for some time, she is determined to maintain the camp's charter and to rebuild the camp. Primarily by continuing to offer some sort of events and programs to attract likeminded people back to this lovely piece of acreage, she plans to gradually build up the association's membership and to try and secure financing to bring the historic buildings back to their original states. Not an easy task, but seeing and experiencing her great passion and love for this historic camp, and

learning about how she is nearly singlehandedly working to maintain this grand old camp, I have no doubt that she will succeed.

Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp, Cherry Valley, Illinois

Located off a major and busy highway, the Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp is small in size with a chapel, public toilets, and a caretaker's residence. It does not have mediums' cottages like other Spiritualist camps around the United States and seems to be designed for day gatherings and events. Seemingly inactive for some time, it had recently been reactivated and a website for the camp states the following:

> Spiritualist Chapel in the Woods started building as a church in the fall of 2012. We received our charter with the NSAC [National Spiritualist Association of Churches] in the spring of 2014 at which time we had a membership of 22 people. Our meeting place at the beginning was in two rooms of a small mall in Belvidere, [Illinois]. We moved into Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp in June of 2015, where we plan to make our permanent home. We will be working hand in hand with Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp to bring you camp seasons that we can all remember for years to come.
>
> Spiritualist Chapel in the Woods, has (since June of 2015) grown in numbers, and our devotion to make the campgrounds a pleasant and peaceful place for people to spend their Sunday's and celebrate holidays and feel always welcome and loving friendship is continually growing.
>
> Our history is short, but our connection to spirit guides and spirits of loved ones who have passed over is strong, so please come and join us for our Sunday Lyceum, Healing and our Sunday Service. (http://www.spiritualist 1.org/history.htm)

There is not much available information regarding the precursor association that managed Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp until the recent change to the current NSAC charter that is now using the chapel and grounds for services and events. It seems that the camp is relatively modern in comparison to other Spiritualist camps in that it was registered as a non-profit in 1947.

The access road to the camp runs along a highway and a sign does mark the camp. Upon entering the camp, a grassy area is available for parking and the chapel is the main structure on the grounds. The camp itself is quite compact with a park as the central grounds. No one was present on the grounds when I visited and no one was at home in the caretaker's residence. The chapel appeared to be used regularly for services and events but there was no available information regarding precisely what these are and when they take place. On a Meet Up group site, however, regular Sunday services are listed and the website indicated that a guest medium was scheduled to serve the chapel later this year.

Woolley Park Ashley Spiritualist Camp, Ashley, Ohio

The Ohio Corporation for Non-Profits lists "Ashley Spiritualist Camp" as being granted non-profit status in 1892. Information on this camp is scant as it has been inactive for some years. A small camp that has a drive that rings the perimeter with cottages and homes and a huge auditorium in the center of the grounds. Sadly, this historic structure is quite

dilapidated and has been in disuse for some time. Parts of the roof are falling in and it is possibly beyond saving.

Although several of the homes looked to be lived in full-time, a number of residences seemed deserted and not actively lived in at the time of my visit in June of 2015. A hall which seemed to be used for events was newer in age, but also neglected and not in regular use. The grounds actually were well manicured and had recently been mowed, so someone who is associated with the camp must be in charge of grounds maintenance. No one was around during my visit and although some homes were in very good condition, the majority did not seem to be kept up cosmetically.

I did interview some people from the community who were familiar with the camp and they indicated that the camp is no longer offering services or Spiritualism-related activities and had not done so for some time. The camp itself was small, but quite charming. The auditorium was obviously a grand structure at one time and many of the one-room shanties had been added on to and increased in size to become full-time residences.

The current condition of this camp demonstrated to me how several of the other camps I visited during my research, and which are now struggling financially and have a severe decline in membership and interest, could easily meet the same fate as that of the Ashley Spiritualist Camp.

Conclusion

The current state of the Spiritualist camps around the United States (that I was fortunate enough to visit personally during my sabbatical year in 2015) run the entire gamut and varied spectrum of being well preserved and well attended all the way to being derelict and empty of people with no scheduled activities. Those which fall in-between these two extremes, while nearly all are struggling financially and tend to have a decline in overall interest and membership, are at a crossroads of either continuing to build upon the camp that is in place or are in extreme peril of meeting the fate of those which are no longer attended and hence uninhabitable.

Spiritualism as a religion has persevered throughout its long history because it does offer adherents hope of an afterlife and confirmation that their loved ones' who transitioned into Spirit remain close by and can make contact with those left behind. The religion will continue to prosper on some level, no doubt, partly because of its resilience to criticism, coupled with its tumultuous history, where it enjoyed times of great success with multitudes of followers to experiencing near extinction.   There will always be those people who seek solace in its principles and philosophy of the continuance of life after death and with mediums who have the gift to make contact with those who have passed. The manner, however, in which the religion reaches adherents has changed and will continue to evolve as is evidenced by the number of camps which were once heavily attended, to today, where only a handful are actually able to survive and remain solvent as they did more than one hundred years ago.

Spiritualist camps are an important part of America's religious history and the remaining camps offer modern historians and researchers a glimpse into the past that is unique and singular in how Spiritualism and other religions were able to prosper before modern technology and communication allowed people to meet and share ideas so easily. Although fewer in number today, and largely relics of a bygone era, the remaining camps serve as a living testament to how religions (especially Spiritualism) were able to develop and serve adherents more widely.

It is my hope that this report will shed some much needed light on the current state of Spiritualist camps in America and will serve to assist academic researchers of American religious movements to better understand the origins and development of these grand

camps that dotted the US landscape for more than 100 years. Also, I hope this report brings attention to the plights of these camps in hopes that more preservation work may be devoted to saving the historic camps that are still left.

The aspect of "church camps" in American-based religions is very important and offers a window into a facet of American religious-life that is not well known or remembered so readily in modern times. It is my wish that these camps will not become solely a vestige of a bygone era but will serve as a testament to the possibility for the future where visitors can not only attend services to gain personal spiritual enlightenment from this unique belief system, but also to allow people the opportunity to experience a fragment of one of America's unparalleled religious traditions that is firmly held in the past, but is also being preserved today through the remaining camps around the United States.

Biographical Note

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Appendix 1: Currently Active Spiritualist Camps

Camp Chesterfield- Chesterfield, IN

Camp Edgewood- Milton, WA

Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp- Cassadaga, FL

Chain Lakes Spiritualist Camp- South Branch, MI

Cherry Valley Spiritualist Camp- Cherry Valley, IL

Etna Spiritualist Camp-Etna, ME

Harmony Grove Spiritualist Association-San Diego, CA

Lake Pleasant Camp- Franklin County, MA

Lily Dale Assembly- Lily Dale, NY

Madison Spiritualist Camp- Reymond, ME

Mississippi Valley Spiritualist Association- Clinton, IA

National Spiritual Alliance- Franklin County, MA

Northern Lake Michigan Spiritualist Camp- Charlevoix, MI

On-I-Set Wigwam Spiritualist Camp- Onset, MA

Pine Grove Spiritualist Camp- Niantic, CT

Sun Spiritualist Camp- Tonopah, AZ

Sunset Spiritualist Camp- Wells, KS

Snowflake Spiritualist Camp- Central Lake, MI

Temple Heights Spiritual Camp- Northport, ME

Western Wisconsin Camp Association- Wonewoc, WI

Wooley Park Ashley Spiritualist Camp-Ashley, Ohio

[Partial Source: *Sunset Spiritualist Church*; "Directory of Spiritualist Camps"; http://sunsetcamp.org/church/spiritualist-camps.html retrieved on February 15, 2016]

Plato, Plotinus, and Plexus:
Philosophical Networks in Origen

Ben D. Craver
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"My mind is racing, but my body's in the lead . . ."
"Double Vision" by Foreigner
From the album, *Double Vision,* Atlantic Records*,* 1978

Introduction

This paper is yet another continuation of two which I presented to ASSR in 2015 and 2016[1] concerning Origen's (185 – 254) thinking on the persistence of the soul. Origen is often regarded as the first person to construct a system of Christian theology. His *On First Principles*[2] appeared about the year 218 and is structured around "particular points clearly delivered in the teaching of the apostles."[3] Despite his good intentions, however, Origen could not escape the philosophical ethos into which he was born, educated, and labored. As a native Alexandrian, Origen encountered philosophy early in his life; he also experienced first-hand the religious conflict between the recently-arrived faith of Christianity and the long-held practices of the pagan world.

Thus, Origen's theological legacy epitomizes a dialectical tension between biblical faith and Greek philosophy. Both are presuppositions in his thinking. And, while Origen reveres Scripture, his hermeneutical approach is determined in great part "by his philosophical training and bent of mind."[4] Indeed, this tension contributes to his

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[1] Ben D. Craver, "Souljourner: Origen on the Development and Persistence of the Soul," in *The 2015 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR*, ed. Jon K. Loessin (Dallas: ASSR, 2015), 89-105; online at http://media.wix.com/ugd/24c0b5_9148e211f5014402b00a13d53db2a5ac.pdf; and Ben D. Craver, "The Substance of the Matter: Was Origen a Dualist?" in *The 2016 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR*, ed. Jon K. Loessin (Dallas: ASSR, 2016), 36-51; online at http://media.wix.com/ugd/24c0b51df63197beb 244308f57e5ca3351847b.pdf.

[2] Origen's systematic work is known variously as *On First Principles*, *De Principiis* and *Peri Archon.* In the *Peri Archon*, Origen, who entitled his work as such, transferred the middle-Platonic theory of first principles into his thinking on the Trinity; but, the emphasis behind it would be more appropriately entitled *Peri Triados.* So, Charles Kannengiesser, "Divine Trinity and the Structure of the *Peri Archon*," in *Origen of Alexandria: His World and His Legacy*, Charles Kannengiesser and William L. Petersen, eds. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 247. References here follow the edition of A. Cleveland Coxe, *Fathers of the Third Century,* in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), and cited as Origen, *On First Principles.*

[3] Origen, *On First Principles,* Pref 4 (*ANF* 4:240).

[4] Rowan A. Greer, Introduction to *Origen: An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, First Principles: Book IV, Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs, Homily XXVII on Numbers*. *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979), 32.

appellation as "the most astonishing sign of contradiction in the history of Christian thought."[5]

This tension is nowhere more evident than in his complex, and to some extent, rambling teaching on the soul and its relationship to the human body, particularly his notions of persistence and personal identity.[6] Philosophical constructs abound to the point that, perhaps, "it is possible to charge him with simply importing Greek philosophy into his interpretation of Scripture."[7] But, with which philosophy is he most conversant? The long-standing answer is Platonism; but, which form of Platonism? And what accounts for the rich convergence of Platonic themes in Origen's thinking?

I hope in this paper to trace an unbroken blue lineage[8] extending from Plato, through Plotinus, and eventually to Origen. "Lineage" as I use it here refers primarily to the perceptible influence of Platonism as a critical metaphysical element in both Plotinus' and Origen's theological-philosophical systems and, in particular, the soul.[9]

Eusebius cites Porphyry's observation that Origen "was continually studying Plato. . ."[10] Platonic themes appear regularly in Origen's work, but the bulk of them owe to the *Timaeus*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Laws,* and the *Letters,* leaving open the speculation that he is not a Platonic purist.[11] Rather, the more likely form to which Origen subscribed is Middle-Platonism as defined by the second-century school of Gaius, Albinus, Atticus, Maximus of Tyre, Celsus, and Numenius.[12] What was the appeal of Middle Platonism, or of Platonism in any form?[13]

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[5] Henri Crouzel, *Origen: The Life and Thought of the First Great Theologian,* trans. A. S. Worrall (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989), xi.

[6] Origen examines and explains this relationship primarily in Books 2 and 3 of *On First Principles.* See Origen, *On First Principles,* 2; 3 (*ANF* 4:268-348). Cf. Antonia Tripolitis, *The Doctrine of the Soul in the Thought of Plotinus and Origen* (Roslyn Heights, NY: Libra Publishers, 1978), 89.

[7] Greer, 32.

[8] The reference to a "blue lineage" refers here not to the fraternal order of police and law enforcement officers but, rather, to the academic color of philosophy.

[9] Plotinus espoused a genuinely Platonic theory of the human soul. While I will go into more detail about him subsequently, it is important to note that his theory is to a significant extent a reinterpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* and the *Phaedo*. See Damian Caluori, *Plotinus on the Soul* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015) and Antonia Tripolitis, *The Doctrine of the Soul in the Thought of Plotinus and Origen* (San Diego: Libra Publishers, 1978).

[10] See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 6.19, trans. C. F. Cruse (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 239. Eusebius also includes among Origen's studied writings those by Numenius, Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, Nicomachus, as well as notable Pythagoreans; in addition, Origen employed the works of Chæremon the Stoic and Cornutus.

[11] Jean Daniélou, *Origen*, trans. Walter Mitchell (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2016), 75.

[12] *Ibid.*, 79. Daniélou cites favorably the work of R. E. Witt, *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, reprint 1937).

Plato

Classical dualism with its soul-body dichotomy originated in Plato's *Phaedo*.[14] In the *Phaedo*, Plato argues vigorously for the immortality of the soul: ". . . the soul is most like the divine and immortal and intellectual and uniform and indissoluble and ever unchanging . . ." But, the "intellectual" is equally immaterial and invisible, accessible only by reason and morality through the personal pursuit of philosophy. The dialog leads only to one conclusion: "Well then," said Socrates, Plato's interlocutor, "are we not made up of two parts, body and soul?"[15]

True being, i.e., the true substance, cannot be found, however, in physical bodies, because bodies are in constant flux and eventually will dissolve and decay. Rather, the true being must be found in something which is absolute and changeless. Socrates argues:

> Then . . . see if you agree with me in the next step. I think that if anything is beautiful besides absolute beauty it is beautiful for no other reason than because it partakes of absolute beauty; and *this applies to everything*.[16]

An object or thing is "beautiful" because it partakes of that which is changeless. Here Plato introduces, through Socrates, what is arguably his most sempiternal philosophical construct, the theory of Forms. In the statement above, "absolute beauty" is definitive of a form which Plato then "applies to everything" including physical bodies.

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[13] Mark J. Edwards argues strongly that "Plato occupies a position of esteem in early Christian writing, not because Platonism was a 'dominant' philosophy, but because they [= Christians] found in it much that they already believed on the evidence of apostolic testimony or biblical revelation." He concludes that Christians were responsible for elevating Platonism to its lofty philosophical dominance, and considers Origen not a Platonist, but an anti-Platonist. See Mark J. Edwards, "Further Reflections on the Platonism of Origen," *Adamantius* 18 (December 2012), 323; see also his, *Origen against Plato* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2002).

[14] One of the most widely read of Plato's dialogues, *Phaedo* claims to recount the final day of the life of Plato's teacher, Socrates (469-399 B.C.E.), before he was executed. The *Phaedo*'s literary universe is both philosophical and contains hints of Greek drama. Specifically, Plato presents defining arguments for the immortality of the soul, the soul's relationship to the body, and, perhaps most importantly, his persuasive introduction to the theory of Forms.

[15] *Phaed.* 80b, 79b. " . . . ἄλλο τι ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ψυχή . . ."

[16] *Ibid.,* 100c, καὶ πάντα δὴ οὕτως λέγω; translation: "and all things [are] indeed this way, I say." This phrase is the Platonic declaration of the universal theory of Forms. Emphasis and translation mine. See also Brian D. Prince who argues for a wide range of meaning for the word Forms; see: "The Form of Soul in the *Phaedo*," *Plato: The Internet Journal of the International Plato Society* 11 (2011), March 2012; URL: http://gramata.univ-paris1.fr/Plato/article101.html; accessed 16 December 2016. Focusing on word πάντα—all things—and conceding its inherent ambiguity, Prince argues that it likely refers to "all things [undergoing generation or destruction]" (Sect. 17). He concludes that the statement suggests a wide range of meaning to the Forms, including, interestingly, a Form of Soul.

The true or absolute substance is the eternal Form of which physical bodies, for our limited undertaking here, are inferior copies.[17]

For Plato, the soul will upon death be separated from the body; each continues, however, to exist on its own.[18] That which is of primary concern should be not the body, but the soul. The lover of wisdom, that is, the philosopher, has no time for the pursuit of bodily vanities including even those which sustain human life—eating, drinking, and procreation/love. Rather, in the pursuit of wisdom, the essential concern is for the soul or ψυχή.[19]

The cynosure of Plato's argument then is that σῶμα correlates with matter and thus that which is dying or dead and must be "despised," while ψυχή correlates with life, and the search for truth and wisdom.[20] But, we are, like it or not, forced to deal with the σῶμα which, Socrates argues, may be looked upon as hindering one who seeks wisdom and truth:

> And the body fills us with passions and desires and fears, and all sorts of fancies and foolishness, so that, as they say, it really and truly makes it impossible for us to think at all. The body and its desires are the only cause of wars and factions and battles; for all wars arise for the sake of gaining money, and we are compelled to gain money for the sake of the body. We are slaves to its service.[21]

Such somatic slavery precludes efforts which could be devoted to philosophy. Like a noisy and confusing ruckus, somatic appetites intrude into human life and establish barricades which prevent us from ever coming to the truth. The solution is that "we must be free from the body and must behold the actual realities with the eye of the soul alone. And then, as our argument shows, when we are dead we are likely to possess the wisdom which we desire and claim to be enamored of, but not while we live."[22] Prior to physical death, Socrates calls for a purification or κάθαρσις; that is, an intentional determination to separate ψυχή from σῶμα.[23]

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[17] *Ibid.,* 74e; the word Plato uses here is φαυλότερον, which can mean worthless, bad, evil or base. See Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 854.

[18] *Ibid.,* 64c.

[19] *Ibid.,* 64d. Plato reasons: "Altogether, then, you think that such a man would not devote himself to the body, but would, so far as he was able, turn away from the body and concern himself with the soul?"

[20] *Ibid.,* 64d – 65b.

[21] *Ibid.,* 66c – 66d.

[22] *Ibid.,* 66e.

[23] *Ibid.,* 67c. See also Peter Tyler, *The Pursuit of the Soul: Psychoanalysis, Soul-making and the Christian Tradition* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 29. Tyler identifies "self-restraint and justice and courage" as the three virtues which Socrates insists must be present for κάθαρσις to take place; see *Phaed.* 69c.

What happens to the soul after it is separated from the body upon physical death? Socrates argues that "the living are generated from the dead and that the souls of the dead exist."[24] In some way which he fails to explain, a living ψυχή passes from one dead σῶμα to another. He concludes to his own contentment: "the souls existed previously, before they were in human form, apart from bodies, and they had intelligence."[25] Intelligence or knowledge is the confirmation that souls existed *prior to* their embodiment.

But, how does Socrates prove that souls continue to exist after physical death? Using an epistemological argument, Socrates insists that "to have knowledge we must recall other forms of knowledge. Therefore to have any knowledge at all there must be a pre-existing framework."[26] This framework takes the shape of souls which have, therefore, "pre-exist[ed]" us. As absolute essence, souls do not decompose or change in any way.[27] Socrates concludes confidently:

. . . the soul is most like the divine and immortal and intellectual and uniform and indissoluble and ever unchanging, and the body, on the contrary, most like the human and mortal and multiform and unintellectual and dissoluble and ever changing.[28]

It is, furthermore, possible that the soul, the ψυχή, passes in and out of multiple births and deaths: ". . . there is nothing to prevent some of them from continuing to exist and from being born and dying again many times after we are dead, because the soul is naturally so strong that it can endure repeated births . . ."[29]

While Plato's influence upon subsequent philosophical concepts and Christian thinking has been enormous, it would be accurate to say that Plato did not have the final word on his own teachings. Differing schools of interpretation ordered around religious and philosophical presuppositions arose in the first 300 years CE, including Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian varieties of Platonism.[30]

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[24] *Ibid.,* 72d, e.

[25] *Ibid.,* 72c, d.

[26] Tyler, 30.

[27] *Phaed.* 78d. "Is the absolute essence, which we in our dialectic process of question and answer call true being, always the same or is it liable to change? Absolute equality, absolute beauty, any absolute existence, true being—do they ever admit of any change whatsoever? Or does each absolute essence, since it is uniform and exists by itself, remain the same and never in any way admit of any change?"

[28] *Ibid.,* 80b.

[29] *Ibid.,* 88a. See Tyler, 31, who points out that when Socrates notes that the soul may indeed "finally perish altogether in one of its deaths," it is Plato's denial of the strict immortality of the soul.

[30] Robert M. Berchman, *From Philo to Origen: Middle Platonism in Transition* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 16.

Plotinus

Plotinus (204 – 270) investigated the numerous Platonic interpretations of his day, utilizing some, disposing of others, and reevaluating still others, to produce a "profoundly original philosophy."[31] Plotinus' work is like a philosophical pipeline through which flows concepts from Aristotle, Plato, the Stoics, neo-Pythagoreans, and the earlier Middle Platonists; nonetheless Plotinus' work is "more coherent and systematic" than any of his predecessors.[32]

Plotinus' philosophy targets a precise, objective cosmology based a chain of eternal "emanations" or *hypostases,* metaphysical principles.[33] The One, which for Plotinus is roughly equivalent to the first [principle], or the Good (τὸ ἕν, τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ ἀγαθόν) transcends all produced things and must not be numbered among them. The One is utterly beyond human definition.[34]

It is precisely because that is nothing within the One that all things are from it: in order that Being may be brought about, the source must be no Being but Being's generator, in what is to be thought of as the primal act of generation. Seeking nothing, possessing nothing, lacking nothing, the One is perfect and, in our metaphor, has overflowed, and its exuberance has produced the new: this product has turned again to its begetter and been filled and has become its contemplator and so an Intellectual-Principle.[35]

From the One arises the overflowing which is "the primal act of generation" and which generates or produces or emanates the Intellectual-Principle (νοῦς), which is the second principle. From the Intellectual-Principle comes the third principle which is the World Soul (ψυχή τοῦ παντός). Plotinus thus institutes a tripartite cosmological schematic:

There exists a Principle which transcends Being; this is *The One*, whose nature we have sought to establish in so far as such matters lend themselves to proof. Upon The One follows immediately the Principle which is at once Being and the *Intellectual-Principle*.

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[31] Tripolitis, 49.

[32] Ibid., 49; Tyler, 55.

[33] Edward Moore, "Plotinus (204—270 C.E.), *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ISSN 2161-0002, http://www.iep.utm.edu/, 16 January 2017. Plotinus' follows Plato's "great chain of being" as found in the *Timaeus.* See A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[34] Plotinus, *Enn* 5.5.6; trans. Stephen MacKenna; rev. B. S. Page (London: Faber and Faber, 1969). Plotinus reasons: "For this is a principle not to be conveyed by any sound; it cannot be known on any hearing but, if at all, by vision; and to hope in that vision to see a form is to fail of even that."

[35] *Ibid.,* 5.2.1.

Third comes the Principle, *Soul.*[36]

When Plotinus examines the question of whether a Form—he calls it an "ideal archetype"—exists for every individual, indeed, every living thing, he finds the answer in the second principle or hypostasis, the Nous.[37] The Nous is a "unity in multiplicity"[38] which connects eternally-active, individual souls with the One. Such a broad-based, web-like connection[39] means that Nous is both subject and object:

If the soul in me is a unity, why need that in the universe be otherwise seeing that there is no longer any question of bulk or body? And if that, too, is one soul and yours, and mine, belongs to it, then yours and mine must also be one: and if, again, the soul of the universe and mine depend from one soul, once more all must be one.[40]

How do individual souls ("yours, and mine") become embodied? Plotinus posits the body as an ontological necessity for soul. Without a body, the soul essentially has no place to descend. But, since the soul must "go forth" or descend, "it will generate a place for itself; at once body, also, exists."[41]

Plotinus argues that the third *hypostasis* or principle, Soul, contains the souls (λόγοι)[42] of all existing beings. Each of these souls has a distinctive character of its own while collectively remaining one in total being. In their pre-bodily existence, the individual soul is thus both incorporeal and eternal.[43] How then does the individual soul emerge?

For Plotinus, individual, incorporeal souls first descend from the Nous "to the heavens and there put on a body." At this stage in the soul's descent, the body is ethereal in nature; these souls enter the bodies of celestial star-gods and, as a result, experience no worry, guilt, or concern as such about the particular bodies they inhabit.[44]

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[36] *Ibid.,* 5.1.10; italics mine.

[37] *Ibid.,* 5.7.1; see also *Enn* 6.7.2: "Since in our view this universe stands to that as copy to original, the living total must exist There beforehand; that is the realm of complete Being and everything must exist There."

[38] Tripolitis, 50.

[39] Tyler, 58, calls it a "sort of 'world-wide-web' of soulfulness . . ."

[40] *Enn* 4.9.1.

[41] *Ibid.,* 4.3.9.

[42] Plotinus' use of λόγοι for "souls" underscores Neo-Platonism's use of the word as "a force that invests material objects with shape, form, and life." See "λόγος" in *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis,* ed. Moisés Silva (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 3:132.

[43] Tripolitis, 53.

[44] *Ibid.,* 54.

By extension, perhaps the majority of souls descend "more and more" until they encounter a corporeal body which is progressively earthier, and which is "devoid of all being and prone to evil."[45] Other souls "plunge from heaven to the very lowest of corporeal forms; others pass, stage by stage, too feeble to lift towards the higher the burden they carry, weighed downwards by their heaviness and forgetfulness."[46] The Plotinian soul, thus, has a corporeal/incorporeal duality composed of a "fixed material part . . . and a higher part connected to the World Soul"[47] (Nous).

However, when Plotinus describes the soul's descent, the descent is not to be taken literally. The individual soul does not descend or move spatially or materially into a human body; it cannot be compared, for example, to seeing wine in a wine bottle. If the soul was material, it would be essentially divisible in a way that would destroy the unity of human consciousness.[48] Rather, Plotinus concedes divisibility of the soul, but in a way that does not obstruct its essential material unity:

> ". . . If [the soul] had the nature of body it would consist of isolated members each unaware of the conditions of every other; there would be a particular soul — say a soul of the finger — answering as a distinct and independent entity to every local experience . . . [so], without a dominant unity, continuity is meaningless."[49]

Plotinus clarifies, or attempts to clarify, the body/soul relationship by way of a nautical principle: as the steersman of a ship moves and turns his vessel, so the soul moves and turns the body wherever it chooses. He admits, however, the shortcoming of this analogy.[50]

He turns then to a mystical analogy found in the presence of light to air:

> . . . the light penetrates through and through, but nowhere coalesces; the light is the stable thing, the air flows in and out; when the air passes beyond the lit area it is dark; under the light it is lit: we have a true parallel to what we have been saying of body and soul, for the air is in the light quite as much as the light in the air.[51]

Thus, the individual Plotinian soul, while dualistic in nature, corresponds to and reflects the three *hypostases* or metaphysical principles:

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[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Enn* 4.3.15.

[47] Tyler, 58.

[48] Raymond Martin & John Barresi, *The Rise and Fall of the Soul and Self: An Intellectual History of Personal Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 35.

[49] *Enn* 4.2.2.

[50] *Ibid.,* 4.3.21.

[51] *Ibid.,* 4.3.22; see Tripolitis, 57.

1. The "sensory level"[52] which for Plotinus signifies that the incorporeal soul is unified with the corporeal body and intimately involved in the body's life. The soul enlivens the body, acting as an agent to bring about order and structure to the body. At this level, the soul "uses its powers merely to understand objects of perception or sense."[53] For the soul to progress to the next level, it's "attention" must be "disengaged from bodily conditions."[54] However, Plotinus is clear that only an incorporeal, eternal entity like the soul is capable of such a functional advancement.[55]

2. The "intellectual level," corresponds to the intellectual principle, a self-knowing, where the soul "contemplates abstract ideas and is conscious of itself as a soul or self fundamentally distinct from the body."[56] It is at this level that the soul contemplates the Platonic world of Forms. Plotinus differentiates between the *Intellect*, however, which contemplates the world of Forms as a whole and individual *intellects* which focus on a particular aspect of the world of Forms.[57] This is the part which determines the person's destiny:

> We cannot describe it as belonging to the soul though we do describe it as our Intellectual-Principle, something distinct from the understanding, advanced above it, and yet ours even though we cannot include it among soul-phases: it is ours and not ours; and therefore we use it sometimes and sometimes not, whereas we always have use of the understanding; the Intellectual-Principle is ours when we act by it, not ours when we neglect it.[58]

This is the level at which self-remembrance takes place. Plotinus insists: "we hold that observation of self and of the content of self must belong to Intellectual-Principle."[59] Further, this is the level in which, through reincarnation, the self-remembrance moves from one body to another. The bodies through which the self-remembering soul travels

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[52] Martin & Barresi 36-7.

[53] *Ibid.,* 37.

[54] Tripolitis, 63.

[55] *Enn* 4.7.3, where Plotinus argues: "But: given soul, all these material things become its collaborators towards the coherence of the *kosmos* and of every living being, all the qualities of all the separate objects converging to the purposes of the universe: failing soul in the things of the universe, they could not even exist, much less play their ordered parts."

[56] Martin & Barresi, 37.

[57] See Caluori, *Plotinus on the Soul,* who provides an extended, detailed analysis of the subject at hand.

[58] *Enn* 5.3.3.

[59] *Ibid.*

extend from human, to animal, to vegetative.[60]

3. The level of "mystical contemplation" is, for Plotinus, contemplative in nature. It has always been present; that is, the human soul was made to engage in contemplation of the divine light. In fact, all of creation engages in continuous contemplation:

> The primal phase of the Soul — inhabitant of the Supreme and, by its participation in the Supreme, filled and illuminated — remains unchangeably There; but in virtue of that first participation, that of the primal participant, a secondary phase also participates in the Supreme, and this secondary goes forth ceaselessly as Life streaming from Life; for energy runs through the Universe and there is no extremity at which it dwindles out.[61]

This means then that the human soul is always united with God. The individual soul contemplates the One in the same way the hypostasis Soul contemplates the One.[62] But, in doing so, "it loses its individuality."[63] These aspects are of particular significance as we begin to consider Plotinus' notion of death and the return of the soul.

Upon death, the soul will recall some of the activities of previous lives which were forgotten in the most recent incarnation; because the soul's primary focus, however, is upon God, even these memories will soon be forgotten.[64] In other words, the intellectual level and concomitant knowledge can take place only when the soul is separated from bodily functions.[65] Thus, the soul not only survives physical death, it engages in an epistemological journey: "It can be shown also that the intellectual act would similarly be

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[60] In a complex and far-ranging explanation, Plotinus notes: "Those that have maintained the human level are men once more. Those that have lived wholly to sense become animals — corresponding in species to the particular temper of the life — ferocious animals where the sensuality has been accompanied by a certain measure of spirit, gluttonous and lascivious animals where all has been appetite and satiation of appetite. Those who in their pleasures have not even lived by sensation, but have gone their way in a torpid grossness become mere growing things, for this lethargy is the entire act of the vegetative, and such men have been busy be-treeing themselves. Those, we read, that, otherwise untainted, have loved song become vocal animals; kings ruling unreasonably but with no other vice are eagles; futile and flighty visionaries ever soaring skyward, become highflying birds; observance of civic and secular virtue makes man again, or where the merit is less marked, one of the animals of communal tendency, a bee or the like. *Enn* 3.4.3. See Audrey N. M. Rich, "Reincarnation in Plotinus," *Mnemosyne* 10:3 (1957), 232-238.

[61] *Enn* 3.8.5.

[62] See Caluori, 88.

[63] Martin & Barresi, 37.

[64] *Enn* 4.3.27. Using Hercules as an example, Plotinus states: "The soul, still a dragged captive, will tell of all the man did and felt; but upon death there will appear, as time passes, memories of the lives lived before, some of the events of the most recent life being dismissed as trivial. As it grows away from the body, it will revive things forgotten in the corporeal state. . . . But with lapse of time it will come to forgetfulness of many things that were mere accretion. See Martin & Barresi, 37.

[65] Tripolitis, 63.

impossible if the soul were any form of body."[66] This proves that the soul is eternal:

> ". . . the soul's understanding of the Absolute Forms by means of the visions stored up in it is effected within itself; such perception is reminiscence; the soul then must have its being before embodiment, and drawing on an eternal science, must itself be eternal."[67]

Plotinus' concept of how the soul and body relate is not defined as clearly as we might want. Regardless of the soul's departure upon death, for Plotinus, the soul cannot exist *sans* the body: "there exists, no doubt, an opinion that even the human soul, while it must leave the body, cannot become an utterly disembodied thing . . ."[68] Rather, Plotinus insists that individual persons always retain their own identity and force of will. He overrules any sort of extreme astral determination arguing instead that "this is no case of something outside bestowing motion while another thing accepts it and is thus set into action; the mind itself is the prime mover."[69]

Thus, for Plotinus, the human soul experiences both freedom and individuality. Plotinus allows the cosmic elements—the stars, the weather, human interventions through parental lineage, time of birth, and so on—to play their respective parts in the development of the human person. In the end, however, one's own personality is detached from cosmic, material elements.[70] Plotinus concedes the role of genetics and environment in human development, but notes the greatest difference is discovered in human temperament and in ideas: "this side of the human being, then, derives from some quite other Principle [than any external causation or destiny]. A further confirmation is found in the efforts we make to correct both bodily constitution and mental aspirations."[71] While personal and cosmic effects have a gravimetrical pull on personality, for Plotinus, "the individual personality cannot be destroyed."[72]

The nettlesome glitch with Plotinus' view is that he fails to develop his thinking systematically. In fact, his concept of soul freedom remains ambiguous on several levels. For instance, while the soul or personality is, as noted above, detached from cosmic, material elements, Plotinus insists that it is still not in absolute control of its own

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[66] *Enn* 4.7.8.

[67] *Ibid.,* 4.7.12.

[68] *Ibid.,* 4.3.4; see Tripolitis, 64.

[69] *Ibid.,* 3.1.4.

[70] Cf. *Ibid.,* 3.1.6., where Plotinus describes in eloquent prose: "Allow the kosmic circuit its part, a very powerful influence upon the thing brought into being: allow the stars a wide material action upon the bodily part of the man, producing heat and cold and their natural resultants in the physical constitution; still does such action explain character, vocation and especially all that seems quite independent of material elements, a man taking to letters, to geometry, to gambling, and becoming an originator in any of these pursuits?"

[71] *Ibid.,* 3.1.5.

[72] Tripolitis, 71.

destiny. Rather, it is subject to forces that control the body and universe. He describes this confusing dilemma as a "compromise": "the action of the Soul will be in part guided by this environment while in other matters it will be sovereign, leading the way where it will."[73]

That is, the soul takes free actions motivated and directed by human reason and not by external stimuli. Such actions may be considered virtuous, as when a doctor treats a patient or a soldier performs an act of bravery. Or, they may be evil. Regardless, they are reflexive acts, executed involuntarily rather than deterministically.

For Plotinus, "the Principle of Good necessarily comport[s] the existence of a Principle of Evil . . ." owing to the presence of matter in the world. It is thus a composite of contraries:

The Nature of this Kosmos is, therefore, a blend; it is blended from the Intellectual-Principle and Necessity: what comes into it from God is good; evil is from the Ancient Kind which, we read, is the underlying Matter not yet brought to order by the Ideal-Form.[74]

The soul's objective is, therefore, escape from the evil material world and return to the Nous and the higher self.[75] The escape, however, is, as Plotinus argues, not an escape from a material place, such as the world; but, rather, escape is at heart an ethical journey. It is the attaining of virtue, of "disengaging the self from the body."[76] Disengagement occurs when the soul dethrones external stimuli and clings instead to reason. Only by seeking virtue will a person become liberated from an endless cycle of births and deaths.[77]

Plotinus then inspires us ever onward and upward:

This is why we must break away towards the High: we dare not keep ourselves set towards the sensuous principle, following the images of sense, or towards the merely vegetative, intent upon the gratifications of eating and procreation; our life must be pointed towards the Intellective, towards the Intellectual-Principle, towards God.[78]

Failing to do so, however, Plotinus sees various incarnations ranging as it were from human beings, to ferocious animals, vegetative growths, "vocal" animals, eagles, and other birds, all the way down to a bee. One's destiny is based upon the life that

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[73] *Enn* 3.1.8.

[74] *Ibid.,* 1.8.7.

[75] So Tripolitis, 73.

[76] *Enn* 1.8.7.

[77] Tripolitis, 73.

[78] *Enn* 3.4.2.

"middle part of the soul chose to live"[79]—that is, the "intellectual level," the level which corresponds to the intellectual principle where the soul is conscious of itself and able to contemplate and make choices. Every person has the "divine element" within—the effectual power to attain to the "highest level."[80]

Plotinus knows, however, that few are even aware of such a power and even fewer are inclined to embark upon such a vigorous intellectual pilgrimage. There are certainly those rare and fleeting moments with the One while in the earthly body, but for the most part, the body hinders our advancement. Thus, while clothed with the material, one's ability to live a consistently virtuous life is out of the question. That does not, however, negate a vigorous virtuous venture. Plotinus prompts us to avoid longing for union with the One in an untimely manner; rather, he calls for consistently living life on earth "with justice and piety in the light of philosophy"[81] knowing that permanent union with the One awaits physical death: ". . . there will be the time of vision unbroken, the self hindered no longer by any hindrance of body."[82]

Origen

From Plato to Plotinus to his contemporary, Origen (185 – 254), extends, as noted above, an unbroken blue-philosophical lineage. A more compelling word describing this lineage is "plexus." The term "plexus" or "Plexus" appears in numerous constructions mostly related to corporate services and products. Undoubtedly, the meaning and etymology of the word contributes to its most widespread usage.

The word "plexus" originates in the Latin word *plectere*, meaning "to braid." Later, it came to be used anatomically in reference to "a network of anastomosing or interlacing blood vessels or nerves." The secondary meaning is the one on which I will focus: "an interwoven combination of parts or elements in a structure or system."[83]

While I will stop short of labeling the joint labors of Plato, Plotinus, and Origen as a system, I nevertheless see in them "an interwoven combination of parts or elements." Or, to use the original Latin sense of the word, a braiding. Of course, the major

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[79] Tripolitis, 73, who summarizes (74-5) the differences of opinion among Plotinian scholars—including A. H. Armstrong; A. N. M. Rich; W. R. Inge; and P. V. Pistorius—concerning his treatment of reincarnation. Plotinus' description, like Plato's, reads rather humorously, leading some to conclude that Plotinus does not take the doctrine seriously. On the other hand, some scholars argue that Plotinus mentions it here only because he follows Plato to include the inconsistencies in Platonic thought (esp. *Phaedrus* 249a-b). The answer as to how seriously Plotinus takes the matter of reincarnation, however, may be found in the way that he uses reincarnation to refute Aristotle's theory of entelechy.

[80] *Ibid.,* 80.

[81] *Enn* 1.8.6.

[82] *Ibid.,* 6.9.10. In closing the *Enneads*, Plotinus writes: "This is the life of gods and of the godlike and blessed among men, liberation from the alien that besets us here, a life taking no pleasure in the things of earth, the passing of solitary to solitary" (6.9.11).

[83] "Plexus." Merriam-Webster.com. Accessed February 15, 2017.

distinction between Plotinus and Origen owes to the latter's Christian perspectives. We can glimpse this braiding in and through several constructs in Origen's thinking. I shall refer to three, but not in significant detail in that they have been covered both above (for Plotinus) in previous year's papers (for Origen).

The Descent of the Soul

 Plotinus For Plotinus, individual, incorporeal souls first descend from the Nous to the heavens and "put on" as it were an ethereal body. These ethereal bodies are, for Plotinus, celestial star-gods with the result that souls experience no worry, guilt, or concern as such about the particular bodies they inhabit.[84] But, these represent a marginal number of souls. Plotinus believed that the majority of souls descend in an ever earthier way until they encounter a corporeal body prone to evil.[85] Still other souls "plunge from heaven" as it were to the very lowest of corporeal forms.[86]

 Origen Origen believed that God created rational beings called *logika.* The *logika* used their God-given freedom to defect from heaven by neglecting the good and making the wrong choices; in doing so, they fell or, to use Plotinus' term, descended, into evil. Once fallen, the *logika* became alienated from God and, in the process, souls. Origen uses the Greek word psyche (ψυχή) for souls, a term he appropriated from the verb ψύχεσθαι, which commonly refers to making cold or cool as found in Plato and Aristotle. Origen reasons that a fallen *logikos* has "cooled from that natural and divine warmth, and therefore has been placed in its present position, and called by its present name." Like Plotinus, Origen believes that souls fall in a hierarchical manner: some fell only a relatively short distance from God; some fell farther away from God and became embodied as human beings; and some rejected God outright, becoming demonic or evil spirits.[87]

The Advancement of the Soul

 Plotinus For Plotinus, the second of his metaphysical principles is the "intellectual level" by which he refers to a self-knowing, the level at which the soul is able to contemplate the abstract and becomes conscious of itself as a soul or a self essentially distinct from the body.[88] It is at this level, that the soul contemplates the Platonic world of Forms. Plotinus differentiates between the Intellect, however, which contemplates the world of Forms as a whole, and individual intellects which focus on a particular aspect of the world of Forms. But, advancement takes place in the third

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[84] Tripolitis, 54.

[85] See *Ibid.*

[86] *Enn* 4.3.15.

[87] The information is summarized from, Origen, *On First Principles*, 2.9.2-3 (*ANF* 4:289-90); with additional comments by Tripolitis, 97.

[88] See Martin & Barresi, 37.

metaphysical principle as well—the level of "mystical contemplation."

For Plotinus, the human soul was made to engage in continuous contemplation of the divine light, leading to self-remembrance. Thus, contemplation has an ethical element which will determine a person's destiny and, accordingly, play a significant role in reincarnation.

Origen Origen's understanding of contemplation is better identified with his notion of the soul's education. Origen believed that the material universe was created by God as a "penitential dwelling"[89] place for fallen souls—a cosmic academy and training ground. While in the body, the material universe is a place of both blessing and punishment and serves to educate and discipline souls.

For Origen, advancement continues throughout the lifetime of the human being, the final decision always hanging in doubt. But, if the human decision is in doubt, Origen himself has no doubts about how God will resolve the issue. In particular, Origen could not fathom a God who would create souls and assign them to bodies only to watch as the soul dissipates "into the oblivion of evil (non-being) for all eternity."[90]

Thus, Origen here opens the door to the view that it may well be that one lifetime is not sufficient for a particular soul to achieve salvation. Education can and does take place even after and during death since, as Origen notes, even venerable saints like Peter and Paul required additional training to achieve purification. He concedes that it may take "many ages" to see improvement. This is the genesis of Origen's doctrine of multiple ages in which some souls would be re-born in order to undergo divine training and education leading to salvation.

The Reincarnation of the Soul

In both Plotinus and Origen the soul is engaged in a contemplative (Plotinus) or educational (Origen) journey. On this they agree; and, to some extent at least, the journey itself leads to similar goals and makes use of some form of transmigration of souls or metempsychosis. It was in Origen's case an especially vexing issue which led him and his supporters into even more theological strife.

Plotinus For Plotinus, the soul's single, overarching objective is escape from the evil material world and return to the Nous and the higher self.[91] He believed that it was not an escape from a material place, such as the world; but, rather, escape is at heart an ethical construct in which the soul attains virtue through reason. However, Plotinus knows that not all will succeed at attaining virtue. When they fail to do so, he posits

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[89] Tripolitis, 97, 102.

[90] Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."

[91] See Tripolitis, 73.

punitive reincarnations (see 13 above) based on the soul's ability (or inability) to attain virtue. Only by seeking virtue will a person become liberated from an endless cycle of births and deaths.[92]

Origen   While his critics accused Origen of reincarnational leanings, in his *Commentary on Matthew,* he flatly denounces the "the dogma of transmigration, which is foreign to the church of God, and not handed down by the Apostles, nor anywhere set forth in the Scriptures."[93] Unlike Plotinus, Origen did not denigrate the physical body as an evil mass of *soma* imprisoning the soul. Rather, the body provides "each soul with a unique identity."[94] The body is, however, in a state of constant flux but always looking to the time of resurrection when the soul will reshape it "by whatever matter then exists" into a new body.[95]

Rather, the issue with Origen is his concept of restoration or *apokatastasis*. The time will come, he insists, when all souls will be purified and return to their original state of perfection; it is a time of "the perfection and completion of things." The completion is thoroughly directed by the judgment of God and comprehensive in nature including human souls, angels, celestial beings, and demons.[96] The restoration of all beings ranks as one of the most important, if again nettlesome, concepts in Origen's philosophy—"the touchstone by which he judges all other theories." Indeed, it was this teaching upon which Origen's later opponents largely based their charges of heresy. None was considered more heretical that Origen's notion that even the devil himself will evidently turn of his own free will to God.[97]

Conclusion

While Plotinus and Origen were contemporaries and eminent scholars, the differences between them surpass their Platonic similarities. Key to this is the primacy of the Christian Scriptures for Origen. He is not afraid to embrace Platonic categories, such as Plato's thinking—subsidized by his own biblical tweaking—that God created

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[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Origen, *Commentary on Matthew*, 13.1 (*ANF* 9:474). See also, *Contra Celsus*, 7.32, where Origen affirms: "Our teaching on the subject of the resurrection is not, as Celsus imagines, derived from anything that we have heard on the doctrine of metempsychosis . . ." (*ANF* 4:623).

[94] See Moore, "Origen of Alexandria."

[95] Briane E. Daley, "Resurrection," in *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, John Anthony McGuckin, ed. (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 184.

[96] Origen, *On First Principles,* 1.6.1; 2.10.8 (*ANF* 4:260; 292-3).

[97] Even then, however, Origen admits that his statements on this topic are not to be taken with dogmatic certainty. Rather, he approaches the topic "in the style of a disputation rather than of strict definition." See Origen, *On First Principles*, 1.6.1 (*ANF* 4:260).

persons as incorporeal souls prior to their corporeal or bodily existence, and were ordained to return to God as incorporeal bodies subsequent to their purification.

He also embraced Plato's dualistic anthropology in which the human person is made up of "two kinds of existences, one visible, the other invisible . . . of two parts, body and soul."[98] From Origen's perspective, "*bodily* nature . . . bears the lives and contains the movements of *spiritual and rational* minds . . ."[99] Perhaps most importantly, Origen utilizes Plato's famous doctrine of forms (*eidos*). In particular, Origen asserts that the soul impresses on the body a distinctive and distinguishable form which enables human features to remain perceptible despite advances in age and physical growth, and the incapacitating effects of disease.

Yet, he is not afraid to buck Platonic categories. When he comes to a discussion of the body and personal identity, Origen ignores Platonism and turns instead to the Bible. In particular, he refers to Mt 10:28 and Rom 8:11, arguing that, after physical death, the resurrected physical body now "shines in the splendour of celestial bodies, and adorns . . . the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a *spiritual* body . . ."[100]

As I have noted many times, I am neither a philosopher nor the son of a philosopher. I am even less an expert in Plotinian studies. That answers why my concluding paragraphs focus more on Origen. Plotinus appears moored in the philosophy of his master even with his own interpretation. Origen is unafraid to cut the mooring ropes when Plato clashes with Scripture.

In the spirit of our conference theme then, I ask: "So what? How does Plato, Plotinus, and Origen matter today?" Philosophically? Of course. Theologically? No doubt, at least from my perspective. I will suggest, however, that Plato, Plotinus, and Origen matter today because they emphasize the continuing quest for virtue and morality. Plato is, of course, foundational to the thinking of Plotinus and Origen. Plotinus calls for attaining virtue and living the moral life primarily through philosophical endeavor. Origen, on the other hand, appeals to theological-biblical-spiritual edification. In all three, the soul has the potential to attain that ultimate goal. But, attaining a goal, especially an ethical one, requires time; it is a lifelong journey.

Religion is about relationships, typically one's vertical relationship with God and one's horizontal relationship with others. In other words, it is about right *being* and right *doing*. If the attainment of virtue or the moral life is of any benefit and possibility today, we may owe Plato, Plotinus, and Origen a huge debt of gratitude for pointing the way to a lifelong quest.

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[98] *Phaed.* 79ab.

[99] Origen, *On First Principles,* 2.2.1 [emphasis mine] (*ANF* 4:270).

[100] *Ibid.,* 2.2.2 [italics mine] (*ANF* 4:270).

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Herod's Harbor: The Harbor Paul Sailed Through, A More Complete Picture

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INTRODUCTION

Two thousand years ago, (22-10 BC) on the windswept coast of the eastern Mediterranean, with Roman engineering and largesse, Herod the Great accomplished a remarkable feat by constructing a whole metropolis known as Caesarea, complete with palace, temple, hippodrome, theatre, paved streets, sewer, and water system.[1] But just as remarkable--using formed pozzolana hydraulic concrete[2]--the biblical Herod built at the foot of the city a colossal harbor, which would make Caesarea the maritime trading oasis of its day. It was the same harbor Paul sailed through on his second and third missionary journeys and as prisoner of Rome (Acts 18:18-22, 21:2-8, 27:1-3). In discussing archaeological evidence for the economic success Caesarea enjoyed in its day, Risser and Winter mention that "during the early years of the Roman Empire, it was one of the largest and most important ports on the Mediterranean,"[3] and in fact may have been built to compete and trade with the great port at Alexandria not far south in Egypt.

Starting with geographical and weather conditions lending themselves to overall shape, the basic dimensions and appearance given by Josephus about the harbor is confirmed and expanded on archaeologically. The towers he mentions is also evidentially confirmed. Considering Rome was militarily driven it makes sense the harbor was built in military fashion where towers would play an essential role and would have been a prominent skyline feature. The number and size of towers at the harbor can be approximated by comparing known Roman tower and wall widths and heights with the missile range of the day and correlating that with other known dimensions of similar structures, especially those built by Herod in Jerusalem. Probable battlement configurations can also be deduced from dimensions of the same at Jerusalem.   Finally, a complete picture could not be made without considering the significant size and purpose of what Josephus referred to as *Procumatia*, or "the breaker of waves".   Its morphology, purpose and defensive

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[1] Kenneth G. Holum, Robert L. Hohlfelder, Robert J. Bull, Avner Raban, *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York: Norton & Company, 1988), 72-134.

[2] Marcus Vitruvius, the Roman architect and engineer, records the use of hydraulic concrete with the added strengthening agent of pozzolana or volcanic ash. Marcus Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture* (2.6.1) trans. Morris Hicky Morgan (New York: Dover Publications, 1960) 46-7. Ehud Netzer mentions the advantages of adding volcanic ash to mortar is: "greater strength, more rapid hardening, and much better resistance to moisture (good for the construction of conduits, harbors, etc.)." Ehud Netzer, *The Architecture of Herod the Great Builder* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006) 314.

[3] Martha K. Risser and Frederick A. Winter, "Gold from the Combined Caesarea Expeditions, 1996," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 4, 1996. Fred Yallouris, a native of the island of Chios and student of classics, estimates 155,000 ships in use in the Mediterranean area from 1000 BC to the beginning of the Christian era. Willard Bascom, *Deep Water, Ancient Ships: The Treasure Vault of the Mediterranean* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 65.

possibilities is better known by comparing historical record to archaeological find and modern understanding of hydrodynamic engineering.

Some Known Dimensions

Certainly, unique conditions had to be overcome in the construction of this particular harbor. As Yehuda Karmon adduces about harbor construction, "The physical conditions of a port are created by the configuration of the coastline at a certain spot, by the currents, waves and winds prevailing in the area, and are of main concern for the architect and engineer who plan the layout of the port and its installations."[4] The marvel of this port is, first, it was artificial.   In the coastal area where Herod chose to build, there was no significant bay or promontory to take advantage of. Yet, against the elements, with little natural feature to build on, Herod's master builders made this harbor rise out of the water. Secondly, the size of the harbor is remarkable. The total area encompassed by the breakwaters has been estimated to be between 40 to 50 acres, with the southern breakwater extending approximately 1,000-feet to the west from shore and turning north 1600-feet, while the northern breakwater also extended 1,000-feet west.[5] The entrance itself was 60-feet wide. Even building materials were mammoth in size. Some of the foundation blocks used to support the harbor superstructure weighed up to 50-tons. Josephus reports one single block measuring 50-feet in length, 18-feet in width, and 9-feet thick.[6] But just as remarkable is the use of hydraulic concrete for some of the foundation work, especially at the entrance and northern mole. As Yorke and Davidson show, Roman concrete would have been poured into wooden forms constructed around natural features such as reefs or where no natural feature existed--as the case with Herod's Harbor—they would have been floated in place, filled then lowered, or lowered then, in cofferdam style, pumped out then filled.[7] As John Peter Oleson points out solid quartz sandstone blocks were used at the entrance area for the foundation of the southern mole, while formed concrete was used at the northern mole.[8] This makes sense considering the southern mole was in deeper waters where a stable accurate placement of formed concrete would have been difficult to achieve.

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[4] Yehuda Karmon, "Geographical Components in the Study of Ancient Mediterranean Ports" in *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima*, ed. Avner Raban (Oxford England: Biblical Archaeological Review, International Series 257, 1985) 1.

[5] Avner Raban, "Recent Research", 229-51; "Sebastos, the Royal Harbor at Caesarea Maritima; A Short-lived Giant", International Journal for Nautical Archaeology 21 (1992) 111-24.

[6] Lindley Vann, "News from the Field: Herod's Harbor Construction Recovered Underwater," *Biblical Archaeology Review* (May-June 1983) 10-14.

[7] R.A. Yorke and D.P. Davidson, "Survey of Building Techniques at the Roman Harbors of Carthage and Some Other North African Ports" in *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings*, 158.

[8] John Peter Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius: Preliminary Thoughts on Harbour Engineering at Sebastos; the Harbour of Caesarea Maritima" in *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings,* 165.

EFFECTS OF GEOGRAPHY, WEATHER AND MILITARY PURPOSE ON APPEARANCE AND FUNCTION

Within the Sharon Plain in Israel, the geographical site chosen for the harbor named Sebastos (Greek for Augustus) and referred to by Josephus as "Strato's tower" is described by CAHEP in their 1980-1985 summary:

> When Herod had called in his engineers to survey the coastal site of Straton's Tower and to prepare a master plan for his harbour and the city that was to be adjacent to it, they found a stretch of coast typical of this part of the Mediterranean coat-line of Palestine. The site chosen is close to the south end of a coastal unit extending for about 40 kilometers from Athlit in the north to Hadera in the south, and it represents the only site with a hinterland providing easy access to the Mount Carmel range. The shore-line was characterized by low and broken longshore kurkar ridges, the westernmost one partly inundated by the sea, and its western half already abraded as a wide rocky platform at sea level. Occasionally, the sea had penetrated the ridge, creating small sandy bays or reef-protected lagoons on it lee. At Straton's Tower they knew that two of the coves had been used by the Phoenicians and had been artificially improved to serve as anchorages.[9]

While both bay areas were incorporated within Caesarea's city wall Herod's engineers chose the southernmost bay. Though the former Phoenician naval port was in ruins the bay did provide but a modicum of protection against inclement weather and some geographical feature to build on. As Josephus points out about Herod's decision,

> ***And when he observed that there was a city by the seaside that was much decayed (its name was Strato's Tower) but that the place, by the happiness of its situation, was capable of great improvements from his liberality, he rebuilt it all with white stone, and adorned it with several most splendid palaces, wherein he especially demonstrated his magnanimity; for the case was this, that all the seashore between Dora and Joppa, in the middle, between which this city is situated, had no good haven, insomuch that every one that sailed from Phoenicia for Egypt was obliged to lie in the stormy sea.[10]***

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[9] Avner Raban, *Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavations Project, 1980-1985*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. John Peter Oleson (Oxford: Biblical Archaeological Review, International Series 491, 1989) 286.

[10] Josephus, *The Wars of the Jews*, 1.21.408-9. trans. William Whiston (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987) 575.

Once the building site was chosen, there were two main factors that affected final shape, function, and appearance of the harbor, one was military and the other hydrodynamic. As to the latter, as Josephus, an eyewitness of the day, mentions in *Wars*, the area had the potential for being stormy. In Antiquities, he mentions the primary cause came from fierce north directed winds.

> ***This city is situate in Phoenicia, in the passage by the sea to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them which rolling sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; but the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself.***[11]

These winds created tremendous wave action, so much so as to require a 100-foot wide breaker at the southern mole.[12] With winds coming from the south the direction of the waves would have been northeast. And while aerodynamic and hydrodynamic forces and effects are similar, each requiring a surface area free of angularity to mitigate turbulence, the interactive aerodynamic and hydrodynamic forces in this area would account for the necessity of the harbor being circular in shape, to dampen the resultant turbulence at the northwest section of the harbor where the open entrance was located. And while the use of radial configuration for aerodynamic efficiency is evident in vehicle products today, Marcus Vitruvius, writing around 25 BC, mentions

Hydrodynamic and Aerodynamic Similarities

the advantage of picking a harbor site "with projecting capes or promontories which curve or return inwards by their natural conformation."[13] In respect to this Josephus

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[11] Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, 15.9.333.

[12] "This mole which was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called *Procymatia*, or the first breaker of the waves." *Antiquities*, 15.9.335.

  "But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called *Procumatia*, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran around it." *Wars*, 1.21.412.

[13] Vitruvius, *Ten Books*, 5.12.1 (in Dover Publications, 162).

describes the harbor at Caesarea as a "compass" and a "circular haven"[14]   Though the overall shape of the harbor being circular was dictated by hydrodynamic demands, other appearances were influenced by the defensive measures incorporated in its construction.

A FORT-AT-SEA

With the amount of material that has been written about Herod's harbor, it is surprising how little has been dedicated to the military aspect of it.   At that time, Rome, had been, and would continue to be a military state.   Two hundred years before the beginning of the construction of the harbor in 22 BC, Rome was at war with Carthage; only forty years' previously, the Gallic wars had reached their climax with the defeat of Vercingetorix; and Pompey's loss to Caesar was not long past, just 23 years earlier.[15]   While the civil war between Mark Antony and Augustus had just ended at the Battle of Actium, 9 years prior, in 31 BC,[16] the Parthian conflict had been ongoing.   After the elimination of Carthage, Parthia became Rome's most powerful rival.   Located northeast of Caesarea, in the area of what is today Iran and Iraq, Parthia stood in the way of Rome's expansion east and was perceived by Rome as a threat.   31 years before the start of the harbor's construction, in 53 BC, Crassus invaded Parthia, but was utterly defeated.[17]   14 years prior to the harbor, Mark Antony's invasions were also thwarted.[18]   Then, almost pulled into conflict again, over Armenia, the two powers settled for peace in 20 BC,[19] when the harbor's construction was just underway.   Always at war, ever expanding, and always needing to protect economic and political interests, like many of Rome's projects, it was with military consideration and priority that Caesarea's harbor was built.   In fact, it would be appropriate to consider the harbor as a fort-at-sea.[20]

Like any fort with intervals of towers placed to project a crossfire of missiles onto invaders, Josephus confirms this with the description,

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[14] "So, Herod endeavored to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land as might be sufficient for a haven." *Antiquities*, 15. 9.334.   "Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone." *Antiquities*, 15.9.339.

[15] Oliver Spaulding, Hoffman Nickerson, John Wright, *Warfare: A Study of Military Methods From the Earliest Times* (Washington, D.C: The Infantry Journal, 1936), 112-26, 159-72, 172-180.

[16] For an interesting read on the innovations used by Agrippa, Augusta's naval commander at Actium, to defeat Mark Antony, read Lee Fratantuono, *The Battle of Actium, 31 BC: War for the World* (Barnsley, England: Pen and Sword Military, 2016) 151-53.

[17] Rose Mary Sheldon, *Rome's Wars in Parthia: Blood in the Sand* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2010) 29-49.

[18] Ibid., 65-80.

[19] Raoul McLaughlin, *The Roman Empire and the Silk Routes: The Ancient World Economy and the Empires of Parthia, Central Asia and Han China* (Barnsley, England: Pen and Sword History, 2016) 181.

[20] Herod also showed military concern in conjunction with other building projects.   Masada was really a fortified retreat, while Fort Antonia at Jerusalem reflected a projection of military power.   An archway that led from the Fort to the Temple platform suggests thought towards the expeditious movement of men possibly to quash civil revolt.

> ***Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation . . .*** [21]

And in describing the wall built on the southern mole where *Procumatia* was located he says,

> ***. . . but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran round it*** [the haven]. ***On this wall were very large towers . . .*** [22]

As with any building project, modern or ancient, a degree of efficiency and quality is achieved when it comes to the production, transport of standard products. Thus, masonry, timber and metal materials are usually ordered from standard sizes and assembled at the construction site with degrees of standard procedure and layout. Therefore, it is no surprise the engineers at Caesarea, having military measures in mind, would build their harbor to encompass an area similar in size to one with which they were familiar, the legionary fortress.

According to M.C. Bishop the estimated area within fortress grounds can vary depending if they are figured from within the "outer face of the defensive curtain wall" or the "usable area within any rampart."[23] Bishop lists and locates 85 Roman legionary fortresses[24] and categorizes them into Dominate and Principate types. The Dominate fortresses were much smaller and functioned in the later Empire period when "legions became fractured into subunits of 1,000 men, some on frontiers, others in field armies."[25] The Principate complexes were "the 'classic' legionary fortresses of the empire, many of them utilizing the familiar playing-card shape."[26] Taking the outer face of the curtain wall as template[27] Bishop shows these individual larger fortresses to enclose areas predominantly ranging between 15-25 hectares (37-62 acres), with the most common being between 17-21 hectares (42-52 acres).[28] As Duncan Campbell confirms, "Although no two legionary fortresses are identical, in each case the builders clearly followed a blueprint. The perimeter typically encloses a rectangle area of some 20-25 hectares."[29] (50-62 acres). Therefore, it is no surprise estimates for the area encompassed at the harbor at Caesarea ranges similarly between 40 and 50 acres. While a precise figure is difficult to obtain, because the strewn rubble field obscures the original outline of the harbor's original dimensions, Hohlfelder estimates the inner harbor to have "had a working area of 10,000 square yards, one-twentieth the size of the outer harbor."[30] This amounts to a total surface

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[21] *Antiquities*, 15.9.339.

[22] *Wars*, 1.21.412,

[23] M.C. Bishop, *Handbook to Roman Legionary Fortresses* (Barnsley, England: Pen and Sword, 2012) 2.

[24] Ibid., 43-128

[25] Ibid., 2

[26] Ibid., 43.

[27] Ibid., 2.

[28] Ibid., 43-118.

[29] Duncan B. Campbell, *Roman Legionary Fortresses, 27 BC-AD 378* (Oxford: Osprey, 2006) 33.

[30] Robert Hohlfelder, "Herod the Great's City on the Sea: Caesarea Maritima", National Geographic (February 1987) 279.

water area of 43.38 acres. In the CAHEP 1980-1985 summary the outer basin of the harbor is estimated to have contained a surface water area of 200,000 square meters with the inner basin encompassing 5000 square meters.[31] This comes to 50.65 acres. Figures which compare to many fortresses Romans built on land.

Proposed Dimensions for Reconstruction of Herod's Harbor

When known dimensions, given by Josephus, are compared to other known numbers about Roman infrastructure in some instances only possible approximations can be proposed, in other instances probable reconstruction, within range, is possible. All dimensions will be given in feet and inches. Considering Herod the Great built at the Jerusalem wall, as did Herod Agrippa, a common building template at both locations, Caesarea and Jerusalem, might safely be assumed. And since Josephus gives specific dimensions about fortifications at Jerusalem the most probable approximations may come from the strength of this correlation. Taking these calculations into consideration, compared to other Roman fortification dimensions and defensive measures, and the dimensions given by Josephus and those discovered, as to mole length and width, an approximation of wall thickness, wall and tower heights, dimensions of battlements, number of towers and space between, and number of battlements at Herod's Harbor can reasonably be proposed.

The Cubit

The Biblical cubit is given to be 18-inches; the Roman cubit, 17.47-inches. Whiston gives some dimensions in feet, but has Josephus proposing most in cubits. Considering Herod built with Roman technique, the use of 17.47 was possible. But considering the 18-inch cubit divides more evenly into feet and inches, for purposes of illustration the 18-inch cubit will be used. The only exception will be for the Hippicus tower where using the 17.47-inch cubit divides the wall into a 36-foot square that more neatly accepts the 3-foot-wide merlons and crenels.

Battlements and Towers

Josephus reveals, at the Hippicus tower in Jerusalem there "were battlements of two cubits, and turrets all around of three cubits high . . ."[32] Similarly, concerning crenellation at the Jerusalem wall begun by Herod Agrippa, Josephus says, "it had battlements of two cubits, and turrets of three cubits altitude . . . "[33] The dimensions given for the merlons and crenels are thus 3-feet wide each. The height of the "turrets" or merlons are 3-cubits or 4.5-feet. Concerning the Agrippa wall height Josephus at first says it was 20-cubits or 30-feet, but then says ". . .the entire altitude extended as far as twenty-five cubits."[34] or 37.5-feet. But if we add the merlon height of 4.5-feet and the wall height given by Josephus of 30-feet this amounts to 34.5-feet,

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[31] Raban, *Harbours: Results*, part 2, 288.
[32] *Wars*, 5.4.165.
[33] Ibid., 5.4.155.
[34] Ibid., 5.4.155.

leaving a discrepancy of 3-feet. Though not given, this would account for the crenel wall height. Therefore, we have crenel and merlon widths of 3-feet, a merlon height of 4.5-feet, a crenel wall height of 3-feet for an overall battlement wall height of 7.5-feet[35], and thus the curtain wall height Josephus gives of 37.5-feet. The common size of towers at the Agrippa wall given by Josephus are 20-cubits square and 20-cubits tall, or 30-feet square and 30-feet tall.[36] The Hippicus tower, built by Herod the Great and named after a friend, was 25-cubits square and 30-cubits tall, or in this instance using the 17.47-inch Roman cubit, 36-feet square and 43.5-feet tall.[37] The Phasaelus tower, named after Herod's brother, "had its breadth and its height equal, each of them forty cubits" or 60-feet square and 60-feet tall.[38]

   With consideration toward the innate vulnerability of Herod's Harbor, with an open entrance and openness to attack by land, it makes sense defensive measures at the harbor would have been beefed up and that the towers at the harbor would have been, as Josephus says, "very large".[39] This suggests, for a template, a size larger than the Agrippa ones of 30-feet square, but ones not so large as Phasaelus, which, with its 60-feet, would constrain functional space at the 100-foot-wide mole. Thus, making the Hippicus tower of 36-feet square a fair candidate for towers at the harbor. The dimension of 36-feet correlates with the 30-feet at the Agrippa towers and with the Roman Newgate, Roman London tower dimension of 32.8-feet.[40]

The Agrippa Wall Formula: Tower Size and Wall Thickness

   While the Agrippa curtain wall thickness was "ten cubits wide" or 15-feet thick[41] the towers at the Agrippa wall were 30-feet square[42] and the curtain wall heights were equally 30-feet.[43]   Add to this the 7.5-feet battlement height makes the wall height, from base to top of merlon, "25-cubits" or 37.5-feet[44] and the tower height, from base to top of merlon, 67.5-feet. With part of the Agrippa tower/wall formula of tower and wall heights being equal to tower widths, given the Hippicus tower height of 43.5-feet[45] minus the battlement of 7.5-feet (as with the Agrippa towers where Josephus gives heights of 30-feet and 37.5-feet) the tower height would be 36-feet and wall height therefore the same, totaling 72-feet. Thus, the curtain wall height from base to top of merlon would have been 43.5-feet and the tower, to include battlement height would have been 79.5-feet. Thus, it appears the overall formula for the Agrippa tower and wall system was that the tower height and wall height would

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[35] The overall merlon height of 7.5-feet would mirror the Roman penchant to protect themselves behind very large Scutum shields while slashing and stabbing around the perimeter.

[36] Ibid., 5.4.156.

[37] Ibid., 5.4.163.

[38] Ibid., 5.4.166.

[39] Ibid., 1.21.412.

[40] Calculated from the elevation and scale shown of the double carriage-way gate flanked by two towers. Peter Marsden, *Roman London* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986) 124.

[41] *Wars*, 5.4.154

[42] Ibid., 5.4.155.

[43] Ibid., 5.4.156.

[44] Ibid., 5.4.155.

[45] Ibid., 5.4.163.

be equal to tower width while curtain wall width would be half the wall height.[46] Thus the towers at the Agrippa wall being 30-feet wide were 30-feet tall, while the curtain wall, which the tower sat on, was 30-feet tall and was half as wide, or 15-feet thick.[47] With this same formula in mind, from a proposed tower size of 36-feet square, an 18-foot-thick curtain wall is reasonable and correlates with the 15-foot-thick Agrippa wall.

Space Between Towers and Battlements at the Curtain Walls and Towers

To get a probable distance between towers we can first look at the effective missile range of the day. By and large it was the bow that provided the best range for protecting a fortified wall against an encroaching enemy. Therefore, the space between turrets would not have exceeded the effective range an arrow will travel before a drop in trajectory significantly reduces accuracy. The Romans thus would not have been happy with crossfire range short of turret to turret. As Roland Bechmann mentions about Roman towers, "The towers projected from the walls so that defenders could shoot from two sides at enemies who reached the foot of the wall. Since they were shooting down the range and the impact of their weapons were increased, and the towers were therefore spaced according to the minimum range of the defending weapons—the bow, sling, and javelin."[48] Concerning the modern recurve bow with a 55-pound pull and 55-pound release, accuracy drops after 40-yards. The Romans used a composite recurve with similar characteristics and range. Julius Africanus who lived in the reign of Emperor Severus calculated if an arrow were to continue its flight with equal swiftness without interruption for 24-hours it would travel a distance of 2500-miles. His calculations were based on ten men stationed 100-feet apart each shooting their arrow when the one before passed overhead. [49] For our purposes the point is, Julius Africanus calculated 100-feet to be the effective range for arrows shot from bows used at that time. Therefore, considering the defensive needs of the harbor, an optimum distance for effective crossfire between turrets would have been 100-feet. This correlates with the 29.70-meters or 97.44-feet between towers at the Aurelian and Probus walls in Rome, 272 A.D. According to Avner Raban underwater excavation reveals that "large chunks of concreted units were traced along the mid-section of the main mole at intervals of about 25- meters . . . it is possible that they can be associated with the towers mentioned by Josephus."[50] The distance of 25-meters between these structures correlates well, to be within the effective missile range of 100-feet.

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[46] Josephus mentions the Mariamne tower was also equal in width and height. ". . . its breadth and length were 20-cubits, and were equal to each other." *Wars*, 4.5.170.

[47] *Wars*, 5.4.154. Which correlates with the Servian Walls of 11.81-feet and Aurelian Walls (3rd Century AD) thickness of 13.12-feet thick. J. E. Kaufmann and H. W. Kaufmann, *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 2001) 34.

[48] Roland Bechmann, "Castles and Fortifications" in *American Council of Learned Societies Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner, 1983) 143.

[49] George Agar Hansard, *The Book of Archery* (original, London: Henry G. Bohn, 1863; this copy, Lyon, MS: Derrydale Press) "Greek and Roman Achery" section, 438-9.

[50] Avner Raban, *The Harbour of Sebastos (Caesarea Maritima) in its Roman Mediterranean Context*, ed. M. Artzy, B. Goodman, Z. Gal (Oxford: Biblical Archaeological Review, International Series 1930, 2009) 106.

Given a 36-foot-wide tower and 3-foot-wide merlons and crenels: at each side, merlons at the corner would be 1.5 by 1.5-feet with 5, 3-foot merlons and 6, 3-foot crenels in between, for a total of 4 corner merlons with 20 merlons and 24 crenels between. With an established 100-feet space between towers, starting with adjoining merlons at the towers, each space would have been crenellated with 17 merlons and 16 crenels. Considering the defensive measures needed at the harbor, the 18-foot-wide curtain wall would probably have been crenellated on both sides for double-lined battlements.

Towers at the Entrance

As mentioned, the weakest point for any fortification is at the entrance, this being where the largest towers are placed. The defensive measures at the entrance of Herod's harbor, especially since it was open to the sea, had to have been robust and would have required towers reflecting that. While Josephus mentions "very large towers" at the harbor, he only mentions one by name, "the principal and most beautiful one of which was called Drusium" after Caesars son-in-law, Drusus."[51] The only other significantly large building at the harbor is one described in *Antiquities* by Josephus as a temple.[52] He locates it as though it were a functioning part of the harbor wall system.

> **There were edifices all along the circular haven made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Caesar.**[53]

When Josephus mentions "edifices all along the circular haven . . . with a certain elevation" this appears to reference the breakwaters and the towers built on them. The description, "whereon was erected a temple" suggests this building was built on one of the breakwaters.[54] But, in *Wars* he mentions

> **Over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation, there was a temple for Caesar.**[55]

It, like the temple mentioned in *Antiquities*, also had two statues of Caesar and Rome. Were these two descriptions of the same building? It is important to note the use of the term "against". When Josephus is translated using it, its purpose is to locate something opposite of something else. The temple mentioned in *Wars* was located "over against the mouth of the haven, upon an elevation". In other words, opposite the entrance of the harbor, up on a hill. In *Antiquities* after locating the

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[51] *Wars*, 1.21.412.
[52] *Antiquities*, 15.9.339.
[53] Ibid., 15.9.339.
[54] Ibid., 15.9.339.
[55] *Wars*, 1.21.414.

"entrance or mouth" of the harbor at "the north quarter"[56] where the winds were calmest, Josephus mentions edifices there, one being "a round turret" and the other two vast stones joined together and located "over against" or opposite the turret.[57] Josephus then describes the circular haven and the "temple" on it. It follows then, in *Antiquities* the context for the location of the temple described would be about an area in proximity to the entrance and is, as well, described as being **on** the breakwater; the one in *Wars* is up on the hill opposite the entrance.   The structure in *Antiquities* at the entrance may have served multiple functions. As mentioned in the 1980-1985 CAHEP summary, "The terminal tower on the Northern Breakwater may have been the headquarters of the harbour pilot, the customs house, or a Royal administrative centre . . . [58]" It too may have served a liturgical requirement on those entering the harbor. The reason Josephus may have referred to it as a temple is, within it, like the one up the hill, were statues of Augustus Caesar and Rome[59] the homage of which may have been made or required of the navigators not allowed to do the same at the temple facing the inner harbor. Josephus mentions a "double station"[60] at the harbor which archaeological investigation confirms. The temple in proximity to the inner harbor may have been visited by individuals of special rank. That there was an inner and outer harbor suggests such a selective process, which functioned to separate commercial from military/political activity, beginning with religious homage, always precedent and primary to Roman social activity. Navigators may have been processed to pay homage at the temple/lighthouse/administrative edifice while visiting dignitaries and those of military rank paid homage at the temple at the inner harbor. At the outer harbor, Josephus also mentions arches serving as living quarters for the mariners, suggesting this area was where they were to stay. A sanctuary precinct within the entrance tower would have attended their liturgy needs. Though the term lighthouse was not used by Josephus this "temple" structure which "was seen a great way off" by those sailing for the harbor suggests it was used as a point of reference for navigation to the harbor; the same purpose for which a lighthouse serves. Certainly, harbors of that day received night time traffic and needed points of reference by which to navigate (day or night) and one at Herod's harbor like the lighthouse at Alexandria, would certainly have been functional. While the indication of their largeness makes them candidates for location at the entrance, either way outsized towers bristling with military measures were especially needed there, like any castle or fort, to guard the entrance.

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[56] *Antiquities*, 15.9.337.
[57] Ibid., 15.9.338.
[58] Raban, *Harbours: Results*, part 2, 288.
[59] *Antiquities*, 15.9.339.
[60] Ibid., 15.9.332.

Outsized Towers at Fortress Entrance

If Drusium, or a lighthouse with a larger base were placed at the entrance it makes sense Drusium would have been on the right side on entering the harbor. With the sloping grade of shore floor and increasing depth of water, for structural and geological stability, a closer to shore building site for an edifice with a larger base and greater height would have been preferred, -tower would have been on the left. In this same area, at the southwestern corner of the northern breakwater, there is evidence of extraordinary foundational reinforcement. As the 1980-1985 CAHEP summary reveals, "The unique half-lap joint at the termination of some of the huge ashlars and the use of iron clamps set in lead for fastening them to each other are not to be found elsewhere in the harbour. They probably indicate a special function which imposed exceptional physical stress on the structure."[61]   In addition, with the tempestuous character of waves and winds moving vessels quickly toward shore, as mariners attempted to enter the harbor the tendency of the vessels would be to move past the entrance.   Thus, the mariners on entering the harbor would use the large entrance tower on the right as a point of reference from which they would drift away, while the outsized tower on the left would be the primary point they would drift towards and the one on which they would focus on entering the harbor to avoid collision.

Size of Towers at the Entrance: Drusium and the Lighthouse

Like the vulnerable entrance to any castle or fort, the need for outsized towers at the entrance at Herod's Harbor would have been no different.   The mention of Drusium by Josephus being comparatively larger makes it, or a tower of similar size, likely at the entrance. A possible candidate for correlate dimensions for Drusium would be the Phasaelus tower at Jerusulem. That Josephus refers to Drusium as the "principal" tower suggests a larger size, as does the fact it was named after a significant-other, which Herod did for the largest towers at Jerusalem, thus it or one like it, would have been set at the entrance and would obviously have been larger

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[61] Raban, *Harbours:Results,* part 2, 280.

than the 36-foot square, 72-foot tall common size towers at the harbor. Using the Agrippa wall formula of tower wall heights equaling tower widths, if, like Phasaelus, Drusium was 60-foot square, its height would have been 60 feet. For structural continuity Drusium would have been set on the already established 36-foot high curtain wall. This makes the total tower-plus-curtain-wall height of Drusium, 96-feet; with battlement height of 7.5-feet included, 103.5-feet. This compares with a tower Herod built at the wall fortifications for the temple at Jerusalem, located at the "southeast corner", which was "seventy cubits high" or 105-feet.[62] At the harbor, with crenel and merlon widths of 3-feet, and corner merlons of 1.5-feet by 1.5-feet, Drusium would have had 10 crenels and 9 merlons on each side of the tower at the top.

Considering the need for two larger protective edifices at the open-water entrance to the harbor a hypothetical place for Drusium or a similar size tower would be on the right. For reasons mentioned the location of the lighthouse/temple/tower structure would have been on the left. While dimensions for two lighthouses of that era, the lighthouse at Alexandria and the Tower of Hercules, might be used for general comparison for size, some unique factors have to be taken into account. The lighthouse/tower structure at Herod's harbor, unlike a beacon lighthouse on land would require unique construction. Beside the extra foundational strengthening needed to withstand hydrodynamic pressures, military measures would have been structurally incorporated: alignment with curtain wall and wall-walk height, wall thickness to withstand bombardment, battlement construction, all would have effected appearance, function and height. At the Tower of Hercules with an original overall height of 134-feet and a square base width of 38.5-feet and with the tower at Alexandria being 338-feet high with base width of 98-feet, the height at both towers are approximately 3.5 times base width. Though achieving a close estimate of size for the lighthouse at Herod's harbor is difficult (future excavations may reveal some information on which to draw) a general approximation is possible. To achieve a greater height for a lighthouse at Herod's harbor would have required a greater base width than that of Drusium. The increase of size for the larger towers at Jerusalem could serve as a guideline. Phasaelus was 60-feet wide. Dimensions given for a tower that Titus built is "fifty cubits"[63] or 75-feet tall. The Mariamne tower, named after Herod's wife, was also 75-feet tall.[64] Applying the Agrippa wall/tower formula of width equaling height would make these towers 75-feet wide. The increase from Phasaelus to these two towers would be 15-feet. The increase over the proposed 60-foot width of Drusium and the known 60-foot width of Phasaelus of 15-feet for the lighthouse would make it 75-feet wide. A 15-foot increase over the 75-foot wide Mariamne and Titus towers would make the lighthouse 90-feet wide, comparable to the 98-feet base width of the lighthouse at Alexandria. But considering the needed width at the harbor entrance of 60-feet for effective passage of ships, and the need, for the unique structural reasons given, for a shorter lighthouse, a conservative increase of 20-feet over Drusium's 60-foot widthwould approximate the lower range of increase of 15-feet, making for a proposed approximate base width of 80-feet for

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[62] *Wars*, 5.5.242.
[63] *Wars*, 5.7.291.
[64] Ibid., 5.4.170-71.

the outsized tower at the harbor. This would be comparable with the probable base width of 75-feet for the Mariamne and Titus towers.[65]

To get at general height, if one were to apply the tower formula of 3.5 times base-width this would have made the tower at the harbor 280-feet high. Applying the Agrippa wall formula of height equaling width would have made the outsized tower 80-feet tall. Set on top of a 36-foot tall curtain wall would have made the tower from base to top 116-feet. This would be shorter than the Tower of Hercules and far shorter than the lighthouse at Alexandria. At Jerusalem Josephus gives a wall height for the Psephinus tower of "70-cubits"[66] or 105-feet. To the 75-foot tall Mariamne tower is added "30-cubits"[67] for an overall wall height of 120-feet. So, higher fortified wall heights were certainly achievable by the Romans. But given the weight constraints of a fortified structure built on a mole, set on the sea floor, makes a 280-foot height improbable. Considering Roman ingenuity, experimentation with desired height and known structural limitations would have first been resolved to achieve a functional dimension.[68] With a necessarily heavily fortified structure due to military and hydrodynamic factors a higher, lighter lighthouse structure certainly could have been surmounted to the basic tower structure achieving an overall minimum height exceeding the 120-foot Mariamne curtain wall/tower structure and probably exceeding the 134-foot tower height at the Tower of Hercules, but shorter than the lighthouse at Alexandria. For effective military purposes a first stage wall height, up to wall walk, would have been equal to the height at Drusium. With a wall height of 96-feet at Drusium plus a 3-foot crenel height, height from base to top of crenel would have been 99-feet, right at the effective missile range of 100-feet. From that designated point the lighthouse/tower structure would have stepped in a number of feet to effectively service military activity. The rest of the structure's height, with another likely step-in, like the Hercules and Alexandrian towers, would have been dedicated to reaching an effective functional beacon height.

Towers at the Northern and Southern Moles

Given the approximate figure of 900 to 1000-feet of projection at the northern mole: a 60-foot-wide entrance combined with an 80-foot-wide tower, six 36-foot-wide common towers and six 100-foot curtain walls between towers, makes for a mole projection, including entrance, of 956-feet with a total of 7 towers at the northern mole.

With the given dimensions that the southern breakwater extended approximately 1,000-feet to the west from shore and turned north 1600-feet, and with common tower widths of 36-feet and space between of 100-feet, to include Drusium or a like sized tower width of 60-feet at the entrance, the number of towers at the southern mole would have been 20. The total number of towers at the 1000-foot section of the

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[65] For proportionate comparisons: Drusium's 60-foot width and 96-foot height is 66% taller and 33% wider than the common tower width of 36-feet and height of 72-feet. Comparing the lighthouse to Drusium: it's 80-foot width is 33% wider than Drusium and its 186-foot height is 93% taller.

[66] *Wars*, 5.4.159-60.

[67] Ibid., 5.4.172-73.

[68] Ships could very well have been sent out to sea to test varying beacon heights needed for proper guidance.

southern mole extending out to sea would have been approximately 8, while at the 1600-foot section, which ran parallel with the shore, to include Drusium, or like sized tower at the entrance, would have been 12.

PROCUMATIA, THE PROTECTOR OF THE SOUTHERN MOLE

As mentioned, concerning the southern breakwater system Josephus reports in *Antiquities,*

> ***This mole which he built by the seaside was two hundred feet wide, the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was call Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers . . .*** [69]

And in *Wars,*

> ***But when the haven was filled up to that depth, he enlarged that wall which was thus already extant above the sea, till it was two hundred feet wide; one hundred of which had buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves, whence it was called Procumatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran around it.*** [70]

As described, the whole southern end of the southern breakwater system would have been 200-feet wide. 100-feet would have been the width of the harbor mole itself, indicated by the statement, "but the rest of the space was under a stone wall that ran around it". Parallel and running west with the harbor mole and wall system, before the southern arm bent north, would have been the other 100-feet of breakwater, that was "enlarged", called *Procumatia.*[71] Indeed excavation has revealed a structure running parallel with the southern mole which Avner Raban relates was, "built of alternating segments of concrete, topped by presently displaced ashlars and rubble conglomerated with cement . . . the same patterns of material and construction were found farther along its length."[72] Presumably this would have functioned as a low-slung solid structure with a slight grade. That it was low slung is indicated because, as Josephus describes, it mitigated the effect of waves breaking on it. Raban also describes it as a "low relief" or "segmented low-lying" structure.[73]

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[69] *Antiquities,* 15.9.335-36.

[70] *Wars,* 1.21.412.

[71] In the Whiston's translation (Hendrickson, 1987) in *Antiquities* it is spelled *Procymatia*; in *Wars, Procumatia.*

[72] Avner, Raban, *The Harbour of Sebastos (Caesarea Maritima) in its Roman Mediterranean Context, ed.,* M. Artzy, B. Goodman, Z. Gal. (Oxford: Biblical Archaeological Review, International Series 1930, 2009) 102.

[73] Ibid., 102, 104.

Interestingly archaeological discovery indicates *Procumatia* was free standing,[74] which would have allowed a channel of water to lie between the southern mole and *Procumatia*. The problem with Josephus's description of a 200-feet wide mole, with *Procumatia* as an integrated part, is we get a picture, as a mole is defined, of a continuous solid structure.[75] But the material evidence thus far has been only of narrow segmented sections.[76] This has led some to deduce a breakwater system quite different from the one Josephus describes. "Based on the results of these probes, it is quite safe to reconstruct a segmented low-lying and relatively narrow breakwater that ran parallel along the southern half of the main mole."[77] Either way *Procumatia* had to have run the length of the southern arm to protect the whole harbor. But giving Josephus the benefit of doubt based on the accuracy of other descriptions, the narrow discontinuous sections now found may be the natural result of hundreds of years of erosion coming from waters south of the structure and the channel of water north, thus eroding both sides and over time leaving narrower remnants.

Another possibility is the segmented sections may represent the remnants of a robust revetment or underpinning structure the wave breakers would have required at the south face of *Procumatia*, while the rest of *Procumatia's* mole structure may have subsided overtime due to scouring. This appears to be the case in the aerial view of the harbor ruins. Where there should be a prodigious amount of material from the combined rubble of *Procumatia* and the main mole, there appears to be, in comparison, a narrower band of material left.

Structural Erosion at Herod's Harbor

The problems with a segmented breakwater is the revetment system needed to surround individual sections would mean greater length of material to install and maintain. While the gap between sections would have allowed under-trenching to

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[74] Hohlfelder, "Caesarea's Master Harbor Builders", 81.
[75] Like other named structures--the towers Drusium, Phasaelus, Mariamne or Hippicus for example--the attribution of *Procumatia* may also indicate a significant, completed, spatially whole structure.
[76] Raban, *Harbour of Sebastos*, 102-4. (See also Hohlfelder, "Herod the Great's City", 277.)
[77] Ibid., 104.

compromise the perimeter of each section and undermining channels of water to reach toward the main mole. Then, like breakwaters today, *Procumatia* as a continuous complete structure, would have provided a more effective front against pressures, in its case, coming from the south.

Continuous Mole Barriers

While a grade to *Procumatia* would have allowed water to flow back into the sea the "buildings before it, in order to break the force of the waves" is indicative of the use of what is today called "baffle blocks", as energy dissipaters. The description "buildings before it" suggests they were placed at the edge of the breakwater, which makes functional sense since they would have been the first line of protection to dissipate the force of incoming waves. As to the configuration of such structures, knowing the Roman's evident knowledge about hydrodynamic effects and hydraulic solutions, it is hard to imagine the baffle blocks they installed would not have been set, like today, in offsetting fashion.

Use of Baffle Blocks at Dam Spillways

Without it space between blocks would still allow water to affect the structure's edge. A functional continuous *Procumatia*, integrating baffle blocks into the breakwater would have advantages. One scenario is the blocks were free standing, set ahead or just south of the breakwater. But if they were set **at** the edge, which means they could not have been offsetting, they would at least have served as pier supports for the outer wall. If they were integrated, which would allow an offsetting configuration, **toward** the edge, besides protecting the baffle blocks themselves from scour, the blocks would buttress the outer wall against the force of incoming waves. With the base of the outer wall reinforced with rip-rap, such a sandwiching of the outer wall between anchored baffle blocks and rip-rap would have reinforced the overall outer edge of *Procumatia* even more.

Shoreline revetment with rip-rap

Finally, besides their collective purpose, their individual functional appearance--especially considering the great force that would have been put upon them--may have incorporated the cutwater feature to the outer face of each block. Roman use of cutwater technology is evident in numerous places where water stresses would be put upon structural supports including the bridges Pons Aemilius in Rome and Pont de Vila Formosa in Portugal.

Pons Aemilius (2nd century BC)

Pont de Vila Formosa (1st-2nd century AD)

At the Pont du Card aqueduct in southern France the base of the support piers also features the cutwater feature, the purpose of which was to reduce scouring (the main cause of bridge collapse today) by refracting energy away from the pier base. Certainly, a feature that could have had functional use at Caesarea Maritima.

Pont du Card aqueduct (AD 40-60)
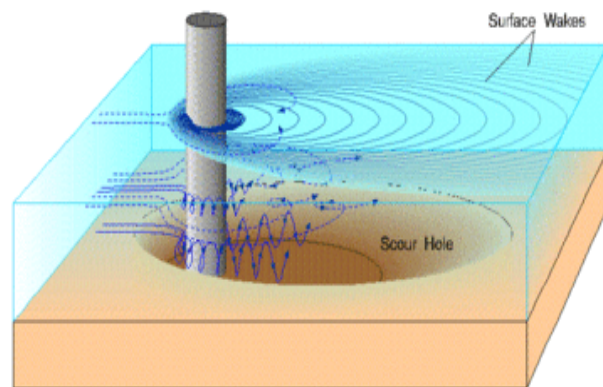
Undermining effect of scour

The configuration of *Procumatia* being 100-feet wide and unattached may also reveal military consideration. The water between the two structures would have served as a moat making it difficult to set up siege craft against the curtain wall. That *Procumatia* was built with significant width also indicates a defensive concern. The

wave breakers Josephus mentions being built in front of *Procumatia* presumably could have been built closer to the curtain wall and main mole and still served their function. But the distance chosen to place them at the limit of effective missile range, 100-feet, would mean attackers would have to cover significant ground over the surface of *Procumatia* before reaching the fortification wall, making them easier targets for archers at the wall. Interestingly, the underwater structure associated with *Procumatia* has been found to be 20-30 meters south of the main mole.[78] If this represents the southern edge of *Procumatia* where the baffle block edifices were, this correlates well with the 100-foot width given by Josephus and the effective missile range of the day.

Biographical Note

Patrick Scott Smith is a business owner, writer and independent scholar. He has given past presentations to the AAR and SBL. Presenting past material to the ASOR on Herod's Harbor in the Central, Southwest and Southeast regions, he has recently presented his anthropological/existential view to the ASSR and Missouri Academy of Science.

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[78] Ibid., 104.

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Interfaith Matters, and It Must Change

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Preface

This paper is both a reflection and an examination of the idea of interreligious engagement, encounters, and modes of moving forward within what seems to be a growing industry.

The 20th century's paradigm for interfaith dialogue was often "one mountain, many paths," and everyone on the journey would be surprised to meet each other at the top. Huston Smith's "The World's Religions" was a bestselling text that applied this theory. Such a paradigm and metaphor is no longer relevant for the 21st century, and works ranging from Rabbi Jonathan Sack's "The Dignity of Difference" to the more raucous "God is Not One" by Stephen Prothero are examples of this shift. The power of difference, perhaps even our starkest differences among our religious traditions, and not our similarities, may be what guides effective interreligious encounters in the future.

Shifts in discourse may be occurring at the academic level, but the mode of "we're all the same" and "we all believe the same things" continue to pervade the general population and no longer contribute to productive discourse. Conversely, a more polarized America has amplified the idea that America must end any sort of accommodation for religions that are deemed dangerous; the "other" is again a subject of fear and not just curiosity.

In my presentation, I intend to assess the current state of interfaith dialogue and assess key issues in moving forward. I will briefly reference Houston, Texas, as well as a case study. Houston is one of America's most diverse cities, and how Houston looks now demographically in 2016, much of America will look by 2050. I draw from my experience of sixteen years working within three different Houston communities: eight years of pastoral experience in Christian churches, six years teaching religion at the secondary school level, and now nearly three years directing the interfaith programs at Houston's oldest interfaith service organization.

Introduction

Shifts in discourse may be occurring at the academic level in regards to the study of how religions interact, but two modes of interpretation seem to be most prevalent in the general population, in my experience. The "we're all the same" and "we're all just trying to be good people" is very common. Over the past ten years that my organization has been hosting what we most commonly have called "Dinner Dialogues," those who have attended most often are of the ilk of that remark that the dinners are just another sign that we are more alike than we are different, and that we are all trying to be good people.[1] On the other side of the discourse, especially in the era of more polarized rhetoric, the language of irreconcilable differences and an inevitable clash of religious civilizations is also prevalent. In a recent email exchange, I was told that "the end of interfaith work will be 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 (the Anti-Christ sitting on his throne mimicking the real Christ to all the world); and 1 Thessalonians 5:3 (they clamor for Peace and Safety….). You should devote yourself to go

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[1] An unscientific assessment, but based upon reviewing surveys of our Dinner Dialogues for about the past five years. Also note that these events tend to attract the same cohort of people.

and make disciples. Anything less, I believe, our LORD frowns upon."[2] In other words, I'm doing the work of the Anti-Christ. *Lovely.* Other comments, in general, are not as polemic, but range from "I don't understand how you can be both a Christian minister and work with other religions" to "what is it that you do?"

Part I: Brief History of what we mean by "Interfaith"

The idea of "interfaith" is certainly not a new one, as it describes an engagement that has happened across the ages. What else can one call when one religion encounters another? So, it bears highlighting and repeating a key claim that is important in my investigation: there is no such thing as a static interfaith encounter. By this I mean that there's no interfaith place or person. No one I know describes him or herself as "interfaith."[3] Interfaith occurs in the act of collision; sometimes that collision is violent, other times it is not. Always it is *felt.* It has a visceral and tangible quality to it.

The casual reader will not find a general history of interfaith interactions; if you did a search on amazon.com for "history of interfaith" one would not find a concise history[4]; rather, one would find books such as "A History of Christianity in Africa, Asia, and Europe." One would find historical examples from particular times and particular instances. Certain particular instances are more popular to cite than others. The Crusades most likely come up as an example of an interfaith encounter based upon conflict, particularly a non-Muslim encounter based upon conflict. Of course, the argument will arise that the Crusades was not exclusively, or even primarily, a conflict based upon religious difference; however, the general public imagination tends to gravitate towards the great conflict between Islam and Christianity, and this event in particular is the example most often referred to as a foil to the notion that "only Muslims" would partake in religious war. When looking for more positive examples, an event such as what is often called the "Golden Age of Tolerance" in Andalusian Spain in the 8th and 9th centuries is highlighted as what can happen when "interfaith goes right." These are the kinds of examples that are appealed to in a post 9/11 world to either argue that all religions are capable of violence (see in particular Mark Jurgensmeyer's well-known Terror in the Mind of God) or that religions are capable of peaceful co-existence especially through service (see the work of Eboo Patel and the Interfaith Youth Core).

In the more modern era, particularly in the United States, the Rev. Bud Heckman found that most interfaith organizations, in particular those devoted dialogue and advocacy in contrast to those interfaith agencies committee to service (often seen as a safest way to gather faiths), have been around since the mid-1990's and are usually small and local.[5] The watershed event for an experience of interfaith dialogue in America is the 1893 World Parliament of Religions, and in particular the appearance of Swami Vivekenanda. In his book Beyond Tolerance, author Gustav Neibuhr outlines the experience:

> But before 1893 there had been nothing like the event toward which Vivekenanda traveled. It hardly seems an era in which human diversity, religious or otherwise, would be valued. Vivekenanda's India was firmly under British rule. In the United

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[2] Email received January 22, 2017

[3] Though there are examples of interfaith seminaries and interfaith ministers, I would still argue that such descriptions possess any coherence because they describe the confluence of different identifiable religions that exist *sui generis.*

[4] Trust me; I did one….

[5] Niehbuhr, Gustav. Beyond Tolerance: How People Across Religious Traditions Are Building Bridges Across Faiths. Penguin, 2009. P. 68

States, Native Americans had been largely and forcibly confined to reservations. The nation itself, thirty years after the Emancipation Proclamation, was becoming a society of legalized segregation, but at the same time the American religious landscape was undergoing a tectonic shift, as a flood tide of immigration, largely from Europe, built up communities of ethnic and national groups. Since the Civil War, the nation's Roman Catholic population had tripled, to 9 million, 1 in 7 Americans. Jews, far fewer to begin with, were undergoing an even more rapid increase. From a population of 250,000 in 1885, they would grow exponentially to 3 million Americans by 1914.[6]

Niebuhr continues to narrate that it was against this backdrop that the largely Protestant communities in Chicago would convene this forum of different religious faiths, a place where people "of all faiths may speak for themselves without hindrance, without criticism and without compromise, and tell what they believe and why they believe it."[7]

The 1893 Parliament should not in itself be considered an oddity but in many ways a bellwether. The 1890's were years of rapid change in transportation as well as communication. Global imperialism also meant greater, though unequal, interactions between cultures. Christian missionaries were reassessing whether evangelism by religious superiority was actually the best way to spread the gospel. Entrenched racism was about to also enter a phase of resistance, whether it was Gandhi in South Africa or WEB DuBois in the United States, one born in 1868, the other in 1869.

I think the point I want to make in this section, is that the idea of "interfaith" as a word or a field of study or a phenomenon in itself is a relatively modern event, and most likely a very modern construct based upon post-Enlightenment concepts, in particular the notion of the "perennial philosophy," which I will touch upon in a moment.

Part II: Where We Are Now: Houston as Home Base

Let me fast-forward 100 years. I first came to Houston, Texas in 1998. I had never lived in the South; in fact, I had never lived south of Washington, DC in my life. Diversity in my 18 years in Wisconsin meant that we had Poles and Germans, Catholics and Lutherans, though in my later teenage years my town in north-central Wisconsin would become a resettlement mecca for the Laotian hill people known as the Hmong. Six years in DC, three in Cambridge, MA, and now the past nearly 19 years in a sprawling southern-ish city. Nine of those years have been serving within the context of Christian congregations (urban and suburban), six were teaching at the secondary school level, and now I have nearly three years working at an organization that has "interfaith" as part of its name (though it is not a religious organization).

Between 2000 and 2010, Houston added 1.2 million people, more than any other metropolitan area in the country.[8] In addition, Houston is described as the nation's most diverse region. In an email conversation with Dr. Steve Klineberg, Professor of Sociology at Rice University and founding sociologist of the Houston Area Survey, one of the longest running (now in its 35th year) surveys of any major urban area in the country, he supports this claim by using "the 'entropy index,' a measure of how well represented are all four of America's major racial/ethnic groups in any particular population. Houston today (as of the

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[6] Ibid. p. 69

[7] Ibid. p 70

[8] "Houston Region Grows More Racially/Ethnically Diverse, With Small Declines in Segregation." A Joint Report Analyzing Census Data from 1990, 2000, and 2010. A report of the Kinder Institute for Urban Research & the Hobby Center for the Study of Texas.

census of 2010) has a more equal distribution among Anglos, Latinos, blacks, and Asians than any other metro region in the nation. In sum, Houston is where America's four major communities meet, in greater balance and equality than anywhere else in the nation, *all* of us now 'minorities,' all of us called on to build something that has never existed before in human history -- a truly successful, inclusive, equitable, and united multiethnic society, made up of all the peoples and religions of the world, that will be Houston, and Texas, and America as the 21st century unfolds."[9] With this ethnic diversity tends to come then religious, cultural, and country-of-origin diversity, creating opportunities for people of diverse religious traditions to interact, or, at the very least, live in the same region; it should be noted that the document I am quoting is titled, "Houston Region Grows More Racially/Ethnically Diverse, With Small Declines in Segregation." Again, a diverse region doesn't mean one has to interact with people different than you.

Klineberg's work is also well-known for positing that the way Houston looks now demographically will be how much of America will look in 2050; therefore, Houston can be seen been a good laboratory for how America will work out its future demographic shifts. Regardless of policy, one could close the borders today, and unless one started throwing certain demographics out of the country in large amounts, particularly those considered "minorities," and it would make no difference. When it comes to America become more "diverse," that metaphorical ship sailed a long time ago.

<center>Part III: Differences More Important?</center>

I, by no means, want to state that Houston is a perfect city, nor is it the only city in world that has different people living in it. But my overall experiences in Houston can be summarized in three ways:

1. Houston is diverse, but it also quite segregated, and more segregated by class than by race.
2. Houston's status as proof that diversity can "work" (whatever that means) may be as much due to a stable economy with a wide range of mid-skill jobs than to any sort of virtue of its being a tolerant city.
3. Houston benefits from being very large geographically; our ten-county region is bigger than the state of New Jersey. Having so much space can allow for a diverse region but still mean that interaction can be avoided if desired.

Much of my thinking about diversity and religions began prior to my work within a community-based interfaith agency. My reflection began over the course of four years teaching religion and ethics electives (as well as classes in the study of literature which were equally as informative to my thinking). I could never quite find a religion textbook that I really liked, so I ended up trying multiple textbooks and multiple approaches. Such an experience was incredibly informative but quite stressful, and it is a pedagogical approach that I would not endorse.

What I discovered in my time teaching religion, which meant teaching students born anywhere between 1991 and 2000, can be encapsulated in the battle between Huston Smith and Stephen Prothero. Smith, of course, is the author of what was known in 1958 as The Religions of Man, now published as The World's Religions. His book is an illustrative example of the concept known as Perennialism. Made most famous by Aldous Huxley and his 1944 book The Perennial Philosophy, the definition he uses goes like this:

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[9] Email from Dr. Steve Klineberg, February 10, 2017

> The metaphysic that recognizes a divine reality substantial to the world of things and lives and minds, the psychology that finds in the soul similar to, or even identical with, divine Reality; the ethic that places man's final end in the knowledge of the immanent and transcendent Ground of all being—the thing is immemorial and universal.[10]

Jeff Kripal at Rice University, in his fascinating religion textbook Comparing Religions, does an excellent job summarizing and contextualizing the modern Perennialism.[11] Much of this modern manifestation has been brought about with the rise of comparative religion. Kripal notes that the 1960's reform movements, whether civil rights, women, sexuality, or counterculture, brought about the three major comparative categories of race, class, and gender; I can attest that my American Studies program in the mid-1990s studied this trio extensively. These critical categories would place religion clearly in their sights, and religions were ripe for critique in these areas. Kripal also notes the influence of the 1960's counterculture, the rise in the appeal of altered states of consciousness, and thus a surging interest in Hindu and Buddhist meditative practices. Counterculture was more than about protest and reform; it was also about seeking a higher state of being. The cover to The Beatles *Sgt Pepper's Lonely Heart Club Band* is a cast study highlighting the prominence of such thinking, as it featured four Indian spiritual teachers as well as Aldous Huxley.

Beyond cultural comparativism and critique, the increase of cultural exchange, experienced religiously with our aforementioned Swami Vivekananda's visit to the 1893 Parliament, gained momentum as immigration laws shifted in the mid-1960's. All these forces and more came to manifest themselves in the academic study of religion with the establishment of comparative studies department in the 1960's, and the creation of such entities such as the American Academy of Religion, founded in 1964. Kripal thus concludes that it was the counterculture movement, and not colonialism, that supported the comparative study of religion in the United States.

Thus we come to the Perennialism of people like Huxley, made popular in religion textbooks by people like Huston Smith. I most often encounter this philosophy in those comments from our dinner dialogues that say things like "we're all the same," or "all religions are the same," or simply "we are all one." The "one mountain/many paths" metaphor fits in this category as well. Regardless of concerns with this approach, when people like Gandhi and the Dalai Lama are basically saying the same thing, how can one argue?

It was then, when I thought I was being clever, that I looked in-depth at Stephen Prothero's 2010 book God Is Not One, and even had the brilliant idea of using it in the classroom as our text. Let's just say it did not go well, but it had nothing to do with the quality of Prothero's scholarship, though the students interestingly found his more casual (approachable?) and sometimes biting wit a bit off-putting. I think the primary issue is that Prothero respectfully though clearly takes Huston Smith and Aldous Huxley to task. In his response to this idea that all religions are the same and that basically the differences are in the non-essentials, Prothero responds:

> This is a lovely sentiment but it is dangerous, disrespectful, and untrue. For more than a generation we have followed scholars and sages down the rabbit hole into a fantasy world in which all gods are one. This wishful thinking is motivated in part by an understandable rejection of the exclusivist missionary view that only you and your kind will make it to heaven or Paradise. For most of world history, human beings have seen religious rivals as inferior to themselves—practitioners of empty rituals,

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[10] Kripal, Jeffrey. Comparing Religions. Wiley-Blackwell 2014. P. 71
[11] Ibid. See pp 67-71

perpetrators of bogus miracles, purveyors of fanciful myths. The Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century popularizes the ideal of religious tolerance, and we are doubtless better for it. But the idea of religious unity is wishful thinking nonetheless, and it has not made the world a safer place. In fact, this naïve theological groupthink—call it Godthink—has made the world more dangerous by blinding us to the classes of religions that threaten us worldwide. It is time we climbed out of the rabbit hole and back to reality.[12]

While he may state his case too strongly, and he certainly simplifies Smith's approach, this is where I find myself: wondering if we are at the end of a certain phase of interfaith encounters or at least the language we use to talk about interfaith, and whether or not we are at the beginning of a new era of interfaith. That, of course, may also be too strongly worded.

Conclusion

The title of this paper is "Interfaith Matters, and It Must Change." Of course, the engagement between religions is important; that is the definition of "interfaith." No one is inherently "interfaith." No one describes themselves as "interfaith." The word only makes sense when religions interact, which happens all the time. The idea that it must change is due to the fact that is *has* changed, and perhaps it is time for the "rules of engagement" to change again.

I am not sure what that next step in evolution is, but I think there are three critical areas that need to be explored:

1. Perhaps the struggles of difference and similarity among religions are part of the larger struggle in which we find ourselves, especially with how we deal with the thorny concept of *diversity*. In his short but fascinating TED talk at the Spence School in New York City, educational consultant Derrick Gay posits that there is a structural flaw with how we talk about diversity because we talk about diversity as an identity. [13] Some people have it, others will never have it. We have "diverse" groups that will benefit, and the "other" group that will either not benefit or for whom it is not urgent. He also claims that we have made difference an identity, rather than that nexus in which difference comes in contact with others. If difference is an identity, some people contribute to it and others will not. Until we figure out a way to convince people that everyone benefits from being part of a religiously diverse society, and that everyone has a role to play in this society, we will continue to struggle.

2. I ponder the balance between the universal and the particular. Here I use the work of Rabbi Jonathan Sacks' The Dignity of Difference as the point of departure. He states:

   The faith of Israel proclaims the oneness of God and the plurality of man. It moves beyond both tribalism and its antithesis, universalism. Tribalism and its modern counterpart, nationalism, assumes there is one god (or 'spirit' or 'race' or 'character') for each nation. Universalism contends that there is one God- and therefore one truth, one way, one creed-for all humanity. Neither does justice to the human other, the stranger who is not in my image but is nevertheless in God's image. Tribalism

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[12] Prothero, Steven. God is Not One: The Eight Rival Religions that Run the World—and Why Their Differences Matter. HarperOne, 2010. P. 3

[13] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQ3iaf0omoY. Derrick Gay, "The Double-Edged Sword of Diversity. Spence School, January 28, 2014. Uploaded February 14, 2014.

denies rights to the outsider. Universalism grants rights if and only if the outsider converts, conforms, assimilates, and thus ceases to be an outsider. Tribalism turns the concept of a people into that of a master race. Universalism turns the truth of a single culture into the measure of humanity.[14]

I often tell people, in my work out in faith communities, that I am not interested in creating some religious goo of sameness. I am not interested in some form of religious Esperanto. I would propose that we are seeing an end to a sort of universalism, manifested in the "one mountain, many paths" analogy, but we must be careful not to swing back to a variation of tribalism. To become political for a moment, we must take care that our burgeoning political nationalism not influence our religious sensibilities.

I'm not sure even if "pluralism" is the right way to go. In fact, I wonder if "interfaith" as a descriptor has outlived its useful life. Religion will always encounter religion; what need is there to try and categorize and systematize it? To label it as a certain kind of interfaith encounter in a long string of interfaith encounters? Perhaps the word, and it doesn't matter if the word is "interfaith," "multifaith," (which MS Word does not recognize!) "interreligious" or whatever it may be, perhaps it doesn't really matter in the end; perhaps some theory in interreligious encounter is moot in that it will always happen.

3. Finally, if interfaith is about encounter, then it is also about who has the power to dictate the rules of engagement. This, most likely, would be the topic of a more focused follow-up paper. Who gets to declare what "faiths" are included, and who gets to dictate how the "inter" occurs?

It is very much my assertion that "interfaith matters." It will continue to matter because it will not cease from happening. So, when I make the claim this notion of "interfaith" may need to go away or that has outlived its life, it's not because it's not important. It really is. The death of god, gods, religion, spirituality, atheism, belief, non-belief, the religious "nones," these are not going away. We are not becoming a less religious country or world; our notions of religion may be, in the end, what's changing, and if religion is changing, then the language we use to describe the encounters between these religions needs to change as well.

Biographical Note

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The Cosmic Heresy of William Pierce

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Stormfront.org is an online site that contains thousands of discussions and blogs about various topics that interest people who self-identify as white nationalist. Some belong to groups such as the Ku Klux Klan while others are exploring what is out there. Many of the members of the Stormfront site have an interest in religion. Even though William Pierce, the founder of the neo-Nazi group, National Alliance and creator of Cosmotheism, has been dead for 14 years, his voice can still be heard among some of his followers on Stormfront. This paper is a discussion about his religious and philosophical perspective and how his ideas continue to resonate with a new generation of white racial activists.

Heresies are schools of thought that contrast with basic tenets of traditional Christian belief systems. They often reflect viewpoints of people who self-identify as Christian but whose attitudes and beliefs differ from much of what is contained in the *Bible*. Some of the most notable differences depend on individual interpretations of scriptures. Many Christian heresies emanated from issues with the nature of the Trinity and even more specifically, the atonement of Jesus Christ. Following World War II, challenges to the orthodox Christian belief system in the United States occurred with a spate of new religious movements and updated versions of old heresies that sometimes included conspiracy theories. According to Douthat (2012) there are two strains of thought closely associated with the United States: 1) messianism and 2) apocalypticism that must be understood when evaluating heretical belief systems.

The messianic strain is visible in the notion that the United States has a special role to play as God's instrument in history. While many Europeans find the idea unsettling, fundamentalist and orthodox Christians tend to put their trust in God rather than any earthly power. The apocalyptic strain of thought is a lure for political conservatives who view the nation's founding as a covenant event, similar to the establishment of the state of Israel for Jewish people (Douthat, 2012). Politicians such as Mike Huckabee and Ted Cruz exemplify elements of both ideologies in their campaign rhetoric and books. Pseudo-religious perspectives popular among racists in various American extremist groups also contain ideologies that utilize both messianism and apocalypticism in their teachings and interpretations of Biblical scripture.

An example of a pseudo-religious movement is Christian Identity (CI). During the 1930s and 1940s, under the charismatic leadership of Identity minister Wesley Swift and his mentor, Gerald L. K. Smith, California became a focal point for extremist ideology based on CI doctrine (Milwicki, 2014/2015). During this time, many ordinary Americans joined the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups, in part, because they distrusted both Catholics and Jews. They were also generally uncomfortable with new immigrant groups that were not of northern European heritage. Swift presented his teachings in a way that reinforced the importance of white racial identity and elevated white culture as preferred by a God whose image mirrored that of white Americans. Additionally, Swift's followers along with other

Americans believed that Jewish bankers controlled world affairs and were a threat to the American way of life (Ridgeway, 1990). By mid-decade, a movement was on the rise that combined support for ultra-conservative values and enthusiasm for 'old time religion' as preached by Swift, along with antipathy toward welfare recipients, trade unionists, liberals and people with leftist political leanings.

There was also a heightened sense of nationalism among the American population during the 1940s. The United States was believed to be, above all, a Christian nation ordained by God to combat communists, Jews and other non-Christian immigrants. Both world wars had made Americans distrustful of foreigners and people were grappling with rapid changes in American society that included civil rights initiatives for African Americans and the early stages of the women's liberation movement. During the civil rights era, Christian churches were relatively unified behind ending segregation although they were separated by race, region, and social class during times of worship. According to Douthat (2015: pg. 49), Catholics and most Protestants supported Martin Luther King's attempts at desegregation even though southern Evangelicals such as Billy Graham, Sr. were somewhat less enthusiastic. It was during this time that mainstream Christian churches experienced divisions across denominations that opened doors for leaders such as physics professor, William Pierce, to sell a new religion he called Cosmotheism to disenfranchised whites under the rubric of his neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance.

This paper begins with an overview of the life of William Pierce, one of the first intellectuals to found a group associated with the white supremacist movement in the United States. What follows is an overview of Cosmotheism, a religion Pierce founded in the late 1970s when he established his racist compound in West Virginia. Some leaders in the movement familiar with both Pierce and the National Alliance suggest that the whole reason for Cosmotheism was to provide a tax break for Pierce's other activities which included authoring numerous books and periodicals, hosting a radio show, and mobilizing new young recruits to his group (Billy Roper, personal communication, September 4, 2007). Whatever his motive, Pierce's world view gathered a following and is still present in discussions on *Stormfront.org*, an Internet Web site for people who self-identify as white nationalist. Some of these discussions will be analyzed in the findings section. His thought also influenced other racial leaders such as Wilmot Robertson (1992) and David Duke (2000) and has a presence in assorted extremist blogs and other sites online such as http://williamlutherpierce.blogspot.com/2011/09/dr-pierces-national-alliance-policy.html. Concluding statements about Pierce's legacy suggest that his ideologies and belief systems are still key factors for a segment of the population that is represented in *Stormfront.org*, other online sites that focus on the importance of race, and in various extremist groups.

WHITE GENES, WHITE SURVIVAL

William Pierce was born in 1933 in Atlanta, Georgia. He was the great, great grandson of Thomas Hill Watts, attorney general of the Confederacy and governor of Alabama. After earning a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Colorado, Pierce went to work at the University of Oregon where he taught during the 1960s. Pierce found the civil rights movement an anathema and was disgusted by many of his students who were active in the counterculture during that time. In 1968 he left academia and after the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell, Pierce took over the leadership of the American Nazi Party. In 1974 he formed his own white-supremacist group, The National Alliance, which was based in West Virginia.

According to Zeskind (2009: pg. 66), Pierce's primary concern centered on the preservation of white genes during an era he perceived of as one in steeped in "racial decay." Although Pierce was not a fan of the survivalist movement, he felt that his belief system was one that survivalists, in general, could embrace if steered in the right direction. Philosophically he had problems with the survivalist mentality because of their individualist rather than collective understanding of the importance of advancing the white race.   For example, Pierce thought the practice of building individual home bomb shelters and other structures, should be replaced with the creation of self-sufficient all white enclave communities. Although similar in theory to Elohim City and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, compounds formed by practitioners of extremist religions such as Christian Identity, Pierce condemned any religious based community on the grounds that Christian values were useless for the survival of the white race.

Stridently anti-Semitic in addition to being racist, Pierce was a student of Hitler's National Socialism. Genetic reasons for racial differences were always at the top of his mind and he believed that religions of the Middle East (including Christianity) did not meet the needs of northern Europeans whom he considered superior to any other racial or ethnic group. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, white racial consciousness became a cornerstone for collective activities organized by Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, Henry Beach of Posse Comitatus, along with emergent neo-Nazi and skinhead groups (Ridgeway, 1990). Fully aware of what was happening within the broader movement, Pierce was more interested in attracting racially aware college students than the rough and tumble crowd that populated other groups some of which were mentioned above (JBHE Foundation, 2001). His interest in an intelligent, resurgent white racial community is one of the things that led him to create Cosmotheism and the Cosmotheist Community Church anchored by National Alliance.

COSMOTHEISM: PIERCE'S NATURAL RELIGION

For William Pierce, Cosmotheism was the embodiment of fundamental truths about the nature of the universe. One of his goals was to formulate a verifiable reason why humans were created in the first place and what their role was meant to be in the vastness of the cosmos. For Pierce, Cosmotheism rejected all supernatural and unverifiable communications between a deity (God) and man. His scientific education informed his interpretation of the evolution of life from both 1) non-living matter and 2) lower forms of life. The basic tenets of Cosmotheism are contained in three essays written by Pierce. The first essay, "The Path" was written in 1977; the second "Cosmotheism: On Living Things" in 1979; and "Cosmotheism: On Society" in 1984. Each will be summarized below.

Pierce begins his first essay with the homily "Life is short, our brothers and sisters. Must it also be empty? Must it also be bitter? Must its passing hold terror?" He states that his goal with the creation of Cosmotheism is to show humans the meaning and the purpose of life through the unfettered truth that man, the world, and the creator are not separate but united in one purpose: self-completion of the self-created. He assures anyone who joins the Cosmotheist community that they will become enlightened or People of the Rune[1] known for their knowledge, consciousness, discipline, and service. His essay implores converts to become consciously aware of who they are (implicit in his words are racially conscious). He

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[1] Rune is a reference to the ancient German alphabet with mysterious or magic significance.

states that this knowledge requires receptiveness and diligence, good will, and pure motive. Once achieved adherents must serve the creator's purpose of uplifting their race and completing the first step to enlightenment.

In his second essay, Pierce begins to formulate his theory about the importance of racial purity. He stresses the importance of living potential through physical or spiritual sustenance from which the awakened ones arise (Cosmotheists). Specifically, things that can harm physical sustenance are spiritual poisoning by alien (inferior) racial stock and intermixing of blood through intermarriage. Achieving racial purity is the highest standard for enlightened men (Cosmotheists). According to Pierce, the only way to maintain a higher level of consciousness and ensure superior stock from which higher man sustains himself is linked to "immanent consciousness of the Whole in him." Avoiding race mixing is the goal because, according to Pierce, each race follows a different (and for non-whites a less perfect) course along the Path of Life. When races are mixed, the inner sense of direction is lost and with it the potential for attaining "Divine Consciousness." He urges Cosmotheists to multiply and protect future generations by shielding them from diversity. Taking a page from Darwin, Pierce writes "He shall act as the wolf and the winter have acted, pruning and selecting; and he shall act as have all those forces of the Whole which changed the seed of his stock."

In the third and final essay of the series, Pierce reinforces the importance of separation of the races. The goals for members of the Cosmotheist Church are to keep their stock pure by practicing endogamy and to self-segregate in all-white communities. His basic Cosmotheist tenets stress acquisition of knowledge, higher order consciousness based on race, discipline, and service to the community. Perhaps his most important message is the importance of passing on these ideas through generations. Since the final essay focuses on society, Pierce is highly critical of concepts of equality as laid out in the Constitution of the United States. He stresses survival of the white race, doing what is right (for the white race), order, and progress. Defense of the white community is his top social ideal. He warns that there is no place in the community for anyone who teaches that intermarriage is permissible or that all men are equal. Pierce's vision of the community is reminiscent of the old 1950s nuclear family (white and heterosexual) with a father, a mother, and children. This type of family is destined (in Pierce's utopian vision) to follow the path toward racial supremacy and ultimately redemption.

Although Pierce never embraced Christian Identity or even mainstream Christianity for that matter, his focus on racially pure communities is much in line with white ethno-nationalist thought. Wilmot Robertson (1992) was a proponent of balkanization or breaking up the United States into small independent regions based on race. Much like Pierce's vision of community, Robertson called for a new form of government that would support autonomous, self-sufficient collectives called ethnostates. Religion in this new world would be a component of culture, nothing more. In 1995 when *Stormfront.org* first went fully online, one of the first discussion forums was called Pioneer Little Europes that supported the establishment of all white communities. In 2016, the forum is still active and discussants still sing the praises of self-segregation based on race. Much of the ideology embraced by white nationalists is more apocalyptic than messianic in that their vision of the perfect community is a racial covenant that cannot and should not be broken.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this paper was collected from *Stormfront.org*, the first hate related site to come fully 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 means 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 William Pierce and Cosmotheism came from three discussion sub-forums in the following forums: 1) Ideology and Philosophy; 2) Politics & Continuing Crises; and 3) Theology. An outside link (http://williamlutherpierce.blogspot.com/2011/09/dr-pierces-national-alliance-policy.html) posted by a guest on *Stormfront.org* is an additional source of information that is included in the Findings section.

Analysis of the archived *Stormfront.org* data began on July 10, 2016. The discussion forums were stored as rich text formatted documents on a flash drive. Nvivo, a computer software program designed to aid users in handling non-numerical and unstructured data, was used to help analyze the data. Nvivo is the updated version of NUD*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data*Indexing Searching and Theorizing software). Nvivo looks for keywords and text that pertains to specific research questions. Some of the key words used in this search include: 1) Cosmotheism; 2) National Alliance; 3) Jews; and 4) white culture. After searching for the keyword, Nvivo generates a node report which lists the sentences in which the keyword appears. Relevant text is automatically coded in a separate document and a printout of coded data is generated in a report format which serves as raw data. Since the threads used in this analysis contained so many pages of data, the researcher deleted duplicate posts and posts that contained only one or two word responses that did not add to the conversation.

With regard to privacy for people whose posts are used in this article, the number of users in a forum is key. If there are only 10 individuals posting in a forum, informed consent is more important than in the case of a forum containing 100 users (Eysenbach and Till, 2001, p. 1104). Only threads containing more than 10 individual discussants were used in this analysis. Stormfront discussants generally use pseudonyms rather than their real names, however, there are exceptions that I include comments about in the Findings. The site also has a high degree of accessibility online and messages can be read by anyone. Users are informed of this fact by site administrator, Don Black, on the homepage.

FINDINGS

The first sub-forum analyzed for this paper was titled Cosmotheist Ideology/Philosophy that was started on January 31, 2015 at 8:23 AM by a discussant named Will Williams (https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1086271/). It is unclear if this is a

pseudonym but it appears not since Williams has a presence on *Stormfront.org*. There were 16 threads (pages) in this sub-forum which contained 158 posts. After deleting duplicates and one or two word responses, there were a total of 137 posts. Williams begins the discussion with the following statement:

> This topic is for expression of Dr. William Pierce's Nietzschean world view. Articles by him will be posted here as well as links to the National Alliance's American Dissident Voices broadcasts which follow the Founder's Cosmotheist teachings.

The discussion starts with several remarks about the importance and continued significance of Pierce's influence on the white nationalist movement. Several people share links to some of his speeches and videos. Not all discussants were familiar with Pierce's legacy.

> Could somebody explain what Cosmotheism is about? Wikipedia doesn´t give any information about this. Is it something about the Cosmo being the super power/god? (VitezSrpstvo, 02-01-2015 07:07 AM)

Will Williams (02-02-2015 03:41 PM) gives a lengthy answer that begins with this response:

> Something like that. :rolleyes: Wikipedia won't tackle that question from a White racial perspective.

He suggests Robert Griffin's book, *Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds* and Pierce's three pamphlets as sources for a better understanding of Cosmotheism and Dr. Pierce's worldview.

Discussant Michael Olanich (02-03-2015 12:16 AM) posted an interview with one of William Pierce's closest friends and long-term associates, Mr. Fred Streed, that provides further insights into Cosmotheism.

> Cosmotheism is simply a religious world-view based on a scientific understanding of Nature, at least to the extent we do understand reality. Scientific advances that alter our understanding of reality also help us achieve the one Purpose of life, which is to advance to higher states of consciousness and understanding. That is what Cosmotheism is. Contrast that with the dogma of the Christian churches, which resists changes in our understanding.

When asked where Jews fit into Pierce's worldview, Streed had this to say which is reflective of Pierce's anti-Semitic beliefs:

> Life, at least life on this planet, as we all know, advances by becoming better adapted to its environment — it evolves new forms to take advantage of new or changed environments. Less adapted, less fit, life forms cannot compete, and are displaced and die out. The point of all that is that advancement in the complexity and fitness of life came about as a result of competition and the overcoming of adversity. That is where the Jew comes into the picture. The Jew is destruction incarnate. He is parasitism and degeneracy and chaos, toxic to all life. He is self-selected for this role. His purpose is to winnow the chaff from

the grain, metaphorically speaking. The Jew brings rot and decadence. His personality is toxic. This shows in the Jews' preference for scatological humor, their championing of the sick, the weak, the base. But nowhere is it more clear than in their attacks on human sexuality, that most sacred of all our drives. The Jew poisons our reproductive urge with his promotion of homosexual sex, abortion, interracial sex, feminism, "gay" marriage, and endless further combinations of filth and degeneracy. He counters our art with anti-art, he counters our high culture with trash cinema and boob-tube debauchery, he counters our sacred genome with the promotion of mixing with Congoids and Mestizos.

The discussion continues and ends with more sharing of anecdotes from Dr. Pierce's life, encouragement for newcomers to the movement to explore National Alliance as a group to join, and more postings of videos, links, and images of Dr. Pierce.

The second sub-forum titled simply Cosmotheism contained three threads and 23 posts (https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t853934/). Since this was a short discussion with essentially no duplicate posts, no deletions were made by the author. A discussant called lord flints volunteer posted the following question on December 20, 2011 at 3:32 PM:

Would someone put up a short basic explanation of Cosmotheism.
This is something new to me.

Whiteideology responded with the following post (12-20-2011, 4:49 PM):

Cosmotheism is a religion which positively asserts there is an internal meaning and purpose in life and in the cosmos. There is an essential unity, or consciousness that binds all living beings and all of the inorganic cosmos, as one. And what our true identity is this: we are the cosmos, made self-aware and self-conscious by evolution. Our undeniable human purpose, is to know and to complete ourselves as conscious individuals, and also as a self-aware species, and thereby to co-evolve with the cosmos towards total and universal awareness, and towards the ever-higher perfection of consciousness and being.

What follows is a series of posts of different links, recordings by Dr. Pierce, and discussions of some of his ideas about religion and life. Discussant James Harting (08-03-2012, 12:05 PM) states:

It seems to me more than coincidental that so many of the most-penetrating intellects of the White racialist movement eventually came to the conclusion that the core issue is actually religion, and not race.

My mentor when I first became active in the Movement was James H. Madole, who led a tiny neo-NS group called the National Renaissance Party. In addition to his racial nationalist beliefs, Madole also had a personal, non-political interest in the occult and paranormal. Over time, he developed his own version of Ariosophy, a neo-Germanic heathen belief system. By the end of its existence in the late 1970s, Madole had

transformed the NRP from a radical political street activist group into what was essentially the church of a new Aryan religion.

I saw this transformation coming, and it did not suit me, so in 1971 I rejoined the National Socialist White Peoples Party, to which I had belonged briefly as a teenager back in the 1960s. The commander of the NSWPP was Matt Koehl, whose perception of National-Socialism was essentialy religious. By 1983, Koehl had abandoned the political pursuit of National-Socialism in favor of a spiritual approach. The NSWPP was disbanded and reformed as the NEW ORDER, which continues to exist to this day. (See my signature for web site address.)

I never joined the National Alliance, but I worked with William Pierce in the spring and summer of 1984. Pierce's conception of Cosmotheism, likewise, grew out what was originally a political-racialist ideology. (Or perhaps it is more correct to say that Pierce's racialist worldview and spiritual insights co-evolved, parallel to one another.)

Other major Movement thnkers whose perception of White racialism was in essence religious include George Lincoln Rockwell and Ben Klassen. If we include the type of occultism that initially interested James Madole as a form of spiritual or relgious belief, then we can also add the pre-War movement of William Dudley Pelley, the Silver Shirts, to the the list.

To repeat my initial point: it seems to me more than just a coicidence that all of these great thinkers began with White racialism, and ended up with (non-Christian) Aryan spiritual renewal as their goal.

Later in the forum Southern Courtesy (10-03-2015, 6:34 AM) adds:

I'm interested. I'm non-religious, and anti-Christianity, but I want to read more about Cosmotheism (as it relates to William Pierce). I salute Creators for having a pro-white creed that seems original and does not need to rob or rewrite the "Abrahamic" religions.

Old Fritz posted the following statement (07-13-2013, 3:21 AM):

Cosmotheism doesn't offer protection or salvation in any way that's likely to be important to Joe Blow on the street.

If those people who have the theoretical religious gene are inclined to be racialists, they will, as they've proven in the past, find a way to adjust their beliefs accordingly without shirking the tenets of their current faith. If that means pounding a square peg into a round hole then so be it.

I'm a great admirer of Dr. Pierce, and have never encountered another White Racialist thinker in America who's way of looking at the world was so compatible with my own, but this Cosmotheism idea of his just never clicked with me. Even if I consider that every aspect of it is valid enough, as far as such philosophies go, the concept of it being somehow required to be the best that we can be, is lacking.

The sub-forum ends with a series of statements by discussant Will Williams on the importance of Cosmotheism to the White Nationalist experience.

The final sub-forum that will be discussed was titled How Erich Gliebe Destroyed the National Alliance (https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t992964-4/). Gliebe succeeded Pierce as leader of the group following his death. Not all of Pierce's followers approved of Gliebe and eventually the organization fell apart. As with many discussions and blogs on Stormfront, there were links to Pierce's audio and video broadcasts, recommended books and articles, and general supportive comments about his legacy and contributions to the white nationalist movement. This discussion was contained in seven threads with 67 total posts. After deletion of duplicate posts, there were a total of 60 in the final document used in the analysis. The guest began his entry with the following comment:

NOTE: The following was written by Dr. Pierce in 1992 and included in the original edition of the National Alliance Membership Handbook (pages 46-51). Unfortunately, this entire important policy guideline -- that some would say is what set the National Alliance apart from other pro-White organizations -- was removed altogether in the second edition that was published by those who took over the National Alliance after the death of its Founder and Guiding Light for 30+ years, Dr. William L. Pierce.

I am including excerpts of this material because it offers more insights into the thinking behind William Pierce's personal philosophy and general ideology that influenced generations of white racial activists.

"The National Alliance is not a religious organization, in the ordinary sense of the term. It does, however, have to concern itself with religious matters, because religions influence the behavior of people, society, and governments. The doctrines of various religious groups— Christians, Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, et al.—deal with the temporal as well as spiritual matters and therefore often conflict with National Alliance doctrine.

Christian doctrines are of much greater concern to the National Alliance than the doctrines of other large religious groups, because Christianity is the most influential religion in the United States, Europe, and the rest of the White world. Most members of the National Alliance come from families which are, or a generation ago were, at least nominally Christian, and very few come from families which practice or practiced, Islam, Buddhism, or other religions. Furthermore, the history of our race for the last thousand years has been inextricably bound up with Christianity. The National Alliance really cannot avoid taking positions

regarding Christian beliefs and practices, despite the complications this causes our work.

The immediate and inevitable fact which forces us to come to grips with Christianity is that the mainstream Christian churches are all, without exception, preaching a doctrine of White racial extinction. They preach racial egalitarianism and racial mixing. They preach non-resistance to the takeover of our society by non-Whites. It was the Christian churches, more than any other institution, which paralyzed the will of White South Africans to survive. It is the Christian establishment in the United States which is preeminent in sapping the will of White Americans to resist being submerged in the non-White tide sweeping across the land. Most Christian authorities collaborate openly with the Jews, despite the contempt and abuse they receive in return, and the rest at least follow Jewish policies on the all-important matter of race. The occasional anomaly—a Catholic bishop in Poland speaking out angrily against Jewish arrogance, a few Protestant groups in the United States expressing sympathy for oppressed Palestinians—does not invalidate the rule.

We are obliged, therefore, to oppose the Christians churches and to speak out against their doctrines. But we do not, as some groups have done, accuse the Christian leaders of being false Christians……Beyond the immediate conflict on racial matters there is a long-standing and quite fundamental ideological problem with Christianity. It is not an Aryan religion; like Judaism and Islam it is Semitic in origin, and all its centuries of partial adaptation to Aryan ways have not changed its basic flavor. It was carried by a Jew, Saul of Tarsus (later known as Paul), from the Levant to the Greco-Roman world. Its doctrines that the meek shall inherit the earth and that the last shall be the first found fertile soil among the populous slave class in Rome. Centuries later, as Rome was succumbing to an internal rot in which Christianity played no small part, legions of Roman conscripts imposed the imported religion on the Celtic and Germanic tribes to the north."

DISCUSSION

William Pierce has been dead for 14 years and his organization foundered after his demise. Will Williams, one of the discussants in these sub-forums, appears to be trying to revive the organization amidst law suits and in-fighting that often characterize groups that are part of the broader contemporary white supremacist movement in the United States. Williams linked the most recent Internet Web site for National Alliance in one of his posts https://natall.com/about/what-is-the-national-alliance/. Some of the recent discussants seem to have an interest in learning more about what is happening with National Alliance. Others were unfamiliar with William Pierce, Cosmotheism, and his general ideology. One must assume these discussants are young and perhaps not born until after Pierce died. One must also remember that sites such as Stormfront.org are places where individuals can go to learn more about the movement, exchange ideas and learn from older members who are

trying to recruit, sell books and other items, and spread the word to a new generation of white racial activists.

Pierce's legacy goes beyond Cosmotheism and philosophy. He is probably better known for his authorship of *Hunter* and *The Turner Diaries*, books that influenced Timothy McVeigh the Oklahoma City bomber. Robert Griffin (2001) writes that Pierce did not intend for either of these books to be classed as propaganda. He was simply trying to reach a wider audience of potential recruits into National Alliance. Pierce was never particularly comfortable with working or lower class people, many of whom ended up as skinheads or in the Ku Klux Klan. Members of his church were more affluent, older and fit the profile of what Wilmot Robertson (1981) referred to as the 'dispossessed majority'. I think Pierce would find it interesting that a site such as *Stormfront.org*, with its international audience, would be such an important source of his early writings, audio and video recordings, and material about Cosmotheism.

Many social scientists find research about Americans who are racist and anti-Semitic to be distasteful. Unfortunately racism, extremist ideology and anti-Semitism are still very much a part of American culture. Even though *Stormfront.org* is pretty overwhelming because of the sheer numbers of threads and duplicate posts in some of the more popular forums, it is one of the best sources of information about what is going on among people who self-identify as white nationalist. David Duke has a strong presence on the site and he remains politically active and vocal about race relations in the United States and abroad. Followers of William Pierce also have a presence on the site and are doing what they can to instruct and inform younger members into the movement. I remember watching an early video interview with Pierce that was on Public Television back in the early 1980s. He had the demeanor of a southern gentleman and he was holding his cat throughout the interview. I kept thinking how gentle he looked and how soft spoken he was. Then I started listening to what he had to say about race and Jewish people and I was shocked. His voice still resonates online and in his writings. It is important that we do not forget that radicalization does not always occur solely within the context of Islam.

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The Moral Majority: Religion and Evangelical/Fundamentalist Political Initiative

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Abstract

This study will attempt to define and describe the Moral Majority with respect to three areas of concern: (1) National concerns and politics as related to the presidency and congress; (2) the groups and prominent individuals that came to align themselves with the movement; (3) the success that the movement claimed in both national and local political races. The accomplishments, implications and the future of such movements will be considered. It is the purpose of this study to add to the knowledge of the historical roots, the objectives and the potential of the fundamentalist-evangelical alliance that molded the Moral Majority into whatever political tool it was.

Jimmy Carter was in the White House in January of 1980. Even though an evangelical identified with the Southern Baptist Convention was now in the presidential office, conservatives were not at all pleased with what he was doing. Carl F. H. Henry, a senior evangelical scholar, a Southern Baptist, and a former editor of Christianity Today, wrote about the rise of evangelicals to political influence and power, giving an analysis of evangelical political involvement. Jimmy Carter's election to the White House had been attributed to the evangelical block voting for him in the 1976 election. Henry wrote about the advances in evangelical political influence as being "more apparent than real," saying, "Admittedly, we have an evangelical in the White House--an evangelical with moral sensitivity, whose simple faith in the Bible sometimes motivates bold personal initiatives. But that devotion is not without a theological ambiguity that reflects the doctrinal imprecision found in many professedly evangelical churches where the end results are problematical. Nor is the presidency devoid of concern for personal image and political ambition. For all that, Carter has brought more spiritual lucidity to the White House than many of his predecessors, though his retinue leaves much to be desired."

Henry proceeded to suggest that if evangelicals were going to have continued impact on society, and particularly the political process within that society, they must do some very specific things. First, he suggested that evangelicals "must place worldly culture on the defensive." He said that if the movement did not go on the offensive in this manner that it would "remain on the margin of national life and public conscience." Then he wrote that evangelicals should have "a well-formulated statement of evangelical goals in contemporary society, and an elaboration of strategy and tactics for moving beyond principles to policies and programs that enlist the movement's resources for specific objectives.

As an evangelical theologian Carl Henry outlined some very destructive trends in American evangelicalism—the unsettled division within the Southern Baptist Convention, the struggle over the issue of authority, mass evangelism's waning state, the confusion over what is evangelical due to the charismatic domination of the mass media, secular education's growing power, the lack of a clear philosophy of social and political involvement,

a leveling off of publications by evangelicals. Theologian Henry proceeded to recommend some corrective measures which he perceived as handling these destructive trends.

What Carl Henry suggested Jerry Falwell and his companions sought to bring to pass in the creation of the Moral Majority and other political action groups. Henry, Billy Graham and other evangelicals recognized that to influence the future of the nation there had to be combined strength to bring pressure to bear on presidential, judicial, and legislative leadership, but they stopped short of using effective techniques and programs. The creation of the National Association of Evangelicals, the founding of Christianity Today and the cooperation of evangelicals in putting pressure on Congress and the White House became an important strategy. The creation of Moral Majority was an effort to put into place a vehicle through which pressure could be applied to both the White House and Congress on key issues. Where Carl Henry and Billy Graham did not succeed very well, Falwell and the founders of Moral Majority would go much farther in attempting to influence both legislation, as well as the executive branch of the government.

Conservative Christianity has rarely combined forces in such a way as to influence national politics or legislation. The cooperative work of the Protestant denominations in temperance and prohibition of alcoholic beverages is an example of the power of such a combination of groups. The Anti-Saloon League and the churches formed a very influential and powerful group in the crusade to prohibit alcoholic beverages. The result was the passage of the 18th amendment and the inauguration of Prohibition. For most conservative Christians in the late 19th century and the early part of the 20th century, prohibition of alcoholic beverages was a significant issue. This is apparent from the amount of time, effort and money spent in the crusade against liquor by various conservative Protestant groups.

The power of combined groups can be seen in the efforts to bring churches together in larger groups in order to influence legislative and governmental actions. The World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches both are examples of churches combining together to lobby national and international groups. In order to counter such movements there were efforts by more conservative Christian groups to combine their memberships. The National Association of Evangelicals was formed with just such a strategy in mind. Harold Ockenga, Billy Graham and other evangelical leaders recognized the importance of influencing national policies through lobbying the Congress and White House.

Fundamentalist groups such as those led by Carl McIntire, Bob Jones, Sr. and Billy James Hargis recognized this same principle. Conservatives took knowledge of the actions of groups which they perceived to be liberal--the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, American Civil Liberties Union, World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches—and sought to bring pressure to bear on both the White House and Congress to further their cause. The problem was how to coordinate efforts and to make the best impression on both branches of government. In fact it was becoming increasingly evident that government was more and more antagonistic to the issues which most interested these conservative groups. There would remain the public image problem with which Sinclair Lewis had labeled fundamentalists in his novel Elmer Gantry. It was the image of senseless ranting, irrational preaching, money-hungry pan-handling and greed-bound clergymen whose primary interest was sensual and financial rather than spiritual and selfless.

The Formation of the Moral Majority

Jerry Falwell and the other fundamentalists involved in the founding of Moral Majority were all too aware of the failure of Fundamentalism to make any kind of impact on the state or national political, governmental or moral situation. The "victory" of 1925 in the Scopes

Trial would serve only to emphasize the failure of the fundamentalist wing of evangelical Protestantism to order the educational system to its liking. George M. Marsden has noted in his study of fundamentalism that the culture shifted to such an extent that the fundamentalists lost touch with the culture and failed to communicate with their society. By the end of the 1940s Carl F. H. Henry would make a clear assault on this failure in a short volume which marks the rise of a new social consciousness and a renewed determination on the part of conservative evangelicals to once again give direction to American culture and an effort to dissociate themselves from the Elmer Gantry image.

This determination can be noted in other actions also. The efforts to organize reveal that conservative evangelicals realized that there is power in numbers. Even as the more liberal elements, the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches, in American Protestantism joined in gaining control of mainline denominations, conservatives were joining together to assure their influence and power would be felt in Washington's power structures. Fundamentalists were organizing in the World Fundamentalist Association and other national groups. The National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 was an effort to disassociate conservative evangelicals from the radical Fundamentalists who were labeled as anti-intellectual and ignorant. It was an effort to build a new coalition of conservative evangelical religious groups for the purpose of reforming society from the top down. The NAE leadership would encourage contacts with the politically prominent. Billy Graham would become the friend of presidents, frequently consulted by them and associating with them.

The NAE did not exert significant influence outside its annual meetings and allied groups. Its most prominent member, Evangelist Billy Graham, spoke on some issues, but would not take any radical stand that might endanger his broad base of support. Graham, Henry and several other leaders noted with some anxiety what they perceived as a leftward drift politically and religiously in the country. While the NAE addressed the organizational relationship, there was no vehicle for popular and scholarly expression to give some intellectual direction to the country. This led to the creation of the magazine Christianity Today in 1955. Graham, Harold Ockenga, Wilbur M. Smith and a wealthy layman from Ockenga's former church met in Boston to plan the new magazine.

Carl F. H. Henry was chosen as the first editor. Henry had some experience in journalism. He was a scholar, a philosopher and an ordained clergyman. Graham and Henry had met at Wheaton College and had continued a relationship which resulted in his appointment as editor of the new conservative journalistic voice.

In a "Confidential Summary" and other documents in the files from his editorship of Christianity Today Henry indicated that the purpose of the magazine and the reason it was housed in Washington, D. C., was to influence the selection of governmental leaders, to monitor issues important to the evangelical community and to publicize legislative and governmental issues about which evangelical should be concerned. While this was the stated purpose there was no other action (lobbying, voter registration, letter writing campaigns, etc.) taken to assure any influence or change in leadership or policy at the national level. This was a serious flaw in the new evangelical initiative to impact American politics and government. Much more was needed than just an editorial statement. In the 1960's Henry would conclude that they were unable to do what needed to be done to change the direction of American society.

Billy Graham, Carl Henry and others had formed an impressive organization and conducted impressive public crusades in major cities, but these crusades did little to impact what they perceived to be the juggernaut of secular, humanistic and even anti-religious forces. Certainly there was some influence exerted by these efforts, but not the massive change which most conservative religious leaders desired. These efforts had little impact in the halls of the United States Congress and very little in the operation of the presidential

office, even though Graham and his group were often in touch with whoever might be the president at the time.

What Billy Graham, Carl Henry and their impressive allies were unable to accomplish, Jerry Falwell and his allies hoped to achieve. Falwell and others working with him were able to bring together on an impressive scale different groups, even different religious groups, to wield in political campaigns and legislative initiatives a more potent threat to the political left. They termed their efforts "The Moral Majority." Who were these people? What did they believe? What brought them together, and what were they able to accomplish?

Key Individuals and Groups

A cluster of ultra-conservative groups emerged to represent what some have termed "the Christian right," or the "new Christian right" in the nation's capitol. Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, Focus on the Family, Concerned Women of America, Pat Robertson's Freedom Council, American Coalition for Traditional Values, National Christian Action Coalition, Intercessors for America, anti-abortion groups such as the Right to Life and the Moral Majority were part of this cluster. Jerry Falwell was a key figure in the emergence of the New Christian Right in America. He was the driving leadership behind the development and promotion of the Moral Majority as a political tool in the 1980s. Falwell, along with Pat Robertson, Patrick Buchanan and Cal Thomas were part of a movement to revitalize conservative political and religious power-structures in the United States during the 1980s.

The fear of most liberal politicians and intellectuals was that Falwell would accomplish what he wanted. In their image of American fundamentalist clergy they saw in him the character of Sinclair Lewis' Elmer Gantry. Lewis described his loathsome character with these words, "He would combine in one association all the moral organizations of America— perhaps later, the entire world. He would be the executive of the combination; he would be the super-president of the United States, and some day the dictator of the world." While there is a difference of opinion among students of the new religious right as to the effectiveness of the "group power" of religious movements such as the Moral Majority and related groups, it is apparent that researchers have concluded that they were effective in some of their efforts. Researcher Matthew Moen concluded that organizations such as Moral Majority were very successful. He wrote, "The reality was that the Christian Right was quite successful on the Hill during the first Reagan term." In most cases the success was not in areas of highest priority and there was a sharp decline after the initial successes. Scholars James L. Guth and John C. Green as a result of their research indicated that the Moral Majority was not a large number of people. Thus they named their article "The Moralizing Minority: Christian Right Support Among Political Contributors." They concluded that Moral Majority, as with other Christian Right movements there were shared liabilities--"a very narrow public base and limited support within the conservative religious community." In this assessment the authors relied on a 1986 Wall Street Journal article by David Shribman entitled "Michigan Results Expose Weakness of Robertson."

Key concerns and issues

Moral Majority tapped a national network of fundamentalists and evangelicals united around a core of key issues. These issues on which "the new right" focused were abortion, ERA, pornography, moral permissiveness, family and the freedom of religious expression (prayer and Bible reading in public schools).

Several highly visible television evangelists allied themselves with Falwell in the formation of this movement to "recover" America -- James Robison, Jimmy Swaggart and Pat Robertson. This movement certainly influenced the realignment of political parties, just as the antislavery movement did in the early nineteenth century with the Abolitionists.

Initially Moral Majority was built around the twin poles of traditional values and cultural conservatism resulting in "tremendous support." Then Falwell shifted to the broader issue of foreign policy, focusing specifically on support for Israel. One scholarly observer of Falwell and the Moral Majority suggests that "the effort to recast the Moral Majority into the Liberty Foundation was undertaken not so much in response to a constituency as in an attempt to create a new one."

Moral Majority got involved in some specific issues. One of the volatile issues for evangelicals was abortion. John Warwick Montgomery, a lawyer-theologian in California and director of studies for the International Institute of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France, said, "A little child—unable to save himself and fully dependent—is, like the Jewish people, one of those 'weak things of this world' chosen by God to 'confound the wise.' Those who harm them do so at their peril, both in time and in eternity." Abortion was one of the issues which Ronald Reagan took a strong public stand against during both his campaigns. In doing so he drew the support of conservative groups such as Moral Majority and the other movements on the Religious Right.

In May of 1980 the Moral Majority joined with Religious Roundtable, Christian Voice, Campus Crusade and the National Association of Evangelicals to support voluntary public school prayer. They sought the additional signature of 218 congressmen on a petition that would discharge Senate Bill 450 from the House Judiciary Committee which it was being held up. The bill was offered by Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and would bar federal courts from ruling on school prayer disputes. It was announced that a new supporter of the prayer bill was William Murray, the son of the atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair who initiated the original court action leading to the banning of prayer in the public schools.

Moral Majority utilized a Political Action Committee (PAC) in 1980 modeled after the secular New Right PACs. It would give birth to another PAC in 1984 called "I Love America." These new PACs would raise large amounts of money using direct mail, contributing only a small portion of those receipts to candidates. Clyde Wilcox in his article on the New Christian Right PACs indicated that these groups "engaged in independent expenditures and used in-kind contributions, practices frequently used by secular New Right PACs." Wilcox's analysis of these groups led him to conclude, "While claiming the moral authority of religious bodies (most have the words "religious" or "Christian" in their names), they are explicitly political organizations which contribute primarily to Republican candidates." The aim of Moral Majority's PACs was to influence the outcome of senatorial and representative elections leading to the defeat of those they considered liberal and the election of candidates more in agreement with the conservative agenda.

A large number of conservative groups, the Moral Majority included, worked for the re-election of President Ronald Reagan in 1984. Intentionally Reagan's campaign strategists presented him as the "pro-moral" choice. Repeatedly he publicly affirmed his support for traditional family values, school prayer, and his opposition to abortion, homosexual right and pornography. Reagan's winning the presidential office over Democrat Walter Mondale was termed as a "landslide victory." In his article on moral conservatism and the presidential campaign of 1984, Eric Woodrum concluded that, even though there were these statements and obvious positions by Candidate Ronald Reagan and his re-election strategists, there was "no reason to conclude that moral conservatism was decisive in Reagan's 1984 landslide victory."

In the 1988 presidential campaign the issue of religion, prayer and the public schools surfaced again. Presidential candidate Pat Robertson particularly focused on "the public

schools as 'so failed' as to have become the center of serious crime so widespread that the 'public school is the most dangerous place to be ... outside the mother's womb.'" He charged that the leadership of public schools intentionally was contrary to "the Judeo-Christian tradition." Robertson, like Falwell, argued "that the 'tiny elite' of 'secular humanists'" had taken "the government, the courts, and the public schools from America's God-fearing majority, and it is now up to Christians to win them back."

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 had given a strong message on some of these conservative issues. The Reagan presidency had a goal to overturn, or nullify, the Supreme Court's decisions on prayer in public schools and abortion. The Secretary of Education William J. Bennett said, "Four decades of misguided court decisions ... have thrust religion and the things touched by religion out of public schools." Reagan in his presidential campaigns and during his presidency often reaffirmed his promise "to put God back into the public schools."

Nature and scope of the organization

Jerry Falwell and the others who assisted in the formation of the Moral Majority hoped that it would have significant influence on the shaping of national, state and local politics and governmental decisions. The aim of the organization was to so influence the politicians that they would begin to respond more favorably to conservative and fundamentalist concerns about the state of society and government.

The Moral Majority came into existence primarily as a result of the initiative of Jerry Falwell and a group of concerned conservative leaders. In his book Listen America Falwell describes what was the origin of the organization, downplaying the political aspect of the group in favor of a more spiritual explanation. He was flying home to Lynchburg when he felt the Lord calling him to get all "the good people of America" together to rise up against the rising tide of moral decay endangering the nation.

Hertzke acknowledged that the Moral Majority was a formidable movement. It maintained a large direct-mail list, utilized advanced technologies very effectively—phone banks, computer generated phone messages to targeted constituencies, special telecommunication experiments such as a conference call between 150,000 pastors and President Reagan in his 1984 presidential campaign. At the peak of its work the Moral Majority could make 100,000 phone calls per week. These tapes were customized along the lines of TV evangelists Falwell, Swaggart or Robertson. Falwell reported in the spring of 1986 that only one million members had responded to an appeal to join the Liberty Foundation, the restructuring of the Moral Majority. Observers of the organization acknowledge that it was well-equipped to do two things: (1)"to reach millions of aroused constituents through direct mail and electronic media," (2)"survey evidence of broad American public support for organized prayer in the public schools, with only Jewish respondents clearly opposed."

The membership of the Moral Majority was carefully structured. The leadership aimed toward organizing by state and even moving closer to the grassroots by striving to bring together like-minded individuals in a given area and organize them into pressure groups. Hertzke wrote, "The membership is broken down into congressional districts, issue concerns, and religious backgrounds, to enable the organization to focus its mailings, this reduces costs. Tracking these lists also enables the leaders to discern which issues are "hot buttons for fundraising purposes." Although Falwell stressed that the Moral Majority (or Liberty Foundation, as it later became) was open to all who agreed with its conservative views, most of the membership came from independent, fundamentalist Baptist churches in the South.

The Moral Majority's intention was to move the country back to a more conservative position on the key issues. The leaders focused on these issues and sought to influence those who agreed with them to contact and put pressure on their congressmen and senators. There were efforts to bring influence to bear on the presidential office to make decisions more favorable to the causes which Moral Majority and other conservative groups desired. The strategy was to marshall grassroots support and bring this influence to bear on both the White House and the Congress to move the country toward a more conservative position.

The Successes and Failures

In 1980 Moral Majority and the New Christian Right flexed its muscle by vigorously working for the election of Ronald Reagan, by intervening in some electoral races and by taking some credit for defeating such well-known liberal senators as George McGovern, Gaylord Nelson, Birch Bayh and Frank Church.   A shift was occurring in American politics which would impact the national political scene, particularly that of the White House and Capitol Hill. As conservatives began to build networks and to mobilize their following it became apparent that some vehicle was needed to bring together different groups and movements within the conservative sphere to create greater impact and influence in Congress and the presidential office.

Several conservative interest groups emerged as movements dedicated to fostering change through presidential action, legislative mandate or court decisions. The Moral Majority built on this resurgence of conservative and right wing movements. As has been observed, the Moral Majority had some influence and power, but it was not able to achieve its full agenda or make significant impact on either the presidential decision-making process or the legislative process. The abortion situation was not reversed. Some support was given to Israel. A report on pornography was generated and distributed and a new initiative by the Justice Department attacking what conservatives saw as the menace of pornography, particularly child pornography.

In 1989 Jerry Falwell declared that "The Moral Majority" had won in the cultural war. He announced that it was being disbanded because it had achieved its purpose and was no longer needed. Richard J. Neuhaus, project director of the council on Religion and International Affairs in New York City and the editor of Lutheran Forum, in 1982 evaluated Moral Majority in an article in Christianity Today, describing it as a fundamentalist attempt to direct the shaping of America. In his evaluation Neuhaus stated, "If our only choice is between the militant fundamentalism of Moral Majority and the militant secularism of the American Civil Liberties Union, the outlook is not encouraging." Neuhaus did acknowledge that the "New Religious Right" was "a long-term phenomenon in American life." He confessed that they needed to be included in the "redefining" of America. Whoever could "communicate the better dream for America" would be the one to control the process and the shaping of the new America.

Unwittingly, Jerry Falwell and the other Moral Majoritarians had fit the description of Sinclair Lewis in Elmer Gantry. Lewis had written, "And the head of this united organization would be the Warwick of America, the man behind the throne, the man who would send for presidents, of whatever party, and give orders ... and that man, perhaps the most powerful man since the beginning of history, was going to be Elmer Gantry. Not even Napoleon or Alexander had been able to dictate what a whole nation could wear and eat and say and think. That, Elmer Gantry was about to do."   This was exactly what the critics and opponents of the Moral Majority thought Falwell and his co-workers were attempting to do.

Conclusion

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The Moral Majority was one of the most serious attempts on the part of conservative religious and political groups to unite to accomplish their aim to control the political and governmental processes of the country. The success of the coalition which brought about the Prohibition Amendment in 1919 and the other attempts by evangelicals to form coalitions illustrate the potential in bringing together the "grassroots" of American political and religious conservatives. It is the purpose of this study to add to the knowledge of the historical roots, the objectives and the potential of the fundamentalist-evangelical alliance which molded the Moral Majority into whatever political tool it was.

While Moral Majority was not able to achieve many of the goals which it set out to achieve, it did bring conservatives and fundamentalists into active participation in the political and governmental processes. It was an attempt to utilize the grassroots support of fundamentalist and conservative churches in a coalition to influence legislators to vote positively on conservative issues, the executive branch to use it considerable power to support conservative causes and to give input into the judicial decisions through the process of submitting briefs to the Supreme Court and lower federal courts.

Considerable anxiety was aroused among liberals regarding the potential power of Moral Majority. There was some anxiety that there really was a large number of people supporting Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. A renewed threat came from Moral Majority founder Jerry Falwell in an address to a group of Florida Baptist pastors in November of 1993. He cited President Clinton's views on abortion and homosexuality as the reason he might revive the Moral Majority and "declare war" on the president's administration.   The whole idea of a vehicle through which conservative religious groups could put pressure on the political and legislative processes is still an important part of the resurgence of the New Christian Right.

Moral Majority presents a good example of the determination of evangelical and fundamentalist initiative to influence, if not control, presidential policy-making and legislative decisions. The New Christian Right was coming of age and gaining a new expertise in lobbying and influencing political leaders to support the measures which were favored by them. The hope of this conservative resurgence was to slow, if not reverse, the changes coming to American society and government. In some ways the Reagan and Bush years reveal some of the initiatives of this energetic group. Moral Majority certainly got the attention of the national media and the national political leadership.

In many ways this period of American history and political action is similar to that period just prior to the Civil War. Evangelical Protestantism was very much alive and anxious about the future of the nation during both periods. As Timothy Smith wrote of that earlier period, "Exuberant churchmen rededicated themselves to the dream of making America a Christian nation." The announced intention of the leaders of Moral Majority was to turn the nation back to what they perceived to be its spiritual roots. Their initiative was a serious one intended to create a nation more like what they desired--"a Christian nation." Or, as Sinclair Lewis had his fictional preacher pray, "Dear Lord, thy work is but begun! We shall yet make these United States a moral nation!"

Biographical Note

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End Notes

[1.] See Jimmy Carter, <u>Why Not the Best?</u> (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1975); Wesley G. Pippert, <u>The Spiritual Journey of Jimmy Carter in His Own Words</u> (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1978), particularly pp. xiii-xv; Frederick F. Siegel, <u>Troubled Journey: From Pearl Harbor to Ronald Reagan</u> (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), pp. 261-269; Carl F. H. Henry, "Evangelicals: Out of the Closet but Going Nowhere?" <u>Christianity Today</u>, Vol. 24 (January 4, 1980), p. 18.

[1.] Henry, "Evangelicals: Out of the Closet but Going Nowhere?" <u>Christianity Today</u>, p. 18.

[1.] Henry, "Evangelicals: Out of the Closet but Going Nowhere?" <u>Christianity Today</u>, pp. 18-19. See also Carl F. H. Henry, <u>A Plea for Evangelical Demonstration</u> (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1971) where Henry discusses the same issues related to the evangelical involvement in political and social issues.

[1.] The issue is -- how do you harness the vast power and influence of American religion? How does one do this without breaching the principle of separation of church and state? The variety of religious views, the diversity of the churches, and the other differences tend to divide and weaken, rather than bring together religious faiths. This has been the struggle which has characterized American evangelical Protestants, especially since the 1920s. All through American history there has been the recurring theme in evangelical thought that American society needed a moral regeneration. This was certainly true in the views of the Puritans who settled New England with their dream of establishing "a city set on a hill" to be an example of righteousness for the whole world to the modern TV evangelist who proclaims that we are in a great moral struggle for the soul of the nation. This theme has emerged at times in more pronounced ways than at others, but it continues to be significant--the religious fervor of a Jonathan Edwards, a Charles Finney, a D. L. Moody, a Billy Sunday, a Billy Graham, or a Jerry Falwell have a common thread—building a better moral life through emphasizing certain ideas and principles. A prominent example of the cooperation, mobilization and activist work of the churches is that of Prohibition. A study of this movement which is rooted in the early years of the nineteenth century, but came to full fruitage in the passage of the eighteenth amendment. For more on this subject see Allen D. Hertzke, <u>Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity</u> (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988), pp. 20-43.

[1.] Norman H. Clark, <u>Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition</u> (New York: Norton, 1976); Joseph R. Gusfield, <u>Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement</u> (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963); J. C. Burnham, "New Perspectives on the Prohibition 'Experiment' in the 1920's," <u>Journal of Social History</u>, 2 (1968), 51; Norman H. Clark, <u>Dry Years: Prohibition in Washington</u> (1965). Irving Fisher, <u>Prohibition at Its Worst</u> (New York: The Author Irving Fisher, 1927), 182.

[1.] See the following for analysis of the involvement of churches and clergy in the development of the prohibition movement: Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., "Prohibition and Politics in Kentucky: The Gubernatorial Campaign and Election of 1915," <u>The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society</u> 75 (1977): 28-54; Gregory Vickers, "Southern Baptist Women and Social Concerns, 1910-1929," <u>Baptist History and Heritage</u> 23 (1988): 3-5; James H. Timberlake, <u>Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900- 1912</u>

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[1] Carl F. H. Henry, <u>The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism</u> (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1947); George M. Marsden, <u>Fundamentalism and American Culture</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 185, 188-189.

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[1] Louis Filler, <u>The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860</u> (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960) discusses the organization of Christians into anti-slavery groups to work for the freeing of the slaves. Abolitionism joined other movements such as temperance in urging people to act in concert to achieve their objectives. For a detailed discussion of this in Filler check pages 66-81. Ronald g. Walters, <u>The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism After 1830</u> (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978) discusses the interplay of religion and morals in the formation of abolitionist groups in the period 1830-1860. He stressed in his study, "William Lloyd Garrison and the twentieth-century freedom rider each focused his moral perceptions upon the evil of racism, but how each saw it and how each responded to it differed. The millennialistic, deeply Protestant religious seeking of Garrison, his excitement at the advent of progress, his belief that civilization required the utmost measure of control--these all belong to his day and mark the distance between Garrison's activism and that of our times. Yet these also mark some of the many things abolitionists shared with their contemporaries." (p. 146)

See Timothy L. Smith, <u>Revivalism and Social Reform In Mid-Nineteenth-Century America</u> (New York: Abingdon, 1967).

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[1] John Warwick Montgomery, "Abortion: Courting Severe Judgment," <u>Christianity Today</u>, v. 24 (January 25, 1980), p. 56. (The actual article is pages 54, 56.) In this article Montgomery likens the abortion issue to the situation during Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich" suggesting that "collapsed into a seething inferno in a single generation largely because the Fuhrer and his cohorts attempted to exterminate the apple of God's eye--the people he chose as the vehicles of human salvation." (p. 54)

[1] <u>Christianity Today</u>, Vol. 24 (June 27, 1980), p. 787 (61).

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[1] Allen D. Hertzke, <u>Representing God in Washington: The Role of Religious Lobbies in the American Polity</u> (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988), p. 33.

[1] Hertzke, p. 165.

[1] Hertzke, pp. 50, 96.

[1] Gillian Peele, <u>Revival and Reaction: The Right in Contemporary America</u> (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

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[1.] Lindsay Bergstrom, "Falwell Threatens to 'Declare War' With Clinton Over Abortion, Gays," <u>Florida Baptist Witness</u>, Volume 109, (November 19, 1992), p. 10.

[1.] Smith, <u>Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century</u>, p. 15.

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A Dilettante in Paradise: Cioran's Postmodern Theology of the Human Predicament and *The Fall into Time*

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"*Man is amazing, but he is not a masterpiece…perhaps the artist was a little mad."*

--Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*

"*Work of a virtuoso in fiasco, man has doubtless been spoiled, but masterfully spoiled. He is extraordinary even in his mediocrity, even when abominated. The more we reflect upon him, we conceive nonetheless that the Creator should be "pained at heart" to have created him.[…] Was he* necessary*, this being ethically more misshapen than any dinosaur physically?"*

--Emile Cioran, The Fall into Time

Just as in Joseph Conrad's[1] classic novel, *Lord Jim*, where the mythical character, the "wonderful" Mr. Stein serves as the court of last judgment of the broken-spirited young man Jim who had tried to be a hero and failed, God presented Adam and Eve with both a choice and a dilemma simultaneously in the Garden of Eden, by tempting his creations and even, as some, including Emile Cioran[2] would argue, self-fulfilling (or "rigging") the game to its teleological and necessary finality. Just as Stein conjures up a plan to allow the guilt-ridden Jim to become heroic, the price he ultimately pays for the achievement of his atonement (and thus redemption) is death. God does the same with Adam and Eve. He offers them the heroic choice of eternal life in the Garden but upon their choice of failure, makes redemption and eternal life possible only after the expiration of their now finite lives.

A lesser-known work authored by Emile Cioran is precisely where this subject and generally, his theology emerges best. *The Fall into Time*, originally published in 1964, was Cioran's second work to be translated into English (1970). It examines a wide-ranging examination of what it means to be human by both chronicling the past and dissecting modernity. A critical part of his conclusive examination on the nature of man begins with the first chapter entitled, "The Tree of Life", where he explores God's intentions and man's will in this somewhat tautological, paradoxical, and even to a degree, convoluted supernatural game. While Conrad's Stein thought the Creator was perhaps, "a little mad," Cioran, borders on labeling God something ranging from "a selfish puppet-master" to "deranged." The game (and for that matter, the maze) designed for the happy couple He created are the stuff of classical exchange behaviorists. A problem emerged in the experiment though—or as Cioran describes it, "a better psychologist, the Serpent carried the day."

God let Adam know that, "Of every tree of the Garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat: for in the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." Of course, God had precisely placed the forbidden tree in the *middle* of

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[1] Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) born Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski, Polish/British writer regarded as one of the greatest novelists to write in the English language. Early modernist but with 19th century realist tendencies, featuring anti-heroic characters.
[2] Emile Cioran (1911-1995) was a Romanian-born French philosopher and essayist with nihilistic, existentialist, deconstructionist, postmodernist views.

the Garden and boasted of its merits as well as its dangers. By designing the experiment this way as Cioran puts it, God had, "anticipated His creature's innermost desire. To forbid Adam the *other* tree would have been a better policy."

Without knowledge of what constitutes "happiness", Adam had no way to conceive "unhappiness". Without any domain outside of Eden to raise a comparison or a contrast to Paradise, he had no way of knowing that something more or less desirable may exist elsewhere. By being given the choice of eternal life in the Garden as is, or being tempted by knowledge of the unknown, was it any surprise he chose knowledge? As Cioran states, God "knew that man… would not be seduced by the prospect of immortality…death…was more likely to intrigue an adventurer ready to risk peace and security…"

Thus Adam's fall introduced dualism into the world and this knowledge of good and evil, the recognition and appreciation of concepts such as "happiness," served to foster the development of human values. Adam, according to Cioran, had committed an "infringement of wisdom" by an "infidelity to the *gift of ignorance* our Creator had bestowed upon us." On the other hand, being placed on a virtual island called Eden for all eternity and told to reject any chance to achieve an alternative in exchange for each day being more of the same is both a bit daunting and most certainly confining—a life sentence where the concept of life was still undefined. But rejecting eternity in Paradise for "knowledge" rendered human life finite and thus introduced the dimension of time into the universe forever--hence, *The Fall into Time*.

As Cioran writes,

> "The very malaise he suffered in Paradise was perhaps no more than a *virtual* fear, a rough sketch, a draft of the "soul". No way of living in both innocence and fear… A dilettante in Paradise, man stopped being one as soon as he was expelled, undertaking the conquest of earth with a seriousness, an application which seemed quite beyond him. Yet he bears within and upon himself something unreal, something unearthly, which is revealed in the pauses of his febrility…do we not see in his eyes exasperation and remorse for having spoiled not only his first home but even this exile for which he was so impatient, so greedy? A shadow grappling with images, a somnambulist who sees *himself* walking…The form of knowledge he has chosen is an offense, a sin if you like, a criminal misdemeanor against the creation, which he has reduced to a mass of objects before which he stands as their self-proclaimed destructor, a dignity he sustains by bravado rather than by bravery, as if proved by his embarrassment as long ago as the business of the apple; at the time he felt lonely in Eden—he was to feel more so on earth…Clear sighted and quite mad, man has no peer.

Still, to Cioran, God holds most of the culpability for the human condition. He created a species that was deeply imperfect. He confined his creation in a state of ignorance to a Paradise without explanation or respite. He told them they could choose to stay there forever in the same condition, relegated to experience sameness, contentment, and settling for the *status quo* in a timeless state. In providing these conditions, God had, to Cioran, had committed a purposeful "act of insubordination and refusal" and created a being who was "ill-prepared for indifference" and as a result, humankind chose *time*—the finiteness of life, the turning to history and its guidance in building a counterfeit existence—an unreality filled with a metamorphosis of possibility, and as long as there is no deliverance from what the species is *allowed* to know, it will never be realized that the minimal knowledge for which everything was sacrificed is irrelevant or as Cioran puts it, "beside the point." Cioran writes that God's creation is a being "marginal to God, marginal to the world, and to ourselves…Divided from reality, divided from ourselves…having failed to develop…[we] have remained halfway between Paradise and History."

Still, Cioran raises an intriguing point (and for that matter, a critique of the Creator)—that, "Perhaps He (God) is the only One *we* [emphasis mine] really understand" because "God is an anomaly…[and]…the more marginal to things we are, the better we understand One who is marginal to all."

Therefore, humankind is now relegated to "flee into the future" since the Tree of Life is now inaccessible, guarded by "Cherubims with flaming swords" but the will to duplicate its power is still desired by those who were cast from Paradise into time. Envious and regretful of the missed opportunity of an eternal life, an earthly plan was eventually hatched to utilize the very knowledge gained through Original Sin to reclaim and replicate the Tree of Life's promise. Taking the form of evolution, science, and technology, yet another deceit is being chosen by an unsuspecting species that is in almost every way, to Cioran, *inferior* to all others in the animal kingdom. It amuses Cioran that the only two Books in the Bible that the Tree of Life is mentioned is in Genesis and in Revelation, where in the latter, a promise of eternal life is granted "to him that overcometh"—only "to those whose faith has never wavered." It is perfectly clear to Cioran that while the living rush headlong into the future, hurrying stressfully seeking to solve the problems of life and its finiteness, trying to infinitely perfect earthly existence, to "catch up with God and pass Him by," God has other plans. As Cioran writes, since the Tree of Life "figures only in the first and last books of the Bible, [it is] a symbol of both the beginning and end of time." As Cioran concludes:

> …everything changes, but rarely, if ever, for the better. Since all that has been conceived and undertaken since Adam is either suspect or dangerous or futile, what is to be done? Resign from the race? ...man still has his road to travel…And since he advances by virtue of an acquired illusion, he cannot stop until the illusion disintegrates, disappears, but it is indestructible as long as man remains an accomplice of time."

Therefore, Cioran takes the bold step of castigating all human knowledge. He discounts any validity of science. He warns of the dangers and deceptions of technology. He understands and wants all to recognize that God created the human species intentionally weak and susceptible to fantastic whims with the potential for being easily deceived and making poor choices. Realizing this, he wishes to educate the willing by rejecting conventionality and throwing God the proverbial curveball for a change, with the understanding that everything is already "fixed" in time and is, yes, "beside the point."

Almost prayer-like in its recitation, Cioran, thirty-years earlier, had already drawn his conclusion concerning the human predicament in his first published work, *On the Heights of Despair* (1934), presenting what was to forevermore become his unwavering and unadulterated verdict in the trial of humanity with the following words:

> Everything is possible, and yet nothing is. All is permitted, and yet again, nothing. No matter which way we go, it is no better than any other. It is all the same whether you achieve something or not, have faith or not, just as it's all the same whether you cry or remain silent. There is an explanation for everything, and yet there is none. Everything is both real and unreal, normal and absurd, splendid and insipid. There is nothing worth more than anything else, nor any idea better than any other. Why grow sad from one's sadness and delight in one's joy? What does it matter whether our tears come from pleasure or pain? Love your unhappiness and hate your happiness, mix everything up, scramble it all! Be a snowflake dancing in the air, a flower floating downstream! Have courage when you don't need to, and be a coward when you must be brave! Who knows?

You may still be a winner! And if you lose, does it really matter? Is there anything to win in this world? All gain is loss, all loss is gain. Why always expect a definite stance, clear ideas, meaningful words? I feel as if I should spout fire in response to all the questions which were ever put, or not put, to me.[3]

Is this a "postmodern theology"? Amen.

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ASSR Student Papers 2017

The Birds, the Bees, and Jesus: The Harmful Effects of Unbridled Religiosity

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze data gathered examining the potential adverse effects of American conservative Christian restriction of sexual education in middle schools and high schools. It has been noted by Baker et al.(date) that there is an extreme lack of consistency amongst sexual education, yielding various undesirable results. This analysis primarily addresses the possible relationships between abstinence only programs in schools dictated by religious dogma and potential impacts on teen pregnancy rates, sexually transmitted infection rates, and misinformation regarding contraceptives. I hypothesize that states with more prevalent theist ideals are more subject to teaching abstinence-based sexual education than states with a more predominantly secular view. The research gathered is comprised of quantitative data, revealing the potential danger of unmonitored, inconsistent, or absent sexual education.

Introduction

Growing up in a deeply religious small town in east Texas, I have always been acutely aware of the massive role religion plays on the world; however, I never truly found it surprising or problematic. The very nature of religion dictates that it simply cannot, nor will not, be ignored, and that point was made particularly clear when me and the rest of my classmates attended our first sexual education class in high school. The course was largely, if not solely, abstinence based, and at the end our instructor encouraged us to sign "abstinence cards", a small contract to ourselves promising we would refrain from participating in any heinous sexual behavior until we were married. At the time, I thought little of this detail, proudly displaying to my parents my honorable vow, but as more and more of my class of 60 became pregnant, I began to second guess the effectiveness of this strategy.

Sexual education programs in the United States are severely lacking in consistency. Only 24 states and the District of Columbia mandate the inclusion of sexual education in public schools, while 27 states do not have guidelines regarding what should and should not be included (Guttmacher, 2015). Furthermore, 13 of those states do not require the information that is being presented to be medically accurate (Guttmacher, 2015). Additionally, only eight states dictate that material must not be biased towards sex, race, or ethnicity, while a mere two states in total prohibit the promotion of religion within a sexual education program (Guttmacher, 2015). However, a total of 37 states require abstinence to be covered, in addition to the 26 states that mandate abstinence be stressed (Guttmacher, 2015). These flaws have potentially contributed to the ever-rising rates of STIs and unintended pregnancies among adolescents and young adults. Despite the fact that younger individuals make up only a quarter of the sexually active population, they make up a total of 50% of all the new cases of STIs (Weinstock, Berman, & Cates, 2004). Furthermore, unintended teen pregnancy is found at higher rates amongst teens in the United States as opposed to adolescents in other industrialized countries (Flanigan, 2001; Singh & Darroch,

2000). Around 30% of women in the United States become pregnant before the age of 20, with 85% of those pregnancies being unintended (Finer & Henshaw, 2006). Due to the massive number of individuals affected by poor or nonexistent sexual education programs, it is imperative that research be done analyzing the factors that play into the inconsistencies and poor quality of various sexual education programming. Specifically, two primary areas of sexual education are addressed: the relationship and effects of abstinence based modes of sexual education and theism and the effect of abstinence versus comprehensive models of sexual education.

Abstinence-based Models of Sexual Education and Theism

One area of research that has been extensively studied is the prevalence of abstinence based models of sexual education in relation to theism. Researchers have found that there is a correlation between high levels of theist ideals and the implementation of abstinence based sexual education (Baker, Smith, & Stoss, 2015). Furthermore, it was found that high levels of religiosity decreased the likelihood that methods of contraception (e.g., condoms or birth control) would be taught during sexual education as opposed to solely teaching abstinence (Baker, Smith, & Stoss, 2015). Conversely, it was found that states with more secularist views were more likely to implement a comprehensive model of sexual education, including methods of contraception (Baker, Smith, & Stoss, 2015). In a study conducted over southern college students assessing attitudes towards various topics of sexual education, it was found that religion was an accurate predictor of approval or disapproval for certain topics (Canan & Jozkwski, 2016). While most individuals indicated approval for most the topics, individuals who reported higher levels of theist ideals indicated lower rates of approval regarding the teaching of topics such as sexual pleasure (Canan & Jozkwski, 2016). Furthermore, individuals who indicated being more religious reported higher rates of approval for teaching abstinence based models of sexual education as opposed to individuals who reported lower levels of religiosity (Canan & Jozkwski, 2016). However, it should be noted that despite varying levels of theism, the majority of topics were heavily endorsed by most of the participants (Canan & Jozkwski, 2016). Additionally, there was a negative correlation in relation to church attendance and the endorsement of sexual education in public schools (Canan & Jozkwski, 2016). This is a cause for concern, as it has been noted by the Center for Disease Control (CDC) that sexually transmitted diseases such as Gonorrhea or Chlamydia are most prominent in southern, more religious, regions of the United States (2015). The American Social Health Association found that one third of young people who are sexually active will contract some form of STI by the time they are 24 (1998). Moreover, Chlamydia disproportionally affects younger women (Tilson, Sanchez, & Ford, 2008).

In addition to much higher rates of STI's, it has been reported that four out of five pregnancies of women 19 years old or younger, are unintended (Guttmacher, 2015). Unintended pregnancies are associated with various negative consequences to the mother and the child (Hoffman, 2006; Maynard, 1997). Women who become pregnant earlier on in life are less likely to complete high school, less likely to attend college, more likely to be single parents, more likely to have larger families, and more likely to earn less than women who did not have children early (Hoffman, 2006; Maynard, 1997). Children of early, unintended pregnancies are more likely to suffer from negative outcome such as behavioral problems, decreased cognitive development, worse educational outcomes, and higher rates of incarceration (Hoffman, 2006; Maynard, 1997). Moreover, as shown by figure one, the highest rates of unintended pregnancies were reported in southern states such as Texas,

Louisiana, and Florida, with anywhere from 55-62 out of 1,000 pregnancies being accidental (Kost, 2015). This potentially indicates a lack of knowledge regarding the subject of contraceptives and the like.
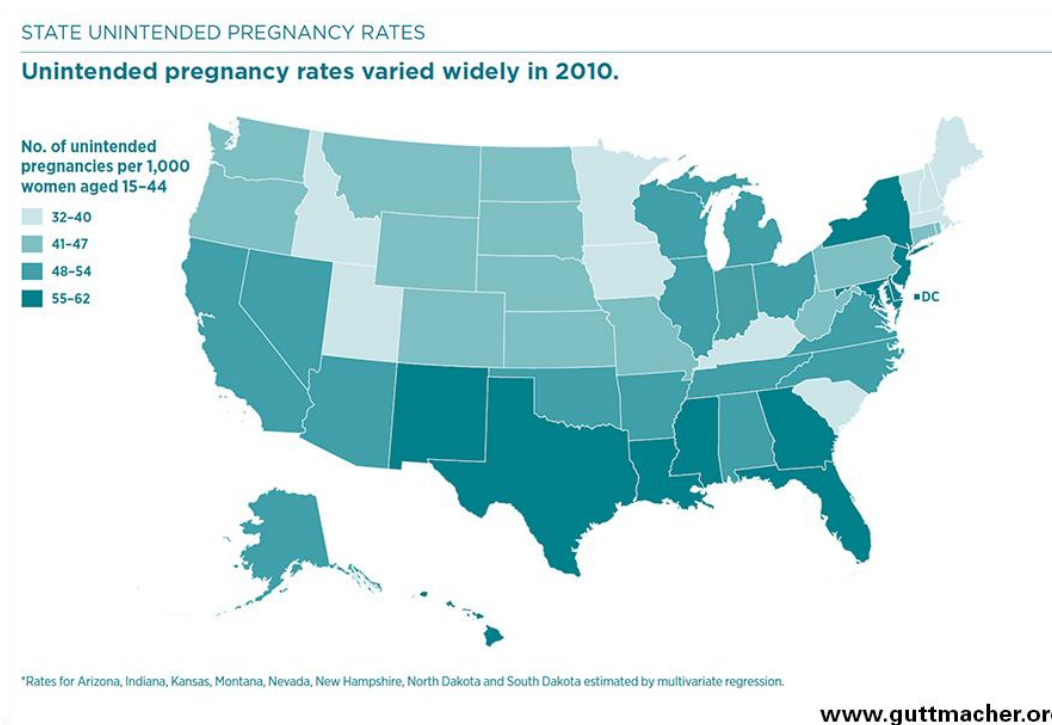
Figure 1. State unintended pregnancy rates

Similarly, southern states report higher levels of theist ideals than northern states; however, theism is reported at high levels regardless of region in the United States (Lipka, & Wormald, 2013).

Effects of Abstinence- Baesed versus Comprehensive Models of Sexual Education

Another area that has been examined extensively is the effects of abstinence based models of sexual education in comparison to more comprehensive models. It has been found that overall, comprehensive models of sexual education are more effective in preventing STIs, unintended pregnancies, and unprotected sex (Kirby, 2007; Raj, Decker, & Murray, 2007; Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). For instance, researchers have found that individuals exposed to comprehensive models of sexual education witness an increased in the likelihood of condom use (Kirby, 2007; Raj, Decker, & Murray, 2007; Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Specifically, education regarding pregnancy and STIs increased odds of participants using condoms in future sexual encounters (Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). A total of 43% of the comprehensive sexual education models that were examined resulted in increased condom use, while 40% increased the use of other forms of contraceptives (Kirby, 2007). A separate study revealed similar findings, in that exposure to comprehensive sexual education increased the likelihood of participants using other forms of contraceptives, such as oral birth control and spermacides (Kirby, 2007). Thus, individuals exposed to

sexual education in which the use of contraceptives is discussed observed a decrease in likelihood of engaging in unprotected sex (Kirby, 2007). In fact, 71% of the comprehensive sexual education programs that were studied resulted in a reduction of unprotected sex (Kirby, 2007). These findings suggest that comprehensive models of sexual education are effective in encouraging condom use and decreasing the likelihood of both unintended pregnancies and STIs. Furthermore, students who were exposed to comprehensive models of sexual education were found to have a lower chance of developing HIV/AIDs in the future (Kirby, 2007; Raj, Decker, & Murray, 2007; Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Students subject to these types of programs witnessed a 48% decrease in the likelihood of developing said diseases (Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Additionally, it was found that students exposed to comprehensive forms of sexual education were more likely to have fewer sexual partners than students who were not (Kirby, 2007; Raj, Decker, & Murray, 2007). By the same token, it was found that students who had engaged in prior sexual behaviors experienced a decrease in the amount of sexual behaviors engaged in after exposure to comprehensive sexual education (Kirby, 2007). Similarly, research has also shown that increased knowledge about sex is negatively correlated with engaging in sexual intercourse under the influence of alcohol or other substances (Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Additionally, researchers found that increased knowledge about sex may also affect the number of partners individuals exposed to sexual education have, with those exposed subject to fewer sexual partners as opposed to those who did not receive comprehensive sexual education. **(**Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Of those who had engaged in sexual behaviors previously, 35% of students decreased the frequency in which they were engaging in said sexual behaviors (Kriby, 2007). Despite the argument against comprehensive sexual education largely being based upon the idea that knowledge about sex will encourage students to engage in sexual intercourse at earlier ages, knowledge regarding sex has been linked to delayed onset of sexual behaviors (Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Of those who took part in a comprehensive model of sexual education, 44% delayed the onset of first sexual encounter (Kirby, 2007). However, research conducted over abstinence based education has found it ineffective in deterring sexual behaviors (Kirby, 2007)

Conclusion

The effects of comprehensive sexual education versus that of abstinence focused programming has been extensively studied. However, there is little data examining the direct effect of religion on the subject. Thus, causation cannot be assumed, but associations may be observed. Despite the usefulness of the studies discussed, they are not without limitations. It should be acknowledged that there is a lack of adequate research on the direct effects of religion on sexual health education. Furthermore, there was little information regarding the mental health outcomes associated with various forms of sexual education. Each of these areas represents a topic for future research.

The reliance on self-report methods was overused in the secondary data utilized in this paper, potentially skewing the results of the research sex (Kirby, 2007; Raj, Decker, & Murray, 2007; Shneyderman, & Schwartz, 2012). Future research should address these limitations by incorporating various methods of collecting data, and further analyzing mental health outcomes associated with different forms of sexual education. Moreover, researchers should work to provide quantitative data to support the widely-held notion that religiosity and theistic ideals increase support for abstinence based programming over more comprehensive forms of sexual education.

Due to the nature of a secondary analysis, various limitations are present. The research gathered did not directly address the topic of religion's effect on sexual education, but rather drew upon the various data available to make possible associations. The nature of the topic at hand makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to perform research that would imply causation.

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Conscientious Objection in Medicine: A Protection of the Rights to Moral Belief or a Denial of Patient's Rights and a Backward Return to Paternalism

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Abstract

Conscientious objection on the part of healthcare providers in the U.S. is often based on religious moral imperatives. Physicians, nurses, pharmacists, and others in healthcare can refuse to provide various types of drugs and procedures based on personal moral beliefs. While many immediately associate conscientious objection (CO) with abortion, it has come to encompass a wide range of services. These services include but are not limited to fertility treatments, end of life decisions, counseling, and even products, such as vaccines, that were developed or derived using methods found by some to be ethically controversial. In some instances, a healthcare provider (HCP) may go so far as to refuse to refer a patient to another willing provider, or refuse to even tell the patient that such products or services exist. In addition to HCPs, corporations have begun to argue that they too should be able to limit access to drugs and procedures of their choosing based on the moral objections of the few in leadership. Where do the rights of CO on part of the HCPs end and the right to informed medical care on part of the patient begin? Should a non-medically trained third party, such as an employer, even have the right to object on another person's behalf? After a review of the literature and compilation of the stated reasons for and against CO in medicine, this paper seeks to find the fine line between CO and neglectful denial of patient care. Is there room for both personal moral beliefs and quality patient care; or is CO nothing more than a return to paternalism, and self-exaltation at the expense of patients?

Introduction

A doctor, after careful examination and consideration, writes a prescription for her patient. He is set to travel overseas on a long flight early the next morning. He has a medical condition that makes him more prone to blood clots and so he takes heparin before his flight to prevent a deep vein thrombosis.

When the man arrives at the pharmacy, he is told by the pharmacist that the prescription will not be filled. Assuming they must be out of the drug, the man asks to have the prescription transferred elsewhere. The pharmacist refuses. It turns out the pharmacist has a religious moral objection to the use of porcine derived medications. He not only refuses to handle the drug, he refuses to assist the man in procuring the drug from another pharmacy.

This scenario plays out time and time again involving various types of drugs and procedures. A patient sees a medical professional, expecting to receive a drug or procedure that is legally permitted; but is turned down because the medical professional has a personal moral objection.

History and the Law

Conscience clauses in medicine first appeared in 1973 after the decision was handed down from the Supreme Court concerning Roe V Wade (Marshall, 2013). The

first among them was the Church Amendment. The Church Amendment primarily concerned individuals and entities that receive public funds and kept officials from requiring that they perform abortions if they did not wish to do so (Feder, 2014). It also protected these individuals from discrimination in terms of employment as they could not be terminated or denied promotions based on refusal to perform or assist in performing abortions (Mlsna, 2011).

In 1978, The Danforth Amendment was added to the 1972 Title IV Education Amendments. The amendment protected public and private institutions from being required or prohibited from paying for services related to abortions. It also prohibited discrimination against anyone who had received abortion services (Mlsna, 2011)

The topic remained relatively quiet in terms of federal law for almost 20 years. In 1996, The Omnibus Rescissions and Appropriations Act was passed (Mlsna, 2011). It kept states receiving federal aid from discriminating against entities based on their decision to provide or not provide abortion training (Mlsna, 2011). Both the Danforth Amendment and the 1996 Appropriations act expanded the groups protected by conscience clause, but they also very clearly restricted those protections to abortion (Mlsna, 2011).

In reaction to Roe V. Wade, many states enacted conscience clauses of their own; allowing for doctors who were morally opposed to abortion to decline to provide the service (Marshall, 2013). There are 45 states with conscience clauses. (Charo, 2005) Since 2005, 27 states have attempted to pass or have passed laws to broaden the scope of conscience clauses (Erdely, 2007). In 2004, Mississippi passed a law that allows for doctors to refuse just about anything on moral grounds and 4 other states are currently trying to enact similar law (Erdely, 2007). These laws are written in such wide scope, that there is no real protection for patients (Erdely, 2007).

Entities and Businesses as Moral Agents

The Clinton administration enacted the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. This prevented managed care plans from prohibiting or discouraging providers from informing patients about services that may not be covered by the plan (Feder, 2014). The flip side being, now entities such as insurance providers and other businesses could refuse to provide treatments and procedures they find objectionable (Feder, 2014).

The Supreme Court, in June of 2014, ruled in favor of Hobby Lobby. Hobby Lobby sued, in an attempt to avoid having to provide forms of birth control they believe to cause abortions (Boston, 2014). While refusing to provide a few forms of birth control may not seem that restrictive, religious institutions have now brought cases claiming they should not have to provide birth control at all (Boston, 2014). The fix for that was to have a third-party insurer deal with birth control. Institutions immediately filed cases to be excluded from the third-party requirement (Boston, 2014). It goes on from there. It appears that a giant loophole has been opened that can conceivably allow an employer to deny any service or product they deem immoral (Boston, 2014). In an employer based health care system, this leaves employees prisoners of their employer's whim.

For now, the Hobby Lobby decision has opened doors for groups primarily focused on birth control and abortion (Boston, 2014). What about other religious views? How long before employers wish to deny health care services to employees who are part of the LGBTQ community. Will they be able to deny health care to those who hold religious views different than their own? Should we, as a society allow those with no scientific or medical background, to make major decisions about our care?

Affected Services

The most commonly affected services are women's reproductive services. Doctors can refuse to perform abortions, sterilization procedures such as tubal ligation, and vasectomy, and refuse to provide oral and physical barrier contraception (Kaye et al., 2016). Kaye et al., (2016), cites an example of a young woman taken to a Catholic hospital after her membranes had ruptured too early in the pregnancy for the fetus to survive. The Catholic hospital she had gone to refused to evacuate the uterus for 10 days (Kaye et al., 2016). By the time she was transferred to Dr. Eisenberg's care, at a secular hospital, she was septic with a fever of 106. She did survive, but not without complications (Kaye et al., 2016). She required dialysis due to complications with her kidneys and suffered a cognitive injury, all a result of waiting to perform the necessary procedure (Kaye et al., 2016). She was taken to a long-term care facility upon discharge from the hospital (Kaye et al., 2016).

West Suburban Medical Center in Oak Park, Illinois. A woman is brought into a Catholic hospital emergency room, suffering from an ectopic pregnancy. The attending physician, Dr. Stulberg, wants to administer methotrexate (Erdely, 2007). This drug will dissolve the embryo, leaving the fallopian tube intact (Erdely, 2007). The doctor's treatment plan is reject by the ob/gyn on call because to administer the drug would be considered a "direct abortion" (Erdely, 2007). The only other option is to go in and remove the ovary and fallopian tube. This too will kill the embryo, but in this case the surgery is a life saving measure that "indirectly" results in the death of the embryo (Erdely, 2007).

In each of the cases referenced above, the minimum standard of care was ignored. In each case, a hospital run by a group of people who claim to value life, put the lives of a non-viable fetus and a doomed embryo above the lives of the women caring them. One woman developed a life-threatening infection, while the other was expected to opt for an invasive surgery. An invasive surgery that allowed the hospital, on what amounted to a technicality, to say they had not performed an abortion. What's more, it was all perfectly legal, because doing the right thing would have violated their collective conscience.

Doctors, Businesses, and hospitals can all refuse care in some form or other. Now, right of refusal has been extended to pharmacists. A patient can bring a prescription to a pharmacist who can then refuse to fill the prescription based on his or her religious or moral beliefs (Abraham, 2007). That is where it is supposed to end. But instances of Pharmacists refusing to transfer the prescription or to even give it back to the patient have been reported (Abraham, 2007).

It gets worse, and potentially more dangerous. Medical professionals can not only refuse to prescribe or preform, they can refuse to refer or even tell the patients that other options are available (Emery, 2007). In a survey of physicians by the University of Chicago, it was found that 1 in 7 doctors thought it was acceptable to withhold medical information based on moral beliefs (Emery,2007). Close to a third of doctors believe it is ethical to refuse to refer a patient based on their own beliefs (Emery, 2007). Under the guise of following their conscience, a medical professional can deny a patient the right to make an informed autonomous decision about their own health. (Emery, 2007).

Stem Cells and End of Life

Various types of stem cell therapy are also often denied. Some types of stem cells are harvested not from adult cells but from embryos (Mlsna, 2011). This can lead to

a moral dilemma for those that believe life starts once an egg has been fertilized. Stem cell derived therapies and medications range from cancer treatments to vaccines (Mlsna, 2011).

Care involving end of life issues is another area where conscience clauses can interfere with a patient or their family's wishes. Wisconsin attempted to pass a law, that was eventually vetoed, that would allow rights of refusal to extend to refusing to withhold parenteral nutrition and hydration from a patient that was not terminally ill (Swartz, 2013). This would allow doctors to keep patients in persistent vegetative states alive despite patient and family wishes (Swartz, 2013).

While protecting the religious rights of our citizens is part of the American fabric, that right should not extend to denying others their right to informed, autonomous, and accessible healthcare. Conscience clauses have allowed religious convictions to run amuck. Not wishing to participate in an abortion is one thing, but to deny women access to contraception because it might keep a fertilized egg from implantation is taking it too far. Holding the life of a fetus that simply is not viable over that of the woman carrying the fetus is and should be considered morally wrong. How far do we, as a society, intend to let this go?

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Broken Hymen? We Can Fix That.

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The purpose of this paper is to show the importance of virginity across many religions. In many cases evidence of virginity equals an intact hymen. Many cultures and religions say that women are broken, unworthy and dirty if their hymen is not intact. In these cultures virginity is important because a woman's virginity is not their own, it belongs to the men in their family and to their future husband. Without virginity woman have no identity and are an embarrassment to the family. Women are often humiliated or killed due to having a broken hymen. Modern biomedicine has created a surgery called hymen restoration. This surgery can turn non-virgins into virgins again. The surgery can save women's lives and enable them to get married and have a good future. Virginity is part of a woman's value. Many women are required to get a gynecology exam prior to marriage to prove that the woman is "pure" enough to get married. Many girls and women are afraid to go to the gynecologist or even wear tampons for the fear that it will break their hymen. During this surgery the hymen is sewn back together very carefully so that future gynecology exams will show no proof of the surgery. This is a case of a medical procedure that can prevent religious and culture based violence against women. Should this surgery be a necessity to save women's lives?

INTRODUCTION

I will be discussing cultural and religious based violence in relation to virginity and its impact on women. Virginity is defined as the state of a person who has never had sexual intercourse. Many religions and cultures put a lot of importance on the hymen. A hymen is a piece of skin covering the vaginal opening in females. It remains intact until it is broken by most often sexual intercourse. It can also be broken by physical activity or the insertion of something into the vaginal canal. Women who don't bleed on their wedding night are subject to humiliation, brutality, banishment and sometimes death. There is a new hymen reconstructive surgery made specifically for these women start over and become "virgins" again.

HYMENOPLASTY

How can hymenoplasty help? Hymenoplasty is made available to patients at plastic surgery centers located in the United States, South Korea and Western Europe. The hymen is a thin membrane that covers the opening of a girl's vagina and usually tears upon the first sexual intercourse. This surgery is generally a day surgery with a quick recovery time. The goal of this surgery is to cause bleeding during intercourse which some cultures consider as proof for virginity. (Paterson-Brown 1998) Although these cultures believe that an intact hymen means that a woman is a virgin that is not necessarily the case. Horseback riding, sports and tampons are known to break hymens as well. Many young girls quit sports and are careful with how they act to help protect their hymens. The surgery can cost

anywhere from two to five thousand dollars. Woman who cannot afford this surgery often cut themselves with a razor during sex to cause themselves to bleed. A woman in distress wrote a question on a health blog asking how to fake being a virgin. Many women responded with different ideas on how to make yourself bleed. One said, "try to arrange to have sex for the first time with him while you're on your period. Or, you could cut yourself slightly inside before the act: use your fingernail and scratch your cervix real hard until you draw blood." (Faked being a virgin, 2011)

- In 99.9% the hymen is formed in an embryo: this means that 1 in 1000 women are born without a hymen.
- In 44% of women there is no blood loss during the first vaginal penetration.
- Due to an increase in the number of fertile migrant women in our multicultural society there is an increasing demand for operations to repair the hymen.
- Research shows that many boys from Mediterranean countries place considerable importance on their (future) wife being a virgin when they get married.
- 40% of the girls involved think that it is unfair that this only applies to the female sex.
- 25% consents to sex before marriage in a stable relationship.
- 89% wants to "bleed" the night of their wedding out of honor for their parents or from fear of punishment or repudiation.
- 50% of the girls interviewed would want their own daughters to respect this tradition. (Wellness Kliniek, 2016)

VIRGINITY ACROSS THE WORLD

Virginity is sacred in the Abrahamic religions, encompassing Judaism, Christianity and Islam. It is also highly valued in oriental, African, and even modern western cultures. The people believe that an intact hymen means a person is a virgin. If a woman doesn't bleed on her wedding night when her "cherry pops" she can be punished by abuse or even sometimes death. The rules of their religions and the laws where they live offer little to no support for women, and in some cases are even harmful to them. Many of them don't have a say over their own bodies or their own lives.

ORIENTAL CULTURE

Within oriental cultures virginity is most commonly viewed as a business asset. Although there are many different religions within Asia they all have similar viewpoints on virginity. For a family to move up in society they can gain favor by using their virgin daughter as a bargaining chip. Families sell their daughters to move up in caste. Virgin brides are highly prized, and bring a larger dowry to a woman's family than someone who is sexually experienced. Here is an excerpt from a blog I found regarding hymenoplasty;

"Hello! I come from the part of Asia where losing a virginity before marriage is huge thing. If we happen not to be virgins when we marry, our own family members can kill us. I am studying in the USA at the moment, where I fell in love and lost my virginity with an American boy. Now, I need to think about hymen restoration surgery, so that I could live up to my parent's expectations even though I don't approve such attitude. Is there anybody who can tell me about the cost of hymen surgery.(Guest 2015)

The concern from this girl about the surgery shows the severity of need for it. She fears for her life and her future.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

In Islamic cultures people use a Holy book called the Koran to determine their morals. The Koran portrays a huge importance on the virginity of a woman. During the loss of virginity comes blood loss, this is viewed as a blood covenant that is binding between man and woman. Virginity is linked to purity, value, respect, charm and the worth of a spouse. "Tell the believing men that they should lower their gazes and guard their sexual organ; that is purer for them." (Koran 24:30) If a girl loses her virginity before marriage her family is allowed by law to punish her physically and even kill her. "The woman and the man guilty of fornication,- flog each of them with a hundred stripes: Let not compassion move you in their case, in a matter prescribed by Allah, if ye believe in Allah and the Last Day: and let a party of the Believers witness their punishment." (Qur'an, Sura 24 (An-Nur), ayat 2[16]) People who practice premarital sex are punished by law. Personal affection and choice are irrelevant, spouses are picked by a woman's family. A woman has no say in her life; everything is picked by her family or future husband.

AFRICAN CULTURE

In African cultures virginity is something to be proud of. Starting at a young age they are taught by older woman in their societies that virginity is important. Girls who have sex before marriage can face physical punishment, social rejection and can be banned from the family. The families will cut off communications and financial help to the woman. Pan-Islamic views have been increasing in the area. These viewpoints have emphasized virginity within the culture. AIDS is common in African cultures bringing awareness to the fact that virginity is a good thing. The less people are having sexual relations the less the AIDS virus will spread. Many women are afraid to have sex because it can cause them to become sick and pregnant. AIDS is dangerous and can be passed on from mother to child. Many culture leaders are using AIDS to promote virginity. They are insisting that sex before marriage is the cause of AIDS. This is teaching girls that to prevent the further spread of this disease they need to remain virgins.

MODERN WESTERN CULTURE

In Christianity and Modern western cultures virginity is referenced in the Holy Bible. They believe that virginity is sacred and that committing sexual acts is to sin against God. A sin is an immoral act that is considered an evil disobedience against God. This can result in punishment. ""Run away from sexual sin. Every other sin people do is outside their bodies, but those who sin sexually sin against their own bodies. You should know that your body is a temple for the Holy Spirit who is in you. You have received the Holy Spirit from God. So you do not belong to yourselves, because you were bought by God for a price. So honor God with your bodies. 1 Corinthians 6:18-20 " (Holy Bible). These people don't have control of what they do with their bodies, they must follow these laws or they will be punished by God. "Put to death, therefore, whatever belongs to your earthly nature: sexual immorality, impurity, lust, evil desires and greed, which is idolatry. [6]Because of these, the wrath of God is coming" Colossians 3:5-6 (Holy Bible). These passages from The Holy Bible, their book of laws, show how serious they are about virginity. They are threatened with an angry God and must listen so they don't go to Hell. Even in modern Christianity woman are afraid to go to the gynecologist to get a pap smear and a checkup because only "dirty" women do that. Young girls are afraid to talk about sex which causes ignorance within the community leading to unwanted pregnancy and disease. When I was in high school I attended church regularly. When girls get together they talk about boys and makeup and periods, girl stuff. I mentioned going to the gynecologist to get my yearly checkup and all of the girls in my bible study looked at me like I was crazy. None of them had been to the gynecologist before and we were all around 18 years old. They all talked down to me saying only bad girls who have sex go to the "vagina doctor". I have experienced the closed mindedness of others towards this routine health checkup. The purpose of a pap smear is to test for infections and cancers, things that aren't even directly related to sexual activity. Many Christians believe that God is protecting them and that if they are a virgin or married that they don't need to get examined because there is nothing wrong with them. "I believe that God didn't mean for men to be gynecologists period. I think it is bad that they examine and touch private parts of women who they are not married to." (Boone 2010) Beliefs like this cause women to avoid going to the doctor which can lead to undiagnosed cancer and eventually death. Doctors are professionals whose main concern is keeping a person healthy. It is imperative for a woman to keep up with her checkups if she wants to remain healthy. "The truth is it is unnecessary to go to the ob/gyn in many cases. For example, virgin women don't need pap smears at all unless they have smoked before. Some women do home pap smears on themselves." (Boone 2010) Virgin women are still susceptible to some cancers and the best preventative care is in the doctor's office.

CONCLUSION

In all of these different cultures and within these different religions, virginity can be a life or death situation. Culture and religion play a huge role in the decisions of these women and in the decisions made for these women. Fear of something you

might not be able to control is scary thought. Hymen reconstructive surgery can save lives and give woman the chance to live and prosper. Without this surgery they can be punished for something that should be a decision they make for themselves. Should this surgery be a necessity to save women's lives? No, but it does give women more control over their life decisions.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Lauren Bryan is a student at Stephen F. Austin State University majoring in Sociology and minoring in Anthropology. I am married to my wonderful husband Blake, we have been together for over nine years now. We don't have children but we do have 3 dogs, 2 parrots and a chinchilla. We live a minimalist life style so we can focus our energy on learning about the world around us rather than on material things. I chose this topic because I am interested in different cultures and about women's rights. I am interested in helping people learn about themselves by teaching them about other people's lives.

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Religious Women and Increased Prevalence of CVD Risk

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Many studies have reported that religiosity in women supports a healthier lifestyle, better management of symptoms, and often use positive coping mechanisms for their health problems, respectively. However, some studies also support that religiosity in women can lead to increased rates of cardiovascular disease. Most religions offer the similar restrictions, rituals, and propositions for their partisans, including dietary restrictions across religious cultures such as abstinence from pork and alcohol in Islam, pork, shellfish, and certain food combinations in Judaism, and vegetarian diets in Asian religions. The propositions, or rewards, are often not the drive for religious members. Rather, there is a strong social obligation placed on religious members, and often, more strenuous restrictions or guidelines are place on women over their male counterparts. It is speculated that these restrictions and the social pressures associated with them, or, perhaps the physical effects of the foods they are permitted to eat, may be the cause for increased cardiovascular disease rates in religious women. Therefore, more research on the matter should be conducted and evaluated in order to understand causation of cardiovascular disease despite an existing reduced risk of all-cause mortality in religious women.

Powell et al. (2003) published a literature review that examined hypotheses of relationships between religion and physical health (Schnall et al, 2010). Some of the results found indicated that church/service attendance reduced, on average, all-cause mortality rates by 30% after adjustment for socio-economic, demographic, and health-related factors and 25% after adjustment for established risk factors (Schnall et al, 2010). Despite all of the data it has been unclear whether religion or spirituality are associated with any form of cardiovascular disease (CVD) (Schnall et al.) According to Sloan and Bagiella (2002) almost all studies reviewed contain methodological weaknesses, including small quantity of participants, impossibility of random assignment or control groups, participant dropouts, violation of ethic intentions to treat, and many more (Schnall et al., 2010). In addition, Powell et al. (2003) confirmed only four prospective studies with proper designs that related religion to CVD (Schnall et al., 2010). The relationship between church/service attendance and a reduced CVD mortality rate were found by Oman, Kurata, Strawbridge, and Cohen (2002) and Hummer, Rogers, Nam, and Ellison (1999) (Schnall et al., 2010). More specifically, the findings of Kurata, Strawbridge, and Cohen (2002) indicated Orthodox Jews were less likely to die of coronary heart disease (CHD) than non-Orthodox (Schnall et al., 2010). However, Colantonio, Kasl, and Ostfeld (1992) found no statistical significance in the various assessed measures of religiosity directly predicting the incidence of stroke (Schnall et al., 2010).

In a study by Schnall et al. (2010) 92,395 Women's Health Initiative Observational Study female participants aged 50-79, from a total of 40 clinical centers across the United States, were screened for enrollment into a placebo-controlled, double-blind randomized clinical trial of hormone replacement and/or dietary modification, or into an observational study (Schnall et al., 2010). Participants were tasked with completing several self-report questionnaires regarding religion, health behaviors, psychosocial factors, demographics, and health history (Schnall et al., 2010). The religion-related items asked about religious affiliation, frequency of service attendance, and the level of comfort and strength received by religious means (Schnall et al., 2010). Health behavior included smoking, alcohol consumption, and physical activity (Schnall et al., 2010). Psychosocial questions included those concerning social support, life events, life satisfaction, and depression (Schnall et al.,

2010). Demographic information inquired involves age, ethnicity, income, and education achieved (Schnall et al., 2010). Finally, health history questions concern activities of daily living, history of CVD, cancer, and even body mass index (BMI) was recorded upon the first clinical visit (Schnall et al., 2010). Those recruited specifically for the observational study were evaluated on long-term impacts of biological, genetic, and lifestyle factors on the risk of cancer, CVD, and osteoporosis among other health events (Schnall et al., 2010). Younger, white women with a higher income and further educational achievements reported better health, had lower mean BMI, and reported a history of myocardial infarction less frequently (Schnall et al., 2010). Ninety-two point seven percent of participants confirmed some religious affiliation; the largest group was Protestant at 40.9%, then Catholic by 27.3%, other Christian reported by 11%, 7.7% Jewish, 5.7% Eastern, Muslim, or other, and 7.3% reported no religious affiliation (Schnall et al., 2010). A majority (34.1%) of participants had not attended service in the last month, 30.2% reported attending once per week, 21.4% reported less than once per week, and 14.3% reported to never attending services (Schnall et al., 2010). Meanwhile, 63.3% of participants reported that religion provides comfort and strength, 24.1% reported it provides a little comfort, and 12.5% reported none (Schnall et al., 2010). Six thousand one hundred and sixty-one deaths and 2427 CHD events were included in the analysis over a period of 7.7 years (Schnall et al., 2010). Results indicated that women with religious affiliation who attended services more often, and derived the most comfort and strength from their religion had higher crude rates of CHD (Schnall et al., 2010). No crude death rate difference between those affiliated and those unaffiliated with religion were found, however the women who attended services most frequently or did not attend at all had higher mortality rates overall than those in attendance once a week or less (Schnall et al., 2010). Participants who attended religious services once per week or less were at a significantly reduced risk of mortality in all four adjusted models used (Schnall et al., 2010). Nevertheless, those who reported greater comfort and strength from religion were less likely to face mortality from cancer than those who reported less comfort and strength even though they were more likely to die from various forms of cardiovascular diseases (Schnall et al., 2010).

The Women's Health Initiative Observational Study provided extensive data collected from a multiethnic group that allowed controlling for possible strenuous variables, and follow-up data collected provided a way for adjusted models to further ascertain a religion-health link based on factors associated with religious identification or behavior (Schnall et al., 2010). Some of these include the reasonable conclusion that older women with a higher socioeconomic status are better able to attend religious services due to resources, and they may also live longer than someone of a lower socioeconomic status (Schnall et al., 2010). In addition, some healthier life choices such as abstaining from cigarettes and alcohol are not only healthier but also affiliated with religious standards on morality (Powell et al., 2003). Participants who reported religious affiliation and attendance did not consistently affect the risk of CHD, however those who reported strength and comfort from their religion were at an increased risk of disease (Schnall et al., 2010). One limitation of this study is the relatively short longitudinal study period of 7.7 years, compared to Oman et al. (2002), which conducted follow-ups for a period of 31 years (Schnall et al., 2010). Furthermore, no relationship between religious comfort and strength and overall physical health has been adequately assessed, and so future studies should include this calculation (Schnall et al., 2010). Another important factor in this study was the participant base was all post-menopausal females, which excludes younger females and males, and so further research should be conducted to determine the implications of the results of this study (Schnall et al., 2010).

In a study by Lapane et al (1997) a large population-based random sample was used to determine if cardiovascular disease was more prevalent in majority-church members or

non-church members and to compare the CVD risk factors associated (Lapane et al., 1997). It was observed that religious organizations provide an easy channel for implementing healthcare methods because of the well-established social networks within religious organizations, large facilities suitable for lectures, conveniently spread out all over American neighborhoods, receptivity of the members, a history of helpful behavior such as volunteerism, and large involvement of members and their families (Lapane et al., 1997). The participants were randomly selected from two Southeastern and New England communities and were all between ages 18-64 (Lapane et al., 1997). Height, weight, and BMI were measured, blood samples were taken, diastolic and systolic blood pressure was measured, and each participant completed questionnaires about health habits and religious affiliation (Lapane et al., 1997). The researchers found that church members were usually older females, more likely to be married, and had larger household sizes than non-church members (Lapane et al., 1997). Church members were also more likely to report being foreign-born than non-members, and a greater number of church members reported Portuguese ethnicity (Lapane et al., 1997). Few church members reported smoking, and 47.7% reported to never have smoked before, while more non-church members were current smokers (Lapane et al., 1997). However, church members were more likely to be more than 20% overweight, had a 0.8 higher average BMI, exhibited 5.5mg/dl higher average total cholesterol than non-church members, and had a higher systolic blood pressure on average despite similar rates of diabetes prevalence and sedentary lifestyles reported by both groups (Lapane et al., 1997). Differences found in cholesterol levels and systolic blood pressure were most likely due to age, sex, and ethnicity between the two groups, but after adjustment for these variables, differences in diastolic pressure between church and non-church members achieved statistical significance (Lapane et al., 1997). Likewise, adjustment for age, gender, and Portuguese ethnicity favored the non-members with statistically significant differences in both total cholesterol and systolic blood pressure measured (Lapane et al., 1997). Overall, association with CVD risk factors was greater for majority-church members sampled, despite ethnicity, although the reason for this is never discussed (Lapane et al., 1997).

In conclusion, there is simply not enough research conducted on the matter for one to come to a sure conclusion. There are many studies that imply church-goers are healthier than non-church affiliated people because of variables such as a strong social support, meaningful purpose that buffers depression and makes people feel happier, healthy lifestyle messages, and prayer and encouragement through illnesses and hard times (Powell et al., 2003). However, some studies presented in this paper also found results that indicated religious affiliation and faith were connected to greater risks for CHD and mortality from other cardiovascular disease (Schnall et al., 2010). It is also likely some of the study results were confounded by the prevalence of older female participants, as older women have been found to be more likely to attend church regularly than younger people or males (Lapane et al., 1997). There is not enough evidence to support what other factors besides age and gender beyond religiosity may lead to these increased risks of CVD, and so future studies should focus on eating habits, stress levels, reports of depression and anxiety rates, as well as specific religious affiliation so that the restrictions placed in each religion may also be accounted for in results.

Biographical Note

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