ASSOCIATION FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION

The 2013 Annual Proceedings of the ASSR

Edited by:
Jon K. Loessin and Scott Stripling
Wharton County Junior College

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Dallas, Texas
March 8-10, 2013

The Association for the Scientific Study of Religion

presents

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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 a co-editor for *The Year 2013 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 talent who bring with them new styles and topics. As usual, this year's papers are again both scholarly and exceptional.

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 is still free of charge and all we ask in return is your support and participation in our yearly sessions and helping to make them successful by writing and presenting papers, chairing sessions, purchasing a copy of 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 would also like to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the officers of the ASSR for this past year. These are the people who, along with our presenters, truly made the Year 2013 meetings possible.

I hope all of you have a good year and the ASSR will be looking forward to your participation in the ASSR in 2013-2014. Be sure to visit our new Web Site 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, 2012-13 ASSR President

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Seeing the Sacred in Ordinary Places: How the Ordinary Becomes Extraordinary Through the Lens of Faith

Kelley Snowden
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INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIAL AND PERSONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'SACRED'

Dr. Mark Plotkin, in his book Tales of a Shaman's Apprentice (1993), relates his experiences living and studying the healing arts of shamen within the various indigenous tribes living in the rainforest areas of Brazil and neighboring countries. In one encounter, he writes:

> The shaman rolled a dry leaf of tobacco into a cylinder and placed it in a pipe…He then sprinkled several crushed herbs on top of the tobacco. Striking a match from a box I had given him earlier, he began to smoke the tobacco mixture as he sat down beside me…With his right hand, he gently shut my eyes and then started to intone a series of chants in order to invoke the spirits. After a while, I heard one of the walls of the hut begin to shake violently as if something or someone were passing through it. Then the shaman moaned and began a dialogue between himself and a being that seemed to be speaking through him. This continued for what seemed like hours. I slowly drifted into a dreamlike trance, feeling as if I were sinking deeper and deeper into an enormous featherbed. .. The next thing I remember was him waking me gently by tapping me on the cheek with his fingers. He helped me to my feet [and] led me down the path toward the village by the light of a full moon…'Wait here!' commanded the medicine man as he stepped off the path. In a moment he returned, his right fist in a ball. Slowly he uncurled his fingers to reveal three small, sharp, pointed sticks. 'Yolok peleu,' he said. 'The arrows of the evil spirits.' He closed his fist and opened it again. There was nothing there. I was too frightened to ask any questions. (Plotkin, 1993:230).

Even those who harbor a traditional, Western understanding of the meaning of the 'sacred' may, upon closer scrutiny, identify many points at which this narrative is clearly defining what is sacred from both the perspective and the actions of this rainforest shaman. Plotkin, a Harvard-trained ethnobotanist, is also clearly deeply enthralled in this unfolding scenario. Even his first sentence describes an elaborate sacred ritual designed to evoke a specific response from the spirit world. Taking the symbolic-interactionist approach of Mary Douglas as outlined in her work, *Purity and Danger* (2002), what is 'sacred' here revolves around a series of protective rituals that work to restore order and safety from an other-worldly imposed danger. In this context, it is clear that the understanding of the account of

the shaman's sacred rite is far more generalizable than the single account within one tribe in the Amazon rainforest.

Clearly, capturing the meaning of what is 'sacred' to literally thousands of religious groups—as well as persons who see the sacred as lying outside any religious group—is destined to be incomplete, if not impossible. However, the attempt must begin to by developing a highly abstract, generalizable concept, while retaining its meaning at the level of individual practice and beliefs. Durkheim's (1912:69) famous definition of *religion* is "…a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things; that is, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which [individuals are] united in one single moral community …" With respect to this definition, Durkheim is aptly described by Foucault (in Rabinow, 1984:25) as a towering figure in an intellectual enterprise who "provides a paradigmatic set of terms, images, and concepts which organize thinking and experience…[and] *doing so in such a way that enigmatically surpasses the specific claims they put forth*" (italics added).

As a 'founder of discourse,' in Foucault's language, Durkheim's definition has in fact been taken as 'paradigmatic' and incorporated into countless sociological treatises. It has, however, been roundly criticized by figures such as Durkheim's contemporary, van Gennep,[1] who saw Durkheim's definition and the theoretical structure that he developed out of it as being divorced from both empirical evidence and a concrete understanding of the nature of the 'sacred.' Gennep argued that Durkheim, in developing a coherent, powerful theory of the religious foundation for establishing social cohesion, made the fundamental error of ignoring the sacred elements that are actually *practiced*—and not set apart—in the everyday lives of religious practitioners. One has only to reflect on Plotkin's encounter with the rainforest shaman to recognize this: Every aspect of the sacred is brought to bear not only in understanding the nature of reality, but in its direct intervention.

In Foucault's critique of Freud and Marx—and this critique can also be applied to Durkheim—their theories have taken on a certain 'sacred' aura that defies refutation. However, a complete revision of this image of religion as a unifying force becomes increasingly necessary, as religion itself becomes subject to the forces of postmodernity and globalization. In Wuthnow's (1998) view, religious 'dwelling' (Durkheim's assumed place of worship and hence of the sacred), has been largely replaced by 'seeking,' or more privatized forms of spiritual belief and practice that may exist in a sphere for the individual separate from any officially-designated place of worship.

As a result, the 'sacred canopy' that Berger envisioned as the role of religion has largely been diminished in size: the canopy has become a seemingly endless field of pup tents. Durkheim was, in many respects, the consummate modernist; the reshaping of religion and images of the sacred, meanwhile, have taken a decidedly postmodern turn.

As Wuthnow (1998:1) suggests: "…the deeper meaning of spirituality seems to be moving in a new direction…beliefs are becoming more eclectic, and the commitments are often becoming more private." It appears that the long-standing and pervasive 'secularization debate' (cf. Stark and Bainbridge, 1985; Norris and Inglehart, 2004), could be resolved through the recognition that the 'sacred,' which was once largely the province of

[1] See van Gennep's full critique in *The Rites of Passage* (New York: Routledge), 2010.

and defined by established religion, has now become for many a highly personalized quest for meaning. In turn, the quest may now lie outside the walls of (and thus the control of) the traditional religion conceived by Durkheim.

However, it still may be the case that individuals who undertake this spiritual quest remain anchored within the boundaries of established religion. Thus, what is 'private' and what is 'public' religion is no longer, for many, a meaningful distinction. What this study has attempted is the articulation of the relationships and differences between these two spheres, through the recruitment of subjects who are members of established religions. The subjects are, however, actively engaged in establishing sacred meanings that are attached to physical spaces and objects that lie outside their traditional religious group, in which they remain active participants.

THE PROJECT:

The purpose of this project then was to examine the relationship between an individual and his/her natural, social, and built environments as interpreted through faith. The primary questions addressed by the study were: (1) What landscapes or landscape features do people identify and sacred? (2) How do individuals dialogue with their surroundings through faith? This study focused on the individual's perception of their surroundings and how that perception is interpreted through faith through the identification of landscapes and landscapes features that the individual selects as "sacred" or having deep spiritual significance.

In the fall of 2011 a grant from the Office of Research and Sponsored Projects at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas enabled a pilot study to be conducted in Nacogdoches, Texas and the surrounding area. The pilot study consisted of a snowball sample of volunteers from Christian churches. Of the approximately 200 listed Christian churches in city of Nacogdoches, seven responded to our request for volunteers. Project leaders met with responding church leaders who then discussed the project with their congregations. Volunteers signed up to attend a training session explaining the project and their role in it. In total, 36 volunteers from seven different churches representing five different Christian denominations were recruited. Twenty-five of these volunteers completed all aspects of the study. Participating churches included: Austin Heights Baptist Church, Bethlehem Baptist Church, Christ Episcopal Church, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Lone Star Baptist Church, St. Mary's Catholic Campus Ministry, and Unity Christian Church.

METHODOLOGY:

This project utilized photovoice methodology. Photovoice, as originally pioneered by Wang and Burris (1997) is a form of participatory needs assessment useful in the identification of problems at the grassroots level and promoting community action. In photovoice, volunteers are given cameras and asked to take pictures in their community in response to a set of guiding questions. According to Wang and Burris (1997), "It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts

for change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image to furnish evidence and to promote effective, participatory means of sharing expertise and knowledge." However, as opposed to identifying community issues, in this study we asked volunteers to engage their surroundings and document and record their perceptions through photographs and text. Volunteers were provided a disposable camera and a journal. They were then asked to take pictures within their community in response to the following questions: (1) As a person of faith, what do you value in your landscape and why? ; (2) What landscapes or landscape features best reflect your relationship with God? ; and, (3) To what landscapes or landscape features do you attach spiritual significance, and why? In their journals volunteers explained why they selected the places they photographed. Finally, In addition to taking pictures and completing a journal, volunteers completed a survey collecting demographic information and information on personal religiosity and spirituality incorporating scaled response and open-ended questions.[2]

A variety of different types of data were collected via this combination of instruments. At the end of the project, 35 completed surveys and 362 photographs with accompanying text were collected. For the initial analysis, frequencies were obtained on the demographic and scaled response survey questions. Thematic analysis was used to identify themes and categories of themes within the open-ended questions, photographs, and journal entries. Photographs were also categorized by subject.

VOLUNTEER PROFILE:

Among our volunteers, 64% were female and 36% male. The average age was 47. 94% were white and 6% were African American. 64% were married, 22% single, and 14% were either widowed or divorced. A wide range of annual household incomes were reported, but over half reported an annual household income between $30,000 and $60,000. The educational levels included 30% reporting "some college," 17% had earned a bachelor's degree, and 39% had completed graduate school earning either a master's degree or a PhD.

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL BEHAVIOR:

During the training session, volunteers completed a survey including questions examining six areas: religiosity, spirituality, connections, the importance of community and family, the individual's personal relationship with God, and expressions of belief. Volunteers identified themselves as being both deeply religious and spiritual. The majority reported that they found "strength and comfort" in their religion, and that religion is important in their daily lives. Well over half of our volunteers reported that they attend church on a weekly basis and all made regular contributions to their church, averaging approximately $1,500 per year. The majority of the volunteers reported that they have had a life changing spiritual

[2] Scaled response questions used in this study to examine religiosity and spirituality were adapted for use from the work of Ralph L. Piedmont, "Does Spirituality Represent the Sixth Factor of Personality? Spiritual Transcendence and the Five-Factor Model," Journal of Personality, Vol. 67, No. 6, Dec. 1999.

experience and most reported a spiritual experience wherein they lost track of time or their location. All of our volunteers agreed that they are "touched by the beauty of creation," and the majority reported that they have been able to "step outside" themselves and experience a larger sense of fulfillment. Almost all of our volunteers believe that all life is inter-connected and that we all share a common bond. Many reported that they feel they have an "emotional bond" with all of humanity and almost all believe that their life is part of a larger spiritual force. Except for a very few, almost all reported a spiritual experience wherein they felt deeply connected to God and the world. With few exceptions our volunteers agreed that it is important to give something back to the community and identified themselves as "link" in their family's heritage from past, present, and to the future. The majority of our volunteers believe that God watches over them and that they feel God's presence and love. Most work with God "as a partner," and look to God for guidance on a daily basis. Finally, the majority of our volunteers believe that there is a larger meaning to life, there is an order to the universe, and there is a life after death. (See Tables 1-6)

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS:

At the end of the survey volunteers were asked to explain the meaning of "sacred" in an open-ended question. Answers to this question fell into six categories:

- Something that enables connections between the individual and the Divine (38%)
- Dedicated to, touched by, or an act of God (25%)
- Inspiring awe or reverence (17%)
- A veil between worlds (6%)
- An ephemeral experience (6%)
- Something of spiritual value (8%)

Examples of definitions that fall within each category are included in Table 7.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS:

362 photographs were collected with accompanying journal text. Three categories of photographs were identified. These include natural, public, and private landscapes and landscape features. (See Figures 1-4)

As volunteers wrote about their photographs the subject of the photos in many cases was directly identified as illustrating a particular theme, such as "being an example of God's love," or "evidence of the presence of God." The text and photographs were examined and eleven themes were identified that fall within three categories; making connections, life, and the individual (Figure 5). In addition, 26% of the landscapes and features photographed were identified as sacred based on their connection to, or evocation of, a memory of a past activity or event that may or may not have occurred at the location photographed.

A review of the photographs and journal entries illustrates that above all else *faith has geography*, and within this geography two types of landscapes are predominant. These

include the established collective idea of the sacred place, i.e. churches and cemeteries, and the highly individualistic interpretation that may take any form.

Forty-four photographs of churches and cemeteries were documented, approximately 12% of the total. It is interesting to note that among the 362 photographs and journal entries, only 18 contain direct references to scripture, and these are primarily from a single journal. Instead, throughout this study, volunteers focused on their individual *interpretation* of the sacred and selected landscapes that were part of their day-to-day activity space. Journal entries indicate that volunteers visited these places because of a pre-existing spiritual attachment.

Approximately seven percent of the photographs demonstrate a "stepwise" movement, as volunteers photographed the interior of their homes or churches and slowly worked their way outside into the greater environment. This stepwise movement may indicate that at least some volunteers were initially unsure as to how to engage their larger surroundings, and chose to ease into the assignment. One particular volunteer began their journal with a series of photos of the interior of their home showing a bank of windows. They then progressed to a photo of the porch attached to the church, and from there moved outside.

Public landmarks including historical markers, monuments, and statuary were also photographed. Public monuments were not necessarily identified as sacred spaces in and of themselves, but rather as reminders of events, the notion of sacrifice and duty, and public service. One volunteer used a public monument to recall the tragic life of a historic Native American figure. Photographs of public markers, monuments, and landmarks constitute less than 5% of the total number of photographs recorded. However, these are not the only examples of the interpretation of "civil" landscapes as sacred. Public landmarks are *features* of public parks and gardens that make up 15% of the total number of photographs taken.

Finally, over the course of the study, "iconic" landscapes developed. These were landscapes that were photographed by multiple individuals, and interpreted largely in the same manner. Two types of landscapes emerged as iconic: trees and gardens. Trees were associated with the idea of resurrection, re-growth, and connection to the Divine. Gardens were associated with individual sanctuary and spiritual and physical sustenance.

The following photographs are only a few examples of the types of photos and journal entries collected. Additional photographs and project videos from each participating group are available for viewing on the project webpage, www.drksnowden.com. The project videos present the range of photos collected. In addition, for each church, the core beliefs are identified providing a group context for the interpretation as the photographs as extensions of these beliefs.

At rest with the Lord, in the shadows of ancient oaks and a historical church. The Peace of the Lord is prevalent here. – BG, CCE, Photo #6

Churches and cemeteries are well established, recognized sacred places. However, they constitute a small percentage of the photos taken.

I feel so close to God in the morning as I watch the sunrise. This morning was special as I was able to watch the rise over the lake. Psalm 113:
Alleluia! Praise, servants of Yahweh, praise the name of Yahweh.
Blessed be the name of Yahweh, henceforth and forever.
From the rising of the sun to its setting, praised be the name of Yahweh!
Supreme over all nations is Yahweh, supreme over the heavens his glory.
Who is like Yahweh our God? His throne is set on high,
but he stoops to look down on heaven and earth.
He raises the poor from the dust, he lifts the needy from the dunghill,
to give them a place among princes, among princes of his people.
He lets the barren woman be seated at home, the happy mother of sons.

References to scripture were found primarily in one journal.
The volunteer was a member of a Catholic church.

Bench #13 is where I once went when I was very depressed. I would lay on my back for hours looking at the kaleidoscope of green leaves above. Slowly I came out of the sadness my heart had descended into. It was the natural beauty of my surroundings and the love of God in those surroundings that drew me out. If not for this place, I may not be here. – ALG, AHBC, Photo #11

Common places were the most photographed:
Places the volunteer had been before or went regularly as part of their activity space.

When I look out this bank of windows at the front of my house I feel grateful to God for the beauty of the earth, and connected with God's creation as I observe the changing of the seasons/times of day. I feel blessed to live in a simple house where I have this gorgeous view. ED, AHBC, Photo #1

Some volunteers appeared uneasy with directly engaging their larger environment and began their journals by photographing the interior of their homes or churches.

Austin Heights Baptist Church built this porch for us because they knew how important "porching" is to us, to be out wherever we feel connected to God's creation. Jesus said, "Whenever 2 or 3 are gathered in my name, I am there." ED, AHBC, Photo#4

Porches could be identified as "transitional" areas as the volunteers move from the interior of their homes or churches to engage larger surroundings.

Lanana creek in the Tucker woods – Native Plant Center-part of my walk-"He leads me beside still waters." The woods are the "natural world," a place to observe the processes of God's creation. Often chaotic-looking, life is often messy and chaotic, but "you gotta go through it." God is with us every step of the way. ED, AHBC, Photo #14

Parks, paths, and trails were frequently photographed and volunteers recorded direct connections with the Divine and the sacred in these surroundings.

Chief Bole's story is of epic standards, but here he signs a treaty of peace in hopes of getting land for his people. He was later executed near Tyler by the now famous Texans who have towns and counties named after them. He was wearing the sash and sword that Houston gave him for signing this treaty. Truly a sacred life. CTS, CCE, Photo #6

Landmarks and monuments, although not frequently photographed, were used by our volunteers to make larger connections to history, sacrifice, and civic duty.

We are beautifully surrounded here in East Texas by wonderful, towering pine trees. These gentle giants remind me of the strength of God and His presence around us. All we have to do is stop, and look, to see it. BG, CCE, Photo #8

Trees and gardens emerged as iconic landscapes.

Peace and happiness can be achieved by providing food for your family and friends.
JWB, CCE, Photo #8

Vegetable, flower, and prayer gardens were all identified as sacred places. Common themes associated with these landscapes were sustenance (both physical and spiritual), resurrection, renewal, and sanctuary.

CONCLUSION: THE 'SACRED' RECONSIDERED

Does the 'sacred' transcend the boundaries of religion? Defined in a strictly traditionalistic way, this analysis is consistent with the growing numbers of studies providing evidence that the sacred transcends formal religion. In his widely recognized consideration of 'civil religion,' Bellah (1991) observed that objects of the state, as well as social institutions and beliefs within the state, can take on attitudes of transcendent reverence that are identical to objects and beliefs within the religious sphere.

As depicted primarily in Fig. 3, Bellah's observation appears to be warranted. However, one contribution of this study is the clear indication that the expansion of this category to 'public landmarks' is necessary. What is publically 'sacred,' then, may hold a wide variety of private meanings for individuals. When combined with the sense of the sacred as residing in both natural and private settings, there is a striking parallel to what Plotkin found among the peoples in the rainforest cited in the introduction. In the broadest sense, this study suggests a unifying dimension of spiritual life that underlies all formal, 'normative' expressions of the sacred.

However, the volunteers for this study were all recruited from established Christian denominations, and this fact significantly impacts the findings in several ways. First, it is clear that a significant number of these persons tied their experiences of the sacredness of landscapes to the themes of established religion, even quoting scripture to illustrate their feelings. For example, this quote from volunteer in the study explained the sacredness of a landscape photo by quoting Genesis 19: 'And God said, Let the water under the sky be gathered into one place…' Thus, there is a tradition-bound justification for what is sacred, although what is determined to be sacred may not be formally recognized by that traditional religion.

Interestingly, volunteers belonging to a religious organization that traditionally confined the notion of the sacred to 'inner' space, appeared to find the task of identifying features outside the church walls challenging. This was in contrast to those who claimed as their place of worship a more 'open' attitude toward the sacredness of landscapes and objects outside the church setting. Although the size of the population studied here was far too restricted to make overarching assertions, it might be the case that a religious organization still possesses a strong ability to shape individual conceptions about the sacred without the individual's conscious awareness of this. Thus, it is possible that traditional Catholics, for example, may easily identify sacred objects within the church itself, while viewing landscapes and objects outside the church settings as possessing beauty and unique qualities. However, there may be no accompanying sense that these features are somehow 'set apart' from the mundane by having sacred qualities. This, if true, may in turn have practical implications in terms of the person's concern for environmental issues and concerns.

The current study also corroborates the findings of other contemporary investigations that employ different methodologies. In an attempt to capture the most current trends in religion and spirituality, the *Pew Forum on Religion and Religious Life* (2012) identifies the growing number of 'nones' over the past five decades in the U.S. According to the Pew Report, 'nones' are "…people who

answer a survey question about their religion by saying they have no religion, no particular religion, no religious preference…" (*Pew Forum on Religion and Religious Life,* 2012:7). An early student of this trend (Vernon, 1968:17) remarked that "[This designation] provides a negative definition, specifying what a phenomenon is not, rather than what it is. Intentionally or not, such a use implies that only those affiliated with a formal group are religious."

This study extends this criticism. The findings presented in this research indicate that those who identify with a formal religion are in fact religious, but hold both spiritual and religious beliefs in ways similar to the 'nones'. The 2012 *Pew Forum* survey also found, for example, that: "Many of the country's unaffiliated adults are religious or spiritual in some way. Two-thirds of them say they believe in God (68%). More than half express some connection with nature and the earth (58%)" (*Pew Forum on Religious Life:* 2012:8). Although the methodology of the Pew Forum report is different from that of the current investigation, which employs a more open-ended and inductive approach, allowing volunteers to self-identify and describe their beliefs, it appears that the Pew findings are similar to those of our population, even though they claimed a formal religious affiliation.

The implication of this is that new beliefs about religion and spirituality are emerging both from within and without the confines of traditional, formal religion. As Cimino and Lattin (1999:62) have observed, what is 'spirituality' and what is 'religion' have become increasingly intertwined: "Spirituality is a religion of the heart, not of the head. It downplays doctrine and dogma, and revels in direct experience of the divine…It is practical and personal." Many of the individual reports in this study have illustrated these characteristics. That the findings using the methodological approach of this study echo the findings of extensive, national studies on the changes within formal religion utilizing more traditional, quantitative approaches is further evidence of the collapse of Berger's overarching 'canopy' into individually stylized, far more personal forms of belief.

Biographical Note

Kelley Snowden is a research associate in the Center for Regional Heritage and an adjunct professor in the department of Social and Cultural Analysis at Stephen F. Austin State University. Her interests include historical geography and the interpretation of place.

Tom Segady is a professor in the Department of Social and Cultural Analysis at Stephen F. Austin State University. His interests include classical sociological theory and comparative religion.

Table 1: Religiosity	
Questions	Responses
I am a deeply religious person.	75% strongly agree or agree that they are "deeply religious."
I find strength and comfort in my religion.	86% strongly agree or agree that they find "strength and comfort" in their religion.
How often do you attend church?	67% attend church weekly, 19% attend twice a week.
How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of your place of worship other than attending services?	88% take part in activities or organizations associated with their place of worship very often or somewhat often.
How important is religion in your day-to-day living?	91% identify that religion in of great or moderate importance in their daily lives.
In the past year, how much money did you and your household contribute to your church?	All reported making monetary contributions to their church within the last year, with the average contributed being $1,500.00.

Table 2: Spirituality	
Questions	Responses
I am spiritually touched by the beauty of creation.	100% either strongly agree or agree that they "touched by the beauty of creation."
I have been able to step outside myself to experience a larger sense of fulfillment.	83% have been able to "step outside" themselves and experience a "larger sense of fulfillment."
I have had a spiritual experience where I have lost track of where I was, or the passage of time.	69% strongly agree or agree that they have had a spiritual experience wherein they lost track of time or their location.
I have had a spiritual experience that changed my life.	86% strongly agree or agree that they have had a life changing spiritual experience.

I am a deeply spiritual person.	92% strongly agree or agree that they are "deeply spiritual."

Table 3: Connections	
Questions	Responses
All life is inter-connected.	91% Strongly agree or agree that all life is inter-connected.
I feel that on a higher level, all of us share a common bond.	90% strongly agree or agree that all share a common bond.
I feel an emotional bond with all humanity.	86% strongly agree or agree that they have an "emotional bond" with all humanity.
I have had a spiritual experience where I have felt deeply connected to God and the World.	94% strongly agree or agree that they have had a spiritual experience where they felt deeply connected to God and the World.
My life is part of a larger spiritual force.	92% strongly agree or agree that their life is part of a larger spiritual force.

Table 4: Importance of Community and Family	
Questions	Responses
It is important to me to give something back to the community.	97% strongly agree or agree that it is important to give something back to the community.
I am a link in the chain of my family's heritage, a bridge between past and future.	95% strongly agree or agree that they are a "link" in their family's heritage.

Table 5: Personal Relationship with God

Questions	Responses
I believe in a God who watches over me.	81% strongly agree or agree that God watches over them.
I feel God's presence and love for me, directly or through others.	94% strongly agree or agree that they feel God's presence and love.
I work with God as a partner.	72% strongly agree or agree that they work with God as a partner.
I look to God for strength, support and guidance on a daily basis.	77% strongly agree or agree that they look to God on a daily basis.
I try to make sense of the situation and decide what to do without relying on God.	47% strongly disagree or disagree that they try to make sense out of situation, or make decisions, without relying on God. 28% neither agree nor disagree. 25% strongly agree or agree that they try to make sense out of a situation and decide what to do without relying on God.

Table 6: Expressions of Belief	
Questions	Responses
I believe there is a larger meaning to life.	81% strongly agree or agree that there is a larger meaning to life.
There is an order to the universe that transcends human thinking.	94% strongly agree or agree that there is an order to the universe.
I believe in a life after death.	89% believe in a life after death.

Table 7: The Meaning of Sacred: Sample Definitions	
Categories	Definitions of the Sacred

Enables a Connection between the Individual and the Divine	"Something that causes emotional connection or feeling."
Dedicated to, touched by, or an act of God	"Sacred is holy or has been touched by a person of great holiness and God is present within it."
Inspiring Awe or Reverence	"It pertains to something bigger or greater than us, more significant than the daily grind."
Veil between Worlds	"A place where a sense of the sacred breaks through-like the "thin places" of Celtic spirituality."
Ephemeral Experience	"It is beyond description, like a baby's breath, it is a feeling that is very difficult to describe, and whenever you do, it is no longer sacred."
Something of Spiritual Value	"A place or object believed to hold spiritual value to a person or persons."

Figure 1: Categories of Photographs

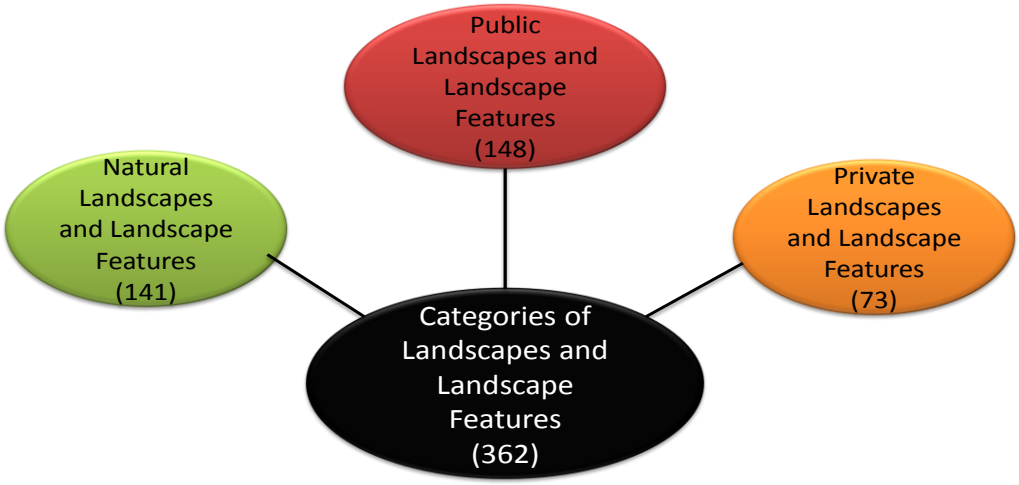


Figure 2: Natural Landscapes and Landscape Features

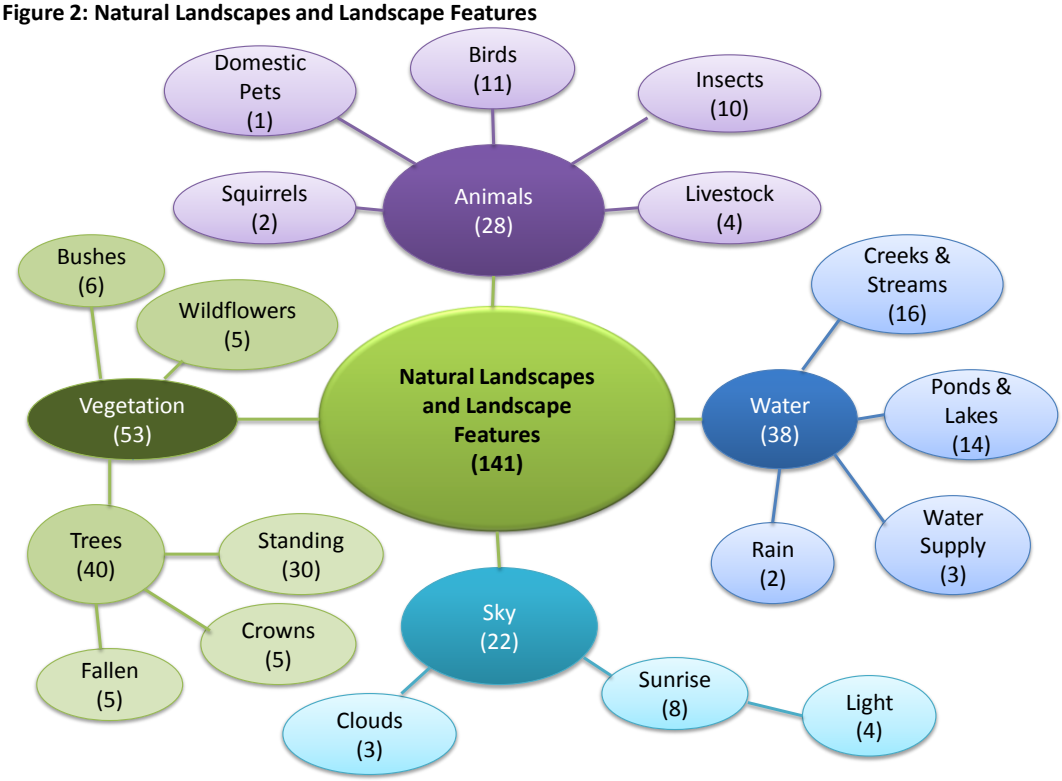


Figure 3: Public Landscapes and Landscape Features

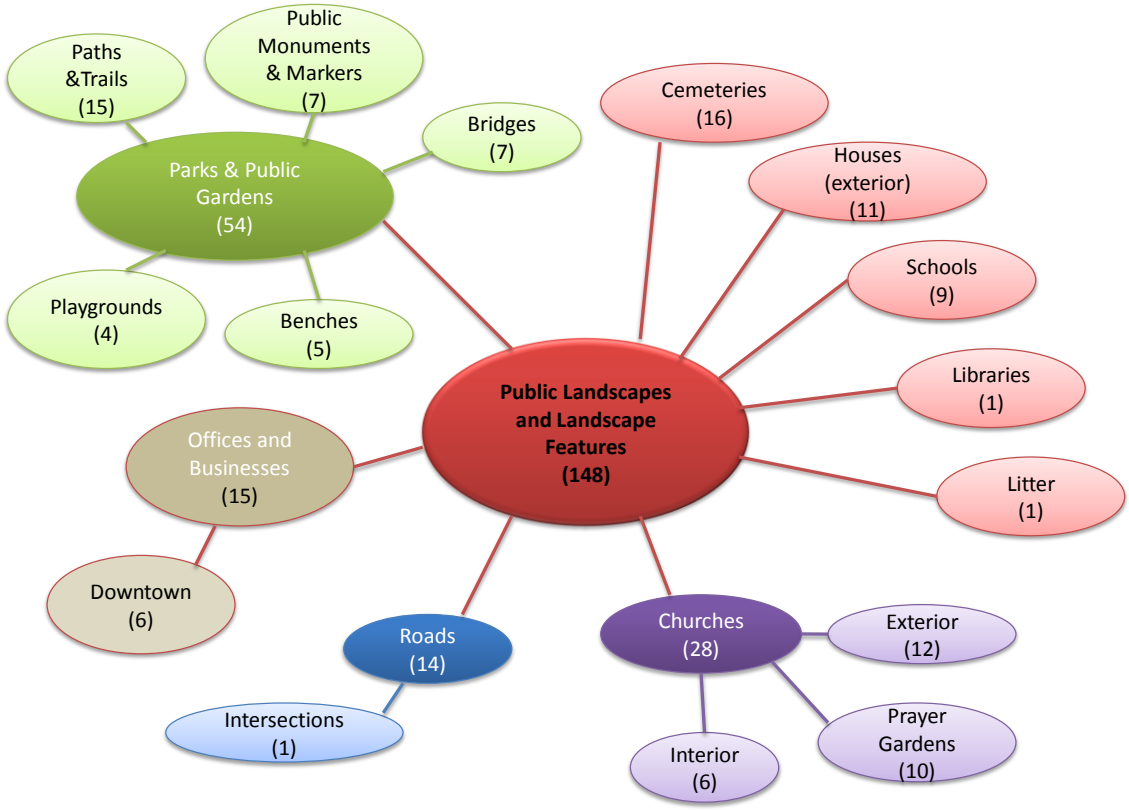


Figure 4: Private Landscapes and Landscape Features

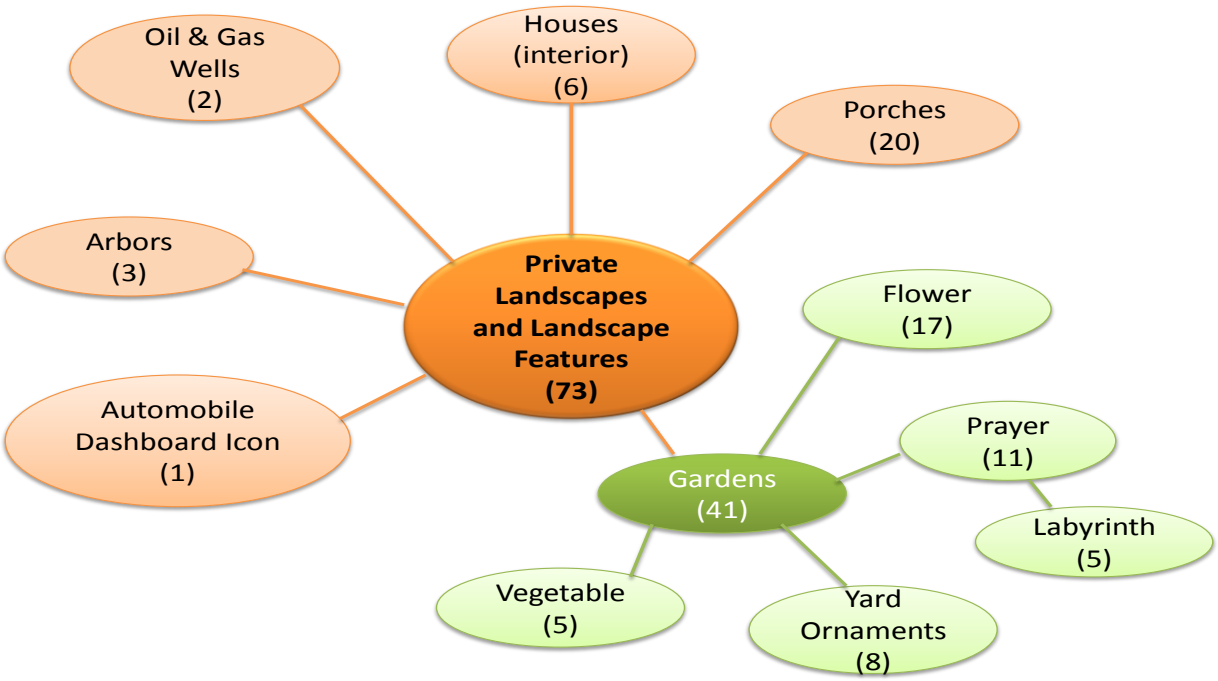
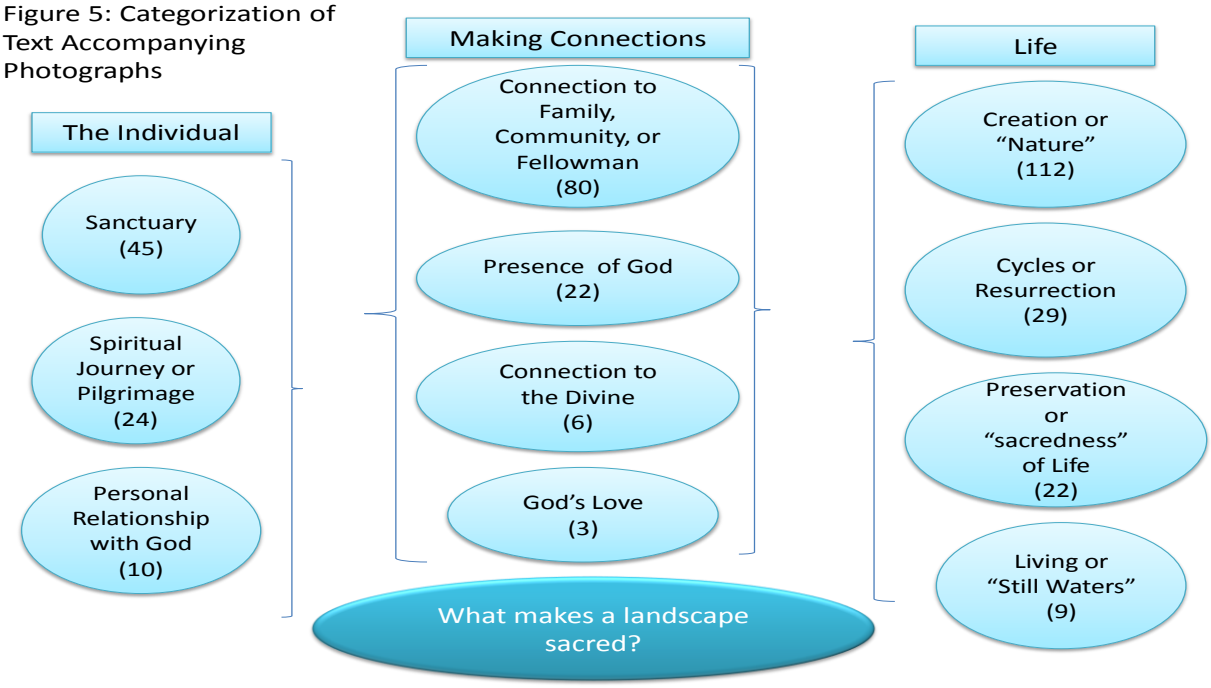


Figure 5: Categorization of Text Accompanying Photographs



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Who are you? Who, who, who, who? Personal Identity and Post-Resurrection Life

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San Antonio Campus

Well, who are you? (Who are you? Who, who, who, who?)
I really wanna know (Who are you? Who, who, who, who?)
Tell me, who are you? (Who are you? Who, who, who, who?)
'Cause I really wanna know (Who are you? Who, who, who, who?)
"Who Are You?" The Who
From the album, *Who Are You? Polydor/MCA,* 1978

Introduction

In the fall term of 1985, I enrolled in an eschatology course at Southwestern Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, taught by Dr. Boyd Hunt. Admittedly, as Isaac Watts painfully reminds us in his hymn, "time, like an ever-rolling stream," has now washed away most of the cognitive activity from those few weeks; but, one statement has remained fixed in my head. Dr. Hunt told the class that, in heaven, we would know him as Boyd Hunt. Some twenty-eight years later, the statement continues to mystify me. Why?

Boyd Hunt knew me only as a 35-year old seminary student who sat in only one of his classes. Assuming I live until the ripe old age of 80 and pass into the heavens, will he recognize me as an old man? Or, what about my own father who died at 61 years of age when I was 22? Will he recognize his 80-year old son in heaven's bliss when the last time he saw me, I had more mass and muscles and fewer folds and furrows?

In philosophical discussion, this conundrum is known as the problem of *personal identity*. The problem may be approached in two ways: 1) as a *metaphysical issue*, focusing on the nature or reality of what it is for one person to be the same distinctive person in later life (or in the afterlife) as the infant who entered the world with a whimper; or 2) as an *epistemological issue,* focusing on how we know that said older person is indeed the same person as the infant and not someone else who perhaps resembles the older person in one or more ways.[1]

The reference point for establishing personal identity is not epistemological. How someone knows that, at 80 years of age, I am the same person my dad last saw at 20 years of age is not essential to personal identity. Rather, the reference point of personal identity is

[1] Stephen E. Braude, "Personal Identity and Postmortem Survival," *Social Philosophy and Policy* 22:2 (July 2005): 226..

metaphysical or ontological. It attempts to confirm that, at 80 years of age, I am indeed the same person my dad last saw at 20 years of age whether anyone, including my dad, recognizes that identity or not.[2] In other words, it affirms that the 80-year old person is *numerically identical* to the same person 60 years earlier, although *qualitatively different.*[3]

It is a biological given that human beings, as all living creatures, will one day die. Humans, however, have a unique perspective in that they of all creatures have the mental capacity to contemplate the possibility that life in some manner persists after death. For Christians, there are grounds for preserving the ontological distinctiveness of human beings. In particular, the Christian theist embraces the biblical notions of the creation of human beings in the image of God and bodily resurrection. The philosophical issue, however, focuses keenly on the question of personal identity. Lynn Rudder Baker captures the core of the problem: "To have life after death is to have *postmortem* experiences linked to each other and to *premortem* experiences in a way that preserves personal identity."[4]

In this paper, I offer an abbreviated summary of traditional views on personal identity by which a postmortem person would be the same as the premortem person who, for example, sat in a seminary classroom more than two decades ago. I will then present more recent approaches and conclude by offering and defending the position which seems to satisfy the theistic distinctives I hold as noted above. I take seriously the admonition[5] that all attempts to describe the metaphysical nature associated with postmortem bodily resurrection and personal identity will be tenuous. Thus, with no scheme for offering the "final word" on the matter, I humbly press on.

Traditional Views on Personal Identity

Dualism—Separation of Person and Body Dualism is the theory that human nature is composed of two distinct substances—the human body and the human soul. Its celebrated champion was René Descartes (1596-1650). His famous statement, "I think therefore I am" still rings loud and clear as a foundational philosophical statement and one which has been the subject of unbroken research since.[6]

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[2] Lynne Rudder Baker, "Death and the Afterlife," *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford: University Press, 2005), 369.

[3] Nancey Murphy, *Bodies and Souls, or Spirited Bodies?* Current Issues in Theology (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), 132.

[4] Baker, "Death and the Afterlife," 369. [emphasis mine]

[5] With appreciation to Kevin J. Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature: A Christian Materialist Alternative to the Soul* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 22.

[6] Descartes' statement appears first in *Discourse on the Method* which, in French, reads*: "Je pense, donc je suis."* The more popularized Latin translation, *Cogito ergo sum,* is found in §7 of *Principles of Philosophy.* In the *Meditations*, Descartes affirms: "I am—I exist: this is certain; but how often? As often as I think; for perhaps it would even happen, if I should wholly cease to think, that I should at the same time altogether cease to be." René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy,* II, 6, trans. Donald A. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1979).

Descartes' famed maxim means that human bodies do not have the capacity to think. They are "extended things" in terms of number, magnitude, and time; in other words, bodies take up space.[7] A human body is that which can be enclosed ("terminated by a certain figure" or person), has a definite location in space, and occupies a unique space which cannot be shared by other bodies.[8] They are "ordinary physical objects composed of ordinary matter in complex configurations."[9]

Human souls or persons, on the other hand, do think. Descartes argued:

> Thinking is another attribute of the soul; and here I discover what properly belongs to myself. This alone is inseparable from me. I am—I exist: this is certain; but how often? As often as I think; for perhaps it would even happen, if I should wholly cease to think, that I should at the same time altogether cease to be. I now admit nothing that is not necessarily true. I am therefore, precisely speaking, only a thinking thing, that is, a mind (*mens sive animus*), understanding, or reason, terms whose signification was before unknown to me. I am, however, a real thing, and really existent; but what thing? The answer was, a thinking thing.[10]

Thinking or mental activities take epistemological priority over physical activities, sensations, and perceptions, which Descartes identifies as "that [which] can be perceived either by touch, sight, hearing, taste, or smell . . ."[11] It is thought alone which belongs to the soul or person, and it is thought alone or, more properly, the act of thinking which validates human existence: "Thinking is another attribute of the soul; and here I discover what properly belongs to myself."[12] Cartesian dualism makes three claims. First, it strictly denies the possibility that any form of mental phenomena may be identified with physical phenomena. Second, mental items—to include sensations, thoughts, emotions, and desires—are elements of mental subjects; any time these sensations occur, they occur in a psychological state, act, or activity. Third, the subjects of mentality are entirely nonphysical despite their frequent identification with items of a corporeal nature.[13] Thus, the claims of Cartesian dualism identify two fundamental kinds of *substances*—mental substances and physical substances. Substances also have *properties*—the ways things can be or fail to

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[7] Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* I, 7.

[8] Descartes explains: "By body I understand all that can be terminated by a certain figure; that can be comprised in a certain place, and so fill a certain space as therefrom to exclude every other body; that can be perceived either by touch, sight, hearing, taste, or smell; that can be moved in different ways, not indeed of itself, but by something foreign to it by which it is touched [and from which it receives the impression]; *Meditations on First Philosophy*, II, 5.

[9] Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature*, 26.

[10] Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* II, 6.

[11] *Ibid.,* II, 5.

[12] *Ibid.,* II, 6. David Hume humorously remarked: "The Cartesian doubt, therefore, were it ever possible to be attained by any human creature (as it plainly is not) would be entirely incurable." Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Harvard Classics, vol 37 (New York: Collier, 1910), 407-08.

[13] John Foster, "A Brief Defense of the Cartesian View," in *Soul, Body, and Survival: Essays on the Metaphysics of Human Persons*, Kevin Corcoran, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 2001), 15-16.

be—but, any single substance can have only one kind of property. Physical properties belong to the body, while mental properties belong to the soul.[14] As Murphy notes, "It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of this radical distinction between the material and the non-material for later thought."[15]

Physicalism—Identification of Person and Body Although dualism has been a major, if not the leading, contender among various philosophical views of human nature, advances in physics, biology, and neuroscience has led to a waning among the number of dualists while the number of physicalists has increased dramatically.[16]

Physicalism[17] is the view that everything is physical or, in contemporary philosophical assertion, that everything *supervenes on*, or is necessitated by, the physical.[18] The notion of supervenience is notorious to define and, despite decades of scholarly discussion, little in the way of "satisfactory results" has emerged.[19] The notion of supervenience was first introduced into philosophy of mind by Donald Davidson:

Davidson describes his view of the relation between the mental and the physical as *anomalous monism*.

> Anomalous monism resembles materialism in its claim that all events are physical, but rejects the thesis, usually considered essential to materialism, that mental phenomena can be given purely physical explanations. . . . Although the position I describe denies there are psychophysical laws, it is consistent with the view that mental characteristics are in some sense dependent, or supervenient, on physical characteristics. Such supervenience might be taken to mean that there cannot be two

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[14] Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature*, 26-27.

[15] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls, 45*.

[16] *Ibid.,* 39, 71.

[17] The term "physicalism" first appeared as a philosophical term in Otto Neurath's "Physicalism: The Philosophy of the Viennese Circle." Neurath's view differentiates between moral concepts and the natural sciences, by which he hopes to eliminate the selfish human longing to be the Divine Favorite, leaving physicalism as the option only: "In Germany it is the fashion to oppose *Geisteswissenschaften*, the 'intellectual or moral sciences,' to the others, to separate cultural science sharply from natural science and to demand special methods for each of the two fields, In Physicalism no such separation is tenable, which in the last analysis can be traced back to the unwillingness of man to give up entirely his special position as part of a celestial kingdom." See Otto Neurath, "Physicalism: The Philosophy of the Vienna Circle," in *Philosophical Papers 1913–1946*, R.S. Cohen and M. Neurath, eds. (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1983), 50. The Viennese Circle was a cluster of philosophers, scientists and mathematicians living and working in Vienna prior to World War II. Prominent members were Moritz Schlick, Rudolf Carnap, Philipp Frank, Hans Hahn, Herbert Feigl, Fritz Waismann, Kurt Godel, and Neurath.

[18] Daniel Stoljar, "Physicalism", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta, ed. (Fall 2009), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2009/entries/physicalism/. Accessed 26 January 2013; emphasis mine. Stoljar adds that ". . . physicalists don't deny that the world might contain many items that at first glance don't seem physical — items of a biological, or psychological, or moral, or social nature. But they insist nevertheless that at the end of the day such items are either physical or supervene on the physical."

[19] Lydia Jaeger, "Against Physicalism-Plus-God: How Creation Accounts for Divine Action in Nature's World," *Faith and Philosophy* 29:3 (July 2012): 301.

> events alike in all physical respects but differing in some mental respect, or that an object cannot alter in some mental respect without altering in some physical respect.[20]

More simply, a set of properties or facts M [where M = mental phenomena] *supervenes* on a set of properties or facts P [where P = physical phenomena] "if and only if there can be no changes or differences in M without there being changes or differences in P."[21]

The assertions of physicalism, in philosophy of mind, typically fall into two parts: *property physicalism* which holds that all properties of the individual person are physical in nature, not immaterial (such as a soul) and *ontological physicalism* which claims that if all physical entities and particles were eliminated from the world, "nothing would remain—not even an empty space-time framework."[22]

Thus, to say that "*everything* is physical" means that if physicalism is valid, there is no possible world which is identical to the actual world in every physical respect, which is not completely identical to it in a biological or social or psychological respect. Further, to say that "everything is *physical*" means that an object, an event, a process, or a property is physical if "it either is the sort of property that physical theory tells us about or else is a property which metaphysically (or logically) supervenes on the sort of property that physical theory tells us about."[23] Physicalism contends that human beings do not "have" an immaterial soul as separate part of their identity. Rather, the human body "perform[s] all of the functions once attributed to the soul . . ."[24]

Recent Views on Personal Identity

Emergent Dualism Emergent Dualism is another type of anthropological dualism. The primary proponent of emergent dualism is William Hasker through his book *The Emergent Self*.[25]

Hasker seeks a "middle way" between a *physicalism* which "reduces mentality to a function of the physical organism in ways that do not, in the end, account for the mind as we know it to be" and a *dualism* which "needs to provide an account of the human mind and

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[20] Donald Davidson, *Essays on Actions and Events*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 214. Available online at www.uruguaypiensa.org.uy/imgnoticias/961.pdf.

[21] Pete Mandik, "Supervenience," *The Dictionary of Philosophy of Mind*, Eric Hochstein, ed. (May 11, 2004), http://philosophy.uwaterloo.ca/MindDict/supervenience.html. Accessed 26 January 2013; Elsewhere, Mandik argues: "The philosophical technical term 'supervenience' is frequently used in the philosophy of mind as a concise way of capturing a, if not *the*, core idea of physicalism, which, if stated as a slogan, is the idea that there are no mental differences without physical differences." See Mandik, "Supervenience and Neuroscience," *Synthese* 180:3 (June 2011), 443.

[22] Jaegwon Kim, "Physicalism in the Philosophy of Mind," *The Oxford Guide to Philosophy*, Ted Honderich, ed. (Oxford: University Press, 2005) 716-717.

[23] Stoljar, "Physicalism", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.*

[24] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 124.

[25] William Hasker, *The Emergent Self (*Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 188ff.

spirit without so divorcing mind from matter that the connection between them . . . becomes almost entirely mysterious."[26]

Hasker calls for a realistic appropriation of the confirmed results of the natural sciences, including research in neurophysiology, and the phenomena connected to the human mind. He recognizes that working theories about the human mind are not as concrete as those found in the physical sciences. Pressing forward, Hasker is adamant that the "vast amount of data concerning mental processes, events, and properties" calls for sober analysis rather than to "truncate it [= the data] in order to tailor it to the requirement of this or that philosophical scheme."[27]

Hasker's emergent dualism clashes with Cartesian dualism in that "the human mind is produced by the human brain and is not a separate element 'added to' the brain from outside."[28] It is not a thing differing from the physical or that which must be added to the body externally by the creative act of God. Rather, mental properties—the minds and souls—are, in Hasker's definition, "emergent," because . . .

> . . . they are properties that manifest themselves when the appropriate material constituents are placed in special highly complex relationships but which are neither observable in simpler configurations nor derivable from properties which are thus observable.[29]

Property emergence, however, is not sufficient for the totality of either the person or the position. Hasker maintains the unity of consciousness argument, which shows not only that the properties of the mind cannot be adequately explained by means of simple, non-biological structures, but that such properties cannot be explained in terms of any properties of or relationships between the material components of the brain.

> A conscious experience simply is a unity, and to decompose it into a collection of separate parts is to falsify it. So it is not enough to say that there are emergent properties here; what is needed is an *emergent individual*, a new individual entity which comes into existence as a result of a certain functional configuration of the material constituents of the brain and nervous system.[30]

Consciousness and mentality—indeed the human person—"emerges" when biological structures reach an appropriate, multidimensional level of organization which typically accommodates mature human brains in mature human bodies.

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[26] William Hasker, "Persons as Emergent Substances," in Corcoran, *Soul, Body, and Survival,* 114.

[27] *Ibid.,* 115. In *The Emergent Self,* 189, Hasker contends: "We need not assume that the sciences give us a *complete account* of the nature of the world, even an 'in-principle' complete account. But what they do give us . . . must be acknowledged as in the main true."

[28] Hasker, "Persons as Emergent Substances," 115.

[29] *Ibid.,* 115-116.

[30] *Ibid.,* 116.

Hasker contends that emergent dualism is an advance over Cartesian or substance dualism since it forms an affable natural link between mind and brain, in contrast with the dualistic disparity between mind and matter.[31] Emergent dualism denotes that human identity is defined through the new individual entity—the emergent person—who enjoys a unified conscious experience.[32]

Constitution View Proponents of the constitution view include Lynne Rudder Baker and Kevin Corcoran. The constitution view holds that human persons are constituted by their bodies without being identical with the bodies that constitute them.[33]

Baker dubs it "materialism with a human face"[34] and pinpoints three separate concerns: 1) what am I most fundamentally, 2) what is a person, and 3) what is the relationship between human persons and their bodies?[35] For Baker, human persons are *persons* in virtue of their capacity for self-consciousness; they are *human* in virtue of being constituted by human bodies.[36]

The distinguishing mark of a person is a "complex mental property" which Baker describes as a "first-person perspective." The first-person perspective enables one to conceive of one's body and mental states as one's own. Human persons are animals in that they are constituted by animals, but possessing a first-person perspective means that humans are not "just animals," they are persons.[37]

> A human person is constituted by an organism, a member of the species *Homo sapiens*, but is not identical to the organism that constitutes her. The human organism could exist in a world in which no psychological properties whatever were exemplified, but no person could. Nothing that is a person could exist in a world without first-person perspectives. A human organism that develops a first-person perspective comes to constitute a new thing: a person.[38]

Corcoran explains that persons "are, minimally, beings with a capacity for intentional states (e.g., believing, desiring, intending, etc.). Intentional states are *about* things or are *directed at* things."[39] If something does not have such a capacity (a dog, a computer screen,

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[31] *Ibid.,* 117.

[32] Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature*, 41.

[33] *Ibid.,* 65.

[34] Lynne Baker, "Materialism with a Human Face," in *Soul, Body, and Survival: Essays on the Metaphysics of Human Persons*, 159.

[35] Lynne Rudder Baker, *Persons and Bodies: A Constitution View* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

[36] Lynne Rudder Baker, "The Difference that Self-Consciousness Makes," in *On Human Persons,* Klaus Petrus, ed. (Frankfurt/London: Ontos-Verlag, 2003), 26, [Emphasis mine.]

[37] Baker, *Persons and Bodies*, 4.

[38] Baker, "Materialism with a Human Face, 159-160.

[39] Corcoran, *Rethinking Human Nature*, 67. He adds: "For example, we have beliefs *about* the weather or math or our spouse. Our desires are *directed toward* a new car, a promotion, or growing in devotion to Jesus. By contrast, water flowing through a radiator or the electrical currents flowing through a circuit are not *about* anything."

a paper bag), it is not a contender for being identified as a person. For Corcoran, human persons are *essentially* bodily beings, in that they are constituted by their biological bodies. Thus, if the body ceases to exist, the person will cease to exist.[40]

Non-reductive physicalism

The view I endorse and hope to explain is called *non-reductive physicalism* and readers will take note of my confidence (yea verily, dependence!) here on the work of Nancey Murphy. Non-reductive physicalism is the view that *functional properties* cannot be reduced to *physical properties*, but that nevertheless all causality is physical.[41] The difference between humans and (other) animals is not located in some immaterial "portion" or soul, but "rather in special capabilities, enabled by our more complex neural systems, language, and culture."[42]

How does a non-reductive physicalist define personal identity? What are the criteria by which I, writing this paper today or presenting it at a conference, am the *same person numerically* as I was thirty-five years ago in a seminary classroom, given that I am *qualitatively* considerably different?

Dualists contend that the soul accounts for human identity both in this life and in the one to come. Reductive physicalists are committed to the body itself, regardless of physical transformations it may undergo. A *non-reductive physicalist*, however, takes the focus off the material composing the body and looks instead to the "higher capacities" which the body supports—consciousness and memory, ethical/moral character, relationships with other persons, and, most significantly, the ability to have a relationship with God.[43]

Non-reductive physicalism rejects a dualistic non-physical soul or mind, but not human consciousness or the importance of conscious states or other mental activities. Rather than to a mind or soul, a non-reductive physicalist looks to the human neural system, working agreeably with the rest of the body, as the center of consciousness and also of human spiritual or religious capacities. Consciousness and religious awareness are "emergent properties" having "top-down causal influence on the body."[44]

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[40] *Ibid*. If a substance has a property *essentially*, then that substance cannot exist and fail to have that property.

[41] Teed Rockwell, "Physicalism, non-reductive," *The Dictionary of Philosophy of Mind*, Eric Hochstein, ed. (May 11, 2004), http://philosophy.uwaterloo.ca/MindDict/nonreductivephysicalism.html. Accessed 26 January 2013.

[42] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 116.

[43] *Ibid.,* 132.

[44] Murphy, "Nonreductive Physicalism: Philosophical Issues," in *Whatever Happened to the Soul? Scientific and Theological Portraits of Human Nature*, Warren S. Brown, Nancey Murphy, and H. Newton Malony, eds. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 130-131.Top-down or downward causal influence is the theory that factors at a higher level of complexity exert causal influences on the entity's (i.e., the body) other constituents; see Murphy, *Bodies and Souls*, 73.

Murphy cites two important studies which influenced the philosophical concept of personal identity. P. F. Strawson[45] argued that the notion of mental life develops from the notion of physical life or person, not the other way around. Backing Strawson's idea, Leslie Brothers probed how the human brain works to bestow human experience.[46] Brothers contends that a "person" is "a higher level perception of bodies, a perception that endows them with mental life."[47] Because of the way the human brain is wired, persons automatically experience the "person concept." He explains:

> When I hear a word in a language I know, it is not possible for me to hear just the sounds. I am compelled to experience the meaning of the word, its semantic aspect. In the same way that words are made of lower level features, such as sounds or symbols, persons are made of features like body appearance, body movement, voice, and face. When we see or hear one of those features, we are compelled to experience it as indicative of the presence of a person who has both subjectivity and a location in the social order—whether we happen to know the person's identity or not.[48]

For Brothers, a person is a "being with a mental life, an 'owner' of conscious subjective experience."[49] Murphy utilizes Brothers' insight for non-reductive physicalism, declaring that this "owner" or person possesses the capacity for high-level, complex self-direction. This brain/mental life exerts downward or top-down causal influence and control over human neural systems. To what extent, however, can it be effectively argued that the *neural system* now executes all of the functions dualists once assigned to the mind or soul? Further, can such a position avoid forfeiting substantial loss to our understanding of human life?

The philosophical validity of downward causation At least part of the success of the argument depends upon defending the philosophical validity of downward or top-down causal influence on the body. To start with, does downward or top-down causal influence violate the laws of neurobiology? In other words, do the properties of higher capacities overpower or overdetermine[50] the lower, constituent properties? Austin Farrer raised the issue as far back as 1957, arguing that "in cellular organisation [sic] the molecular constituents are caught, and as it were bewitched, by larger patterns of action . . ."[51]

While the complexities of downward or top-down causal influences are infamous, and the literature is copious, Donald Campbell and Robert Van Gulick concur that the related notions of selection and determinism respectively are significant factors. For his part, Campbell argues that larger and higher-level systems of causal factors exert a *selective*

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[45] See P. F. Strawson, *Individuals: An Essay in Descriptive Metaphysics* (London: Methuen, 1959), 97.

[46] See Leslie A. Brothers, *Friday's Footprints: How Society Shapes the Human Mind* (New York: Oxford, 1997), xii. See also 4-5.

[47] Brothers, *Friday's Footprints,* 4.

[48] *Ibid.,* 4-5; that is, as Brothers states, a "neural basis" for the representation of persons.

[49] *Ibid.,* 4.

[50] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 78.

[51] Austin Farrer, *The Freedom of the Will,* (New York: Scribners, 1958), 57.

effect on lower-level entities and processes.[52] He contends that "the laws of the higher-level *selective system* determine in part the distribution of lower-level events and substances."[53] Van Gulick claims that although the events and objects selected by the higher-order system are composed of physical elements, the causal powers of such an event or object are not determined entirely by the physical properties of its composition and the laws of physics. They are also determined by the *organization* of the constituents within the composite. These then are the patterns of organization that are selected by the higher-order system.[54] Van Gulick thus implements Campbell's insight that downward causation is "selective activation of lower-level causal processes"[55] by the higher-level system.

Downward causation and self-direction Downward causation is thus critical when considering the active, goal-directed behavior of living organisms. The whole is not merely a function of its parts since, according to downward causation, the whole selectively determines the contributions made by its parts. For the whole, i.e., the living organism, to be self-directed, it must utilize the contributions or information provided through downward causation and redirect itself as necessary.[56]

Murphy contends that "increasing cognitive abilities in animals . . . give them increasing degrees of flexibility in responding to their own needs and to environmental influences."[57] However, this does not mean the behavior of wasps and chimpanzees (the examples she cites) is subject to self-evaluation. Rather, they are trapped in a "biological determinism"[58] with no means of escape. Does causal determinism apply to human organisms as well? Or, can human organisms escape the trap of determinism? Murphy declares that through "language and self-transcendence" human persons have the ability to exercise free will and shoulder moral responsibility.[59]

Human free will and moral responsibility For theists, free will and moral responsibility represent the crowning difference between human beings and other living organisms. But, Malcolm Jeeves asks, if "everything that happens at the level of mind is tightly coupled with what is happening in a physical system, the human brain," has the research nullified the notions of freedom and responsibility?[60]

The seriousness of the question moves Murphy to consider the motives for arguing for human free will. She concludes that human free will is necessary in order to establish

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[52] Donald T. Campbell, "'Downward Causation' in Hierarchically Organised Biological Systems," in F.J. Ayala and T. Dobzhansky, eds. *Studies in the Philosophy of Biology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 179-186. [Emphasis mine.]

[53] *Ibid.,* 180. [Emphasis mine.]

[54] Robert Van Gulick, "Who's in Charge Here? And Who's Doing All the Work?" in John Heil and Alfred R. Mele, eds. *Mental Causation* (Oxford: University Press, 1993), 251.

[55] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 83.

[56] *Ibid.,* 85-90.

[57] *Ibid.,* 91.

[58] *Ibid.,* 89.

[59] *Ibid.,* 91. Murphy, 89, defines self-transcendence as "the ability to represent to oneself aspects of one's own cognitive processes in order to be able to evaluate them."

[60] Malcolm Jeeves, "Brain, Mind, and Behavior," in *Whatever Happened to the Soul?* 75.

moral responsibility before God and especially in dispensing rewards and punishments related to societal issues.[61] But, is human moral responsibility compatible with what is known about cognitive patterns and the advances in neuroscience? Indeed, for Murphy, the human capacity for moral responsibility is not *in spite of* the activity of neurons but *because of* human neural complexity.[62]

Murphy insists that complex capacities serve as a construct upon which human morality builds.[63] Warren S. Brown explains: "The higher-level cognitive conscious processes of attention, expectancy, intention, and planning . . . are influential in the future operations of lower level neurocognitive systems and modules."[64] The flow of information from the top down causes the whole to behave as a supervisory system. The system is responsible for setting and changing goals, assessing and reassessing the existential situation of the whole with reference to the goals, and revising conditions and readiness for responding. The whole—the organism—consciously experiences the system as "decision and volition."[65]

Murphy suggests five prerequisites for human moral responsibility: 1) a concept of self, 2) the ability to run behavior scenarios and predict the outcome of possible actions, 3) the capacity for self-transcendence, 4) sophisticated enough language to describe that which moves us to act, and 5) the ability to evaluate prior reasons in light of the abstract concept of goodness as such.[66] Collectively, the prerequisites represent an information gathering system—a cognitive capacity to analyze data—which moves the person to action, reflection, assessment, and modification.

Is this free will? Or is it a case of "neurobiological determinism"?[67] Lower-level interactions with the environment coupled with the higher-level processes of information gathering and assessment work in tandem to modify neural structures liberating human behavior from the confines of an exclusive neurobiological determinism.[68] If, however, a reductive physicalist's account of neurobiological determinism is unacceptable, and if free will is necessary in order to establish human moral responsibility before God, some room must be made for theological reflection.[69] Christian theists recognize the rich theological traditions that describe human beginnings and provide direction for the good life.

Theological reflection and human distinctiveness The nonreductive physicalist (or any physicalist) must be prepared to justify how God relates to human beings if persons

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[61] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 91.
[62] *Ibid*.
[63] *Ibid.,* 93.
[64] Warren S. Brown, "Cognitive Contributions to Soul," in *Whatever Happened to the Soul?* 117.
[65] *Ibid.,* 118.
[66] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 91.
[67] *Ibid.,* 103. Murphy entitles this chapter: "Did my neurons make me do it?"
[68] *Ibid*.
[69] Murphy, "Nonreductive Physicalism: Philosophical Issues," 131.

do not have souls. For dualists, the soul has been that which provides human beings with their distinctiveness.

What gives human beings a special place among God's creatures if they have no souls? For a physicalist, God relates to human beings solely through physical or bodily capacities. It is through physical means that God calls, confirms, directs, commands, and grants forgiveness of sin.[70]

From a philosophical perspective, the question focuses on whether or not physicalism is coherent with life as we know it. Is the language of physicalism better or more descriptive of the human situation than the language of Descartes and the many dualists since his time? Murphy suggests that the language of dualism was in part an effort to account for the bestowing of rewards and imposition of punishment in "another life apart from the body" where justice delayed would finally prevail.[71]

In a similar way, the language of physicalism is the result of contemporary neurobiological research. Physicalism has value in explaining how God relates to human beings who, by this theory, do not possess an immaterial soul. However, it takes theological interpretation to make sense of the scientific data and to identify what is distinctively human.[72] While acknowledging the distinctiveness, Murphy focuses on another question: "What is it about us that is important to God?" Essentially, it is the human capacity for morality and relationships.[73]

From a purely philosophical perspective, being moral is more than merely doing one's duty as Kant argued. Being moral includes "doing good for the right motive."[74] Right moral motivation begins to appear in human beings as children, but only after they have

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[70] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 111.

[71] *Ibid.,* 114. Murphy points out that Augustine drew upon dualism and the existence of the soul to explain the concept of memory and heavenly transcendence. Augustine's thinking was heavily influenced by Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*. Cicero argued that "ordinary memory" failed the test of physicalism; the power of memory was not confined in a physical, spatial substance: "Shall we imagine that there is a kind of measure in the soul, into which, as into a vessel, all that we remember is poured? That indeed is absurd; for how shall we form any idea of the bottom, or of the shape or fashion of such a soul as that? And, again, how are we to conceive how much it is able to contain? Shall we imagine the soul to receive impressions like wax, and memory to be marks of the impressions made on the soul?" [Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, 1:XXV.] Augustine appropriated Cicero's thinking heavily in the *Confessions* 10. He wrote: "Great is the force of memory; it is something to be shuddered at, my God, a deep and endless multiplicity. My mind is this thing; I am this thing. . . . Through all these things I range, flitting this way and that. I go as deep in as I can, and nowhere is there an end; such is the force of memory, such is the force of life in a man that lives this mortal life! What, then, am I to do, my true Life and my God? I shall transcend even this force which is called memory; I shall transcend it, and press on toward you, sweet Light." [Augustine, *Confessions* 10.17.26]

[72] *Ibid.,* 117-118.

[73] *Ibid.,* 118.

[74] *Ibid.,* 119. Murphy explains here that, "Kant's particular view is that the right motive has to be that you recognize it as a duty." Thus, cognitive ability is a critical component in the assessment process.

attained the cognitive ability to evaluate their own motives, desires, and reasons. Human beings surpass the rationalities of intelligent animals when "they become able to reflect on and to pass judgment on the reasons by which they have hitherto been guided."[75] That is, the human person has more than duty in mind; it is a matter of aiming at a particular good which has provided the person a reason for moving in that direction.

The philosophical question, however, begs theological input. What is the source of morality? Who determines moral duties? The traditional theological response is that morality originates in God. Whereas Kant contended that one's duty may be determined by pure reason, more and more philosophers believe that human moral reasoning depends upon "the nature of ultimate reality."[76] A theological interpretation of morality is ultimately theocentric. If the human person does his/her duty, it is because such duty aligns with a divine design for human life.

While the physicalist maintains that no part of human beings is exempt from scientific investigation, a solitary scientific investigation provides a truncated representation of human existence; a complete analysis must include a theological perspective.[77] Non-reductive physicalism, as advocated in this paper, concedes that human beings are indeed complex biological organisms, but emphasizes that human neurobiological complexity, advanced by social and cultural development, has given rise to the capacity for moral reasoning.

The ability to engage in moral reasoning, as defined presumably by God, means that human beings have a requisite need for a relationship with this God. The faithful have long experienced God's calling, message, and/or conviction. But, if the soul does not exist, the experience must be explained physically or biologically. The non-reductive physicalist turns to the "enhanced capacities . . . clear sense of self with finely tuned emotions and subtle linguistic abilities"[78] of the human organism. These capacities enable it to enter into various interpersonal relationships, including the capability of recognizing and submitting to the claims of God. Neurobiological research continues to reveal insights into the complexity of the human organism. The research is good news for the non-reductive physicalist; God's action in the physical world and in human bodies is not only plausible, but superior to the notion of an immaterial soul.[79]

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[75] Alasdair MacIntyre, *Dependent Rational Animals: Why Human Beings Need the Virtues* (Chicago: Open Court, 1999), 53-56. Note: MacIntyre's studies focused on dolphins.

[76] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls,* 119.

[77] *Ibid.,* 120. The theological perspective explains the difference between the motive of an animal in sacrificing for the sake of the group and, as the highest example, Jesus Christ sacrificing Himself for the sake of the group. A scientific perspective could never provide a justification for this sacrifice. What are the differences that really matter? Why do they matter? Also, MacIntyre, 53-56.

[78] *Ibid.,* 123. Brown, 100, notes that the organism, which he calls an "embodied soul," includes self-consciousness, personal activity and attending responsibility, giving and receiving love, communicating with God, and the experience of transcendence.

[79] How God relates to human organisms is yet another sticky philosophical question. For a non-reductive physicalist with theistic confidence, divine action cannot be reduced to a "mere physical cause." Rather, as Murphy correctly contends, there must be "ways of recognizing that God's

Who are you? For the dualist, personal identity is established by the existence of the soul. For a reductive physicalist, personal identity comes through the human body regardless of how much it may change over time.

As argued above (pp. 9-10), the concept of personal identity requires both a physical body and a neural concept or subjectivity. A non-reductive physicalist insists that, although the physical body as a material object is essential, personal identity is established by the higher capacities that the body sustains—such things as consciousness and memory, ethical/moral character, the ability to have relationships with other persons, and, most importantly, the ability to have a relationship with God.

For consciousness and memory to continue as neural concepts, however, *brain activity* must continue as well as some form of *bodily activity*. Yet, consciousness is more than the aggregate of one's memories. It is "a product of the integration of various aspects of memory and awareness—a phenomenon that emerges sometime during early childhood."[80] Murphy labels it the "continuity-of-consciousness criterion." Connecting the consciousness criterion with the memory criterion and the body criterion facilitates both pre- and post-resurrection personal identity. She writes: ". . . if God can create a new (transformed) body and provide it with my memories, is that really I? If so, then I shall *know* that I am myself, just as I did this morning when I awoke."[81] But, even that is not enough for a theist.

Because the nature of the Kingdom of God is moral, it is essential to add a *moral character* criterion to the three already cited. Personal identity "depends as much on *character* identity as it does on memory/consciousness and bodily continuity."[82] When, as Christian theists insist, God transforms the body at resurrection, this transformed body with memories intact would not be the same person without the virtues/vices, affections, and moral perceptions acquired or learned during one's earthly existence.[83]

Earthly existence for a Christian, however, includes interpersonal relationships: relationships with others and, most importantly, a relationship with God through Christ. It appears that the relationships formed within the body of Christ presently are essential for

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intentional action can bring about events above and beyond what could be accomplished merely by holding natural processes and causes in existence." See Murphy, *Bodies and Souls*, 129.

[80] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls*, 136.

[81] *Ibid.,* 137.

[82] *Ibid.,* 138.

[83] *Ibid*. Perception is a physical process; moral perception is the result of effective downward causation during which high-level evaluative processes reshape lower-level cognitive propensities. Antonio R. Damasio contends that the brain and the body enjoy a partnership of cognitive processes utilizing "somatic markers" which are "a special instance of feelings generated from secondary emotions. Those emotions and feelings have been connected, by learning, to predicted future outcomes of certain scenarios." See Antonio R. Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1994), 174.

post-resurrection personal identity. Even more, God remembers, recognizes, and relates to the faithful, all of which are crucial for post-resurrection personal identity.[84]

If, however, memory, consciousness, and moral perceptions accompany the embodied self into post-resurrection existence, how does one avoid the conclusion that past experiences—both good and bad—if relived in the eternal state, would not merely recreate the sufferings and distresses of earthly life? Murphy draws on the thought of Keith Ward who asserts that memory must undergo transformation:

> Memory will be so transformed that suffering is set within a wider context of learning and development, and even earthly joy is relativized by a deeper consciousness of the presence of God. Yet it is important to personal survival that the memories remain, however transformed, so that people who enter into eternal bliss will always know themselves to be the same people who suffered, enjoyed, sinned and repented, learned and developed, on the long journey toward God. . . The conclusion is that the continuity of a physical body, and even the creation of an exact replica of such a body, is not necessary to the continuance of the same person.[85]

Given the transformation of memory, a numerically identical body is no longer a requirement for personal identity in post-resurrection existence. The person is not the body *qua* material object; it is "only a contingent part of commonly accepted concepts of the person."[86] It is possible for material objects such as a human body to retain their identities across the years, decades, centuries, and millennia, even with radical decomposition of the material of which they were created.[87]

Scripture asserts that persons will be embodied in post-resurrection existence, and this human embodiment will correspond to the radical transformation of Jesus' body at his resurrection: "For if we have become united with Him in the likeness of His death, certainly we shall also be in the likeness of His resurrection . . ." (Rom 6:5, NASB). But, what that "likeness" is cannot be known from the current laws of nature. For example, Jesus instructed his followers on the eve of his crucifixion: "But I say to you, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine from now on until that day when I drink it new with you in My Father's kingdom" (Mt 26:29). The digestive process is clearly and biologically defined in this life, but how will it work after sipping the eschatological wine?

Back to the questions that formed the genesis of this paper. How will I be known in the post-resurrection life by those who knew me in this life and how will I know them? If the

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[84] *Ibid.,* 140. There are social, moral, and eschatological elements in Divine remembrance: "It is well with the man who is gracious and lends; he will maintain his cause in judgment. For he will never be shaken; the righteous will be remembered forever" (Ps 112:5-6).

[85] Keith Ward, *Religion and Human Nature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 307. The final sentence in the quote precedes a statement which identifies Ward as a dualist who argues that a properly embodied soul is "the bearer of memories, experiences, and dispositions . . ."

[86] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls*, 141.

[87] *Ibid.,* 141-42. Murphy's position clearly allows for an intermediate state or "temporal interval" between the decay of the body following death and the recreation of the body in the post-resurrection existence.

above analysis rings true, then bodily identification will not be the only, if even the foremost, component. I will be recognized by my character as well. My transformed memories and consciousness will aid me in identifying characteristics in others with whom I had a personal relationship, especially within the body of Christ.

Speaking of her late husband, theologian and ethicist Dr. James W. McClendon, Jr., Murphy humorously remarks:

> You could put Jim's characteristics into or on the body of a middle-aged woman and within thirty seconds I would know it was him! We have temperament, we have our character, and we are just so recognizably ourselves by the time we're adults and so frustratingly, unchangeably ourselves by the time we're adults, and so there just is that personal identity that each of has that carries over from year to year to year.[88]

Murphy, like most Christian theists, believes strongly in bodily resurrection. The person that God will ultimately raise in resurrection is thus "me" and not a different person. The resurrection body will be a future "instantiation" of me, which Murphy defines as "the being, the next instance of" or "the next installment of" me as a resurrected person. At least part of the future instantiation of me as a person will be the re-embodiment of my moral character as defined by the nature of Christ. Murphy insists that the moral character is primarily that which must continue from this life to the one to come.[89]

My dad had twenty-two years to shore up his knowledge of my personal identity, the same number of years that I learned his. By sharp contrast, I had only a few weeks for one hour per day to learn the character of Boyd Hunt. Murphy's account of how she would know her husband makes sense; but, a temporal-spatial-cognitive approach does not provide a reliable answer as to how I will know Boyd Hunt. In all fairness, neither does the concept that an immaterial soul carries the identifiers.

"Who are you?" The answer to the philosophical-theological question is the same one as provided in the lyrics of Pete Townsend's song: "I really want to know." I am embodied, social, moral, with a transformed memory (and body), who by faith will one day, somehow enjoy post-resurrection bliss. How will I know others and how they will know me? "I really want to know."[90]

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[88] Nancey Murphy, "How do Persons Maintain Their Identity," episode 511 of *Closer to the Truth*, exec. prod. Dr. Robert Lawrence Kuhn (The Kuhn Foundation, n.d.), (accessed 7 Feb. 2013); online at: http://www.closertotruth.com/video-profile/How-do-Persons-Maintain-Their-Identity-Nancey-Murphy-/427.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Murphy, *Bodies and Souls*, 145, concludes with humility that "the science-theology dialogue, however fruitful in other areas of theology, must reach a point of silence when we turn to certain matters of eschatology." Or, in Anselm's well-known dictum: "I do not endeavor, O Lord, to penetrate thy sublimity, for in no wise do I compare my understanding with that; but I long to understand in some degree thy truth, which my heart believes and loves. For I do not seek to understand that I may believe, but I believe in order to understand." Anselm, *Proslogion* 1.

Biographical Note

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A Postmodern Pandemic: The New Trinity of Politics, Media, and Faith

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This may not be my best day,
But this ain't no Golden Age,
You looked pretty on the freeway,
Let's drive into the brave new world…
Please don't hit me if I do say,
That this ain't no Golden Age…

--Michael Penn, lyrics from his song "Brave New World"

This paper begins with a disclaimer: The purported knowledge and opinions reflected in this paper may or may not represent those of the author and are solely intended to open the process of thought and the element of possibility from "What if…" to "I'm just saying…"

Today, I am going to violate every rule of academic writing and research…it seems the right thing to do when writing a paper dedicated to the postmodern condition…no foot- or endnotes, no formal bibliography, just passing references, more provocative, and at times sarcastic in style rather than formal, including some nostalgia--an iconoclastic essay written largely in the first person with a few exceptions sprinkled in for good measure and topped off with some hopefully poignant rhetorical questions. (I would try my hand at second person composition but have read far too many attempts at doing this made by my students and all were wildly annoying and evoked fantasies of the merits of death by strangulation—especially when, in one such attempt, the student employed the pronoun "You" nineteen times in a page-and-a-half, each time spelling it with the text-message-inspired shorthand single letter "U".) I have decided, with this paper, to take a chance, at risk of my reputation among other things, to challenge accepted ideas and provoke thought, hopefully without cultivating anger or offense at any who hear this presentation or otherwise read my diatribe. The recently late, great, American novelist John Updike once proclaimed that he was a lazy writer—so I will try and follow his success. I hope to inject some humor along the way, to keep as lighthearted as possible the subject of "pandemic". As that great contemporary postmodern philosopher, Kanye West said, "I'll say things that are serious and put them in a joke form so people can enjoy them. We laugh to keep from crying."

Why the informality you ask? (See—I was actually less than truthful about not using second person references--which was formerly called lying before postmodernity). Well, for one reason, according to a Chicago Tribune article in 2012, the traditional term paper is disappearing—as in, no longer required in high schools—and without a doubt coming soon to a college or university near you. Schools are still offering instruction (I have stopped using the word "teaching") on the research process, but without actually requiring students to do it. After all, why does a student need to research and write a paper on, for example, the Protestant Reformation? First, there's Wikipedia—just look up what you need to know. Secondly, the Reformation happened a long, long time ago, probably even before the student's parents were born. Finally, what can be found on the subject is simply one person's historical interpretation of the event. It may or may not be what actually happened, the historian may have left something out or embellished other things, so history isn't really

true anyway since everything is nothing more than an interpretive and thus, subjective process. This is even true for purer sciences, like physical anthropology. Eugene DuBois' discovery of Java Man was an accepted hominid find for better than seventy years and then it wasn't. The Clovis people crossed Berengia into the New World 13,500 years ago and killed a wooly mammoth in New Mexico with the first Clovis point, becoming the first to people the Americas. I bet the Monte Verdians took exception to that factoid, they having established settlements in the south of Chile some three-thousand years earlier. And what about those Cactus Hill Virginians and Meadowcroft Pennsylvanians who were crafting stone tools in northeastern America some nineteen or twenty thousand years ago that used French Solutrean technology from better than 22,000 years ago to do it? And some now claim that the ancient Bolivian city of Tiahuanaco may be over 15,000 years old—whick would make it the oldest discovered city in the world, thousands of years older than Jericho, not to mention the female skeleton of Luzia discovered in Brazil dating to almost 12,000 years ago with Aboriginal (read, Negroid) features. Now, DNA evidence is telling us that nomadic Europeans rather than Asians, may have been the first to discover the Americas. (I thought Columbus did that…). Now, the accepted date of the first Americans from Asia or anywhere else is not the Clovis date, but one almost twice that ancient. Someone mapped the world long before the discovery of Antarctica as it and the South American continent appears on source maps dating from the time of Alexander the Great (4th century B.C. or B.C.E. for the politically-correct). Hobbit-sized people three feet tall with brains a third the size of ours existed simultaneously with modern humans only 10,000 years ago on the Indonesian island of Flores (Homo Floresiensis). Threatening to dismantle modern evolutionary theory, a potentially related set of 1.77 million year old skulls (with brains less than half as large as ours) at the Dmanisi, site in the Eurasian republic of Georgia are the oldest out-of-Africa hominid discovery ever and raises the possibility that hominids may not have developed in Africa at all—but migrated there later. This may sound heretical today, but all we know about evolution is pretty much very little. Has anyone wondered that whenever evolutionists discover the missing link, it creates the need to discover another missing link to link the missing link to its ancestor or descendant?

All this and I haven't even mentioned that most student papers these days contain a goodly amount of plagiarism for three reasons. First, students don't know what plagiarism is. Second, students know what it is but don't care as they are not likely to get caught, and thirdly, some professors don't care either because: a) they were plagiarists too, so they look the other way for fear of being hypocritical; b) it's a job with a paycheck whether or not they catch cheaters; and/or c) it's too much trouble to check every paper, it might be a recycled paper or purchased, or custom-written, likely plagiarized but "I can't prove it", and that itself took some creative effort on the student's part designing the cover-up and it would be wrong to punish creativity, and/or in general, "Who cares?". In the millennial-infested student bodies with their quick-to-litigate hovering helicopter parents, if I catch a cheater, I may be the one to regret it, and who really cares anyway—students will be students—and they've always been this way.

Every professor should read the article that appeared in The Chronicle of Higher Education on November 12, 2010, entitled, "The Shadow Scholar" written by Ed Dante (a pseudonym), who for years has been the writer of your students' papers or has been taking their online classes for them. Oddly, he has apparently been a "hired gun" for years, composing numerous papers and taking classes for aspiring schoolteachers, nurses, ministers, doctorate-seeking future professors, and, yes, ethicists. It is really quite a fascinating (and shocking) read and depicts how our technologically-laden postmodern world works, educationally and otherwise. One of my students simply flaunted these realities in the paper he turned in to me that not only was 100% cut and pasted, but replete

with the blue hyperlinks that had originally appeared in the source document. But I digress…

The media with its selective coverage, biased reporting, its focus on the formerly unimportant stuff of life—reality shows, celebrity trials, who got slighted at the Academy Awards or who was wearing what—and "speed of live" 24-7 coverage has emerged as a willing partner and decision-desk of postmodern culture. Perhaps this is one reason a student in my class put his own postmodernist mindset on display several semesters ago when he boldly proclaimed, "I hate intolerant people…" (Pause—and think about that for a second…).

In a short but intriguing and animated lecture available on YouTube by famed psychologist Philip Zimbardo entitled, "The Secret Powers of Time", he mentions that today, something as simple as having to wait for a computer to boot or to download something for a minute or more makes a significant number of people angry. Not too long ago, only twenty years actually, I can remember creating a fairly simple newsletter in TypeStyler on, at the time, my state-of-the art Apple Macintosh 1024K with internal and external floppy drives. It would take twenty minutes a page to print because of the special fonts and simple graphics. I would click the print command for a three page double-faced document, and go play tennis for an hour while it did its thing. It was just the way it was. Now, impatience and virtual efficiency rules the day. Young people have abandoned wrist watches as they only have a singular function. The cell phone has displaced the watch and texting has supplanted talking on the phone. In fact, there are reports of university students today who walk side by side to class texting each other along the way rather than conversing and just last week a law was passed in Fort Lee, New Jersey to ban texting while walking due to the extraordinary number of pedestrian-involved traffic accidents it caused. We are told by postmodern educators that young people's brains are being rewired and the traditional classroom needs to change as the educational model of lecture, rote memorization, study, and testing by essay or paper does not excite today's student but bores them instead. With fast-paced interactive devices, technology, media, games, and innovations, a new culture has emerged that will force everyone else to change or die. The postmodern condition (which actually sounds like a disease or pandemic) is usually described as the evolution of culture to a point where individuality and materialism with seemingly infinite choices create uncertainty, self-doubt, indecision, and even regret, in a society where powerful individuals and entities use media influence and technology as the single most powerful agent of socialization and decision-making, and directed narratives replace traditional truths and objective realities with relativity, subjectivism, and emotional reasoning.

Religion is undergoing this postmodernist transformation as well. Faith was once defined as "belief in God or the doctrines or teachings of religion." Today faith is commonly defined as "belief in that which is not based on proof"—in other words, belief in anything. "Postmodernity is", as techno-utopian intellectual George Gilder intimated, "a substitute vision for those who have lost faith in the traditional object of religious belief."

In France, Ireland, and several other European nations, not only is church attendance declining precipitously, more than half of these countries' populations do not consider themselves religious and growing numbers do not believe in God at all. One parishioner in Dublin, in an almost empty Catholic Mass, was heard to say, "It's a Godless society."

The ancient Druids and many other early peoples practiced dendrolatry (tree-worship) and earth religions. Others used natural medicines and crystal healing. Many observed pagan gods and spirits, and many of those worshipped idols and other fetishistic objects of veneration. Postmodernity almost seems a return to these beginnings, albeit in an almost perverse and contradictory assemblage. Today with stricter ideas regarding separation of church and state, politics has assumed the role of Grand Inquisitor regarding

religious values and matters of faith. In Europe, Italy's nominee for Justice Minister of the EU, Rocco Buttiglione, was rejected because he was openly religious and was opposed to equal rights for homosexual couples. In America, three deliberately chosen pro-choice ambassadors were sent to the Vatican (who, by the way were all rejected). Also in the United States, Catholic and other religious institutions must now provide birth control and perhaps abortion coverage to their employees (and in some cases students) against their will because it violates their religious conscience (of course, this is under litigation at the present time). And finally, just to drive home the point, author Kevin Clauson, in his article entitled, "Environmentalism: A Modern Idolatry", states:

> To view modern culture, politics, and religion, one would quickly get a sense that "the environment" is the latest object of worship by many in the Western World. Although, most committed environmentalists would claim to be much too sophisticated to be following in the footsteps of some ancient pagan or animistic religion, their new "progressive environmentalism," in reality, is simply a re-packaging of old pantheistic errors combined with a much more dangerous set of public policy proposals than previous versions of environmentalism.

Consider the following: In the June 24, 1974 issue of Time Magazine, we were warned of a coming Ice Age due to the rapidly expanding pattern of global cooling, which would create droughts in Africa and other moist areas, falling ocean levels, and the possibility of food shortages due to shortened growing seasons or elimination of food production altogether in some regions. This was not a new story, but it was a varied one. In 1938, scientists suspected that human carbon emissions were beginning to warm the planet in a greenhouse effect. By 1945, government funding to study "climate change" was implemented in a generous fashion. By 1956, the prospect of the rapid onset of a new ice age was presented and by 1960, rapidly falling global temperatures since 1940 was documented. By 1967, rising global temperatures sparked fears of a rapid onset collapse of the arctic and Antarctic ice sheets with rising ocean levels, flooding coastal cities worldwide. By 1970, due to increased aerosol spray use in human products that were believed to counteract greenhouse gases, a global temperature collapse was anticipated culminating in the aforementioned Time article in 1974. By 1976, a lack of sunspot activity was linked to global cooling and increased activity linked to warmer periods. In 1979, the US National Academy of Sciences declared that increasing carbon output would dangerously increase global warming over the next twenty years. In 1981, sulfate aerosol use was shown to decrease greenhouse gases and could contribute to significant global cooling. In 1986, the natural reorganization of Ocean currents was shown to bring on swift and radical climate changes. In 1991, the Global Climate Coalition stated that they didn't know what was going on with climate change and then, Mount Pinatubo erupted, causing the planet to cool leading warming skeptics to conclude that natural events (volcanic eruptions, sunspot activity, ocean currents, planetary shifts, and extraplanetary impacts) cause the vast majority of climate changes, not human activity. After the turn of the 21st century, the term "global warming" was replaced with "climate change" but belief in warming again dominated as mean global temperatures reached a hundred-plus year high by 2005 or so it was reported, while David Archibald's 2007 report entitled, "The Past and Future of Climate Change" concluded that the Earth has been much, much colder and much, much warmer, and that humans contribute far less than one percent of all greenhouse gases, while the sun remains the greatest determinant of both warm and cold periods. Had enough already?

Two vital questions remain unanswered: "What is the ideal temperature of the planet?" (Which no one can answer…), and, "What caused the most rapid increase in global

warming ever recorded—at the end of the last ice age?" According to the Earth Institute at Columbia University, "Scientists still puzzle over how Earth emerged from its last ice age, an event that ushered in a warmer climate and the birth of human civilization." They suspect a shift in the Earth's orbit caused it but they are not really sure. If true, not only is Earth's climate beyond human control, ultimately, we know very little about climate change. Climate has always changed with or without human beings and while some will say that we just can't take the chance of doing nothing if catastrophic warming is occurring, there is the other view of, "Why not?" Warming and cooling in the past caused great human migration, adaptation, invention, and progress. Because our ancestors were forced out of Africa due to climate change and a great ice age some 60-70 thousand years ago, they went on to populate the world. Global warming and rising ocean levels that flooded parts of northern Europe in the fifth century contributed to the Anglo-Saxon migration into Britain. We are actually right here, right now precisely because of climate change and the inability to do anything about it. Remember that even if global warming is real, while some places may experience excessive drought and heat, other places that are currently not suitable for development and agricultural production will become so, and migration is all that is ever required for human survival. And look at the bright side—today it is much easier to move than it was tens of thousands of years ago. (Read former green warrior Bjorn Lomborg's essay in The Economist from August 2, 2001 entitled, "The Truth about the Environment" or his book The Skeptical Environmentalist and he'll explain it.)

Media theorist and philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1911-1980) proclaimed that, "First we build the tools, then they build us." Take the example of owning a house. I build a house and now have a mortgage. Then, furnishings are needed, then, insurance, then, property taxes every year, then, utility bills, and then, the house begins to control us. Technology is another example. The more advanced it becomes, the more it changes our way of life, and now Stanford researcher and geneticist Gerald Crabtree is openly saying that modern lifestyles are causing negative genetic mutations that are, in turn, causing the IQ of human beings to slowly decline Think: "walking while texting".

Finally, consider today's national debt. The United Sates will have soon accrued $17 trillion is federal debt. But that is just the visible debt. Americans owe another $16 trillion in personal debts (mortgages, student loans, credit cards, car payments, etc.), and we are obligated to spend another whopping $123 trillion going forward on Social Security, prescription drug benefits, and Medicare unless changes in entitlement laws occur. As we have just witnessed, cutting a mere 2.4% of budgetary increases going forward in the sequester was presented as a financial armageddon that would put Americans out of work, significantly harm children and senior citizens, leave our borders unsecured, allow our enemies an opportunity to attack us, and generally wreck the economy. The belief that failing to allocate and spend a paltry $85 billion of a $3.5 trillion budget target creates a disaster is hardly credible at first glance, but can be made believable with the right policy posturing and a willing media to spread a hyperrealist or virtual narrative. For example, New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg stated last week that Americans do not need to worry about the national debt because we have people willing to lend us an "infinite supply of money". French cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard (1929-2007) in his essay entitled, "Global Debt and Parallel Universe" (1996), states that:

> In fact, the debt will never be paid. No debt will ever be paid. The final counts will never take place. If time is counted…the missing money is beyond counting... The United States is already virtually unable to pay, but this will have no consequence whatsoever. There will be no judgment day for this virtual bankruptcy. It is simple enough to enter an exponential or virtual mode

> to become free of any responsibility, since there is no reference anymore, no referential world to serve as a measuring norm…
>
> Clearing the debt, settling the accounts, cancelling the payments by the Third World... Don't even think about it! We only live because of this unbalance, of the proliferation and the promise of infinity created by the debt. The global or planetary debt has, of course, no meaning in the classical terms of stock or credit. But it acts as our true collective credit line, a symbolic credit system whereby people, corporations, nations are attached to one another by default… it remains as a way of uniting all of humankind to a same destiny marked by threat and deterrence…
>
> Caught in their autonomous and exponential logic, all these parallel worlds are like time bombs. It is more obvious with nuclear weapons, but it is also true of the debt and capital flows…
>
> Reason would probably insist that we include these worlds into our homogeneous universe: nuclear weapons would have a peaceful use, all the debts would be erased, all the flows of capital would be reinvested in terms of social well-being, and information would contribute to knowledge. This is, no doubt, a dangerous utopia. Let these worlds remain parallel to ours, let their threats hang up in the air: their ex-centricity is what protects us. For, no matter how parallel and ex-centric they may be, they are in fact ours. We are the ones who created them and placed them beyond our reach, as an ersatz of transcendence. We are the ones who placed them on their orbits as some sort of catastrophic imaginaries. And it is perhaps better this way. Our society was once solidified by a utopia of progress. It now exists because of a catastrophic imaginary.

There is decidedly a spiritual parallel in these ideas, but is it far from the traditional Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in the Christian tradition. It is the postmodern trinity at work—a new hypostasis of politics, media, and faith-- the three real and distinct substances in the one undivided substance or essence of the hyperreality of the postmodern condition. Thus, it is left only to an imagined and virtual future what mutation of the human condition the surfeit of postmodernity will cause and in the new imaginary, if self-fulfilling prophecy might remain as the singular force of all illusion in a world where nothing is as it seems and the faith in and veneration of the imagined or virtual begets the hope of salvation for humanity.

The Romanian-French contemporary philosopher Emile Cioran (1911-1995), who authored the work entitled, A Short History of Decay, once stated that, "Everything is in decline and always has been." So, I have decided to share with you today (in an abridged form) a perhaps outdated essay by living humorist P. J. O'Rourke, entitled, "A Brief History of Man" in which he sums up the entire history of the world in three paragraphs (that has actually been known to cause offense to some in our often humorless postmodern condition):

> Man developed in Africa. He has not continued to do so there. Previously all the dinosaurs had died. Paleolithic, Neolithic, and other oddly-named men spread. They used fire, but, being very primitive, they used it for everything—food, clothing, and bodily decoration. Caves were painted, also fixed up and furnished in a simple but attractive style. They were ideal for young couples who were just starting a human race.
>
> There was a fertile crescent and a cradle of civilization and several other things that the Sumerians combined to invent writing, though they did not write novels or short stories. They wrote only clay tablets. The Egyptians

> built very large items out of whatever came readily came to hand. Jewishness cropped up and has never successfully been put down. At the same time (or slightly later, counting the Phoenicians) there were the ancient Greeks. These were followed by the less ancient Greeks, who were, in turn, followed by Greeks even less ancient than that. The various periods of Greeks can be told apart by how silly the things at the tops of the columns are. The less silly, the more ancient. The Greeks invented amateur theatricals and the incredible long poem that does not rhyme. It was a relief to all when their Golden Age was over. Greek philosophy, however, has survived the ages and gives us such modern concepts as atoms and platonic love affairs…
>
> The most famous Greek, Alexander the Great, was not really a Greek at all. In modern parlance, we would call him a Yugoslavian. He conquered what passed for the world at the time but was made to give it back. Meanwhile, in China, there were the Chinese. Rome rose and fell. Barbarian hordes descended from wherever barbarian hordes descend from. They burned the library at Alexandria, destroying most of the great literary works of antiquity, bringing a gleam to the eye of anyone who's ever been forced to study the classics. The barbarians, who had time on their hands, invented feudalism, but it proved too complicated to survive except in the lexicon of liberal social critics when they discuss South America. Christianity, bubonic plague, and the use of the moldboard plowshare spread. France had so many kings names Louis that they had to be numbered. The Dominican Republic was discovered by Columbus. The earth was proved to be out there somewhere and round instead of right here and flat. There was a series of religious debates that killed everyone with an IQ over 50. Prague was defenestrated. Poland was partitioned… Napoleon menaced Europe. Then he didn't. Industrialization came to England but has since left. There were some more wars, usually with the Germans but not lately since we're friends again. America had a revolution, a great rebellion, a depression, a New Deal, and then some trouble with its young people during the late sixties. Which brings us up to the present: Excuse us, but we've got to go out and get a *Times* and fix breakfast for our dates.

Welcome to the postmodern condition—and the new Trinity of politics, media, and faith—surely no Golden Age but perhaps a coming dark one. As that great philosopher Yogi Berra said, "The future ain't what it used to be."

Perhaps laughter is the best medicine—but there's a new study just published a week ago finding that pessimists live longer…

Biographical Note

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Spiritualist Ministers and Mediumship Development: An Analytic Study of their Spiritual Gifts

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Introduction

At the heart of a Spiritualist minister's work and service is the gift of "mediumship"—the ability to commune with disincarnate entities that have passed from this earth plane over to the spiritual realm. The mediumship development of Spiritualist ministers involves a variety of techniques and has many facets, each depending upon the person's own individual, innate ability, as well as personal commitment, dedication, experience and time devoted to honing this gift. This tedious process is not only necessary in order to reach a level of ability in which to receive messages from loved ones on the spirit plane to impart to those on the physical or earth plane, but is also required for mediums/ministers who want to work within a recognized Spiritualist church or association.

Generally, sound mediumship on average takes several years to develop, depending upon the type of program in which the novice medium and future minister[1] is enrolled; as well, some students prefer to work within a mentorship program where the student "develops" his/her gift under the direction of a certified medium. However, once a student decides to pursue mediumship certification, he/she must do so under some sort of approving body within a recognized certifying organization, association, or church, in order to be accepted by mainstream Spiritualist churches and associations which allow working mediums and ministers to serve on the platform[2] in an official capacity. This process can take anywhere from one year to several years.

Historically, Spiritualist mediums developed their mediumship similar to the way a student would learn from a master—a "mouth to ear" manner of mentoring, allowing the student to develop and learn by observing, assisting, and learning from the more experienced and accomplished teacher. This custom is still widely followed within the Spiritualist religion, but also many churches and associations offer a more standardized program involving specific coursework, message delivery critiquing sessions, along with the mentoring of the student by a seasoned medium.

This paper addresses mediumship development, focusing on Spiritualist ministers who have been certified as mediums and who have been ordained as Spiritualist ministers. A detailed questionnaire was used as the primary research instrument; in addition, a number

[1] Typically, Spiritualist ministers become working mediums with certification from their sponsoring association, seminary, or church before working towards ordination to become an ordained Spiritualist minister.

[2] "Platform" work refers to the medium standing in front of the congregation for the purpose of giving messages from the spirit world to those in attendance. This term most likely has its roots in the old days when Spiritualists traveled the countryside as itinerant mediums and ministers, standing on a raised platform to do their work. This is a common phrase used by Spiritualists when referring to doing a message service.

of Spiritualist ministers were interviewed (both formally and informally) and on-site research was conducted in Spiritualist churches, camps and meetings.

The research questions included in the questionnaire were designed to ascertain data on a variety of areas that would highlight the actual experience of the participants; the age in which the participants first noticed their mediumship; any outside tools the participants may use to connect to the spirit realm; how participants receive spirit messages; and the most common reasons people/clients seek out the participants' gifts. This paper primarily focuses upon the experiential and anecdotal aspects of their mediumship which specifically deals with the qualitative features of the research conducted which allowed for a very rich and comprehensive look at Spiritualist ministers' experience and their spiritual gifts.

Historical Roots of the Spiritualist Movement and Religion

Spiritualism has its roots in upstate New York in a tiny Hamlet known as "Hydesville." Two sisters allegedly made contact with a spirit on March 31, 1848, through a simple system of "raps" to which it responded in kind. This event, which began as a seemingly innocent game by these young country girls—Maggie and Katie Fox—set into motion a religious movement that would have far-reaching and widespread influence affecting not only those around them in their tiny hamlet, but also throughout the United States and beyond. This incident would forever be referred to as the "Hydesville Rappings." News about the rappings spread quickly and this event intrinsically changed the way the people viewed religion, death, and spirit communication; it literally shook to the very core many people's basic beliefs and ideas about the possibility of a spiritual life after death.

The Spiritualist movement eventually became the "religion" of Spiritualism as more and more people sought the counsel of mediums to make contact with loved ones who had crossed over to the other side. Eventually, associations were formed, camp-style meetings were organized, and churches were founded. With this new religion came the prerequisite need for "ministers" who could lead and serve the growing legions of people who were embracing this new religious belief system. In the beginning, the movement relied heavily upon the mediums that practiced the gift of mediumship, but who had no formal training in doing the "work of God." It soon became evident that clergy were needed to represent the religion properly and to serve and promote the Gospel of Spiritualism professionally and informatively. Gradually, associations around the country began to regulate the ministerial aspects of the movement which served to organize the new religion in much the same manner as other traditional Christian denominations had done before it.

The religion, philosophy and science of Spiritualism bases its entire belief system on the idea that people do not die, bodies do, with the soul or spirit of the deceased person continuing on in another dimension, waiting patiently for a chance to make contact with those left behind. Spirit communication is at the center of Spiritualism with Spiritualists placing their faith in the hands of a medium's ability to commune with entities that have passed over to the other side. In order to be accepted socially and by other organized religions, then, Spiritualist clergy were needed and hence had to be trained with some system of authorization required which sanctioned them to preside over life's rituals that

obliged some sort of legal recognition (*e.g.* the rites of marriage, christenings,[3] funerals, *etc*), as well as to pastor those who were following the religion as a "congregation." Although all Spiritualist ministers are, in effect, mediums, not all mediums are ministers. To solve this dilemma, an organized system had to be created to systematize the religion which would utilize ordained ministers; as more and more new Spiritualist associations began to form, allowing likeminded Spiritualists to meet and worship in the religion together, pastoral figures were needed as clergy.

Interestingly, many newly converted adherents to the Spiritualist movement brought with them many of the ingrained ideas of their own Christian religious traditions, trying to fuse the belief systems of their childhood with that of the new religion. In essence, Spiritualists did end up becoming "churchified" to a large extent even though it was their explicit desire not to do so. This had much to do with what people were used to in their religious upbringings and while some aspects could be viewed differently, it was just more comfortable and familiar for people to follow a system they knew and understood. This was of no matter, because the modest mediumship of the Fox sisters had exploded into a full-fledged religion called "Spiritualism."

Mediumship Development and Seminary Study to become Ordained

Integral to Spiritualism, though, was the medium—a person sensitive to the vibration of spirit entities who can sense through a variety of means intuitive visions, feelings, sounds or voices, and smells, interpreting these as messages by those on the other side to those on the earth plane. Mediums and mediumship, in many aspects, have come a long way since the early days of the Spiritualist movement when anyone could claim to be a Spiritualist medium. A Spiritualist medium today, one that is board certified and thoroughly tested, goes through a rigorous course of study including (but not inclusive of) Spiritualism's history, belief system, and notable personas associated with the movement; metaphysical training; the Bible (as well as other sacred texts); healing; public speaking; platform decorum; ministerial ethics, and most importantly, perhaps, mediumship unfoldment and development. A percentage of these mediums then pursue ordination to become full-fledged ministers, legally permitted to perform weddings, christenings, and funerals.

Ordinarily, becoming an ordained Spiritualist minister requires dedication, commitment and perseverance just as it does in all other mainstream denominations. The process that Spiritualist organizations require people to complete in order to become ordained ministers (*e.g.* as identified by existing Spiritualist associations today, most notably the *National Spiritualist Association of Churches* (NSAC), the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists* (IAOS), the *Southern Cassadaga Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association* (SCSCMA), or the *Universal Spiritualist Association* (USA)), vary in scope and effort in order to complete the program.[4]

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[3] Strictly speaking, Spiritualism does not use the term "christening" as it tends to have a very Christian meaning but instead prefers to use the term "dedication of a child" which has no specific religious connotation.

[4] It is important to note that by far the most renowned of these organizations was the NSAC located in Lily Dale, New York (known earlier as the Cassadaga Lake Free Association and renamed "Lily Dale" in 1879); the IAOS was formed in 1886 in Chesterfield, Indiana and is affectionately known as "Camp Chesterfield" by the locals; the SCSCMA originally was created as a winter retreat for the northern

For instance, some associations like the IAOS offer an actual seminary program that meets several times a year for weeklong classes and a number of times a year that have extended weekend classes that students are required to complete over a period of several years, incorporating fieldwork and community service in order to become ordained by the IAOS. Other organizations, such as the NSAC have a distance program called the "Morris Pratt Institute" that offers certain courses, as well as allowing their sanctioned churches to train and mentor students in the ministry; when the officiating clergy feels the student is ready, he/she is then ordained as a minister by that particular affiliated church.

Aspiring ministers who wish to be ordained by an accredited Spiritualist organization generally must complete an extensive mediumship developmental program, as well as a battery of tests given in stages throughout the study course—both written and oral in the form of evidential demonstrations of mediumship. First, the novice medium must enroll in and successfully complete a specified number of classes related to Spiritualism, mediumship, and the ministry. Second, the aspiring minister must participate in message services, séances, and church services to demonstrate his/her platform work. This serves as a type of "apprenticeship" in that older, more seasoned mediums and ministers will often critique the novice's work, style and ability, commenting on the presentation and accuracy of the message. In addition, the elder ministers will offer suggestions and advice on how to improve the aspiring minister's ability to give messages more clearly and accurately, as well as to critique the student's style and ability in giving sermons and service related prayers. Third, the novice medium must give messages in the form of genuine spirit communication as a type of evidential testing to a panel of sitters who are all certified mediums (the majority of whom are usually ordained ministers); this is to ensure that the aspiring minister is indeed making actual spirit contact. The members on the panel will judge the novice's ability based on whether or not he/she is able to give messages that can be confirmed definitively by the panel (*e.g.* a name of a loved one in spirit and/or a description as well as a message that a panel member can recognize and concretely identify).

The novice studies about Spiritualism, esoteric studies, in addition to developmental and unfoldment classes which serve to instruct the aspiring minister on how to develop not only his/her mediumship skills, but how to hone them. They also learn practical aspects of mediumship involving outside tools that can aid them more readily in connecting them with spirit (*i.e.* astrology, tarot, numerology, *etc*), in addition to pastoral related classes which serve to prepare the student for the ministry. Throughout the course of their studies, aspiring ministers are required to take periodic written exams comprising the material they studied up to that point.[5]

Spiritualists escaping the harsh winters of New York and Massachusetts and was established in 1894; the USA no longer has a Spiritualist camp of its own (it did have a camp at one time called "Maple Grove," but it is no longer in use) as it was an offshoot of the IAOS, being established in 1956. The USA is unique in that it was the first to modernize, embracing modern technology (like the internet) to reach more people; it developed the first on-line ordination and certification system by distance learning with a yearly residence session at its annual symposium (today, it is mostly inactive). The Morris Pratt Institute, located in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, offers courses by distance study (it is affiliated with the NSAC, its parent organization). (Leonard (b), 2005)

[5] The system described in this section follows closely the educational requirements outlined by the "Chesterfield Spiritualist Seminary," the educational arm of the *Indiana Association of Spiritualists.*

During the developmental phase of mediumship, often novices are assigned a certified medium who acts as a mentor in guiding and advising the aspiring mediums. After successfully completing this course of study, the novices are assigned various duties to not only further their mediumship skills, but also to familiarize them with the workings of the church service and all other related aspects of being a Spiritualist medium. Throughout this tenure, the probationary medium is exposed to as many of the necessary elements of being a medium as possible, therefore gaining valuable experience in the process. Upon completion of the "apprenticeship" and testing, the novice medium is then formally allowed to practice as a Spiritualist medium, endorsed by the parent organization that certified him/her, complete with papers suitable for framing.

At this point in their mediumship, they can then decide if they wish to study further to become an ordained Spiritualist minister, which normally requires (in the case of a seminary program like the IAOS offers) a number of advanced classes and pastoral/minister related classes (in addition to sermon work, message and fieldwork) to become ordained ministers. Also, it must be noted that many who begin to study towards ordination often do not complete their studies once the rigors of what it takes to be an ordained minister is realized.[6]

Research Study Background

As was learned in the primary research contained in this paper, a number of Spiritualist ministers (and mediums) who were participants in this study actually realized their gift of mediumship at a young age. However, in most cases, it was not until adulthood when the mediums actually formally pursued mediumship certification, and subsequently, ordination into the ministry. A goodly percentage of mediums in this study, in fact, were very aware of their spiritual gifts with mediumship-related experiences evident from early childhood; while others were aware of their gift but did not develop it until either consciously or subconsciously until they were introduced to Spiritualism and realized they had options in which to pursue mediusmhip development formally.

A detailed fieldwork questionnaire[7] and personal interviews were conducted by this researcher for this paper. The purpose in so doing was to gather as much data as possible

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[6] A similar study was published by this author previously on Spiritualist ministers. Using the primary data source, and some of the text from the previous paper, makes this paper a follow-up study to the previous one; it was entitled **"**Messages from Heaven: A Research Study on Spiritualist Ministers and their "Calling" to Serve Spirit" (see Leonard (f), 2012) which primarily focused on determining what the respondents' religious and spiritual backgrounds entailed, and why they decided to pursue Spiritualism as a religion, and the calling they received to the ministry as a vocation. This follow-up paper is primarily concerned with the actual empirical aspect of the ministers' work, focusing on their spiritual experiences in mediumship. In addition, the previous study endeavored to learn the "process" that encompasses becoming a minister, whereas this study relates to how mediumship is a part of the ministers' experience as not only ministers in Spiritualism but also as mediums. Four related studies previously published by this author aided greatly in qualifying and comparing the results of both of these studies. Portions of the previous studies overlapped, allowing the use of previously published findings to be included in both of these papers. [See Leonard (a), (b), 2005, (d) 2009), and (e), (f) 2012.]

[7] Since the questionnaires were anonymous, it was at times difficult to ascertain the credentials and certification backgrounds of a number of the subjects. While collating and dissecting the data

regarding specific backgrounds, experiences and competencies relevant to Spiritualist ministers and their work (as identified by 54 ordained Spiritualist ministers who were currently ministering in some form).[8] Some of the topics contained in the fieldwork research included questions on the ministers' demographic and personal data, including family background; their religious upbringing and experiences prior to becoming a Spiritualist; the idea of a "calling" and when and why they actively pursued the ministry; what type of certification/ordination process they experienced; and their years of service as a minister.

Mediumship Development

The criteria for the gathered data on the mediumship of the surveyed ministers was largely based on the experiential aspects of their work as well as pertinent background information that was directly, and indirectly, related to their mediumship. To gain a broader understanding of the requirements and the duties of being a minister, information was collected on several levels, including conducting site visits, interviews, attending séances and healing circles, and attending message services at Spiritualist churches and camps; in addition, it was necessary to examine documentation and artifacts (spirit portraits, *apports*,[9] and historic photographs of materializations) of mediums, as well as distributing, collecting, and analyzing a comprehensive questionnaire.

The participants in the study were asked to indicate at what age they became "certified mediums" (meaning the age they attained certification by a recognized Spiritualist association or church to give messages formally as a medium under the jurisdiction of the certifying organization). The average age of the respondents who chose to answer this particular question was 42.5 (the youngest being 29-years-old and the oldest being 64-years-old). Again, this advanced age suggests that the majority of Spiritualist ministers did not begin to pursue ministerial studies until they were much older because becoming certified as a medium is a necessary step to becoming an ordained Spiritualist minister in the majority of Spiritualist associations.

Interestingly, however, the participants were very much aware of their mediumistic gifts much earlier in their lives. When asked at what age they were aware of their mediumship, the average age for those who answered this question was 14-years-old (the youngest being 2-years-old and the oldest being 48-years-old). Many of the respondents indicated an age which was very early childhood (3 or 4-years-old), offering specific examples of what they experienced to illustrate their connection to Spirit and mediumship (*i.e.* sensing a ghostly presence, talking to spirit guides, spirit children and/or deceased relatives or family

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contained in the fieldwork data, it was evident and apparent that a number of participants who regarded themselves as "mediums" were not necessarily ordained Spiritualist ministers and did not fit the criteria for this study. Others were rejected because their credentials were either suspect or not rigorous enough to be included in this study (e.g. internet ordination, self-study for mediumship rather than being taught formally in a development class, etc).

[8] One hundred Spiritualist ministers were initially surveyed, with 62 respondents, and 54 subjects ultimately accepted in the data collection portion of this study. A number of ministers offered additional research data through consultation and interviews.

[9] An *apport* is the production or manifestation of an object by Spirit at a Spiritualist séance.

members, prophetic dreams, and experiencing the transfiguration[10] of objects). Even though the participants on average were very much aware of their spiritual gifts, it was much later in life that they were able to pursue formally their studies and certification in mediumship.

Specific experiences that were personally memorable to the participants were varied and often unique. The following are a sampling of the rich and thoughtful descriptions that the participants shared regarding their most fantastic or memorable experiences as mediums which they deemed to be positive and enriching:

Subject A: "…between the ages of 10-13, I had many beautiful OOB ('out of body') experiences—I was led by spirits into the spiritual realm where I was taught by others."

Subject B: "…seeing the spirit of a man and the spirit of his murderer; and giving the message to the man's girlfriend of the forgiveness between the man and his murderer."[11]

Subject C: "…I was in a séance and my father [who was in spirit] said 'hold out your hand' and then his wedding ring appeared out of thin air, and fell into my hand."[12]

Subject I: "The day my horse (which had transitioned weeks prior) made contact with me and gave me information that altered my decision about putting my other horse down. It saved my younger horse's physical life and allowed me to spend 11 1/2 more beautiful years with him."[13]

Subject M: "Helping others, non-Spiritualists, in the belief 'through proof of continuity', especially with parents who have lost children. …The first message I received in a Spiritualist church, the medium brought my grandmother to me and said, 'You will be up on the platform someday.' HA, I said, but now I am a platform medium."

Subject O: "I was at my Lutheran Church taking communion—when the pastor put the wafer in my mouth—I looked up at the picture of Jesus and he spoke to me: 'I'll show you the way.' I went home and heard these words loud and clear: 'This is a gift I am

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[10] "Transfiguration" in Spiritualism refers to momentary physical changes a person experiences (or of an object) during a séance or reading. Most commonly, it is when Spirit seemingly superimposes itself over a person's face or body who is attending the séance or over the medium that is leading the séance (or giving a reading).

[11] Spiritualist mediums interviewed for this study often emphasized the true purpose of their mediumship was to offer proof of the continuity of life after the so-called death, and to offer comfort and peace to those who are seeking answers from loved ones on the other side. This is a prime example of a spirit message that perhaps gave those receiving the message some sort of closure and understanding about what had happened to their loved one.

[12] This "gift" from spirit is an example of an "apport" which sometimes appears at Spiritualist séances. *Subject R* had a similar experience in that his father from spirit gave him an apport in the form of the father's wedding ring; the subject indicated that his father was buried wearing the wedding ring, but this ring appeared to him during a personal meditation in 1980 [years after the father had died].

[13] It is not uncommon for pets and animals to come through a medium to give a sign or message to the sitter. During the fieldwork for this study, this author witnessed numerous examples of people receiving messages from pets in spirit which appeared to offer confirmation to the people receiving the message.

giving you. Use your gift wisely. You may stumble and almost fall, but pick up your gift and keep walking.' The very next day, I realized I was a medium."[14]

Subject U: "…seeing my grandfather at age 11 (when he had passed 2-years before). He was driving the bus I was getting on—I was very upset at that time because my parents were divorcing again, for the 3rd time, and he told me it was going to be OK. I blinked and the bus driver was not my granddad."[15]

Subject Y: "Talking to my guide for the first time in a trumpet séance."[16]

Subject LL: "In this moment, the reading that comes to mind is one that I did for a young lady in February or March of 2002. I had never met her before. She came to me and as she walked in, I thought to myself, 'who could she have possibly lost or hope to hear from—she's young, attractive, who?' As I read for her, her fiancé came into the room. He had been killed in the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. I described him physically to her and reminded her of the final phone call he gave. He then took me [psychically] to a stairwell where he was trying to get out but there was too much smoke. He reassured her that, at the moment of impact, he felt nothing. He shared with her that there were two angels for every individual and helped remove the people from their bodies before they could feel any pain associated with such a passing."[17]

A number of the subjects indicated as a memorable experience in mediumship the contact by a loved one in spirit which gave them much comfort and joy. These were either through dreams or actual manifestations that appeared to them in the physical. Many of the subjects related that the information was confirming (which indicates actual contact of a known loved one), or the manifestation occurred in a group setting where all of those present felt and or saw the apparition.

As a follow-up to the previous question (which was designed to ascertain positive types of experiences), I asked the subjects to relate any frightening or negative experiences with their mediumship which gave them cause for concern or made them fearful. Overwhelmingly, the subjects indicated that they had never had any frightening or negative

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[14] Contrary to a popular belief prevalent in mainstream Christianity that Spiritualism is somehow connected to "dark forces" or is void of any Christian values is simply not true. In fact, a goodly percentage of Spiritualist mediums and ministers actively identify themselves with the Christian religion. This is not surprising, when considering the majority were raised as Christians before converting to Spiritualism as adults. This subject's experience is a good example of combining one's belief in a Christian idea (Jesus) and being a Spiritualist medium at the same time.

[15] This experience related by Subject U suggests she witnessed a "transfiguration," of sorts, where the image of the spirit superimposed upon another person momentarily.

[16] Some mediums are purportedly able to converse with spirits through the use of a "trumpet." An ordinary, usually collapsible, tin trumpet is placed in the circle at a séance; at some point, enough energy is generated from the sitters that a voice box forms from ectoplasm (the visible, but ethereal, substance that emanates from the orifices of a medium's body during communication with the dead) and then speaks through the trumpet.

[17] Often after wars or a great tragedy, like 9/11, loved ones seek out the guidance of a Spiritualist medium in order to have closure with the death of a loved one who passed due to tragic circumstances. Historically, after wars (like the US Civil War, WWI, WW II, and the Vietnam War) Spiritualism received a boost in attendance in services and people flocked to Spiritualist mediums for readings to make contact with those who passed and to seek closure.

experiences related to their mediumship (81.5%). The subjects that did indicate some sort of negative experience usually involved giving a message to another person and it related to some sort of outside influence. For example, *Subject G* wrote: "…a negative emotion from a male came through to a young man who I knew was using drugs."[18] The following are some other responses regarding negative or frightening experiences with mediumship:

Subject I: "…knowing a tragedy was about to befall a loved one's grandmother, but having no one believe my message. The results were her death through trauma that could have been prevented. …knowing a person had a terminal disease and having the person deny any illness and refusing to go to an MD.[19] The other was the day I knew my best friend had committed suicide before I received the call."

Subject P: "…having a spirit throw a picture across the room. It had been secure on the wall."

Subject R: "…having an attack by a negative entity (from spirit) strong enough to split the doorframe to the house."[20]

Subject V: "I have never been frightened by spirit, however, I used to receive visions of disasters (i.e. plane crashes) and asked that I no longer receive these visions unless I could do something to prevent them."[21]

Subject Y: "…touching with a soul that had just crossed into Spirit and they would not leave [the earth plane]. They hung around."

Subject LL: "Early in my development, I went over to a house that my friend was house sitting at. He told me he kept feeling something very distressing/disturbing at the house. While I was there, I sensed the presence of a man who had murdered a woman there. I became pretty frightened. It turned out that the house was a new house and it had been built on a lot where there used to be a bar. At the bar, there had been a murder, so it all made sense."

As mediums gain experience and formally study mediumship, gradually they are able to develop a system where only the highest and the best is allowed to come through, relying on their spirit guides to protect them from any possible negative entity that might try to come through. As one Spiritualist minister related so eloquently regarding possible lower entities trying to take over the medium, she said: "Where there is light, darkness cannot dwell. Like

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[18] In my research on Spiritualism, which now spans over a decade, over and over again, mediums have related to me frequently that it is quite difficult to read for alcohol or drug-addicted clients. Somehow the energy becomes muddled and sometimes lower entities (like trickster spirits) will attach to the person due to the use of these substances.

[19] Spiritualist mediums that are trained and study through a formal Spiritualist association or church are normally instructed that they are not to diagnose or prescribe any medication or treatment.

[20] Several of the subjects related experiences which seemed to suggest some sort of poltergeist (a spirit that makes its presence known through rappings, noises or by moving objects like furniture).

[21] Spiritualism and seasoned development teachers teach mediums early on in their studies that the Spirit is not in control, but the medium is in control of the Spirit, meaning that it is up to the medium to set the ground rules regarding who and what come through and when it comes through. This is the reason why Spiritualist mediums work very closely with a band of trusted guides who assist in filtering out any trickster spirits or lower entities that might try to confuse, upset or play with the medium.

attracts like and if one is surrounded by love and light, then only love and light can come through." (Brown, 2004)

When asked to list any tools they may use to help connect to Spirit, like tarot, numerology or astrology, the majority of the subjects indicated that they do not use any outside tools other than their own clairvoyance, clairaudience, clairsentience, and/or clairgustience.[22] This was mildly surprising because the common perception the public has of mediums and mediumship revolves around a Hollywood image portraying mediums as psychics, palm readers and fortunetellers, veiled in mystery with a variety of ritualistic objects that help them connect to the person to give a reading. In fact, only a small percentage of the respondents for this study indicated that they sometimes used tarot, numerology or crystals to begin a reading for a client. This, in part, is due to the rigid instruction students of mediumship go through in order to become board certified. Many associations and churches require that students use pure clairvoyance early on in their development in order to develop a strong connection to their guides and Spirit. Later on, should they wish to incorporate some sort of outside tool, only then do some associations and churches allow this. The *National Association of Spiritualist Churches* (NASC) has a strict policy against the use of anything other than the medium's clairvoyance, clairaudience, clairsentience or clairgustience to give messages or readings. This is perhaps why a majority of the respondents indicated that they do not use any tool other than their own organism to give messages or readings because it is suspected that a large number of the subjects for this study are members of the NSAC. In addition, the majority of the Spiritualist ministers who participated in this study indicated that they used meditation and prayer as the primary manner to connect with Spirit in order to give messages or readings.

When asked, "what are the three most common reasons people seek out your assistance as a medium or psychic?", the most common responses were: 1) They want proof that their loved one still lives on in Spirit; 2) Comfort that their loved one did not suffer or feel pain; 3) Reassurance that their loved one still loves them. Secondarily, a number of subjects indicated that clients and parishioners seek advice about relationships, finances, and job-related issues. Also, many of the Spiritualist ministers (not surprisingly) indicated that people who come to see them often simply seek direction, guidance and comfort regarding their everyday spiritual lives. Not unlike Christian ministers who counsel and guide parishioners spiritually, Spiritualist ministers receive the same sort of requests for spiritual guidance and advice in marriage, familial issues, and personal issues which may be of an emotional or psychological nature.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The research questions included in the questionnaire were designed to ascertain data in a variety of areas that would highlight the actual experience of the participants; the age in which the participants first noticed their mediumship; any outside tools the participants may use to connect to the spirit realm; how participants receive spirit messages; and the most

[22] Often called the "clairs", these gifts include: *Clairvoyance* (clear seeing); *clairaudience* (clear hearing); *clairsentience* (clear feeling); *clairgustience* (clear smelling/tasting); *clairtangency* (clear touching—also sometimes referred to as "psychometry"); and *clairempathy* (clear emotion). Strictly speaking, most Spiritualist mediums use the first four gifts, and clairtangency and clairempathy tend to be used more by psychics, even though Spiritualist mediums do usually have both abilities.

common reasons people/clients seek out the participants' gifts. This paper primarily focused upon the experiential and anecdotal aspects of mediumship which specifically deals with the qualitative features of the research conducted which allowed for a very rich and comprehensive look at Spiritualist ministers' experience and their spiritual gifts. All questions consisted of a content analysis approach using a questionnaire.

One research question that was posed and answered was—at what age did subjects first notice their spiritual gifts? The answers were more complex than anticipated. The subjects largely converted to Spiritualism but were predominantly raised in or came from Christian backgrounds (Leonard (e), 2012); many were likely drawn to Spiritualism due to a lack of understanding and flexibility by their former churches. The majority of the subjects in the study were in fact converts to the religion; nearly all of the subjects had been raised in some type of religion while growing up (Leonard (e), 2012). Of those, a high percentage of the respondents had practiced Christianity or had been exposed to some type of religious upbringing that followed a Christian denomination of a Catholic or Protestant tradition. Not surprisingly, many of the subjects did in fact realize their spiritual gifts of mediumship at a young age, but due to their life circumstance were not able to pursue mediumship and the Spiritualist ministry until much later in their lives.

This study outlined various experiences of the subjects regarding their actual mediumship and work in the Spiritualist ministry. Indeed, these examples were largely anecdotal, but offer a unique glimpse into the type of mediumship currently practiced by certified mediums and ordained Spiritualist ministers. Nearly all of the subjects gave detailed and thoughtful descriptions of their experiences and work in Spiritualism as mediums and ministers. When asked to describe any negative or fearful experiences in their development or work, the overwhelming majority indicated that they had none. This is in direct contrast to popular belief (perpetuated by Hollywood and the media) that mediums are constantly forced to fend off negative or evil forces that try to possess them in their work.

Regarding "outside tools" that the minister-mediums may utilize in connecting with Spirit while giving a reading to a client, the majority indicated that they do not use anything except for the "clairs": Clairvoyance, clairaudience, clairsentience, or clairgustience. This can partly be attributed to the strict rules that some associations follow regarding message and reading work by the certified mediums and ordained ministers in their affiliated churches or parent association. However, a goodly number of the mediums did indicate using a type of astrology, numerology, tarot or crystals when giving readings.

Finally, it was found that the reasons for clients to visit a medium-minister are to make contact with a loved one who has passed over from this earth life were to have some sort of closure and to know that the loved one was all right in the Spirit world.

Limitations

A number of limitations affected the ability of general conclusions to be drawn from this study. The participants who participated were all ordained Spiritualist ministers, but were mostly selected through "snowball sampling"[23]; therefore, the results cannot necessarily be

[23] "In snowball sampling researchers identify a small number of individuals who have characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify, or put

generalized to draw inferences about other ordained Spiritualist ministers who may be working as ministers and mediums in their own communities. Also, since I did not have an opportunity to meet personally many of the subjects, I had to depend upon my core group of contacts to follow strictly the criteria I had set out initially. This is why eight respondents' surveys had to be discarded because they did not seemingly fit the criteria and I suspected that these subjects were not ordained Spiritualist ministers when I began to analyze their surveys. Had I been able to meet and speak personally with the subjects, I could have asked follow-up questions regarding their responses which would have made this research study comparatively better as there were instances when either I did not understand fully a subject's written response, or it seemed that perhaps the subject had misinterpreted the meaning of an item on the questionnaire.

Recommendations for Further Research

Several areas of potential research arose out of the need for continued study of Spiritualist ministers and their mediumship. The first area would expand the study of participants who clearly have their own churches and who devote their lives fulltime to the Spiritualist ministry. This recommendation would provide a broader spectrum for evaluating Spiritualist ministers in more detail and with more conclusive evidence. Also, breaking down the subjects into more specific categories would generate more significant data regarding their personal lives and motivation; specifically, a study that included not only sexual orientation as a component, but focused on more minute details such as same sex marriage statistics, the percentage of children (both biological and adopted children) being raised within the same sex marriage, age of coming out publically about their homosexuality and how their homosexuality affected their decision to pursue ordination; all of these questions would offer valuable insight into this area of the study.

A second area in need of study would be what percentage of Spiritualist mediums hail from countries other than the United States; how prevalent the Spiritualist movement in these countries is; and what religious backgrounds do these people have (if converts to Spiritualism). There are significant numbers of Spiritualist ministers in Great Britain and Australia, so it would be interesting to investigate how their associations are faring in contemporary times in comparison to their American counterparts. This expanded research was well beyond the scope of this study, but would be of value in future research studies on this topic.

This ethno-religious study of Spiritualist ministers offers new insight into the religion, in general, and more so into the motivations and personal lives of the ministers themselves. Although Spiritualism is a rather new religion in comparison to its Christian-based cousins, it has a long and vibrant history that affords the researcher of religion a most fascinating area of exploration in which to pursue.

In the end, it is hoped that this study offers new insights and research data not previously found in the area of ordained Spiritualist ministers and their mediumship in the

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researchers in touch with, others who qualify for inclusion and these, in turn, identify yet others—hence the term snowball sampling. This method is useful for sampling a population where access is difficult, maybe because it is a sensitive topic or where communication networks are underdeveloped. The task for the researcher is to establish who are the critical or key informants with whom initial contact must be made." (Cohen, *et al*, 104)

religion of Spiritualism. As evidenced in this paper, the Spiritualist minister must wear many hats, and being a working medium is but just one of these.

Biographical Note

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An Eschatological Earthquake in the Post-Bellum South

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History is the trick that the living play on the dead.

---Voltaire

The mythology of most historical cultures attempts not only to explain their origin – cosmology – but also their termination – eschatology. Simply stated, eschatology is the study of the *eschaton* or coming, that is the events leading to the coming or return of the deity worshipped by a given culture and the consummation of a given age (Gk. *eon*). Cataclysmic or apocalyptic events can force a culture to reinterpret its eschatological beliefs. For example, the arrival of Cortes and the Spaniards in 1521 was at first hailed by the Aztecs as the return of Quetzecuatl, but ultimately, the traumatic *eschaton* of Cortez caused an abandonment of their ancient eschatology and the demise of their culture. Likewise, the nuclear annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945 caused a radical reordering of the Japanese belief system. Emperor Hirohito was demoted from "god status" to a mere mortal as a result of the Enola Gay's fateful mission. A similar shift occurred in the American South as a result of the apocalyptic nature of the "War Between the States" (1861-1865), by far the bloodiest event in American history. While many have observed that by the end of World War I American Christianity was predominantly premillennial, the shift away from postmillennialism actually began in the 1860s.

Pre-War Eschatology

Prior to the war, a postmillennial consensus grew out of the old light vs. new light controversy of the eighteenth century. The Old Lights were the traditional churches and clergy who were suspicious of the Awakening; the New Lights were those who embraced and advocated it. To Johnathan Edwards and the other New Lights,

It seemed entirely possible that God might create a millennial order without some cataclysmic holocaust compelling Christ's return. In fact, Christ might not return until *after* the millennium (hence "postmillennialism"). History might not be moving ever downward or in cycles but in a straight line of ascension from Adam's fall to the redemption of mankind. (McLoughlin 1978: 76)

In this era, an overwhelming majority of whites in America were postmillennial in their eschatology; however, almost all blacks held a premillennial view (Marsden 50-51). This is clearly evident in the Negro Spirituals such as *Go Down Moses* and *Swing Low Sweet Chariot*. In the view of black theologian James Cone, white missionaries stressed the basics of premillennialism upon black slaves; after all, "obedient servants of God could expect a reward in heaven after death" (1969: 121). This "slave premillennialism" had little to do with the exegesis of apocalyptic texts; rather, it was rooted in the idea that the next world had to be better than the one in which they were living. George Cummings writes, "The slaves had special views on the presence of the eschaton and its future fulfillment. In other words, they knew something about heaven and hell, as well as of who would occupy each place" (Hopkins and Cummings 1991: 56).

Postmillennialism's emphasis on the world gradually improving through the advancement of the gospel, provided the theological underpinning for the founding and

growth of America, including the idea of Manifest Destiny. Most Pilgrims in 1620 and Puritans in 1630 saw themselves as Ambassadors for Christ who would ultimately bring about his return after the new golden age or millennium that they sought to establish. The same mindset continued through the First Great Awakening (c. 1730-1760) and in large part through the Second Great Awakening (c. 1800-1840).

It was out of this cultural milieu that liberalism and evolutionary progressivism laid the groundwork for an eschatological paradigm shift in America (Bahnsen 1976: 1). In the early decades of the nineteenth century John Nelson Darby popularized a version of premillennialism known as dispensationalism which would later come to dominate the eschatology of America, white and black. Darby's system sought fulfillment of biblical apocalyptic texts in contemporary events, rather than in historic fulfillment in the time that they were written. Out of the great camp meetings and the general zeitgeist of the nineteenth century emerged new sects advocating the imminent end of the world: Millerites (Seventh Day Adventists), Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc. More mainstream groups such as Baptists were not exempt from the social forces that were at work. Predictions of the end of the world became more common. William Miller publicly and passionately predicted the return of Christ in 1843; the end obviously did not come.

The premillennialists, however, operated on the fringe of American Christendom until the cataclysmic events of the war shattered the optimism of postmillennialists. Mark Twain, no churchman to be sure, famously observed this eschatological shift: "In my lifetime, we have gone from The Marriage Supper of the Lamb (Revelation 19:7-10) to the Great Bar-B-Cue." Few who participated in the enormously important Prayer Revival of 1857-1858 would have been sympathetic with Darby's views, but by 1878, the participants in the Niagara Bible Conference were wholly taken by them (Marsden 1980: 46). What brought about this change? In 1863, in the middle of the Civil War, premillenialist writer Joseph Seiss commented that the war and its prelude "had only deepened his conviction that the world was sinking into the final abyss of wickedness immediately preceding the end" (Boyer 1992: 90).

In the north, following the spread of Unitarianism and Transcendentalism in the mid-nineteenth century, the postmillennialism of Edwards and Whitfield morphed into a social millenarianism in which corporate causes such as abolition and temperance took the place of personal salvation. This type of corporate soteriology can be clearly seen in the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, written in the winter of 1862. In stanza one, Howe espouses the belief that the Union army is the agent of God's wrath against apostate southerners: "He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored. He has loosed the fateful lightening of his terrible swift sword." Stanza Two is even more blatant: "I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps, They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps; I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps." Stanza Three further heightens the propaganda: "I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel: As ye deal with my condemners, so with you my grace shall deal; Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent (southerners) with His heel." Stanzas Four and Five continue the hyperbolic rhetoric. Stanza Six returns to the song's central theme of the coming of the Lord in the form of the Union army: "He is coming like the glory of the morning on the wave."

So, in Howe's view, corporate redemption is purchased through the messianic state's shedding of blood. This idea is firmly rooted in both Old and New Testaments. In Isaiah 11, the coming of the Lord finds immediate fulfillment in the invading Babylonian armies; likewise, The Olivet Discourse (Matthew 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21) reveals the Lord's coming in the pagan armies of Rome: "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then you will know that the time of its destruction is near" (Luke 21:21).

Post-War Eschatology

By the time the "War Between the States" had spanned five Aprils, the old postmillennial paradigm was being called seriously into question. Southerners, living under Yankee occupation during the twelve years of Reconstruction, hardly saw the progress of the gospel leading ultimately toward the return of Christ at the end of a Golden Age. Marsden writes, "The rapid spread of premillennial thought must have reflected some disillusionment with the progress of civilization" (67). Postbellum cities were seen as, "seething cauldrons of foreign, godless, and radical immorality among the masses" (McLaughlin 1978: 4). All of this seemed to contradict the notion that Satan had been bound for a literal or figurative one-thousand years (Revelation 20:4-6).

The magnitude of the social upheaval cannot be overstated. After all, one out of every ten southern men was dead, and one out of four was missing an arm, leg, or eye. In such an environment, dispensational premillennialism, with its emphasis on the imminent return of Christ, became a much more attractive alternative to the average citizen, and indeed, "Fundamentalist protestants began to adopt a premillennial perspective on human history at the end of the nineteenth century" (McLaughlin 1978: 4).

Conclusion

An often overlooked casualty of the American Civil War was the postmillennial optimism that once pervaded the country. In an ironic twist of fate, white southerners largely adopted the eschatology of the black slaves that they had once seen as inferior human beings. Modern evangelicalism still tremors with the aftershocks of this eschatological earthquake (or southern tsunami) from 150 years ago. If the aftershocks ever cease, perhaps American pulpits will again proclaim less about the antichrist, rapture, and great tribulation and more about incremental social progress based on biblical blueprints.

Biographical Note

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Short Term Mission Trips: What the Long-Term Missions Personnel Really Think about Them

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Introduction

During the latter part of the twentieth century, the number of U.S. Christians participating in international short-term mission (STM) work (that is, trips generally lasting less than one year) grew exponentially, from 540 in 1965 to an estimated 450,000 in 1998.[1] By conservative estimates, this number has grown to more than 1.5 million U.S. Christians who annually participate in short-term international mission work at an average cost of about $1,400 per person.[2] Because two-thirds of these trips last two weeks or less and the volunteers are not always adequately trained, a number of missiologists have begun to question the wisdom of investing so much money—an estimated $2 billion per year—to fund short-term travel expenses with questionable results.[3] Even if the funding for such trips have not been diverted from long-term missions (LTM) support and the mission team members benefit from such experiences,[4] do the overall effects merit the significant investment of time and energy by the long-term personnel who host these trips?

The potential impact of short-term missions lies in three areas: (1) impact on the mission team participants; (2) contribution to the ministry and work among those in the host community; and (3) impact on the mission-sending entities. The sending agencies for these short-term missionaries include denominational groups on the state and national levels, independent mission organizations, as well as a growing number of churches and schools. The primary purpose of these trips may be evangelism (such as sharing the Christian message of salvation through preaching, teaching, Vacation Bible Schools, plays, etc.), teaching English as a second language, providing medical aid, construction, technology transfer, agricultural or business development, or some other form of Christian ministry. The

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[1] Richard Slimbach, "First, Do No Harm," *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 36 (October 2000), p. 441.

[2] Robert J. Priest and Joseph Paul Priest, "'They see everything, and understand nothing': Short Term Mission and Service Learning," *Missiology* 36 (January 2008), pp. 54 and 57. The cost estimate may actually be much higher. One denominational mission-sending agency which participated in a previous study reported an average cost of $3,600 for 10-week international mission trips. While the cost to the individual student is much lower and close to the $1,400 figure reported in the Priest and Priest study, the total costs of these trips are normally subsidized by churches, denominational funds, and/or fundraising efforts on the part of the participants.

[3] See, for example, Robert J. Priest, Terry Dischinger, Steve Rasmussen, and C. M. Brown, "Researching the Short-Term Mission Movement," *Missiology* 34 (October 2006), pp. 431-450. See especially p. 433 for data about the number of days commonly spent on international mission trips.

[4] Cf. Dennis J. Horton, et al., "The Effects of Short-Term Missions on Mission Team Members," in *The Year 2011 Proceedings of the ASSR-SW* (Dallas: ASSR-SW, 2011), pp. 52-73.

mission team participants may gain a greater understanding of other cultures, become less materialistic, and increase their long-term involvement in mission work.

On the surface level, the short-term missions movement has the appearance of a win-win-win phenomenon. The sending agencies benefit by greater involvement and commitment on the part of STM participants, generating a greater focus on local and long-term global missions. The host cultures benefit through the influx of volunteers and material resources, providing expertise and development in a variety of areas. The mission team members benefit through personal development and spiritual transformation.

Some concerns have arisen, however, that may temper the enthusiasm for STM work. Perhaps the money spent on participant travel expenses would have greater impact if it were given directly to the host country's partners. One study, for example, demonstrated that ten times as many houses could have been built if local Christian leaders in Honduras had simply been given the money that STM participants spent on trip expenses.[5] Using travel money to employ nationals could have the added benefit of helping those in areas where the unemployment rate is often extremely high. Some long-term missionaries have also complained that culturally insensitive STM participants have actually done more harm than good, damaging relationships that had taken months and sometimes years to build.[6]

Several mission experts have cautioned against the emphasis on short-term trips, especially the ways in which they are usually conducted. Phil Nicholson, a 20-year missionary in Taiwan, warns about the potential dangers of these endeavors by explaining that they can create a sense that mission work is limited to only a portion of our lives, that its purpose is primarily about helping the less fortunate or that missions is limited to simply an activity or event.[7] He also warns that short-term work can be more susceptible to cultural imperialism, may decrease long-term missions support, and may actually distract individuals from committing their lives to long-term mission work.[8] Naomi Haynes, a social anthropologist, likewise expresses grave reservations about such trips, doubting that the existing structure for STM work can create the types of truly enriching experiences and mission partnerships desired by STM advocates.[9] Brian Howell, an anthropologist who just completed an in-depth ethnographic study of a short-term mission trip, agrees with Haynes and recommends that current practices for doing STM trips are failing and must be reformed significantly to bring about results that are both desirable and lasting.[10] One of the changes that Howell suggests is that churches "abandon most travel-intensive 'projects;'" other researchers such as David Livermore and Robert J. Priest believe that mission trips prove valuable to the global body of Christ as long as these traveling volunteers work in support of

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[5] Kurt Ver Beek, "The Impact of Short-Term Missions: A Case Study of House Construction in Honduras after Hurricane Mitch," *Missiology* 34 (October 2006), pp. 482-483.
[6] Jim Lo, "What Have we Done?" *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 36 (October 2000), pp. 436-438.
[7] Phil Nicholson, "The Dangers of Short-term Mission," (http://www.omf.org/omf/content/download/4404/16245/file/Dangers%20of%20short-term%20mission), accessed on February 2, 2013, pp. 1-2.
[8] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[9] Naomi Haynes, "Review of *Serving with Eyes Wide Open*," *Journal of Latin American Theology* 2 (2007), p. 263.
[10] Brian M. Howell, *Short-Term Mission: An Ethnography of Christian Travel Narrative and Experience* (Downers Grove, Illinois: IVP Academic, 2012), pp. 204ff.

the initiatives of our global partners and strengthen connections between Christians in different parts of the world.[11]

Purpose of the Current Study

Given the disparaging assessments about STM practices, warnings about potential negative consequences, and differing opinions between researchers, the present study seeks to gain the perspective of a broad representation of long-term missions personnel who have hosted short-term volunteers. These host partners deal directly with all the issues raised by the researchers, and they and their ministries are most directly affected by these short-term teams. Their direct and continuous involvement with STM groups has provided a wealth of insights about the potential problems and contributions of these revolving teams of volunteers.

This research project also helps meet another need highlighted in previous studies: the need for more data in general to continue charting current developments in STM work and continue identifying the various effects (both positive and negative) of STM activities. Nearly all of the STM research literature highlights the need for further study as leaders make a concerted effort to foster positive long-term changes.[12] The present study helps meet this need through its collection of data related to the effects of mission trips on the lives and ministries of the host partners and host communities.

Potential Significance

The potential significance of this study is twofold. First, the findings from the research provide key insights that will be beneficial for all STM leaders, whether these leaders work for a church, university, denomination, or an independent mission-sending agency. Tremendous investments of time, money, and other resources in short-term mission work should be done as wisely as possible. The application of these insights will help reinforce current beneficial STM practices and will help correct those practices that are problematic. Many of the harmful practices are well-intentioned but have unintended negative consequences.

Second, this study enables all of those interested in STM work to receive helpful feedback from those most directly impacted by STM teams: the long-term personnel who host these groups. This often-muted voice needs to be heard. While a few of these long-term personnel have boldly expressed their opinions in blogs or shared their views for others to report,[13] many host partners are reluctant to share their views directly with their STM

[11] Brian M. Howell, David Livermore, and Robert J. Priest, "Should Churches Abandon Travel-Intensive Short-Term Missions in Favor of Local Projects?" *Christianity Today* 56 (June 2012), pp. 60-61.

[12] E.g., Daniel P. McDonough and Roger P. Peterson, *Can Short-Term Mission Really Create Long-Term Career Missionaries?* (Minneapolis: STEM Ministries, 1991), p. 30; Priest, et al., "Researching," p. 445; Priest and Priest, "They see everything," pp. 70-71; and Ver Beek, "Impact," p. 493.

[13] E.g., Nicholson "Dangers," pp. 1-4. Mary T. Lederleitner draws on the perspectives of several long-term missions personnel in her book, *Cross-Cultural Parnerships* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity

partners. The reasons are multiple. One of the most prevalent reasons is simply because they *are* gracious hosts: they know that the STM leaders and team members have good intentions, and the host partners do not want to risk saying something that might offend those who are simply trying to help. The long-term personnel may also be receiving financial support from the STM sending entity and may therefore be hesitant to be too blunt with their feedback because doing so could jeopardize the amount of funding they receive to support their ministry. Long-term personnel may also be hesitant to express their viewpoints to their denominational leaders or other agency leaders out of deference to those in a superior administrative position. Because this study protects the identity of the long-term personnel participants, it provides a forum for helpful insights even if some feedback may sting a few of our (mis)perceptions about short-term missions.

Methods

Over 100 long-term host partners were interviewed or completed a questionnaire about short-term missions (see Appendix 1). The participants were recruited primarily from denominational and independent mission agency websites or through referral, and all participation was voluntary. No attempt was made to procure interviews from personnel with a particular known perspective on STM endeavors (such as a bias for or against STM trips). The goal was simply to acquire as wide a representation of personnel as possible in terms of age, denominational affiliation, countries served, and types of primary ministry.

The study consists of 109 completed questionnaires. Nine of these have been separated from the larger group to be used for comparative purposes but not included in the data representative of the primary group for various reasons (e.g., five of these were found to have as their primary duty the job of hosting short-term mission teams, thereby making them a valuable comparative group but likely containing an inherent predisposition toward the value of STM work). The age for the 100 participants in the primary group ranged from 29 to 86 with the average age being 49. They spanned from those at the early phases of their missionary endeavors to those who were retired. The years of mission service for the participants ranged from 3 to 43 with the average being 15.7 years. The number of countries represented by the total group was 91. The project participants served through a wide variety of mission organizations including denominational agencies, large Nondenominational groups as well as smaller independent ministries and individual church-supported missionaries. There was an even distribution of male and female participants with many interviews/questionnaires being completed jointly by a missionary couple. The faith groups represented include Presbyterians (both PC(USA) and PCA), Methodists, Nazarenes, Lutherans (both ELCA and Missouri Synod), Mennonites, Churches of Christ, Assemblies of God, Evangelical Free, a variety of Baptists (Independent, SBC, CBF, and WBF), and a number of Nondenominational missionaries. The areas of ministry focus also varied widely: church planting, community development, education, Bible translation, orphan care, youth, women, discipleship, health/medical/dental, reconciliation, and more.

Press, 2010), and Roland Hoksbergen is careful to base many of his conclusions on the experiences of various long-term development personnel in *Serving God Globally* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2012).

Findings

Despite the wide range of participants, the insights about short-term missions remained surprisingly consistent. With few exceptions, the participants shared many of the same concerns about short-term missions as well as similar preferences concerning group size, number of trips to host within a given year, and more. Some ministries do seem to be able to incorporate short-term volunteers better than others. Bible translation ministries, for example, seem to have considerable difficulty finding ways for short-term personnel to make worthwhile contributions to their work. Although the data collected through the 109 interviews cannot be distilled into one brief paper, what follows are some of the key findings.

Common Pitfalls of STM Work

When long-term missions personnel were asked to describe the potential drawbacks of hosting short-term mission teams, they openly shared about some of the problems that can occur (see Chart 1 below). By far the most common and often unavoidable pitfall is the time and energy taken away from their regular ministry responsibilities. A missionary couple (#12) in Southeast Asia clearly explained how "significant time, physical and emotional energy" are expended while hosting teams:

When an STM team is on the ground, there's really no down time for the host. You feel 24/7 "on" until the team departs because you are responsible for their housing, food, safety, health, transportation, "good experience," most everything. Add prep time and recovery time afterward, and a one-week STM likely consumes four weeks of true work time.

A Central American missionary (#104) made a similar observation: "We have calculated that every 10-day team represents at least a full month of full-time work between set-up, implementation when the team is in-country, and follow-up." There are likely host partners that do not expend this much time for each team, but the consumption of time and energy is clearly a significant factor for most long-term missions personnel. Not only is this pitfall the most common of all those mentioned, it was identified much more often than any of the other drawbacks, being noted by nearly 40% of the participants.

The participants also identified a number of other potential pitfalls. The more common ones include a lack of cultural sensitivity, giving in ways that create dependency and other problems, team members and leaders with self-centered or vacation mindsets, poor preparation of team members usually due to inadequate leadership, misaligned agendas between the STM teams and their host partners, groups that come with a savior or superiority complex which results in diminishing the dignity of the nationals, and damage done to the relationships with the nationals. Some pitfalls that were less common but still identified by several participants include the following: teams not paying for all of their expenses while in country, an unwillingness to learn, unrealistic or misguided expectations, poor team selection, not following instructions, and failing to interact appropriately with the nationals (i.e., staying largely isolated from the nationals concerning meals, work, etc.). The

long-term personnel also identified a number of other significant potential pitfalls, but these drawbacks were mentioned by four or fewer study participants and are too numerous to highlight in this paper.

Chart 1: What are some of the potential pitfalls of hosting STM groups?

Time and Energy Taken Away from Regular Ministry Responsibilities	39
Lack of Cultural Sensitivity	26
Creating Dependency/Giving Inappropriately	26
Self-centered or Vacation Mindsets	25
Poor Preparation/Inadequate Leadership	24
Misaligned Agendas (STM Activities Not Strategic for LTM Objectives)	22
Savior Complex/Diminishing the Dignity of the Nationals	21
Relationship Damage with Nationals	15
Not Paying for Expenses	10
Unwillingness to Learn	9
Unrealistic or Misguided Expectations	8
Poor Team Selection	7
Not Following the Host Partners' Instructions	5
Failure to Interact Appropriately with the Nationals	5

Given all of the many potential pitfalls, should short-term missions be abandoned? Some of the long-term personnel have decided that STM groups do not have a productive place in their ministry objectives, and they would prefer not to host any more teams. The vast majority, however, believe that most of these potential pitfalls can be avoided with good team selection, adequate preparation, wise leadership, and good pre-trip communication between the team leaders and the host partners to make sure that expectations are clear and everyone is in agreement about the objectives for the trip. The key pitfall that is almost unavoidable is the time and energy required to host a short-term mission team. Nevertheless, if the agenda of the team is aligned with the objectives of the host partner's ministry, the investment of time and energy is not wasted (#12). Such strategic ministry can support and even advance the work of the long-term personnel.

Setting the Agenda

If the primary objective is to advance the ministry of the long-term personnel, logic would dictate that host partners should be the primary ones to set the agenda for the mission team. Teams vary significantly though from one group to the next as to how well they support the objectives of the long-term ministry. A missionary in Eastern Europe (#70), for example, noted that he would rate the groups that did their best to support the goals of the long-term personnel as a 7 or 8 (out of 10) but those with their own agendas as a 3 or 4. Similarly, a missionary couple (#81) working in Latin America explained that they have had some groups they would rate as an 8 or a 9 but not all groups: "We have had some really good experiences, and then we had one in particular that wasn't so great because that team

came with their own agenda." Another missionary working in Latin America (#17) expressed justified frustration with such groups: "[Some teams] would have the whole trip planned out before they really communicated at all with us."

A desire to support the long-term mission objectives does not mean, however, that the STM team should not have any voice in the establishment of the trip's agenda. In fact, the agenda should be influenced at least in part by the abilities, skills, and desires of the team leaders and members. In this way, the trip becomes a win-win experience. A missionary couple in Europe (#57), for example, has developed the practice of working with a prospective team to see if the members have skills that can support the current programs they use with their immigrant ministry or perhaps some particular knowledge or expertise that will enable them to launch a pilot program. If the skills are a good fit for their ministry, the STM group is able to make a valuable contribution, thereby justifying the time and energy required to host them. Others expressed a similar sentiment about holding to their primary objectives while still allowing for an exchange of ideas and strategies: "We did a lot of front-end work on clarifying our vision and expectations for them, but we also gave some room for the team leaders to enact their own vision" (#35). An indigenous host partner (#87) expressed his combined approach in this manner: "Having their agenda is not bad, but then sitting and chatting together and making some changes are always helpful. . . . It's not only my agenda, but having a mutual understanding, listening to God and obeying which is the best approach for short-term missions."

If a team is unwilling to support the objectives of the long-term ministry, then the relationship will likely not be productive and should be avoided whenever possible. One missionary in Southeast Asia (#44) stated succinctly, "We have received many emails from groups wanting to come and serve, telling us what they wanted to do. We have not accepted many of these because [their agenda] did not fit our on-field strategy." Another missionary in Africa (#84) explained, "We normally select our work teams based on the needs we have. We don't usually just take a team and make a project for them, which can be a real trap with short-term missions." Some missions personnel are not as fortunate, however, to be able to refuse hosting requests from partner churches in the U.S. with a unilateral understanding of STM objectives. One seasoned missionary (#39) lamented her inability to veto groups that had a conflicting agenda: "Some people are very teachable, but one group that kept returning just kept doing things their way no matter what we said. We didn't want them to come back, but they had connections, and they were going to come no matter what. It was frustrating for us and for the national church. It was one of the reasons we left [the country]."

When the mission teams do strive to support the long-term objectives of their host partner, the relationship becomes productive for the long-term ministry. A South American missionary (#34) reported excellent success when short-term groups participated in a particular program they had developed: "Through the years, hundreds of new works were started, and established works were strengthened by using the principles of this program. Volunteers had a tremendous part in its success." A host partner in Southeast Asia had a similar experience: "Teams that have come alongside the work we've done have been a significant blessing to the ministry. Teams have helped train and encourage staff, built relationships that make the locals feel valued and appreciated, and motivated the local staff to continue on with the work they do."

Types of Ministry

While it is essential for the short-term personnel to support the strategic objectives of their host partners, some types of ministry seem to be a better fit for short-term work than others. Construction-related projects are the most commonly performed work by STM groups and often preferred by host partners (see Chart 2 below). Is construction, however, the best use of short-term volunteer labor? Why is this particular activity so popular? Anthropologists have long recognized that people in the U.S. tend to value "doing" over "being."[14] Because we focus on achievement, we need concrete measures to demonstrate that we have accomplished something worthwhile. Construction projects offer visible confirmation of our success. Moreover, these projects are often greatly needed by those in the host community. Construction of houses, churches, schools, and hospitals can provide shelter and places for worship, education, and healing. Newly drilled wells can supply clean water for an entire village.

Chart 2: Types of STM Activities

Most Commonly Performed		Most Preferred by LTMs
Construction (n=42)		Whatever Supports the Long-Term Ministry (n=27)
Evangelism* (n=36)		Construction (n=19)
VBS/Children's Ministry (n=32)		Learning/Discovery (n=17)
General Service (n=28)		Professional/Skilled Labor (n=16)
Medical/Dental (n=27)		VBS/Children's Ministry (n=14)
Learning/Discovery (n=24)		Relationship Building (n=13)
Manual Labor (n=19)		Evangelism* (n=12)
Youth/Student Ministry (n=16)		Outreach (n=12)
Discipleship/Bible Study (n=16)		General Service (n=12)
Outreach (n=15)		Specialized Training (n=8)
Specialized Training (n=14)		Medical/Dental (n=8)
Health Care—Basic (n=12)		Partnering with Local Christians (n=8)
Music/Choir (n=12)		Church Planting (n=6)
Relationship Building (n=11)		Orphan Care (n=6)
Ch. Planting, ESL, Youth (n=10)		Youth/Student Ministry (n=6)

*"Evangelism" here refers to the narrow sense of the word (i.e., sharing about the message of eternal life through Christ) as understood by many Evangelicals.

Manual labor for construction-related projects may, however, not be the best use of short-term mission teams. First, it is not cost effective. One missionary (#18) commented that a team came and spent many hours working on a large garden project. They did a great job, but the task could have been accomplished with local labor for about $350 rather than

[14] E.g., David A. Livermore, *Cultural Intelligence: Improving Your CQ to Engage Our Multicultural World* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), pp. 137-139.

having a mission team spend around $15,000-$20,000 traveling to his country to do the job. Second, using teams strictly for manual labor is often unnecessary: "Unskilled labor is generally not useful because that is one thing that the local people do not lack" (#60). Third, this practice may be both unethical and lacking in Christian love because STM labor deprives local workers of needed jobs. One Haitian missionary (#27) explained, "I don't agree with having groups do work that could easily create jobs in a country with 80% unemployment." Another missionary (#49) noted that a group traveled to Bangladesh to lay bricks for a hospital. While these team members meant well and worked hard, their efforts actually deprived local brick layers of much needed employment. Rather than diminishing the dignity of nationals by doing work the nationals can readily do, construction projects can become a wonderful means to help those in the community by providing jobs and also offering an avenue for local Christians to contribute to the ministry and community because they are able to use their labor and basic building skills which they have in abundance (#57).

Why then is construction work the most commonly performed activity by short-term volunteers and preferred by many of the long-term personnel who participated in this study? On the negative side, these projects are sometimes offered as a concession for those STM groups who desire that tangible means of measuring success. Work projects can also be more convenient for the host partners because these projects can be one of the easiest ways for STM teams to get involved without requiring extra attention by the host partners and translators. One missionary (#80) explained, "If they don't know the language, then there is little they can do except for work projects." Another (#17) expressed a similar sentiment, "Hard labor [is best] because most of the people that come don't speak the language." In essence, construction projects are often used by busy missionaries as a way for STM workers to accomplish a task that does not require proficiency in the local language, extensive cultural training, or extensive personal attention by the host partners.

On a more positive note, several long-term personnel have used work projects as a means of building relationships between mission team members and nationals as they work together on the projects. One host partner in South America (#34) noted that "volunteers and nationals would work side-by-side with wonderful results." The nationals maintained a high level of dignity because they were the primary contributors to all the preparatory work (buying the land, laying the foundation, etc.) prior to the actual construction and then worked in collaboration with the U.S. volunteers, building relationships in the process. Another host partner in Central America (#104) explained that a "hands-on" project is fine as long as the team comes "to listen and learn and work with flexibility and is respectful of the local partner's relationships and work methods." Completion of the project should not be stressed as much as learning about and partnering with those in the local community. Another missionary (#66) voiced a similar emphasis: "Ideally, short-term groups are engaged in ministry alongside the local partner church. It can be a building project, but only when done as requested/directed by the local partner and in collaboration with them. Ministry that incorporates an element of listening, learning, and relationship building is essential." In short, learning and building relationships are often more important than building a structure, but sometimes doing both simultaneously works well for all involved.

Another level of collaboration may legitimately occur when short-term teams provide needed expertise for building projects. A missionary in Africa (#52) noted, "I can definitely

see the need for STM groups with specialized skills. . . . For example, construction work in our country tends to be particularly shoddy. An STM group made up of skilled contractors would be a genuine godsend to missionaries needing to build or renovate a facility." Another host partner (#45) also expressed a need for skilled carpenters, plumbers, electricians who would provide technical skills for certain projects as well as training for nationals. The training in particular can lead to long-term impact by equipping locals with skills and expertise to meet future needs rather than simply meeting a single, immediate need while in the host community. Training though works in both directions. Nationals, because they know their context in depth, are able to share insights about what typically works and what does not. As one veteran missionary in South America (#95) stated, "The essential quality in a missions volunteer is humility above everything else." When teams arrive with a humble attitude, seeking to learn even as they teach, true collaboration results, dignity of the nationals is preserved, and these projects become visible reminders in the community which promote ongoing goodwill.

Despite the fact that work projects—when implemented appropriately—can become a worthwhile activity for certain STM volunteers, the number one preferred activity by the host partners is "whatever supports the long-term ministry" (see Chart 2 above). This may be some type of construction project, but it may be something completely different. Just as the host partners should be the lead decision makers about the overall agenda, they also are the ones who are best positioned to determine the specific kinds of activities that will support the agenda and objectives of their long-term ministry. They may desire a medical team, a musical group, a team to lead a Vacation Bible School, a foot-washing group, or simply a team who learns and creates awareness about what God is doing in another part of the world. The message from the host partners is to allow them to be the ones who evaluate whether or not they need a group, and if so, what type of ministry is best.

Size of the Mission Team

Churches in the U.S. have a tendency to think that bigger is always better. In fact, a common measure of success for church leaders is based on increasing numbers: the greater the number in worship attendance, the better; the bigger the budget, the better; the more buildings, all the better. Universities and denominational agencies likewise never want to broadcast declining enrollments or memberships. To demonstrate success, the numbers on the graph must always be moving upward. Does this approach of strength in numbers transfer to mission teams? The larger the mission group, the better?

If the typical group size reported by the participants in this study is any indication, larger groups do not seem to correlate with more effective short-term ministry. Nearly 90% reported that the typical size for mission teams they have hosted has been 15 or fewer (see Chart 3 below). Only one participant regularly hosted teams larger than 25. While some of the long-term personnel in this study have hosted teams as large as 100, the average typical size was 11, and the most common typical size was between five and nine members in the group.

Chart 3: Typical Group Size (N=98)*

Less than 5 Team Members (n=6)	4.5%
5-9 Team Members (n=31)	33.7%
10-12 Team Members (n=29)	29.2%
13-15 Team Members (n=19)	20.2%
16-25 Team Members (n=12)	11.2%
26 or more Team Members (n=1)	1.1%

*Two participants either had no response (n=1) or indicated that the group size varied to the point of not having a "typical" size (n=1).

When asked about the ideal size for such teams, the average number was nine which is even two less than the average typical size of 11 (see Chart 4 below). The most common preference (40.5%) was for a team size between five and nine members. A couple of comments provide some clarification on the preference for smaller group sizes: "The smaller, the better. Six or smaller [is best] because it makes it a lot more versatile" (#2); and, "Small groups can typically have the most impact, both functionally and relationally" (#19). Others noted that transportation and housing often limit the group size. If the ministry's main vehicle and primary mode of transportation only carries seven people, having a group of 15 to 25 becomes a serious problem.

Chart 4: Host Partner's Preference for Group Size (N=79)*

Less than 5 Team Members (n=9)	11.4%
5-9 Team Members (n=32)	40.5%
10-12 Team Members (n=25)	31.6%
13-15 Team Members (n=10)	12.7%
16-25 Team Members (n=3)	3.8%
26 or more Team Members (n=0)	0.0%

*Twenty-one participants either had no response (n=12) or noted a qualified response (n=9), emphasizing that the number depends mostly on the type of ministry and objectives to be accomplished.

Several participants expressed a preference for having smaller groups over a longer period of time which would enable volunteers to serve more in an internship capacity as opposed to simply being one of many members on a large team: a host partner (#1) stated, "I would prefer a smaller group of even two or so for 3-4 months;" another (#6) said, "It would be better if a group of 3-4, who are interested, come and learn. It would be something like an internship/discipleship STM. This would help it be based on how the long-term missionary does things;" and a third (#24) mentioned, "The best is a small group (less than 5) and working for a full semester. Being there for a full semester allows them to form relationships and gain trust at deeper levels."

Some other host partners indicated that they would rather have several small groups that come more often than having one large group all at the same time. The reasons for this are multiple: transportation and housing issues, security concerns (not wanting to draw a

great amount of attention), supervision concerns (unable to mentor so many at one time), relationship concerns (difficulty in building relationships with locals when there are so many on the team that the team members tend to relate primarily to those within the group). Large groups can also overwhelm a small community. One host partner (#14) expressed a preference for volunteers to come one or two at a time, explaining, "In the States everyone seems to want to make a grand trip, but 25 [smaller] trips [of one or two volunteers] can cost the same amount and give each individual a great experience."

Problems usually arise when the sending church or agency insists on taking large groups. One church, for example, created a number of logistical problems when they bypassed the missionaries who would have primary responsibility for hosting the group and received approval from a national pastor to bring in a group of 37 rather than the stated maximum of 12 team members. Bigger is not always better especially when it concerns short-term mission teams.

Nevertheless, there are exceptions and ways of making a large group work as long as the host partners are able and willing to work with such a group. Some tasks or activities such as sports camps and others can benefit from larger numbers. Twenty of the participants in this study noted that they had hosted larger groups, ranging from 30 to about 100. One of these host partners commented that he was exhausted but very pleased about the many people they were able to reach which in turn resulted in a significant expansion of the local ministry. Most of these twenty host partners did, however, express reservations about hosting large teams, especially on a regular basis.

Length of Stay

Most groups hosted by the participants in this study typically stayed a relatively short period of time (see Chart 5 below). The vast majority (83.1%) typically were on site for two weeks or less with most of these groups (56.8%) usually staying seven to ten days. While the host partners acknowledge that deeper relationships and more meaningful ministry benefits by more extensive periods of time within the host community, two key factors prevent most groups from staying any longer than two weeks: those traveling on short-term trips usually do so during a school break (between fall and spring semesters, spring break, or at some point in the summer), or they use vacation time in order to participate in the mission trip.

Chart 5: Typical Length of Stay (N=95)*

Less than a Week (n=7)	7.4%
7-10 Days (n=54)	56.8%
11-14 Days (n=18)	18.9%
15-30 Days (n=11)	11.6%
31-90 Days (n=5)	5.3%

*Five participants did not indicate a typical length of stay. Several participants also mentioned that they had hosted interns for more than three months and up to two years.

In short, the mission team leaders and members do not ordinarily have long periods of time to devote to such trips. Nor do the long-term personnel have time and energy to devote to hosting groups for extensive periods of time. Most preferred that groups only stay from 10 to 14 days. As mentioned above, many are open and would even appreciate one or two individuals who would be able to stay for three months up to two years. These individuals tend to be more independent and thereby require less supervision.

Number of Groups to Host

How many groups can long-term personnel be expected to host without causing too much disruption of their regular responsibilities? Nearly half (45.9%) advised that they could host no more than two without significantly disrupting their regular ministry (see Chart 6 below). Many of these, however, admitted that they regularly host more than this number each year. Another 32.9% place the maximum at three-four teams each year. This means that only about 20% of the long-term personnel feel comfortable hosting more than five STM groups per year. As discussed above, the logistics of hosting a team can be challenging and time consuming. One participant (#27) commented that she had just finished hosting five groups over the summer and was completely exhausted.

Chart 6: Maximum Number of STM Groups to Host Annually (N=85)*

0 (n=2)	2.4%
1-2 (n=37)	43.5%
3-4 (n=27)	32.9%
5-6 (n=10)	12.9%
7-8 (n=4)	4.7%
9-10 (n=1)	1.2%
11 or more (n=2)	2.4%

*Fifteen participants either had no response (n=2) or noted a qualified response (n=13), emphasizing that the number depends mostly on the type of ministry and objectives to be accomplished.

The number also depends on the ministry stage of the host partner as well as the type of ministry involved. One veteran missionary (#98) was very specific in his advice: "[Missionaries] usually need more [teams] in new work (but not while in language and cultural acclimation phase) and fewer as work becomes more indigenous. Years 0-1: 1 or 2; Years 2-5: 6: Years 6+: 1-3." The type of ministry is also an important factor in determining the number of teams to host each year. Those working with Bible translation tended to prefer fewer teams each year, one or two at the most. Ministries that focus on programs for children, youth, refugees, immigrants, and other groups are often more open to and benefit from having several groups each year to provide activities and training.

Long-term personnel are able to host teams more easily if the partnering church or sending agency works with them for several consecutive years. A host partner in Southeast Asia (#86) explained the benefits of such repeat trips, "I find that teams that return multiple times become much better at listening and including the nationals in their planning and tend

to be more flexible to the changes that often occur in foreign cultures." Another (#15) offered additional rationale: "If an organization or church focuses on the same area for a period of years, the STM groups can have long-term impact, especially if they have a holistic focus in terms of the community in which they are ministering and in terms of the church itself (i.e., involving the church as a whole over a sustained period of time)." Repeat members of the team are also able to take on more of the trip responsibilities, thereby making the hosting duties less of a burden.

General Appraisal

Overall, many of the long-term personnel find the STM groups to be supportive of their ministry goals and valuable contributors to their ministry. When asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 10 (with 10 being the best) how supportive that STM groups have been to their ministry's work, the overall average rating was 7.8. While not the absolute highest, a 7.8 is certainly on the positive side of the spectrum and a strong indication that the volunteer teams, for the most part, are doing their best to be supportive of the host partners' agenda rather than their own agenda. The score decreases slightly, a 6.9 overall average, when the long-term personnel rated how beneficial the STM groups were to their ministry. Nevertheless, 6.9 out of 10 is still an overall positive evaluation. When asked if the STM groups contributed to the long-term impact on the local community and/or their ministry within the local community, over half (52%) of the host partners answered with an unqualified "Yes" (see Chart 7 below). Another 28% indicated that at least some of the teams or certain individuals on the teams had made some contribution to their long-term ministry. Only 20% said that the mission teams had very little (9%) or no (11%) lasting impact on the local community or their ministry within that community.

Chart 7: Have STM groups contributed to the long-term impact on the local community and/or your ministry within the local community? (N=100)

Yes (n=52)	52%
Qualified Yes or Somewhat (n=28)	28%
Very Little (n=9)	9%
No (n=11)	11%

For those who answered with a qualified "Yes," most had some meaningful experiences with mission teams but also had some undesirable experiences as well. As one host partner (#90) explains, "You can usually tell the ones who are coming for a vacation—lots of damage control afterward. When the groups ask beforehand how they can best serve us, then we can expect better support in our areas of greatest need." Another (#95) commented that mission teams can create a positive rapport in the community and new areas "but only if the groups are well oriented to what they are doing;" they don't help if they come in believing that they are superior to the local people. The contrast between groups can be dramatic. A West African missionary (#45) rated one group as a 10 in its benefit to her ministry while rating another group as a 2 because the latter group was not only culturally insensitive but also refused to follow the guidelines for working with the local

population. After the group left, the missionary had trouble mending relationships with the local community. This sentiment was echoed by several others in statements like this: "Some groups that would come in and do a short-term trip without asking what would be culturally appropriate did a disservice to long-term work by creating larger barriers to hearing the gospel than were already in place" (#47).

When the STM leaders select qualified team members, prepare them well, and work in collaboration with their host partners, short-term missions can be productive and meaningful while simultaneously building bridges across communities and cultures. Nearly 40% of the participants noted that short-term mission groups have opened doors and made meaningful connections with their communities. As one African missionary (#42) observed, the people in his country "are very gregarious and friendly, and they love foreigners, so having these foreigners that have the will and the time to go spend time with our children, workers, and neighbors has helped our public relations greatly and helped instill hope in a previously hopeless situation." Similarly, a South American host partner (#55) commented, "The groups that have come to work with us have always done a very good job, and have worked hard and have made a very positive impression on our community, and have formed lasting relationships which they continue on e-mail and Facebook, as language difficulties allow! Our culture is very hospitable and our people love to help host such groups – so it means a lot to our community to receive these groups. We always say that when people from different Christian communities come together in Jesus' name, and with mutual respect, Jesus makes himself present in special ways, because this has always been our experience with these groups."

Limitations

This study has several limitations. While the participants come from a variety of Protestant denominations and nondenominational entities, the participants do not represent a purely random sampling of any one denomination or group or even a random sampling of Protestant Christian missionaries as a whole. Rather, the participants simply reflect the insights of a relatively large group of long-term missions personnel. While the opinions of the host partners do provide a needed perspective on short-term missions, their assessment does not provide a complete analysis of all STM work or all of its ramifications for the mission team members or the sending entities (such as the impact on the churches that sponsor STM groups). Missionaries also have their own biases and ethnocentric tendencies which may cause them to present Westernized depictions of the host community or adopt, too readily, the role of "tourist guide" for the groups that they host.[15]

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[15] Howell, *Short-Term Mission*, p. 217.

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Josue (Josh) Flores is a Religion major at Baylor University from Carrollton, Texas. Upon graduation in the spring of 2014, he hopes to move to Brazil to begin full-time mission work and eventually plant churches in numerous countries like Brazil, France, and anywhere else that the Lord may lead him.

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Gabrielle Michelle Leonard is a Religion major and Business Administration minor at Baylor from New Orleans, Louisiana. She will be graduating in May 2014. She plans to write books and speak to young women dealing with deep emotional wounds.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Long-Term Missions Personnel[16]

Background Information and Questions
Name:
Dates and places of cross-cultural ministry/missionary service:
Mission Organization(s)/Group(s):
Main focus of your ministry:
Formal education:
Denominational Affiliation:
Current Age:
Family:
Other pertinent background information:

Questions for the Interview:
1. (Optional) If there has been a humorous incident involving either language or culture, what happened?
2. How many short-term mission (STM) groups (that is, groups which are in country for as short as a few days or as long as several months) have you hosted?
3. What specific type of work did these groups do with your ministry?
4. How long did they typically stay?
5. What was the typical size of these groups?
6. Ideally, what would be the best number of STM groups for long-term personnel to host within a year?
7. What type of ministry is best suited for these STM groups?
8. What is the ideal size and length of stay for these groups?
9. On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 10 being the best), how supportive have STM groups been of your ministry's work? (In other words, rather than coming with their own agenda, how well have they adapted to and supported your agenda?) _____ Please explain.
10. On a scale of 1 to 10 (with 10 being the best), how beneficial are STM groups to your ministry? ____
Please explain.
11. Have STM groups contributed to the long-term impact on the local community and/or your ministry within the local community?_____ If so, in what ways?
12. How well have STM groups maintained relationships with your ministry and/or the local community after they leave?
13. Some ministers who facilitate short term mission trips believe that STM experiences do more for the people going than anything else. How do you respond to those who are motivated to lead STM work primarily as a way to benefit the STM participants?
14. How do you think it is best to measure the contributions of STM work?
15. What are some of the potential pitfalls of hosting STM groups?
16. What recommendations would you make to individuals and churches as they decide how to allocate funding for missions (especially as this funding relates to short-term and long-term missions)?
17. What advice do you have for those who are planning to lead STM groups?

18. How would you recommend that STM participants stay connected with your ministry after they return home?

[16] The questionnaire was designed for either completion by the long-term missions personnel or to be used by the researchers as they interviewed the long-term personnel.

Theological Complicity: Patriarchal Theology's Contribution to Women's Suffering

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Introduction

While the contribution of women to the work and ministry of the Church is inestimable, the dominant socio-cultural milieu in which the church exists and to which it contributes has often fostered the minimization, oppression, victimization, and even destruction of women. Holistic analysis of the problem involves a complex array of contributing factors which directly cause or indirectly enable violence and oppression against women. This paper will analyze the contribution patriarchal theological commitments have made to inequitable gender relations. It will argue that the theology undergirding patriarchy, while not solely responsible, contributes to male violence against women.

The following research applies Richard Osmer's methodological framework for practical theological interpretation to the subject of women's oppression and abuse at the socio-cultural level.[1] This paper will address Osmer's first two tasks of practical theology: the descriptive-empirical task, which asks "what is going on?" and the interpretive task, which asks "Why is this going on?" The interpretive task examines the Church's role in the etiology of patriarchy's grip. By engaging the interpretive task, this paper will show that theological patriarchy contributes significantly to the cultural context in which women suffer violence and that any theology which upholds or enables patriarchy is complicit in women's suffering.

The Descriptive-Empirical Task

The first step in practical theological interpretation is the "priestly listening" of the descriptive-empirical task.[2] Priestly listening is essential if the Church is to understand the situation, reach out to mistreated women, and move toward a beatific vision of gender relations. Priestly listening enables those whose voices have been suppressed by patriarchy to emerge from the veil of silence.[3] It empowers them to transcend the patriarchal interpretive grids through which women's stories of abuse have been minimized, repressed, or turned against them as occasions for guilt and shame.

Quantitative Listening

Quantitative research indicates that male abuse of women is an acute problem and that women are disproportionately victimized compared to men.[4] Steven R. Tracey asserts

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[1] Richard R. Osmer, *Practical Theology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008), 4.
[2] *Ibid*., 34–35.
[3] See Zoe Bennett Moore, *Introducing Feminist Perspectives on Pastoral Theology* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 38–39. Carol J Schlueter, "Creating a New Reality: No More Domestic Violence," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 23, no. 4 (August 1996): 254.
[4] See e.g. Michael S Kimmel, *The Gendered Society* (4th ed.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 403–406. Michael S. Kimmel, "'Gender Symmetry' in Domestic Violence," *Violence Against Women* 8, no. 11 (November 2002): 1332. Steven R. Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence: Challenging Common Misconceptions," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50, no. 3 (September 2007): 573–574.

that "gender parity is non-existent when it comes to violence….male violence against women is far more damaging."[5] The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NIPSVS) interviewed 9,086 women and 7,421 men in 2010 to find out the prevalence of sexual violence, intimate partner violence (IPV), and stalking in the United States.[6] If one assumes that the data applies to the average demographic of Christian congregations, it would indicate that on any given Sunday in a congregation of 179 people (100 women and 79 men)[7] a total of 20 women have been raped at some time in their lives, approximately 10 of those by an intimate partner, and 16 of those before the age of 25. Additionally, 36 women in the congregation have experienced IPV, and 24 of those experienced severe IPV. One could also expect that 13 women have been coerced into unwanted sex, and 16 women have experienced stalking victimization (10 of those by an intimate partner). Finally, one could expect that almost half of the women (48) have experienced psychological aggression by an intimate partner.[8] This is the American congregation. This picture may be mitigated somewhat by research such as that of Ellison and Anderson, which found an inverse relationship between frequent church attendance and domestic violence.[9] However, research by Mei-Chuan Wang et al. found that the prevalence of IPV against women was potentially more than 60% higher among Christians in one southeastern metropolitan area than in the overall population.[10] Thus, the depiction provided is likely to be a conservative estimate for many congregations.

Qualitative Listening

The qualitative data of abused women's unique stories is another vital element of priestly listening. One woman reported her experience of feeling dehumanized: "He at times gets really arrogant and patronizing and talks to me like I'm a piece of dog shit, basically."[11] One woman reported, "They beat you down to the point where you believe what they tell

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[5] Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 573. See also C.G. Ellison, J.P. Bartkowski, and K.L. Anderson, "Are There Religious Variations in Domestic Violence?," *Journal of Family Issues* 20, no. 1 (1999): 88.

[6] Michele C. Black et al., "The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 Summary Report" (National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, November 2011), 9, http://www.cdc.gov/ViolencePrevention/pdf/NISVS_Executive_Summary-a.pdf.

[7] This ratio derives from the results of a 2011 Barna Group survey, which reported that 44% of American women and 36% of American men had attended church the week prior to the survey. See Barna Group, "20 Years of Surveys Show Key Differences in the Faith of America's Men and Women", n.d., http://www.barna.org/faith-spirituality/508-20-years-of-surveys-show-key-differences-in-the-faith-of-americas-men-and-women?q=church+attendance+gender.

[8] See Black et al., "The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 Summary Report," 1–2. NIPSVS indicates that regional differences in the prevalence of IPV can range widely. See *Ibid*., 67–79. See also Mei-Chuan Wang et al., "Christian Women in IPV Relationships: An Exploratory Study of Religious Factors," *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* 28, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 232. Note that there may be significant overlap between categories.

[9] Christopher G. Ellison and Kristin L. Anderson, "Religious Involvement and Domestic Violence Among U.S. Couples," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40, no. 2 (June 2001): 269–286.

[10] Black et al., "The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey: 2010 Summary Report," 40.

[11] KC Basile, "Histories of Violent Victimization Among Women Who Reported Unwanted Sex in Marriages and Intimate Relationships: Findings from a Qualitative Study," *Violence Against Women* 14, no. 1 (2008): 40.

you. 'You can't make it. You're fat. You're ugly. You're never going to be anything.' You start believing it."[12] The violent details of abuse are troubling:

> He was upset because I was on the phone too long with a girlfriend of mine, and uh, he had a bad day at work I think … when I got off the phone he started verbally abusing me and then everything escalated … he sprayed mace in my face … threw things at me, then he finally got me on the ground and he was choking me.[13]

Another woman related her experience of humiliation: "He choked me until I couldn't breathe, tore my clothes off of me in front of my children."[14]

Despite the horror, some women find it difficult to leave. One woman who left her partner eight times reported, "But there was always some reason that I went back to him. I wasn't ready. I was in denial."[15] Often the victim of abuse is held captive to her abuser by coercion and the power differential present in abusive relationships. One woman described the power of coercive control:

> Everything was just totally in his name. Checkbooks, savings accounts, home, you get $10 a week allowance. …There you are with little kids, no vehicle. No money … What do you do? You go back. I went back.[16]

Such abuse occurs not only in the home. One study found that 3.1% of adult females who attended church at least monthly had been objects of clergy sexual misconduct.[17] The emotional trauma of clergy abuse included isolation, loss of faith, guilt, pain, and anger; one woman described it as "spiritual rape."[18]

While graphic and horrifying, much of the suffering women endure is of a more subtle variety. Sexist oppression of women effects women's lives on a daily basis. Women in full time employment, for instance, earn an average of 18% less than men.[19] In seeking to fulfill a pastoral call, one woman was offered a salary well below the minimum which her diocese had instructed the church to offer her.[20] Her experience may not be unusual, as The Barna Group found that in 2009 women constituted 10% of senior pastors in protestant congregations, and despite averaging more educational background for ministry they earned

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[12] Evan Stark and Eva Schlesinger Buzawa, *Violence against Women in Families and Relationships* (Praeger Perspectives; Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, 2009), 198.

[13] Basile, "Histories of violent victimization among women who reported unwanted sex in marriages and intimate relationships," 41. The article points out that the woman gave indication of justifying the man's abusive behavior by the phrase, "he had a bad day at work." The article might also have pointed out the possible internalization of blame in her statement that she was "on the phone too long." *Ibid*.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Stark and Buzawa, *Violence against Women in Families and Relationships*, 185.

[16] *Ibid*., 196.

[17] Baylor University, "The Prevalence of Clergy Sexual Misconduct with Adults: A Research Study Executive Summary", n.d., 817, http://www.baylor.edu/clergysexualmisconduct/.

[18] "Carolyn's Story" (Baylor University, n.d.), http://www.baylor.edu/clergysexualmisconduct/index.php?id=63776.

[19] The U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee Chairman's Staff and Bob Casey, "Mother's Day Report: Paycheck Fairness Helps Families, No Just Women", May 9, 2012, 1, http://www.jec.senate.gov/public/?a=Files.Serve&File_id=f11e726b-135b-4e1d-8334-2903491d9691.

[20] Sarah Sentilles, *A Church of Her Own: What Happens When a Woman Takes the Pulpit* (1st ed.; Mariner Books, 2009), 74–75.

$3600 less than their male counterparts.[21] Another woman, an associate pastor, reported "being ignored in meetings and humiliated in worship" by the senior pastor.[22] Others reported feeling criticized, publically maligned, stifled, and isolated.[23] One woman was shocked after several years of service on a church staff to learn that her church did not allow women behind the pulpit at any time, and the senior pastor made the church's sexist hiring practices explicit when he informed her, "If you were not a woman you would have been my associate pastor."[24]

Such oppression is perpetuated by language and symbols which minimize women. Two authors shared the experience of hearing their respective daughters declare first of preaching that "Girls can't do that" and of serving communion that "That is what boys do"; the authors conclude: "They learned the rules at a very young age by simply being present and observing, non-critically, the practices of a religious community in specific instances."[25]

This sense of incapacity or disengagement is analogous to the two core responses of trauma victims: helplessness and disconnection.[26] These two factors can do lasting damage to women's relationships in every sphere and hinder their ability to communicate the need for help: "For many, to speak or not to speak becomes an invariable, unalleviated, tormenting question."[27] For those who do speak out, many turn to clergy members.[28] Therefore, it is vital to understand the theological context of the ecclesial world to which they turn.

The Interpretive Task

The interpretive task asks, "Why is this going on?" Why are women minimized, oppressed, and abused? In the Church, patriarchal theological constructs are often taken for granted, and the broad-reaching consequences thus go unnoticed. This section briefly overviews the array of factors which contribute to male abuse of women. It then focuses specifically on the contribution which theological patriarchy makes to the problem, arguing that a patriarchal theological perspective on gender relationships is complicit in the prevalence of male abuse of women.

No single contributing factor either shoulders the entirety of blame or escapes blame altogether when a woman experiences abuse. Numerous factors play a role in the overall picture of violence against women.[29] James N. Polling categorizes theories of attribution of

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[21] "Number of Female Senior Pastors in Protestant Churches Doubles in Past Decade" (The Barna Group, Ltd, 2009), http://www.barna.org/barna-update/article/17-leadership/304-number-of-female-senior-pastors-in-protestant-churches-doubles-in-past-decade.
[22] Sentilles, *A Church of Her Own*, 96.
[23] *Ibid*., 103–105.
[24] Desiree Guyton, "A Woman's Experiences Facing Sexism in the Church," *Mutuality* 18, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 5.
[25] Stephen C. Johnson and Lynette Sharp Penya, "What the other half is doing: an analysis of gender inclusivity in Church of Christ congregations," *Restoration Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (2011): 221.
[26] Katheryn A. Flynn, "In Their Own Voices: Women Who Were Sexually Abused by Members of the Clergy," *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 17, no. 3-4 (2008): 218.
[27] *Ibid*., 219.
[28] Rob J. Rotunda, Gail Williamson, and Michelle Penfold, "Clergy Response to Domestic Violence: A Preliminary Survey of Clergy Members, Victims, and Batterers," *Pastoral Psychology* 52, no. 4 (March 2004): 363.
[29] See Kersti Yllo, "Sexual Equality and Violence Against Wives in American States," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 82.

male violence as genetic/hormonal, evolutionary, socialization, and womanist/feminist.[30] In genetic and hormonal theories, serotonin and cholesterol (e.g.) contribute to increased violence in males as compared to females, while in evolutionary theory reproductive competition fosters male violence.[31] Socialization theorists attribute male violence to the ways that society encourages and rewards aggressive behavior in boys' development.[32] Each of these perspectives has much to commend itself, but taken in isolation each is inadequate.[33] The church must interact with women's struggle in all its facets, but the church is uniquely equipped and called to contribute within the domain of theology.[34] Womanist and feminist theories of attribution focus on patriarchal relational structures as central to male violence.[35] Rebecca Groothius denies that patriarchy is the singular cause of male violence against women while acknowledging its undeniable role.[36] Steven Tracy points out that some feminists treat patriarchy as the dominant – if not sole – factor in domestic violence; he argues that this singular attribution is a mistake while acknowledging that patriarchy is "an enormously significant factor" in violence against women.[37]

Patriarchy's History

While the full human history of patriarchy is beyond the scope of this paper, a brief overview demonstrates that Christian theology and patriarchy share an interwoven history of abusive attitudes toward women. Contrary to Mark Driscoll's contention that "there is no evidence of any society ever being matriarchal,"[38] studies show that while the majority of earth's inhabitants exist within patriarchal societies, there are exceptions to the rule.[39] Moreover, anthropologists and archaeologists report that patriarchy did not always

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[30] James N Poling, *Understanding Male Violence : Pastoral Care Issues* (1st ed.; St. Louis, Mo.: Chalice Press, 2003), 15.

[31] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, 383. See also the integration of evolutionary and neurological approaches in Bernard Wallner and Ivo H. Machatschke, "The Evolution of Violence in Men: The Function of Central Cholesterol and Serotonin," *Progress in Neuro-Psychopharmacology & Biological Psychiatry* 33, no. 3 (April 2009): 391–397. See also research linking neurological activity in the brain to aggression and violence in criminal populations: J.L. Bufkin and V.R. Luttrell, "Neuroimaging Studies of Aggressive and Violent Behavior: Current Findings and Implications for Criminology and Criminal Justice," *Trauma Violence Abuse Rev J* 6, no. 2 (April 2005): 187.

[32] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (2nd ed.; Boston: Polity Press, 2005), 67–86.

[33] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, 383–385.

[34] See also Karl Barth, who proposed that the theological task is strictly and intrinsically limited to the Church. See Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics, Vol 1.1, Sections 1-7: The Doctrine of the Word of God* (ed by. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance; Study Edition.; New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 17. Elsewhere he argues that the theological endeavor "involves an especial burden which in itself is laid fundamentally upon the *whole* Church; but it also involves a special grace (*charisma*) which is in itself conferred fundamentally on the whole community." Karl Barth, *Theology and Church: Shorter Writings 1920-1928* (trans by. Louise Pettibone Smith; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), 304.

[35] See Mary John Mananzan, "Education to Femininity or Education to Feminism?" in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Power of Naming: A Concilium Reader in Feminist Liberation Theology* (Concilium series; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books ;, 1996), 187–197. See also Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Western Religious Tradition and Violence Against Women in the Home," in Joanne Carlson Brown and Carole R Bohn, *Christianity, Patriarchy, and Abuse : A Feminist Critique* (New York, N.Y.: Pilgrim Press, 1989), 31.

[36] Rebecca M. Groothuis and Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, *Women Caught in the Conflict: The Culture War Between Traditionalism and Feminism* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997), 71.

[37] Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 582. However, Tracy may overstate the singularity of feminists' attribution.

[38] Mark Driscoll, *On Church Leadership* (1st ed.; Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2008), 36–37.

[39] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, 384.

predominate human society to the degree that it does today.[40] Jared Diamond proposes that the Neolithic Revolution, with its shift from hunter-gatherer to agrarian society may have fostered male domination due to increased number of pregnancies and concomitant increases in female health problems.[41] Archaeological evidence demonstrates that this transition decreased women's power within their communities.[42]

Christian theology has its cultural backdrop in the Hebrew mindset of the Ancient Near East (ANE) integrated with later Greco-Roman culture. ANE documents reveal significant inequities in law. Elisabeth Meier Tetlow chronicles the laws of ancient Sumer, Babylon, and Assyria, reporting on laws biased against women even to the point of allowing women to be punished vicariously for men's crimes or executed by their husbands without trial.[43] Trial by water, was common in ANE law codes such as the Code of Hammurabi; the accused woman, was thrown into a body of water, and she was judged guilty if she died as a result.[44] In Grecian philosophy Aristotle considered women inferior to men and by nature subject to male rule, declaring that it was "always hurtful" for the inferior to rule over the superior (Pol 1254b).[45] In the first century CE Philo identified the first woman, Eve, as the typically representative female and the sensuous gateway by which sin reached the intellectual being, man (Opi 1:165). He identifies the female with irrationality, insisting that the male is "in every respect superior" to the female (Spe 1:201).

Among the Church fathers, Tertullian informed women that each one of them was "an Eve": "*you* are the devil's gateway" and the reason "the Son of God had to die."[46] Augustine of Hippo viewed his mother's perfect submission to his ill-tempered father as the reason she was not battered as other women "whose faces were disfigured by blows from husbands far sweeter-tempered than her own."[47] Nearly concurrent with Augustine, the first council of Toledo, convened in Spain in 400 CE, required a man to "chastise his wife moderately" unless the man in question was a cleric, "in which case he may chastise her

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[40] JesseCrane Crane-Seeber, "Contesting Essentialist Theories of Patriarchal Relations: Evolutionary Psychology and the Denial of History," *Journal of Men's Studies* 18, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 226–227.

[41] Jared Diamond, "The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race," *Discover*, May 1987, 7–8.

[42] *Ibid*., 6–8.

[43] Elisabeth Meier Tetlow, *Women, Crime, and Punishment in Ancient Law and Society: The ancient Near East* (Shefield, England: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 36, 112, 171.

[44] The crime could even be as simple as being a "gadabout" and thus "humiliating her husband." James Bennett Pritchard and Daniel E. Fleming, *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 167–168.

[45] Aristotle, *Politics: A Treatise on Government* (CreateSpace, 2011), 9. Here, Aristotle makes his argument as a supporting illustration in the broader context of his argument that slaves are by nature inferior to their masters. See further discussion of Aristotle's contribution to patriarchal subjugation of women in Maria Luisa Femenias, "Women and Natural Hierarchy in Aristotle," *Hypatia* 9, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 164. See also the proposal that Aristotle's *Politics* may have offered implicit criticism of household structures in Dana Jalbert Stauffer, "Aristotle's Account of the Subjection of Women," *Journal of Politics* 70, no. 4 (October 2008): 929–941. Later, Aristotelian thought became a powerful influence upon scholastic theologians. See Rosemary Radford Ruether, "The Western Tradition and Violence Against Women," in Brown and Bohn, *Christianity, Patriarchy, and Abuse*, 32. However, his influence was hardly necessary; by the scholastic period patristic theology had already set the patriarchal, sexist, and even misogynistic tone.

[46] Alexander Roberts, *The Ante-nicene Fathers: the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325: Fathers of the Third Century - Tertullian Part 4; Minucius Felix; Commodian; Origen* (Cosimo, Inc., 2007), 14. Emphasis original.

[47] *Confessions* IX.9 in Augustine, *Confessions* (New York: Penguin Books Limited, 2003), 195. He cites her favorably as blaming other women's beatings on their lack of submission and their loose tongues.

harder," or a member of the clergy, who was even permitted to chastise his wife with isolation and starvation but "not unto death."[48]

Among the Reformers, Calvin assigned women a greater portion of blame in the Edenic Fall and a status of inferiority rooted in creation.[49] He also held that a woman suffering under an adulterous or abusive husband must not leave unless her very life was in imminent peril; otherwise she must continue her God-given duty to please her husband.[50] Luther allowed his wife, Katie, to manage household affairs, but wrote that "women's rule never did any good."[51] He then affirmed his own patriarchal rule over her, allowing that she could "rule the servants but not me," and apparently boasting that "when Katie gets saucy she gets nothing but a box on the ear."[52] He also advised that if a wife were sexually unresponsive, the husband should make the matter public and then treat her as a "Vashti" – he should seek an "Esther" to replace her.[53] He even advised that "the civil government must compel her, or put her to death."[54] The social ethics of Christian thought have significantly influenced civil law through much of Western history.[55] It is therefore consistent with the legacy of Christian theology that even into the late 19th century husbands were often permitted to "discipline" their wives with various degrees of corporal punishment.[56]

In modernity, the suffrage movement and the rise of feminism have provided an increasing measure of equality.[57] Even so, Karl Barth, one of the most influential theologians of the modern era, held that creation order means "super- and sub-ordination" and thus established a divinely mandated hierarchy of authority and responsibility.[58] C.S. Lewis likewise held to an ontological hierarchy of gender which upheld God as the supreme and "wholly masculine" being, men as essentially more fit for theoretical and theological tasks, and women as naturally "inferior" and thus innately unsuited to represent Christ to the

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[48] Cited in Nancy E. Nienhuis, "Theological Reflections on Violence and Abuse," *Journal of Pastoral Care & Counseling* 59, no. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2005): 116.

[49] Mary Potter, "Gender Equality and Gender Hierarchy in Calvin's Theology," *Signs* 11, no. 4 (July 1, 1986): 728.

[50] *Ibid*., 735.

[51] Preserved Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 180.

[52] *Ibid*.

[53] Martin Luther, Timothy F. Lull, and William R. Russell, *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings* (Fortress Press, 2005), 155.

[54] *Ibid*.

[55] Don Browning, "Family Law and Christian Jurisprudence," pp. 163-184 in John Witte Jr and Frank S. Alexander, *Christianity and Law: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 163.

[56] Reva B. Siegel, "'The Rule of Love': Wife Beating as Prerogative and Privacy," *The Yale Law Journal* 105, no. 8 (June 1, 1996): 2118–2130. Siegel goes on to demonstrate that even after the gradual abolition of a husband's right to corporal punishment, the reality of women's experience was that the legal system "routinely condoned violence in marriage." *Ibid*., 2130.

[57] It is important to remember that women only gained the right to vote in the U.S. in 1920, when states ratified the 19th amendment to the United States Constitution. See Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-DuPont, *Women's Suffrage in America* (Infobase Publishing, 2009), 332. See also arguments against women's suffrage from a male perspective in Horace Bushnell, *Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature* (New York: C. Scribner and Company, 1869).; and from a female perspective in Emily Maud Simon (Lady.), *Women's Suffrage: Some Sociological Reasons for Opposing the Movement* (Cornish Brothers, 1907).

[58] Karl Barth, *The Doctrine of Creation - Section 52-54* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010), 163.

church via ordination.[59] These expressions of patriarchy from the Church's ancient roots through the 20th century form a heritage that men and women of today's Church stand upon or struggle beneath.[60]

Current Theological Patriarchy

Modern proponents of patriarchy hold views of gender hierarchy very similar to those surveyed in the Church's history. Tracy catalogues numerous extreme views of domineering patriarchy in late 20th century American Christianity.[61] However, even advocates of so-called "soft" patriarch contribute to the problem of women's suffering.[62] James Dobson proposes that God "expects a *man* to be the ultimate decision maker in his family."[63] Dobson lays the blame squarely upon the man's shoulders for *any* manifestation of immorality in "his" family.[64] While this might seem to relieve women of guilt, in actuality it deprives women of responsibility and authority and thus influence in the home. It is another way of minimizing, mitigating, and muting the personal agency of women. Mark Driscoll indicates that the results of the Fall include the curse that now "both a man's wife and his job are perennial frustrations for him as they continually fail to follow his leadership, thus making his life toilsome."[65] He then consigns women to the home and relates them by way of analogy to unruly children.[66] John Piper states that if a woman's submission to her husband would lead

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[59] Adam Barkman, "'All Is Righteousness and There Is No Equality': C. S. Lewis on Gender and Justice," *Christian Scholar's Review* 36, no. 4 (2007): 418–432.

[60] It would do no service to defend ourselves against sexism by means of cognitive splitting. That is, the catalogue of sexist teachings provided above does not give the entire picture of any one theologian. Thus scholars may legitimately uphold the vital contributions of a particular theologian while also criticizing her/his flaws. This work focuses on a particular flaw category – gender-biased theology. It is important to note that advocates of theological patriarchy through history and into modern times have nuanced views which they articulate within a cultural and historical context. Augustine's praise of his mother does not equate to praise of abuse. Calvin's encouragement for women to submit to abusive husbands does not mean he did nothing to alleviate women's suffering. Barth's hierarchical theology of gender was also a complex and finely nuanced vision of agential equality before God which upheld simple acknowledgment of difference. He even argued a form of mutual subjection in that both man and woman are subject to the same τάξις (order) which God has imposed upon them by the fact of their created nature. Barth, *The Doctrine of Creation - Section 52-54*, 165. He argues that a woman has the task of "abolishing that very myth of femininity which man has devised for the purpose of maintaining his own control." *Ibid*., 155. He proposes that the creation order demonstrates inequality "but not without immediately confirming their equality." *Ibid*., 163. He even acknowledges that the woman's submission to the man in Eph 5:20 "stands under the common superscription that they should subordinate themselves the one to the other (ἀλλήλοις)." *Ibid*., 165. Cf. Eph 5:21. However, when he proposes that "woman does not come short of man in any way" he also adds, "when theoretically and practically she recognises that in order she is…behind and subordinate to man." *Ibid*., 164.

[61] Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 585. See also Steven R. Tracy, "Domestic Violence in the Church and Redemptive Suffering in 1 Peter," *Calvin Theological Journal* 41, no. 2 (November 2006): 279–296.

[62] Tracy explains that "soft" patriarchy "deemphasizes male authority and control, defines male 'headship' in terms of loving sacrificial service to one's family, and lives this out in terms of joint decision-making, shared parenting, and shared domestic duties." Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 582.

[63] Dr James Dobson, *Straight Talk to Men* (Reprint.; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2000), 93. Emphasis original.

[64] *Ibid*. Dobson provides the examples of financial problems, neglecting religious duty, disrespect, and disobedience.

[65] Driscoll, *On Church Leadership*, 35.

[66] *Ibid*.

her to sin then she should graciously decline, but if he was "not requiring her to sin but simply hurting her, then I think she endures verbal abuse for a season and she endures, perhaps, being *smacked* one night, and then she seeks help from the church."[67] Piper also argues that God intended the Church to have a "masculine feel" and that God did so for the "utmost flourishing of both men *and women*."[68] He defines this masculine feel with stereotypical masculine traits such as courage, confrontation, forcefulness, and strength, and he grounds his ideas in the nature of God, erroneously contending that Scripture reveals God in pervasively masculine imagery.[69]

Theological Patriarchy's Effect

While Piper may not explicitly endorse abuse, his approach to wifely submission does tolerate and enable abuse, and it relegates women to profoundly vulnerable positions of relational subordination. Such views do not contribute to women's "utmost flourishing" but, ultimately, to their suffering and harm.[70] "Soft" patriarchy, while not endorsing physical violence, too often remains silent when it ought to cry out against violence and oppression. David Scholer points out that the signature volume of the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood (CBMW) contains only one explicit denunciation of abuse, and that in a footnote.[71] This silence is, for many women, deadly. Additionally, any version of patriarchy

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[67] *John Piper: Does a Women Submit to Abuse?*, 2009, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3OkUPc2NLrM&feature=youtube_gdata_player. Italicized text corresponds to Piper's verbal emphasis. Piper cites the husband's insistence on "group sex" and "orgies" as examples of situations in which the wife ought to politely and gently decline submission. Tracy astutely observes that complementarian examples of situations in which submission does not equate with obedience such as "helping him rob a bank" demonstrate a significant detachment "from the real-life experiences of many, many Christian women." Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 592.

[68] John Piper, "'The Frank and Manly Mr. Ryle' — The Value of a Masculine Ministry," *Desiring God* (Desiring God 2012 Conference for Pastors, January 31, 2012), http://www.desiringgod.org/resource-library/conference-messages/the-frank-and-manly-mr-ryle-the-value-of-a-masculine-ministry. Emphasis original.

[69] *Ibid*. Piper distinctly neglects to account for the obvious and abundant feminine imagery for God in Scripture. For instance, YHWH is described as a mother eagle (Deut 32:11); the Psalmist views YHWH as a mother hen (Psa 63:7); Jesus describes himself similarly (Mat 23:37); Isaiah images YHWH as a woman in labor (Isa 42:14); several parables portray the kingdom of God as a woman (Mat 13:33) and relate heaven's joy over a repentant sinner to both a male and a female finding a lost coin (Luk 15:3-10); YHWH is like a mother bear (Hos 13:8); Revelation describes Jesus as having a sash πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς (across his breasts). While the term μαστός can refer to the male or female nipple(s) or breast(s), this term is used only here in the New Testament of a male person. See Jesse Rainbow, "Male Mastoi in Revelation 1:13," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30, no. 2 (December 2007): 249–253. See also Virginia Ramey Mollenkott, *The Divine Feminine: The Biblical Imagery of God as Female* (Revised.; Chestnut Ridge, NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1984). Note also that while Paul generally utilized stereotypical gender categories, he identified his apostolic ministry with both the female and the male qualities (1 Thess 2:7, 11).

[70] Contra Piper, "'The Frank and Manly Mr. Ryle' — The Value of a Masculine Ministry."

[71] David M. Scholer, "The Evangelical Debate of Biblical 'Headship'," in Catherine Clark Kroeger and James R. Beck, eds., *Women, Abuse, and the Bible: How Scripture Can Be Used to Hurt or to Heal* (Ada, MI: Baker Pub Group, 1996), 31. Cf. John Piper, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (ed by. Wayne A. Grudem; 2nd ed.; Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1991), 501. Tracy correctly acknowledges that a search on CBMW's web site yields numerous results for "abuse" or related terms, but he contends that "the fact remains that sustained systematic treatments of abuse are virtually non-existent in the complementarian literature." Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 590.

propagates an ideology which is easily and often the gateway for abuse: inequality.[72] Cynthia Ezell while acknowledging that there are forms of patriarchy which encourage non-violent harmony and prohibit abuse argues that patriarchy, nevertheless, creates an environment "ripe for abuse."[73] Even Tracy, a complementarian, while rejecting what he calls "the radical feminist metanarrative that patriarchy is the basis for all abuse," agrees that "all forms of patriarchy can and do contribute to domestic violence."[74] He continues by clarifying that "models of patriarchy which give husbands the greatest levels of power and authority are most likely to stimulate domestic violence."[75]

This contention finds support in studies such as Kersti Yllo's analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and abuse in different geographic regions. She argues that "in states where the status of women is lowest, wives are more likely to be physically assaulted by their husbands."[76] Marcia Fitzpatrick et al. found statistically significant correlation between gender-role ideology and aggression: In men, increased egalitarianism correlated to decreases in aggressive behavior and attitudes, and tolerance of aggressive acts decreased for both genders "as egalitarian gender-role attitudes increased."[77] Diane Coleman and Murray Straus found that shared power in a relationship correlated with reduced conflict as well as reduced violence when conflict occurs.[78]

In light of the above research, John Acton's holds true that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."[79] Patriarchy of any kind necessarily connotes hierarchy and some manner of inequality. Some complementarians are quick to claim that within their version of hierarchy male and female are equally in the *imago Dei* and valuable. They propose that women are not ontologically inferior to men; they simply occupy a subordinate role. Groothius demonstrates that this claim to functional subordination without

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[72] Kimmel, *The Gendered Society*, 385.

[73] Cynthia Ezell, "Power, Patriarchy, and Abusive Marriages," in Catherine Clark Kroeger and James R. Beck, *Healing the Hurting: Giving Hope and Help to Abused Women* (Ada, MI: Baker, 1998), 39.

[74] Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 593. Complementarianism refers to the belief that men and women in marital relationships ought to have distinct, gender-based roles that complement one another in a hierarchal structure. This belief is contrasted with egalitarianism, which is the belief that men and women ought to have equal authority and influence within a marriage. See www.cbeinternational.org and www.cbmw.org.

[75] *Ibid*., 594.

[76] Yllo, "Sexual Equality and Violence Against Wives in American States," 81. It is noteworthy that Yllo's research found rates of violence decreasing as the status of women increased but only to a point. States in which women's status was highest saw increases in violence toward women. Yllo suggests that "a context of relative equality may result in husbands' violence being seen as illegitimate, and being reciprocated in kind." *Ibid*., 82. Michael Kimmel points out that global cross-cultural research shows that "the lower the status of women relative to men, the higher the rape rate." Kimmel, "'Gender Symmetry' in Domestic Violence," 397. See also Peggy Reeves Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981). See also History of patriarchy, 226-227; Crane-Seeber and Crane indicate that "anthropologists have concluded that societies where women have higher status also have lower rape rates." Crane-Seeber, "Contesting Essentialist Theories of Patriarchal Relations," 233.

[77] Marcia K. Fitzpatrick et al., "Associations of Gender and Gender-Role Ideology with Behavioral and Attitudinal Features of Intimate Partner Aggression," *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 5, no. 2 (July 2004): 99.

[78] Diane H. Coleman and Murray A. Straus, "Marital Power, Conflict, and Violence in a Nationally Representative Sample of American Couples," *Violence & Victims* 1, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 152.

[79] John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, *Historical Essays & Studies* (New York: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1907), 504.

ontological inferiority is based on false logic and cannot stand up to scrutiny or Scripture.[80] Patriarchy provides men with final power in the relationship.[81] A mutual commitment to egalitarianism eradicates any power differential and significantly reduces the prevalence of abuse.[82]

While those models of patriarchy which expressly forbid abuse leave no room for violence, complementarianism does not render violence logically incoherent.[83] Degrees of force are tools that remain available to men who internalize an obligation to uphold patriarchy as God's will.[84] Authority to rule without a disciplinary process by which to correct disruption in that rule is never more than one step away from anarchy. If God means men to adopt the mantle of authority, does God not also provide redress for potential challenges to that authority? Historically, many theologians have argued that wife discipline is consistent with male authority. Men who feel a divine responsibility to lead their families in a patriarchal mode have logical recourse to compel subordination for the common good, the debate then centering on where that compulsion may fall on a scale of force. Egalitarianism, on the other hand, as a relationship of mutuality and equality renders all forms of compulsion logically incoherent.

Thankfully, research demonstrates that weekly participation in Christian congregations correlates to reduction in the prevalence of IPV regardless of the congregation's location on the scale between liberal and conservative.[85] The biblical roots of equality run deep, and the Spirit's work of sanctification can infiltrate patriarchal interpretive grids.[86] However, all-male interpretation, theological development, and ecclesial decision-

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[80] Rebecca Merrill Groothius, "Equal in Being, Unequal in Role: Exploring the Logic of Woman's Subordination," in Ronald W. Pierce, Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, and Gordon D. Fee, eds., *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity Without Hierarchy* (02 ed.; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2005), 301–333.

[81] Even if one chooses to split the power by a theoretical 51/49%, in a relationship of only two people, that conception of power differential effectively gives absolute authority to the person with 51%.

[82] The commitment must, indeed, be mutual, as research shows a high prevalence of abuse rates in relationships in which the husband has a distinctly high masculine ideology and the wife has a more egalitarian perspective. See Coleman and Straus, "Marital Power, Conflict, and Violence in a Nationally Representative Sample of American Couples." See also Matthew Jakupcak, David Lisak, and Lizabeth Roemer, "The Role of Masculine Ideology and Masculine Gender Role Stress in Men's Perpetration of Relationship Violence," *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 3, no. 2 (July 2002): 97–106.

[83] Piper and Grudem draw an explicit and mutually exclusive distinction between male headship and male domination; however, while their distinction is an improvement upon previous versions of headship it does not logically exclude overlap between the two categories. Piper, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 86.

[84] This is especially so when emphasizing that the male has a divine responsibility to uphold a patriarchal pattern for the family's good and (e.g.) for the woman's "utmost flourishing," as he then internalizes a sense of obligation for which he will be held accountable. His failure to do so, he thinks, will result in their harm and his own. Thus the hierarchy must be upheld.

[85] Wang et al., "Christian women in IPV relationships," 228. The definition of each term utilized in the research focused on the presence or absence of an "inerrancy" perspective on Scripture, and thus has limited applicability to the matter at hand as it assumed a direct correlation between conservative and hierarchal views. The author could locate no research comparing the prevalence of IVP in egalitarian and complementarian populations or congregations. Nevertheless, the assumption Wang et al. likely offers a degree of validity, as hierarchy is the dominant view in conservative populations.

[86] Tracy proposes that infrequent attendance may provide enough patriarchal ideology to stimulate unhealthy thinking in abuse-prone men, while more committed attendance provides the moral depth, accountability, and formation required to counteract violent inclinations. Tracy, "Patriarchy and Domestic Violence," 581. Unfortunately, research on correlations between patriarchy and abuse among specifically religious populations is scant, and Tracy's conclusions fail to consider possible

making are forms of theological oppression.[87] When women have no say in the processes by which interpretive decisions are made regarding the meaning of Scripture, when their voices are excluded from the theological endeavor, and when their presence is forbidden from the ecclesial body politic, there is no place to challenge the justice of patriarchal theology. When men have a monopoly on interpretation, instruction, and policy within the Church, half of the *imago Dei* is missing from the Church's development. When men have authority over women, the balance of power renders women profoundly vulnerable to ideological and physical violence.

Conclusion

Suggestions for further statistical research includes quantitative research on the differences between conservative hierarchal and egalitarian churches as well as qualitative research on subjective elements of women's experience of oppression between the two theological perspectives. Research on the effects of gender biased language could assist in the alteration of the most subtle and intrinsic sources of gender-bias. Research should also focus on the myriad ways that patriarchy affects women's experience phenomenologically and socially.

Further research must be done if the Church is to manifest God's kingdom in healing the wounds inflicted by generations of patriarchal bias, oppression, and abuse. The normative task of practical theology casts a moral vision for a preferable future, while the pragmatic task sets the course to attaining that future. Practical theologians must lead the Church in engaging these tasks. This would certainly include promoting research on the influence of interpretive approaches to Biblical texts and leading the way in rethinking deeply entrenched patriarchal interpretations. Church leadership at the local and parachurch level should be recruited, accepted, equipped, and promoted. Church leaders must also adopt a zero tolerance policy toward IPV while working to prevent abuse through disempowering social structures that enable it. Additionally, the Church must take full responsibility for its historical role in the oppression and abuse of women and publically demonstrate repentance.

Biographical Note

Matthew S. Beal is a recent graduate of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, where he completed a Master of Arts in Counseling and a Master of Divinity. He currently works in the field of crisis counseling while preparing for doctoral studies in Practical Theology. During the interim he continues engaging practical theology through integrative research in diverse fields such as theological anthropology, spiritual formation, New Testament studies, charismatic studies, gender studies, existentialism, peacemaking, and psychology.

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differences in the prevalence of abuse between conservative patriarchal and conservative egalitarian congregations.

[87] May Hunt's concept of theological pornography argues that patriarchal theology, like pornography, can lead to objectification, trivialization, and violence. See May E. Hunt, "Theological Pornography: From Corporate to Communal Ethics," in Brown and Bohn, *Christianity, Patriarchy, and Abuse*, 89–104.

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Sacred Everlasting Calm: Ancient Greek Astronomy and the Imperfect Quest of Perfection

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All of us eventually encounter an author who transforms the way we think about a given subject, an author whose prose either shakes up the way you previously conceptualized a problem or simply gives you an insight that you had not had previously. For me that author was Walter Burkert and the book was his *Greek Religion* which I encountered for the first time in graduate school.[1] As a relative late comer to the field of theology – I spent a decade in the financial markets before falling off my particular horse on the road to Damascus – my ideas about the growth of Christianity and its eclipsing of the ancestral religion of the Greeks and Romans was somewhat simplistic. I assumed that the truth of the Incarnation permeated the world of the Roman Empire and, over the course of a few centuries, transformed that world with Christianity emerging triumphant under the banners of Constantine. The great story of salvation history which spanned millennia, stretched back to Adam, encompassed all of the ancient history of Israel building up to Jesus, this was the *only* story and it was a story which could safely be found between the covers of my bible. How the pagans eventually embraced the faith after a few years of Pauline preaching was a nice coda, however, the real action happened in the centuries leading up to the time of Christ solely in the history of Israel. These were my views until I read the following passage in *Greek Religion* in which Burkert discusses the cosmology of Anaximander:

> *In the book of Anaximandros we already find the outlines of the world model which remained dominant until the Copernican revolution and which seemed to satisfy religion and science equally: man on his relatively small earth is the center of the universe, surrounded by the widening orbits of the stars, finally enclosed in the highest, divine sphere. The oddities of this first outline cannot be discussed here. How earth and the wheels of heaven were formed, how sun, moon, and stars move, and also how the portents in the sky, such as lightning and thunder, clouds and rain, hail and snow come about, is all explained in a matter-of-fact way as the interaction of tangible things: moisture dries out, fire causes melting, moved air turns into wind, which forms the clouds into clusters and breaks them up in lightening. There is nothing left of a Zeus who rains, according to the words of the poets and to popular belief, or who hurls a thunderbolt, nor of the sun god who by day*

[1] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, (Cambridge, 1985).

> *drives his horses and chariot across the sky to return to his mother, wife and children in the evening*.[2]

I have since discovered that my epiphanic moment in which I realized that echoes of the god of monotheism existed in the world of Greek philosophy was epiphanic mainly because I had not read enough classical philosophy or indeed read any of the Church Fathers at that point in my studies, men who had come to that conclusion a few millennia before I did. That being said, this passage of Burkert's spurred me on to further investigations, most importantly, the question as to why a cosmology such as Anaximander's arose which completely left out the gods, or at least the gods we recognize from the world of myth? How did this realization in turn complement the roughly concurrent movement in philosophy which was quickly eliminating the gods of myth in favor of the divine moral exemplars which would prove to be more palatable to later philosophers and, most especially, Christian theologians ?

I believe the answers to both of these questions lay in observations which were being made in the field of mathematics of which Anaximander is rightly known, principally, the mathematical observations from the world of astronomy. In observing the heavens and coming up with calculable and predictable movements of the planets, Anaximander began to remove a great deal of the capriciousness mythically associated with Zeus, Ares, Mercury and the other divine presences which inhabited – at least in some way – the night sky. These observations and the cosmology which arose from them influenced subsequent philosophers and in a great way changed the way the classical Greek and later Roman philosophers discussed the gods. The cosmology of Anaximander helped move the discussion of the gods from Olympus to beyond the moon, from the world we inhabit to the world of the perfect, the world of forms immortalized by Plato.

Yet, as ground breaking as the cosmology of Anaximander was and even though subsequent astronomers added to his cosmology and refined it to a byzantine complexity, it was a cosmological model which could not help but be fundamentally flawed in that it was tethered to a geo-centric view of the solar system. As much as the cosmology of Anaximander was an improvement on the mythological cosmology of what came before, the perfect and calculable orbits and spheres which the gods inhabited in his cosmology were never truly perfect or calculable. They couldn't be given his view of a geocentric solar system. Granted, the gods of the planets were far more predictable than their mythic counterparts, however, it was a predictability that only approximated the movements of the heavens and indeed could only hope to approximate the true movements of the planets as it was flawed from the beginning. Seeking perfection in the planet's movements as they sought perfection in the gods of philosophy, the astronomers found it. When their observations did not fit their model, they changed their model and maintained this belief in perfect or near perfect circular or spherical orbits and, consequently, perfect gods. The paradigm shift which began with Anaximander and greatly contributed to the more

[2] Burkert, *Greek Religion*, p. 307

philosophical discussions of the gods was a case of bad science (or at least imprecise science) contributing to good philosophy. Few could argue that a movement away from myth could be seen as anything less than a positive development in theological thought, however, this movement, as beneficial as it was for theologians and philosophers, was purchased at the cost of maintaining the model of a geo-centric solar system which it supported. A paradigm shift which moved the gods from the earth to beyond the moon and transformed them into moral exemplars or models was one thing. Believing that human beings and the earth which we inhabit was not the center of the known universe was a different thing entirely. The observations of the cosmos by the ancient astronomers could support the former but, with one exception, had no interest or ability in changing the latter.

I. The Origins of Greek Cosmology: Anaximander

The association of the gods of the Greek pantheon with what the Greeks believed to be the seven visible planets was as old as the agricultural cycles upon which they were related and can be found in cultures far older than Greece such as those of both Egypt and Babylon.[3] Each visible planet (or what the ancient astronomers considered a planet in the case of the moon and the sun) was associated early on with a day of the week, with the moon associated to Monday, Ares (Mars) to Tuesday, Hermes (Mercury) to Wednesday, Zeus (Jove) to Thursday, Aphrodite (Venus) to Friday, Kronos (Saturn) to Saturday with Helios (Sol) associated with Sunday[4]. This association was an old one, to be sure, but was eclipsed for centuries by the mythological descriptions of the gods elaborated by the likes of Homer and Hesiod. That there was some tenuous connection between the gods and the planets which bore their names was certain, however, it was a relationship which was of decidedly less importance to the Greeks than the stories of divinities which permeated their sacred texts. Although celestial phenomena such as the sun and moon are in general equated with the gods in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, further evidence of the divinity of the celestial bodies is lacking until the sixth century BC. Events would occur by that time, however, which would cause the old relationships between the gods and planets to be resurrected, which would cause a return to the notion of the divinity of the celestial bodies described in the earliest Greek texts.[5]

Central to any discussion of the relation between the gods and the planets, and indeed to the entire basis of the Greek cosmology, was the centrality of the belief in an unmoving earth.[6] As was recounted in myths stretching back to the sixteenth-century BC, it was upon this unmoving earth, specifically Mt. Olympus, where the gods dwelled. Not as well laid out was the connection between these gods of the mythological world and the planets which bore their names. There was a connection, say, between Mars the God of War and the red planet, yet a systematic development of this idea is not easily found in Greek literature. This connection, however poorly laid out, between the gods of myth and their planets began to be broken in the the observations of Anaximander (610-546 BC).

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[3] T. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos: The Ancient Copernicus,* (Oxford, 1913), p.21.
[4] J. F. Hawley and K. A. Holcomb, *Foundations of Modern Cosmology* (Oxford, 1998), p. 12.
[5] L. C. Taub, Ibid. p. 140.
[6] Hawley and Holcomb, *Foundations*, p. 22.

Before we begin our brief exploration of the cosmology of Anaximander, we need to discuss the fundamental tenet of Greek cosmology, the belief in a geocentric solar system. Whether you believed the earth was supported on the back of a turtle, a slain god, a flattened disc, or was indeed a sphere suspended in the heavens, the earth was always the center of the universe. It was idea which stretched as far back as the ancient Babylonian astronomers and would persist until the time of Copernicus. As the belief in a geocentric solar system was fundamental to all variants of Greek cosmology, with the exception of Aristarchus of Samos who we will discuss a bit later, every measurement of every orbit was taken with this as an *a priori* assumption. Every measurement, therefore, would have been fundamentally flawed and as such would have contributed to theories of the universe which, on the level of mathematics, would be wrong. Yet, imperfection was not something that the earliest astronomers could (or indeed wanted to) see when they looked to the heavens given the philosophical climate in which they were living and, to a great extent, to which they were contributing.

The first celestial astronomers, beginning with Thales (624 – 547 B.C.) and greatly expanded upon by his student Anaximander, assumed that the orbits of the planets were at least approximately circular and that the planets moved inside the outer sphere which contained all the stars which were affixed to it and rotated around the earth.[7] Based upon observations of these "movers," Anaximander formulated a cosmology which can be represented as follows[8]:

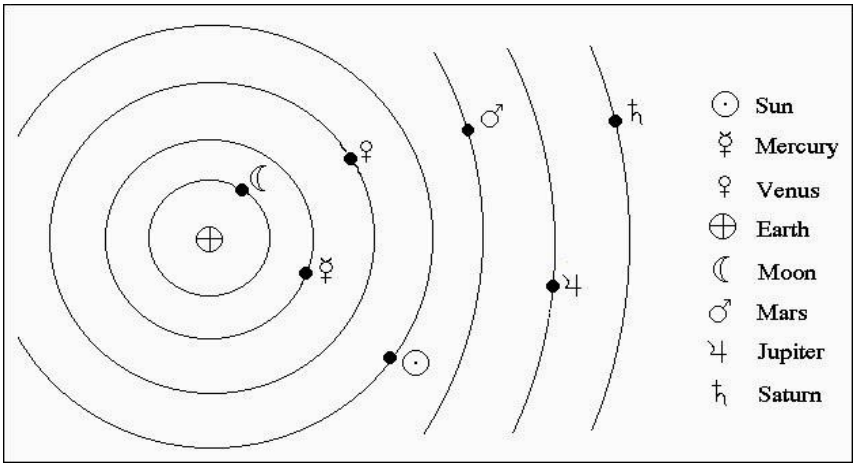

Fig. 1: Geocentric Solar System[9]

Although we rightly concentrate on the geocentric cosmology of Anaximander, we must not forget that his contributions to philosophy, his discussions of φύσις and the nature of all things especially the gods, went hand in hand with his astronomical discussions.

[7] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution*, (Harvard, 1979), p. 51.
[8] As Thomas S. Kuhn points out, the relative order of Venus and Mercury relative to the Sun was a matter of considerable debate as their perceived orbits around the earth were all 1 year. The order in the diagram above was the one adopted by Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD. Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution*, p. 53.
[9] Image used with permission from Dr. James Shombert, University of Oregon.

Indeed for all of the ancient philosophers who discussed the cosmos, talk of the gods was never far away. Anaximander was arguably the first philosopher who strove to find the key to the hidden structure of reality by studying the way which it has come to be what it is, striving to find mathematical proportion and harmony in the relationship to the world-whole and its parts.[10] It was Anaximander who first discussed the concept of the ἀπείρον (*apeiron*), the unbounded and immortal beginning of all things which he linked to τό ϑεῖον (*to theion*), the Divine.[11] This *apeiron* or boundless source of all things had no connection to the gods of myth and, consequently, the ancient divinities which were at one time seen as controlling the planets which bore their name had no place in the cosmology of Anaximander. In place of the all too human motivations of the gods you now have the more mathematical movements of the *Divine* who sets the celestial spheres in motion and sustains their course. It is this quest for a more systematic, more mathematical divine that you see in the geocentric cosmology of Anaximander. In the cosmology of Anaximander the planets predictably rotated in the heavens around the earth, the size of the planets (including the sun) could be discussed with (relative) mathematical precision, and eclipses could be predicted. It was a much more organized view of the heavens than had existed before, a view of the heavens entirely free of the capriciousness of the gods of Homer and Hesiod.

Yet, by the standards of modern astronomy it was nowhere as neat or precise as it appeared to be at the time. Problems in the simplistic cosmological model of Anaximander were seen from the beginning, causing subsequent astronomers to continually refine and augment his model. For all its' faults, however, it would be the cosmology built upon Anaximander which would form the basis for all subsequent cosmological models up to Copernicus (1473-1543 AD).

II. Plato's *Timaeus*

We would be remiss in positing a linear trajectory beginning with the abandonment of the mythological gods of Homer and Hesiod by Anaximander and ending up with the cosmology of Ptolemy with its divine spheres, for not all philosophers were as quick to completely abandon the gods of myth, regardless of what developments in astronomy were bringing forth. In his *Timaeus*, Plato seems to find a middle ground, positing a cosmos which is big enough for both the planets and the gods of myth:

> *According, then, as reason perceives forms existing in the absolute living creature, such and so many as exist therein did he deem that this world should also possess. And these forms are four-one the heavenly kind of gods; another the winged kind which traverses the air; thirdly the class which inhabits the waters; and fourthly, that which goes on foot on dry land. The form of the divine class He wrought for the most part out of fire, that this kind*

[10] Werner Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, (London/Oxford, 1967), p. 23.
[11] Aristotle, *Physics*, iii. 4, 203, as quoted in Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, p. 197-198, italics added.

> *might be as bright as possible to behold and as fair; and likening it to the All He made it truly spherical*.[12]

For Plato, the presence of both mythological and celestial variants of the gods allowed the maintenance of tradition and the order which that represented while at the same time positing a vision of gods in the form of the planets which every man could observe. The observable cosmic order (and the Greek verb κοσμέω is eminently concerned with the concept of order) served a very definite ethical purpose[13]:

> *God devised and bestowed upon us vision to the end that we might behold the revolutions of reason in the heaven and use them for the revolving of the reasoning that is within us, these being akin to those, the perturbable to the imperturbable; and that, through learning and sharing and calculations which are correct by their nature, by imitation of the absolutely unvarying revolutions of the God we might stabilize the variable revolutions within ourselves*.[14]

For Plato, the developments in the field of astronomy simply contributed another means by which mankind might get to gain knowledge of the divine. In contrast to the mythological manifestations of the gods, celestial manifestations offered the promise of order, predictability and a definite aid in ethical conduct. Knowledge of both aspects of the divine were necessary for one to be truly pious for Plato insisted that the citizens of Athens and their young learn enough about the heavenly gods to prevent blasphemy about them, and to ensure such piety in sacrifice and prayer.[15] This symbiotic relationship between myth and science was not to be maintained to such a degree by subsequent philosophers.

III. The Astronomers After Anaximander

Continued observation of the planets by the next generation of astronomers necessitated several modifications to Anaximander's model to explain such things as the erratic movement of the planets or why planets appear brighter at different times of the year as the perfectly spherical orbits of Anaximander could not account for these aberrations. The cosmology of Anaximander was later refined by Plato's student Eudoxus (408-355 BC) who posited a succession of concentric spheres which held the planets, with each planet possessing multiple spheres in which to rotate as they traversed the sky around the earth.[16] The developments of Eudoxus were the first wave of "refinements" to Anaximander's model, and the first layer of complexity that had to be added to it to account for what the previous model could not account for.

Although we do not possess any writings of Eudoxus, Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* recounts the basic outlines of his cosmology:

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[12] Plato, *Timaeus,* 40a, R. G. Bury trans., Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge, 1961).
[13] Taub, Ibid. p. 148.
[14] Plato, Timaeus, 47c, R.G. Bury trans.
[15] Taub, Ibid. p. 150.
[16] Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution*, p. 59.

> *Eudoxus held that the motion of the sun or of the moon involves, in either case, three spheres, of which the outermost is that of the fixed stars, the second revolves in the circle which bisects the zodiac, and the third revolves in a circle which is inclined across the breadth of the zodiac; but the circle in which the moon moves is inclined at a greater angle than that in which the sun moves. And he held that the motion of the planets involved in each case four spheres; and that of these the first and second are the same as before (for the sphere of fixed stars is that which carries round all the other spheres, and the sphere next in order , which has its motion in the circle which bisects the zodiac, is common to all the planets); the third sphere of all the planets has its poles in the circle which bisects the zodiac; and the fourth sphere moves in the circle inclined to the equator of the third. In the case of the third sphere, while the other planets have their own peculiar poles, those of Venus and Mercury are the same.*[17]

It is perhaps appropriate that we have to look to another one of Plato's students, Aristotle (384-322 BC), for information on Eudoxus (and indeed many of the other ancient astronomers) as their works have been preserved only in the great philosopher's works. Although Aristotle's own cosmology was not terribly novel, as most of the elements were common to his predecessors, his cosmological writings are particularly influential because he firmly justified his cosmology on rational, not mythic, grounds. Drawing upon the spherical model of Eudoxus, who in turn was drawing upon Anaximander, Aristotle then postulated the cause for the orbits of these celestial spheres as the "unmoved movers". Each celestial sphere possessed an unmoved mover of its own with the mover of the outermost celestial sphere being the first of the unmoved movers.[18] What is most noticeable about Aristotle's discussions of the planets is that any link to their divinity is consigned to the world of myth. That the first substance, the unmoved mover, was in some way divine is possible. The supposition that the planetary bodies were divine was not:

> *A tradition has been handed down by the ancient thinkers of very early times, and bequeathed to posterity in the form of myth, to the effect that these heavenly bodies are gods, and that the Divine pervades the whole of nature. The rest of their tradition has been added later in a mythological form to influence the vulgar and as a constitutional and utilitarian expedient; they say that these gods are human in shape or are like certain other animals, and make other statements and accept only the first, that they supposed the primary substances to be gods, we must regard it as an inspired saying; and reflect that whereas every art and philosophy has probably been repeatedly developed to the utmost and has perished again, these beliefs of theirs have been preserved as a relic of former knowledge. To this extent*

[17] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, xii, 8. Lines 9-10, G. Cyril Armstrong, trans., (Cambridge, 1962).
[18] Aristotle, Physics, viii, 6. Line 27-28, W. D. Ross, trans., (Oxford, 1936).

> *only, then, are the views of our forefathers and of the earliest thinkers intelligible to us.*[19]

We can see somewhat more clearly in the writings of Aristotle how the cosmology begun by Anaximander helped initiate this transformation in philosophical thought. Once the move away from myth was accomplished, and the gods were ensconced safely in the planets beyond the moon, it was only a matter of time before they ceased to be gods at all.

Yet, the cosmologies which did such a thorough job of first moving and then banishing the gods still continued to pose problems, even at the time of Aristotle. Although the concentric sphere model helped *somewhat* with explaining the aforementioned problems with planetary movement, it never did seem to answer the question fully nor could it give a good reason as to why the planets dimmed and brightened depending on the time of the year. In a concentric sphere model, these planets would have to remain at fixed points from the earth, something that the observation of the planets could not confirm.[20]

IV. Ptolemy

Up until the time of Ptolemy, the cosmology of Aristotle even with its limitations seemed to satisfy religion and science equally, although flaws in the theory were readily apparent.[21] The primary flaw occurred when one observed an individual planet and attempted to map its orbit. When one observes the night sky and follows the transit of Mars, to cite one example, the red planet does odd things in the sky which make the concentric spherical approach to the heavens somewhat problematic:

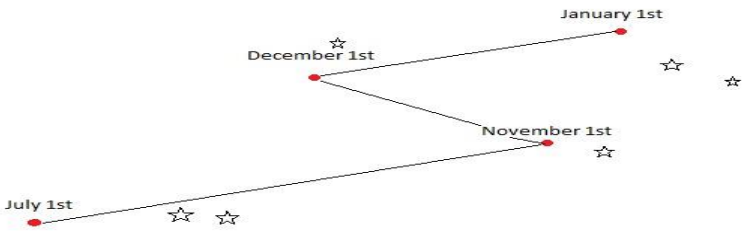

Fig 2: Retrograde Motion of Mars[22]

[19] Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, xii, 8. Lines 19-20, G. Cyril Armstrong, trans., (Cambridge, 1962).
[20] Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution*, p. 55.
[21] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, (Cambridge, 1985), p. 307.
[22] Hawley and Holcomb, *Foundations of Modern Cosmology* (New York/Oxford, 1998), p. 31.

Essentially, when you observe the movement of a planet such as Mars over the course of a year you notice that at times the planet seems to double-back upon its projected trajectory. If you were envisioning either a spherical or even an elliptical orbit, Mars disappoints you by reversing itself. This behavior, known as retrograde motion, had long troubled ancient Greek astronomers and was a major problem with their cosmologies. Although previous theories concerning the ever multiplying spherical orbits came close to explaining the movement, further refinements were still necessary. It took until the late third century BC before theories arose to adequately compensate for what was being observed.

Appolonius (262-190 BC) and later Hipparchus (190-120 BC) were the first of the ancient astronomers to attempt to mathematically explain this retrograde movement of the planets. They did this by abandoning the concentric sphere approach in favor of what we now call the epicycle-deferent system, which is essentially a planetary orbit made up of a larger and a smaller orb:

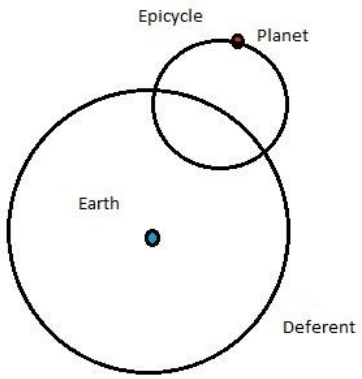

Figure 3. Epicycle and Deferent

The epicycle and deferent model began to explain why a planet would seemingly double-back upon itself. As the planet orbited the earth in an eastward trajectory it was also orbiting in the smaller epicycle. As much of an advance as the epicycle-deferent model was, however, it never did fully explain the perceived change in the brightness of the planets or the change is speed in which they traversed the night sky. The ancient world would have to wait two centuries for an astronomer to arise who could begin to solve that problem.

Claudius Ptolemaeus (100-170AD), called Ptolemy, brought ancient cosmology to its pinnacle in his work, the *Almagest*.[23] Drawing upon the work of Appolonius and Hipparchus,

[23] Hawley and Holcomb, *Foundations*, p. 30.

Ptolemy expanded upon the epicycle and deferent model by adding the idea of movement of the equant, that point in space upon which the net motion of a planet centers:

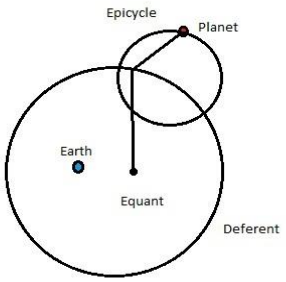

Fig 4: Ptolemy and the Equant[24]

Ptolemy's model was admirably successful in explaining planetary movement but to be admirably successful is never, for a scientific theory, to be completely successful.[25] Like all models before, it had a few drawbacks which would eventually, and by eventually only by the time of Copernicus some fourteen hundred years later, cause it to be abandoned. First, like the earlier spherical models, the perceived circular orbits of the epicycles had to be multiplied again and again (circles within circles) over time, making a somewhat unwieldy theory.[26] Second, and probably more importantly, the addition of the equant shifted the rotation of the planets not around Earth and the perceived center of the universe but to a point somewhat distant from the earth. Mathematically at least, the earth was no longer the center of the solar system. This small correction, however, in that it allowed the byzantine arrangement of epicycles to approximate the observations that were being made, cemented the geo-centric model of the universe for the next fourteen hundred years. Here we see the lengths to which astronomers would go to maintain their belief in perfect (albeit numerous) circular orbits, namely, they would shift the center of the universe from the earth to a *nearby* point just off the earth. Evidently, allowing for the earth to not be the exact center of the universe was a small price to pay for maintaining the perceived perfection of the planets

In the writings of Ptolemy, especially in his work *Syntaxis*, we see the motivation behind his study of astronomy – motivations which were eminently theological.[27] In his discussion of mathematics he states:

> *[It] is the best science to help theology along its way, since it is the only one which can make a good guess at the activity which is unmoved and*

[24] Hawley and Holcomb, *Foundations*, p. 32.
[25] T. S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago, 1996), p. 68.
[26] Hawley and Holcomb, *Foundations*, p. 32-33.
[27] Taub*, Ptolemy's Universe*, p. 135.

> *separated; it is familiar with the attributes of those beings which are on the one hand perceptible, moving and being moved, but on the other hand eternal and unchanging.*[28]

By the time of the Ptolemy, the gods of myth (at least in the writings of the astronomers) could only be described in this way. They could only be the eternal, unchanging beings as represented by the planets, beings which could be observed to move in predictable and perfect orbits and, in their predictability, serve as ethical guides for the human observers. In this belief Ptolemy was clearly in the same line of thought in his connection between celestial astronomy and the gods as both Plato and Aristotle, although it is clear in the writings of Ptolemy that any Platonic synthesis of myth and astronomy had been entirely abandoned. Granted, it was an astronomical model which could never be entirely correct, one which could never align perfectly with observations due to its *a priori* belief in a geocentric solar system, yet it was an astronomy which had reached an accommodation with and supported the existing philosophical paradigm which saw little need for the mythological gods. The heavens were, to observers like Ptolemy, eminently ordered. The philosophical gods which had begun to take center stage since the time of Anaximander were equally ordered and predictable. The problems with the observations of the planets, problems which could only partially be solved by the increasingly complex orbits of subsequent astronomers, would not pose a serious challenge to either system, astronomical or philosophical, for another fourteen centuries.

V. A Voice of Dissent – Aristarchus of Samos (310-230 BC)

Unlike the vast majority of the ancient Greek astronomers we have discussed already, we are privileged in that at least in the case of Aristarchus of Samos we have a complete work that has been attributed to him in his *On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon.* This work, coupled with the numerous mentions of Aristarchus' theories about the cosmos stretching from Archimedes (287-212 BC) to Copernicus, leaves not the slightest doubt that he was the first to put forward the heliocentric hypothesis.[29] The clearest evidence comes from the aforementioned Archimedes:

> *'You are aware ['you being King Gelon] that "universe" is the name given by most astronomers to the sphere, the center of which is the straight line between the earth, while its radius is equal to the straight line between the centre of the sun and the centre of the earth. This is the common account, as you have heard from astronomers. But Aristarchus brought out a book consisting of certain hypotheses, wherein it appears, as a consequence of the assumptions made, that the universe is many time greater than the "universe" just mentioned. His hypotheses are that the fixed stars and the sun remain unmoved, that the earth revolves about the sun in the*

[28] Taub, *Ptolemy's Universe*, p. 136.
[29] T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 301.

> *circumference of a circle, the sun lying in the middle of the orbit, and that the sphere of the fixed stars, situated about the same center as the sun, is so great that the circle in which he supposes the earth to revolve bears such a proportion to the distance of the fixed stars as the center of the sphere bears to its surface.'*[30]

Two radical, and entirely complementary ideas are witnessed in this paragraph, namely that the sun and not the earth was the center of the known universe and, most importantly, that the size of the universe, specifically the size of the sun and the orbit of the planets, is far greater than anyone could have imagined to that point. It was precisely because Aristarchus' estimation of the size of the sun were so much bigger than the size of the earth (a ratio which he estimated the sun to be between 19:3 and 46:6 relative to the earth) that he could not logically conceive of the larger body revolving around the smaller body.[31] We unfortunately do not possess in the only complete work extant by Aristarchus any discussion of the gods, the divine, in relation to the planets as *On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon* confines itself to solely geometric propositions and corresponding mathematical ratios and never ventures into the more theological avenues of his predecessors. We do, however, have a less than laudable estimation of his work by Plutarch which gives us some indication as to why Aristarchus' theory – as correct as it appears to us looking back from the twenty-first century – was nonetheless rejected by his contemporaries. Plutarch (45-120 AD), in his book *On the Face in the Disc of the Moon,* has one of the persons in the dialogue being called into account for turning the world upside down, says that he is quite content so long as he is not accused of impiety, "like as Kleanthes held that Aristarchus of Samos ought to be accused of impiety for moving the hearth of the world, as the man in order to save the phenomena supposed that the heavens stand still and the earth moves in an oblique circle at the same time it turns around its' axis."[32] To posit that the gods of myth no longer held sway in the cosmos was a troublesome idea yet one which, given the developments in philosophy in regard to *The Divine*, was an idea that could gain some semblance of wide acceptance. To posit that our position in this new cosmology was no longer a central one, the idea that indeed the universe did not revolve around ourselves, that, however, crossed the line. The charge of impiety, of speaking wrongly or without the proper respect due to the gods, would be a charge leveled at all who would dare espouse the theories of Aristarchus up till and including the time of Copernicus.

VI. Conclusion

It is tempting to gloss over the contributions of ancient astronomy to the world of philosophy and, eventually, the discipline of theology. In the end, we must admit, a view of

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[30] *The Works of Archimedes,* ed. by T. L. Heath, pp. 221-222, as quoted in T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 302

[31] T.L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 402-403.

[32] Plutarch, *On the Face in the Disc of the Moon*, sec. 6., as quoted in J. L. E. Dyer, A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler, 2nd Ed., (New York: Dover Publications, 1953), p. 138.

the gods (and eventually of God) which is freed from mythological suppositions is always a healthy development. Ancient astronomers, and the cosmologies which they constructed from their observations, went a good way in freeing the ancient world from mythological depictions of the gods. Yet, this development was supported and sustained by the science of the time which was clearly wrong in its observations. As I stated in my introductory remarks, we are the beneficiaries of some good theology at the cost of some bad science. Granted, eventually the science received the internal correction it needed in the work of both Copernicus and Galileo who rightly took the earth (and us) from the center of the known universe to a less exalted position between Venus and Mars, however, this needed correction was a long, long time coming. Whereas the cosmology of Ptolemy remained more or less in a state of stasis until the Copernican revolution, the philosophical discussions of God, also initiated to a great extent by the ancient Greek astronomers, was allowed to develop and grow under succeeding generations of Christian theologians who watered the *logos spermatikos* that they found in the Greeks. The development of this new Christian cosmology in the Church Fathers and the Medievalists will have to wait for a subsequent paper.

Finally, the developments traced in this paper should give us pause as it is equally tempting (and indeed quite dangerous) to posit that such an occurrence could never happen in our own times. Do we, seeking to maintain our current view of God, allow those desires to shape the way we perceive the world around us? Are we engaging in a similar type of cosmological eisegesis (well-meaning as it may have been) as the kind undertaken by Anaximander and his successors? One would hope that should a modern day Aristarchus of Samos arise (or a modern day Copernicus or Galileo), we would greet that person with something more than a cry of impiety.

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Iha Ominigbon - Divination and Ritual Sacrifice: Re-Imagining Social Re-Ordering in Benin (Nigeria) Society

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Abstract

This paper focuses on how *Iha Ominigbon* (divination) and *Izehse* (ritual sacrifice) are valuable for re-ordering the society. With particular reference to Benin City in Nigeria, I will attempt a theorization of *Iha Ominigbon* and *Izehse*, offering a description of coincidence in Benin cosmology, the methodology for *iha ominigbon* and their social significance. From an insider's perspective, I will argue that *Iha Ominigbon* and *Izehse* are normal and living parts of the everyday experience of the Benin people's life and conclude that researchers should pay close attention to ritual action, symbolism and performative skills in order to illustrate the range of cultural forms that can exist within a single society, and understand them in their original socio-cultural and historical context.

Introduction

This paper explores how Benin people engage spiritual resources such as *iha ominigbon* (the great oracle and divination process) and *izehse* (ritual sacrifice) to meaningfully navigate unanticipated spiritual violence in order to restore normalcy to the society.[1] Drawing on ritual and functional theories of religions, I will argue from an insider perspective, that *iha ominigbon* and *izehse* are effective resources for re-ordering (social) disorder. I will conclude by showing how divination has continued to be an integral feature of Benin religion, explore its significance and make a case for its meaningfulness in that context.

While the ethnography and the mythic origins of the Benin are important, they are not the focus of this paper.[2] The Benins, like many West Africans, believe some people are malevolent (witches) and could be harmful.[3] They also believe God(s) navigate boundaries,

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[1] *Iha ominigbon* (divination), the great Oracle of the Benins, provides the navigating process to "normalize" an upset system that was once-upon-a-time quiet. *Iha Ominigbon* is an access to knowing the implication of ones actions or inactions, and or knowing the "Will" of God. The ritual sacrifice for appeasement is *izehse*.

[2] The traditional Benin homeland, a major city in Nigeria, is situated in South-Western Nigeria. Established around the 13th century, it was the capital of the Benin kingdom and has remained the capital of present Edo State. The fundamental pattern of authority is structured around men, and kinship organization is marked with patrilineal bias with emphasis on primogeniture (Ryder 1969, 23). The mythic origin of Benin states that we were originally under the rule of *Ogie ogh' iso,* abridged to *Ogiso* ('sky king'). The term *Ogiso* attests to our idea of sacred kingship. With the reign of the last Ogiso, Eweka became Oba (monarch) and named the city *Ubinu* (land of vexation) which was later corrupted by the Portuguese as 'Benin.' Around 1470, Ewuare re-named *Ubinu* to Edo in honor of a deserving servant who helped to save his life (Egharevba 1968; Ben-Amos 1999; Okpewho 1998).

[3] For a detailed description of how humans are harmed by malevolent 'others,' see (Evans-Pritchard and Gillies 1976; Okpewho 1998).

interacting and influencing people and this intersection between God(s) and humans often traumatize humans. These acts are powerful enough to cause social conflict and psychological trauma and bring illness to the people addressed. Only Supersensible Beings can change the injurious course and restore sanity through the acts of *iha ominigbon* and *izehse*.

Scholars seem to have provided further reasons for the sustenance of this belief when research writings demonstrate that the universe is governed by forces that impact human life and produce disturbances that are beyond human's comprehension (Van-Gennep 1960; Chapple and Coon 1942). It is also the case that many times, people actually get life precisely as they most deeply do not want it. These interface between humans and supernatural beings create a social reality, to which people could organize their world view with a perspective that may include particular and temporary occurrences such as infertility, emotional and psychological disorders, disturbing dreams, death, etc. Consequently, in the midst of these traumatizing and disordered complexities, the Benins desire to make sense of their situation and to know the supernatural fate that their ancestor, or ancestress or God(s) have chosen or may chose for them by means of *iha ominigbon.*

Scholars agree that there is a direct link between social well-being and physical well-being; between God(s) and humans. And solutions to these misfortunes are fixed through *iha ominigbon*. Thus *iha ominigbon* has a synchronized relationship with rituals for *izehse* to be efficacious (Bascom 1969; Peavy 2009; Turner 1975). The *obo iha* (diviner)[4] with their divinatory or esoteric knowledge, mediate *agbon vbe erinmwin* (earth and the spirit world, also called heaven). In this way, they help to reproduce the social system by prescribing such rituals that restores needed social order. *Iha ominigbon*, thus, has implications for the practice of anthropology, challenging anthropologists of religion to do ethnography in order to understand histories and cultures in their original context.

Intentionality, Coincidence, & Communicating Knowledge in the Benin Religious World View

For the Benins, spirit beings are believed to populate the human world, and the dimension of their influence is never to be taken lightly (Rosen 1993, 33). Through the creativity of ritual actions, the supernatural and the natural become complementary and joined to the temporality of humans. This blend is possible because of the special nature of ritual in establishing contact with the spirit realms (Ray 2000; Okpewho 1998). This awareness drives us to revere the spirit realm and further engage in ritual observance in time of disorder (Olupona 2011, 285; Loewe, Blacker, and Lama 1981). The Benins usually turn to the *Obo iha* for invocation and navigation of both sides of the divide; so the Benins exert much energy for maintaining good relations and warding off vindictive spirits (witchcraft) that cause ill fate. And through invocations and recommended rituals offerings of animal blood, food, gin, and kolanuts, as means to either avert malevolence or attract good

[4] The *obo iha* is the diviner who specify procedures for the proper conduct of *iha ominigbon* and *izehse*, literarily means, doctor of divination in Benin City.

will, people are assured of metaphysical support in coping with personal and communal problems (Nevadomsky 1992, 28).

The Benin cosmology is not an intentional one, as the people believe that it is full of invisible spiritual powers. And there is always a reason and an explanation for anything that happens and does not leave room for chance and coincidence. A person's health is not fully restored unless such moral and spiritual causes are first dealt with. For example, the important feature of traditional treatment is the identification of the ultimate cause of a problem, which always involves some kinds of invisible (witches, sorcerers, etc.) agencies. The immediate cause of a child's illness might be meningitis bacteria, but the ultimate cause is social or spiritual and must be uncovered through *iha ominigbon* for the cure to be effective and lasting. In a world where God(s) who control events are unpredictable and personal misfortunes are filled with religious significance (Ray 2000, 73), one of human being's utmost need is to design a means of communicating with the Divine in order to learn what may be in store.

Furthermore, nothing happens by coincidence in Benin. The life of an individual or group that is entangled with uncertainties must of necessity be unwrapped through *iha ominigbon and* prescribed *izehse*. It is believed that a change in a person's life involve actions and reactions that ought to be regulated and guarded in order to avert suffering and injury from either the society or supernatural world (Olupona 2011, 174-77). This ritual for aversion is implicit in the very fact of existence, so that the individual's life is put in a 'right' perspective. There are rituals, prescribed through *Iha ominigbon*, essentially set to rescue a person whose life fails to resonate with set standards from social suffering. In this regard, no one's life is left in isolation.

No doubt, human beings are filled with puzzles about strange, unpredictable, mundane, inexplicable phenomena, and in their bid to unravel these puzzles and questions, they influence and or are influenced by another order of being(s) whose knowledge of time stops short at the present moment. For humans to "reach" the being(s) on the "other" side, it became necessary to find a distinct method to carry them across this divide (Loewe, Blacker, and Lama 1981). Communicating with this order of divine beings, beyond human knowledge is acknowledged to be comforting. This spirit world, we claim, is accessible to humans if we know the right time and method of communicating.

Divinatory Paraphernalia, Methodology, and the Diviner's Role

The Benins continue to practice *Iha ominigbon* (Bradbury 1957, 54-60; William Bascom 1991, 17). Oracular techniques employ *ewawa*, which uses *oguega* (four seeds stringed together).[5] Other divination systems from great Benin involve the use of *Ikpigho* (cowries), *evbe* (kolanuts), *ukpu iha* (a divination cup), water-gazing, etc. The *oguega* and the various systems of divination help not only to spell out the problem, but to suggest solutions and prepare for future possibilities (Nevadomsky 1992, 29).

The divinatory journey begins with mystery, uncertainty and passivity, and progresses gradually towards revelation, certainty, and resoluteness. Diagnosis of a

[5] For an in-depth grasp of great Benin divination, see Peavy 2009; Okpewho 1998).

person's problems is often through a group procedure, although not always. The patient consults a diviner in the company of family members who are aware of all the social sources of ill-will that may have affected the patient (Ray 2000, 72-3). *Iha ominigbon* is triologic: involving the *obo iha*, the client or clients with family members and the Divine. When the invocation is made, the family members gathered at the divinatory site must of necessity confirm the truth of the *obo iha's* words; adding their comments by way of correction or affirmation, so that a collective 'truth' of the matter would be achieved. It is the force of the collective 'truth' that transfers the agents of illness on the sacrificial animal as a scapegoat and the illness is carried away with the animal's death (Ray 2000; Lienhardt 1961; Girard 1986). In the course of *iha*, the *Obo Iha* reveals the cause of illness as well as recommended actions and obscurity gives way to optimism (Silva 2011). This optimism, although remains altogether vague, and in a sense, may mean good health, friendship, and solidarity, contribute to social well-being (Silva 2011).

When a client comes to consult *iha*, the person is given a gift of cowry by the *obo iha* or as in modern times, the person brings out a currency from his or her pocket or wallet. The person will whisper his or needs to the cowry or currency, use the object to touch his or her forehead (and if the client is a woman, also to touch her breasts), then inaudibly speak his or her concerns to the object, and lay the object down. A client need not reveal to the *obo iha* the nature of the problem which prompts him or her to seek spiritual support. The *obo iha* places the *oguega* on the cowry or currency and says, "Oronmila, you who hears all things, you know what this person has said to the object, now tell me whatever you know and how solution can come." They would then lift the *oguega* and lay it on the floor.

The idea that symbols need to be decoded is not new. In the case of *iha ominigbon*, it is the *obo iha*, who having mastered the prescribed technique of divining, embodies the authority to interpret the meaning of coded representations. Accessing information from the spirit, the *obo iha* deciphers the coded message and notifies the adherent of what she or he must sacrifice to achieve an end.[6]

Otto's description of the *Mysterium Tremendum* resonates with the experience of the *obo iha* (Rudolf Otto 1970, 12-13; Harvey Cox 1995). The personal health is understood not simply as a lack of physical illness, but more holistically as a matter of mental, physical and social well-being. The *obo iha* is routinely involved in the treatment of physical illnesses and psychological problems; communicating between humanity and Divinities, and performing specific ritual functions (Ray 2000, 72).

The *obo iha* through *iha ominigbon* uncover spiritual agents (Gods, ancestors, witches, etc.) responsible for social disorder (Ray 2000, 72). To remedy the situation, they engage in ritual performance of *iha* to either propitiate or appease, before applying Afro-medical cure.[7] The *obo iha* thus, help to make sense of apparently meaningless misfortune. For example, he has a duty to explain why a young and healthy young person should become mentally disordered or suddenly die. With their spiritual insight, they analyze the situation or problem and decode the message from the supernatural world. By this, they

[6] The Benin *iha* and Yoruba *ifa* have some similarities and for a detailed description, do see, Olupona 2011, 174-77; Bascom 1991, 19.

[7] Afro-medical cure involves the combination of ritual sacrifice and herbal medicines.

reproduce the social and medical system as they prescribe such rituals that restore needed social order. Without *Iha ominigbon*, and the *obo iha*, who constitutes a focal point in Benin religion, it is assumed that human affairs would turn out for the worse. Thus, the *obo iha* by means of divination plays a crucial role in providing confidence and certainty in a world rich with anxiety, and enables participants to obtain blessings from the spiritual realm (Ray 2000, 48). The *obo iha* rise up as traditional prophets to lead the individual or community, sounding the alarm to action and envisioning a new day of peace and harmony, which sometimes lies in the distant future. The future, once thought to be an undeveloped feature of the African concept of time, is therefore an important dimension of ritual action. What this explains is that long before the advent of imported religions into Benin, Benin religion already fully possessed and developed the concept of the future as a source of revelation and prophecy (Ray 1976, 20; Peavy 2009).

Theorizing *Iha ominigbon* and *Izehse* and their Social Re-Ordering Significance

The definition and emphasis on ritual in contemporary times may have become diverse and ambiguous because of its use in an entirely derivative sense, being different from that which it originally bore. However, a common recurring theme in these definitions is the shared supposition that "ceremonial actions are characterized by a self-conscious formality and traditionalism" that construct people's perceptions and interpretations (Bell 1998 205).

Undoubtedly, the presence of unconscious forces help in shaping social behavior, so that ritual becomes central to the cognitive need for understanding, explaining, ordering, and adapting to a social system. In this way, rituals help human beings to consider themselves truly human and rendering the activities of their lives meaningful. Ritual, as social and cultural construction, thus, help to articulate the role of spiritual and social relationship, to construct the meaning of experience, and to serve strongly an important strategic function of re-ordering the human-divine relationship that has been upset.

Disorder usually manifests itself in religious and social behavior, and ritual activity functions to restore equilibrium where changes in social interaction occur. Scholars, as noted above, have shown that ritual ceremonies help to incorporate individuals back into the society or restore order to the community. Ritual ceremonies help to restore individuals who have been upset by unpleasant events, and indicate the relation of ritual to the reestablishment of a new equilibrium (Chapple and Coon 1942; Van Gennep 1960). Their analyses of disorder based on change in human activities are shown to be theoretically compatible with Benin ritual practices as such ceremonies function to restore moral sentiments that have been disrupted.

Iha ominigbon and *izehse* are wedded to the pressing needs of daily life. They provide access to knowledge for coping and forging a sense of existence with the miseries associated with adversity and social suffering. These dynamics are beyond epistemological exercise, helping to facilitate actions that can restore sanity and make life meaningful. *Iha ominigbon* becomes efficacious, when the *obo iha* access problem and the client skillfully manage the prescribed ritual along with key symbols and performative elements (Silva 2011). If the client performs *izhese*, he or she facilitates a recovery of the everyday,

renewed capability to address the future and some measure of control over one's life. This is so because the ceremonial activity such as sacrifice by ritual offering links the creative powers of the Gods and ancestors with the present needs of the people (Peavy 2009; Ray 2000). They have important social and psychological consequences: expressing moral values, reinforcing social unity, and providing psychological therapy (Ray 2000, 48). They restore the bonds of social unity by undoing personal wrongs and creating new social, moral, physical and emotional bonds between people so as to continue the sustenance of social order; and thus craft meaningful transformation in human life (Ray 2000, 58-59).

The Sustained Meaningfulness of *Iha Ominigbon*

Rudolf Otto notes that orthodoxy is the mother of rationalism (1970). This concept, I think, is unfounded because orthodoxy is preoccupied with doctrine and framing of dogmas. The result of this framing is that Otto considers Benin religion to be less dogmatic, 'wild,' 'primal' and full of 'fetishes.' Nevadomsky thinks this is an attempt to malign and misrepresent Benin civilization (1992, 31), and Olupona notes that this effort is "sidestepping the … nature of discourses of power" (Olupona 2011, 147). There is nothing that is non-rational in non-literate religions; whether 'rational' or 'non-rational,' they all do justice to the rational element in religion and keep it alive in the heart of religious adherents. Otto contradicts himself when he states: "there is no religion in which this 'unnamed something' does not live as the real innermost core, and without it, no religion would be worthy of the name (Otto 1970; Harvey Cox 1995)." This "Something" is pre-eminently a living force in the (Benin) religion Otto considers less dogmatic.

From the cognitive or intellectualist perspective of the phenomenologists, rituals are the means by which people keep forging some sense of unity. For this reason, phenomenologists have stressed that such religious phenomena must be understood "in their own place or reference," and should not be reduced to infantile trauma or politicized (Bell 1997, 12). Whether it is a matter of the so-called 'primitives,' like the Benin people or the so-called 'civilized' ones, it is certain that ritual is essentially a human project to formulate a stable and meaningful dimension behind the, chaotic, and shifting realities (Bell 1997).

Supporting this position, Frazer and Tylor in their *Theory of Religion*, noted that 'primitive' people developed religion to explain and rationalize perplexing psychological experiences having to do with dreams, nature, and the effectiveness of magic (Bell 1997, 13; Evans-Pritchard 1965, 20-47). In the same vein, the *obo iha* accesses the mind of God(s), through *iha ominigbon*, he inform clients about the cause of problems and the means for solution, and thus enables them to live a "good" life. This practice makes our every day to be marked with a new knowledge and memory of loss, as the practical wisdom of negotiating this loss is presented by *iha ominigbon.*

For example, it is evidently not surprising that the Benin religious beliefs in *iha ominigbon* have remarkable coherence and vitality. This is obvious because despite years of missionary presence and the domineering efforts of "imported religions" to stamp out *iha*

ominigbon, Benin's magnificent shrines and carnivals, our resurging acknowledgement for *iha ominigbon* as well as diviners, etc. reinforces their significance for shaping social reality and providing the society with social reality. Affirming this, *Obo iha* Imafidon and Emokpaigbe Ighagbon both said to me in personal interviews that *izehse* does not only regulate human activities, it also help to establish a new equilibrium in the society.

From the foregoing, it would be reasonable to argue that the dismissive descriptions of *iha ominigbon* (as being fetish) are reflections of prejudices and delusions of some observers (Bascom 1991, 12; Olupona 2011)) and ignores the profound positivity of primal religions. To this end, I very much agree with Olupona that researchers should examine how the definition of power in Western academic discourse differs from the so called 'primal' and 'non-literate' societies such as Benin (2011, 287).

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that *iha ominigbon* and *izehse* continue to remain a revered "science" because of their influence on social reality. Although, they remain complex, but remain powerful for channeling spiritual forces into the world for the renewal of life (Ray 2000, 70). This is so because they provide guidance for life's puzzle and clarify the divine plan for life, helping to articulate the social order in Benin society. They remain a way of knowing, of gaining access to supernatural knowledge and continuing the human-divine interaction.

The popularity of *iha ominigbon* in Benin City is attributed particularly to a contextual spirituality, unlike the missionary traditions that were insensitive to the social and cultural needs of the natives. The importance given to healing, invoking of the dead, exorcism and the comprehensive community projects and significant involvement in political and civic organizations represent a vigorous spirituality that vastly re-orders the society.

Iha Ominigbon offers a narrative of transformations and transfigurations rather than the logic of linear implication or a theoretical rendering of tested empirical linkages. This concept may be dismissed as superstitions and or illusions, but is intrinsic to human condition. This is proven in Benin and attests to why *Iha ominigbon* still gains high patronage (Bascom 1991, 11) and continues to persist in modern day Benin society. *Iha ominigbon* is a normal and living part of the everyday experience of the Benin people's life and thus, must be understood in its original socio-cultural and historical context.

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Violence in 1968 Chicago: An Appraisal of Sources Solutions and Successes from a Christian Perspective—Then and Now

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Abstract: This study will attempt to define and describe from a Christian point of view the events surrounding the 1968 Democrat Convention in Chicago. Three primary sources will be considered—the official city and authorities; the media; and the radical protesters. Following an appraisal of these three primary sources, an analysis and review of historical and political views of these events will be considered. As a conclusion to this study a summary explanation will be presented, emphasizing the importance of interpretation and scholarly evaluation of sources and solutions to violence in political process.

The use of mass media records as resource material in writing history is fraught with many difficulties. A particularly good example of these difficulties may be seen in the conflicting interpretations surrounding the 1968 Democratic Convention. Focusing on the Convention as a case study, one can draw some cautious conclusions and evaluations. All of this will finally establish a base on which I will remark on the Christian historian's use and evaluation of the media. First, I will present some background and perspective on the study by introducing the tumultuous state of the nation in 1968, the city of Chicago and the violence of August 26-30, 1968.

The year 1968 was one of great political upheaval in the United States. On April 4, Martin Luther King, Jr., was slain in Memphis and the urban ghettos across the country burst into flames and mayhem. On June 5, Robert Kennedy was shot in Los Angeles. Eruptions flared in major cities all over the nation as racial feelings, political differences, anti-war sentiments and social unrest intensified. The whole decade of the 1960's had been one of unrest, murder and mass demonstrations. These uneasy times produced several public and private studies, such as the massive report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, entitled *The History of Violence in America*. In the context of the 1960's Chicago was peculiarly suited for the events of that August week. It has been a city with a violent history, including Al Capone, the killings of the prohibition era, racial violence, and organized crime. In 1968 Chicago was introduced to a different type of malignity—the vehemence of a protesting people distraught and dissatisfied with their society. They stood in opposition to the police of Chicago, and the personnel of the state and federal governments. The protesters were not welcome in Chicago, and their cause was opposed by many residents as well as most of the conventioneers. This led to an ideological and physical battle that made Chicago the focus of tumult and news headlines.[1]

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[1] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 35-39, 219, 266-267 (cited later as Report); Finnis Farr, *Chicago: A Personal History of America's Most American City* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973), pp. 336-341, 347-354, 397-401; August Meier and Rudwick, "Black Violence in the 20th Century: A Study in Rhetoric and Retaliation," Chapter 6 in Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), pp. 403-404; Morris Janowitz, "Patterns of Collective Racial Violence," (Chapter 10), Ibid., pp. 412, 416-417, 421, 427. Graham and Gurr edited the report of the National commission on the causes and Prevention published in 1969. This volume contains a wealth of information on violence, the American character and how these two relate. Numerous reputable scholars. Numerous reputable scholars contributed to the

Violence in its physical form is rather easy to describe. It is simple to picture one person hitting another, a rock being thrown or tear gas being used. The obvious is not hard to depict. The problem is found in considering the causes of this Chicago week. What prompted hundreds of young people, police and others to engage in violence? The purpose of many articles, newspaper accounts, television programs, and radio news reports was to describe the disruptions in Chicago, but also to discover or speculate on the causes of it. Chicago's official report of the convention week was an effort to find the causes of the violence. My purpose will be to give a critical appraisal of three opinions drawn from a sampling of the sources. I limit the analysis to opinion as illustrated in typical sources because of the sheer volume of material available on this one week's activities. Consequently, this is not an exhaustive analysis of the source material available, but the use of some of the written and published materials to establish a base for arriving at some conclusions about the mass media's role in the situation.

In Chicago two groups expressed themselves, the Democratic Party and an aggregation of youth, dissident and critical. One was meeting to choose a candidate to bear the party standard into the national presidential election; the other, to express indignation at what was termed the "sham" of the American political system. The police, the Illinois National Guard and personnel from various federal agencies were present to keep the peace, spy on the radical dissidents, and assure that the convention was handled as smoothly as possible. News media personnel were present to cover the convention and whatever else might be of interest. All of these disparate groups combined to make the convention week what it was.

Rumors, threats, and promises of violence abounded. The City officials and federal authorities feared assassination attempts. Some were anxious that the Blacks living in the ghettos of Chicago might riot as they had done in 1919, 1963, 1967 and again in the spring of 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King. On the South Side and Near West Side were the largest black ghettos in the country, despite Mayor Daley's statement, "There are no ghettos in Chicago." The black ghettos in Chicago made up one third of the city's population.[2] Officials feared that if demonstrations were to take place, mass uprisings would

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comprehensive study. Terry H. Anderson in an intriguing essay explains the unique role of the year 1968 in the overall history of the twentieth century in both the United States and Western Europe. Anderson titled his introductory essay to the emphasis of the *South Central Review* journal's general theme Rethinking 1968: The United States and Western Europe as "1968: The End and the Beginning in the United States and Western Europe," *South Central Review*, Vol. 16/17 (Vol. 16, No. 4-Vol. 17, No. 1), Rethinking 1968: The United States & Western Europe (Winter 1999-Spring, 2000), pp. 1-15.

[2] *Report*, pp. 219, 35, 28-29; Daniel Walker, *Rights in Conflict: The Confrontations of Demonstrators and Police in the Parks and Streets of the Democratic National Convention, 1968* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 55-57, 94 (cited later as *Walker Report*). This report remarked that "relatively few blacks were seen among the demonstrators during the convention week." Studs Terkel, *Division Street: America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), p. xxv; Keith Wheeler, "This is Daley's Chicago," *Life* (September 6, 1968), p. 28 (cited later as Wheeler); Jeffrey St. John, *Countdown to Chaos: Chicago, August 1968, Turning Point in American Politics* (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing Corporation, 1969), pp. 15-20 (cited later as *Countdown*). St. John presents a conservative estimate of the Chicago events in a broad context. His contention is that it "represented an important turning point in the recent history of the United States. For the first time since the growth of violence and anarchy in the decade of the 1960's, the very political process of America came under violent attack by a revolutionary minority." (p. ix); William M. Tuttle, Jr., *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1970); The Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922); John Schultz, *No One Was Killed: Documentation and*

result in the Negro communities. This would have eventuated in, perhaps, an even more devastating outbreak of rioting and uproar than in Detroit, Newark or Los Angeles. Fortunately, the feared militant move on the part of the Blacks did not develop. A Daley man commented, "The niggers aren't giving us trouble. I suspect they think they have got nothing to gain here."[3]

Attendance at the convention, which was to begin on Monday, August 27, was the goal of several thousand people. As delegates, spectators, professional politicians, newsmen, and demonstrators began to arrive in Chicago, the weekend before the convention erupted in intense confrontation.[4] On Sunday, August 26, at noon, the first of the marches and protest actions got under way. Rennie Davis, Tom Hayden and some 1,500 marchers moved on the Hilton Hotel although, diverted by the police, they never reached it. This was an inauspicious beginning of a convention week which was to shake a city, cause the Democratic Party much embarrassment, and eventually cost them the election in November.[5]

Even as early as Friday and Saturday, members of the protest groups had been in Chicago and ready for action. Joined by others to begin the march described above, these groups went on to other marches, speeches, and general harassment. Although their affiliations varied, they were unified on several issues. There were anarchists, Maoists, members of the National Mobilization Committee to end the war in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, the Youth International Party (Yippies), and McCarthy workers. They were united on the War-in-Vietnam issue, the need for reform in society, civil rights and on just the fact that they wanted change—governmental, social and political change.[6]

The demonstrators, "mainly white, mainly middle class, and mainly young," made numerous demands.[7] One was permission to march on the Democratic Convention and stage a protest involving numbers of people they estimated to be at 150,000 to 200,000. This was, obviously an exaggeration of the numbers involved in the protest movement. There were about 10,000 demonstrators, at most, involved in the Chicago incidents, considerably less than 200,000.[8] Chicago officials were confronted with a variety of proposals for marches, demonstrations and rallies. They refused to allow one proposed march on the International Amphitheater, and instead, proposed assembly in an adjoining area because of security reasons. The leaders of the protest groups were not satisfied with any of the alternate routes suggested, but repeatedly demanded a march route directly converging on the scene of the convention. These demands were repeatedly rejected, but always alternate routes and assembly areas were offered to the demonstrators.[9]

Meditation: Convention Week, Chicago, August 1968 (Chicago: Big Table Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 20, 107; Len O'Connor, *Clout: Mayor Daley and His City* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1975), p. 205.

[3] Wheeler, p. 29; Tom Wicker, "The Question at Chicago," in *Telling It Like It Was: The Chicago Riots*, ed. By Walter Schneir (New York: The New American Library, 1969), p. 58 (cited later as Wicker).

[4] Melvin Small, "The Doves Ascendant: The American Antiwar Movement in 1968," *South Central Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4, *Rethinking 1968: The United States & Western Europe* (Winter, 1999), pp. 48-49.

[5] *Walker Report*, pp. 134-159; "The Hilton Hotel Incident," *The Nation*, September 16, 1968,p. 229.

[6] "Dementia in the Second City," *Time* (September 6, 1978), p. 21 (cited later as "Dementia"); "Who Were the Protesters?" *Time* (September 6, 1968), p. 24 (cited later as "Who?").

[7] "Is the Press Biased?" *Newsweek* (September 16, 1968), pp. 66-67.

[8] *The Strategy of Confrontation: Chicago and the Democratic National Convnetion—1968* (This is the official report issued on September 6, 1968 by the city of Chicago), p. 13 (cited later as *The Strategy*).

[9] *Ibid*., pp. 11-13.

A demand to use the parks as sleeping places for the demonstrators was not accommodated by the city officials. "It was pointed out that since plans could not be approved for members to sleep in the parks, since park ordinances of long-standing prohibit the use of parks after 11:00 p.m."[10] This left the demonstrators without a bedroom and public facilities to use. One magazine account suggested that the mayor should have appeased the radicals with certain "fringe benefits" or "amenities like portable toilets."[11] As the week progressed there were marches, several clashes of a minor nature with the police, and repeated clearing of young people from the parks. The momentum of the demonstrations built until Wednesday, August 29, when the encounter at the Hilton Hotel occurred. This was a much publicized event and actually the most vehement and longest of all the encounters.[12]

Many and complex opinions have been given as to the causes of the disorders in Chicago. There was the official opinion of the city, *The Strategy of Confrontation: Chicago and the Democratic National Convention—1968*. The second category of opinions was expressed by the news media and is by far the most voluminous. The third opinion was that of the demonstrators which comes in interviews recorded and quoted, books written after the fact, and news reports including verbatim quotes. We will examine some of the expressions of these three opinions in order to form some idea of how we ought to relate to the media as Christian historians. It is possible that we can, with critical evaluation of some selected sources, arrive at the most logical and honest conclusions concerning the reliability and usefulness of mass media in the re-creation of history.

The difficulties of this undertaking are formidable. Such an event is still not without a considerable measure of significance. The impact of those days on the image of the Democratic Party, the election in November 1968, and the thinking of the American people are still under consideration and debate. Research of such an event is fraught with emotions and prejudices. The events in Chicago engendered a significant response in all participants. The police and city officials were indignant that they were shown in a distasteful situation. The demonstrators were emotionally involved in reacting against what they saw as an unjust society. The newsmen, normally aiming at a sort of non-emotional observation of events, became emotionally involved when a number of them were handled roughly by the police. Involved, too, were the emotions of millions of television viewers, radio listeners and readers of newspapers and magazines. Some supported and some were horrified by the demonstrators; others were aghast and repelled by the brutality of the police and governmental authorities.

CHICAGO'S OFFICIAL OPINION

The first opinion to be taken up is that of the city officials of Chicago. This opinion is officially expressed in *The Strategy of Confrontation: Chicago and the Democratic Convention—1968*. The blame for the violence is laid directly on the demonstrators with the news media being accused of encouraging it. The officials of Chicago led by Mayor Daley prepared the official statement of the city concerning what happened in Chicago and why it happened. From the beginning of the report it is clear that the cause of the disturbance is placed with the demonstrators:

> From the beginning of 1968, the Democratic National Convention was "D" Day for many dissident groups in the United States. The most obvious efforts were those of

[10] *Ibid*., p. 11.
[11] "Dementia," p. 22.
[12] *Walker Report*, pp. 235ff.; *Countdown*, pp. 44-47.

> the National Mobilization Committee and the Youth International Party. Plans were made to disrupt the National Convention and paralyze the city of Chicago. The plans were announced publicly, training for the encounter was carried on publicly, and the attempt to disrupt was openly launched.[13]

This paragraph at the very beginning of the introduction of the Chicago Report indicates the tone of the entire statement. There is a conciliatory note in the statement made by Mayor Daley at the report's end. He stated that the honest and sincere protesters were used as a front to mask the intent of the disruptive ones. He also states that "in the heat of emotion and riot some policemen may have over-reacted."[14] That is as far as he went in his statement toward admitting any wrong on the part of the city or the police.

The report deals with the organizations and the leaders who planned to converge on Chicago during the convention week. with the plans that were made, the training carried out and the type of leaders attending, the report concluded: "Violence in this situation was inevitable, expected and even sought."[15] In listing the names of the prominent leaders of the protest organizations, the report includes a brief statement of their past records and activities. It is a formidable listing of achievements—resisting arrest, disorderly conduct, subversion, visiting North Vietnam, and other such charges. The report also presents a very dubious side comment by David Dellinger which is more suggestive and malicious than fact: "He is alleged to have admitted being a communist."[16] No evidence is given or cited; the comment is just presented.

In its conclusion, the report mentions that the news media had given assistance to the demonstrators by publicizing their cause. In one statement there is the subtle suggestion that the news media even staged a few scenes. A march had been disrupted by the police and some of the demonstrators arrested:

> Immediately following arrest . . . a man was seen sitting on the grass with his back against a tree. The man had a bandage in his lap and was having a conversation with three men who had camera equipment. He then leaned back, put the bandage to the left of his forehead and the cameraman began taking pictures. The United States Attorney, who was present and observing the action, approached and asked for their names and for whom they worked. They all scurried off without answering.[17]

The Walker report from the Chicago Crime Commission on the disorder found that at least two times the camera crews staged agitation or faked injuries. This is in support of the Chicago Report's accusation that the cameraman staged scenes.[18]

The Chicago report, dealing with the role of the newsmen in the violence, concludes that

> . . . any success the revolutionaries achieved in their ultimate objective of fomenting hatred and ridicule among the citizenry against the authorities was in large part attributable to the almost totally sympathetic coverage extended by reports to the

[13] *The Strategy*, p. 1.
[14] *Ibid*., p. 76.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[16] *Ibid*., p. 10. The complete biographical data is listed in the report on pages 8-10.
[17] *Ibid*., p. 21; *Walker Report*, p. 166.
[18] *Walker Report*, p. 166; "Chicago Report Text: 'Police Violence . . . Fact of Convention,'," *Louisville Courier-Journal* (December 2, 1968), p. A7 (cited later as Chicago Report).

> revolutionary leaders and more understandably, to the attractive idealistic but unwary young people who unwittingly lent them assistance and camouflage.[19]

In this passage the report uses the emotion-charged word "revolutionaries" to describe the young demonstrators and their leaders. Here their objective is seen as "fomenting hatred" and arousing "ridicule" of the authorities, the Chicago police. Subsequently, the report tries to offset its generalization by remarking that there were some sincere demonstrators who were "unwittingly" used by the more radical elements as cover to reach their objective of "fomenting" unfavorable attitudes toward the Chicago police. This was a convenient argument for the officials of Chicago. The police and the officials did suffer a great deal of ridicule and, perhaps, hatred. Because of the ridicule and abusive language, the authorities saw this as the objective of the demonstrators, or at least, a "subversive" element in the groups of demonstrators.

The Chicago officials more specifically accused the news media elsewhere in their report.

> Unfortunately it appears that the news media generally attributed malice to the authorities while presuming good will and sincerity on the part of the protestors . . . ugly and distasteful scenes have been reported all over the nation and the world without sufficient explanation to allow the reports to be placed in perspective.[20]

The "unfortunately" was for the Chicago officials and the image of their police. The news media's reports were unfavorable for both. However, the reports also carried the taunts, actions and remarks of the demonstrators. The "perspective" which the report mentions is ambiguous. The scenes were "ugly and distasteful" and what could be achieved by putting them in perspective? Do the officials mean the perspective of the week? How would this lessen their ugliness and distastefulness? Do they mean in the perspective of the policemen and Chicago officials? What is meant by "perspective"?

It is quite obvious that the official report of Chicago's government and cooperating agencies attributes the causes of the rioting to the demonstrators' actions and the news media's encouragement of these actions. Furthermore, they argued that the news media did not cover the incidents in a fair manner or put them in their true perspective. The Chicago officials were sensitive to criticism and to being publicized in an unfavorable light. They saw the demonstrators as their only problem and the support of the city fathers was wholeheartedly behind the police actions of those convention days in 1968.

OPINION OF THE NEWS MEDIA

Opinions of the news media were divided as to the causes of the violence, and as to the police and government's handling of it. However, newsmen supporting the official position of the city government were few, with most of them agreeing that the tactics used and the methods employed by the police led to most of the turbulence.

In considering the external circumstances, we see that the newsmen were involved personally in the disturbances. They suffered from police blows and were the objects of attack by the police, as the Walker report brought out. As an editorial in the Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal* stated: "One can only conclude that the police did not want the newsmen around to witness the way they handled the demonstrators. They turned to

[19] *The Strategy*, p. 50.
[20] *Ibid*., p. 48.

violence to prevent it. If they think this is the road to law and order, they should know that it is also the road to a police state." While partially agreeing with police performance, columnist Joseph Kraft took exception to the police state analogy and brought some balance to his comments on that strained week. "The police state analogy is misleading because what happened here does not fit at all into the classic pattern of official repression of the democratic process. That process was in fact going forward, no more imperfectly than usual, inside the convention. The demonstrators outside, by their vicious language and provocative acts, were trying to obstruct it. The police, in their misguided way, were trying to protect it."[21] News reporters did suffer from attacks by the police. The official report of the city reluctantly admitted the assault of newsmen. This personal involvement undoubtedly did affect the opinions and writings of many newsmen, and is a factor that must be taken into consideration as one analyzes their statements and arguments.

At the same time, Mayor Daley expressed criticism of the news media for what he termed "unfortunate, inaccurate reporting."[22] Yet the coverage on film revealed to the Walker committee that there had been uncontrolled police action. There were also taunts, cursing and provocations of other natures aimed at the police which were not completely reported by the cameras or the newsmen. What was reported pictured the police clubs swinging and the police boots kicking. It is clear that the police and authorities were set up in Chicago by the radicals. Saville Davis, present at the Hilton Hotel incident, wrote for the *Christian Science Monitor* that

> Everyone knew it was coming, and everybody was ready. Above the Hilton marquee were television cameras of CBS and NBC with their festoons of power cables sweeping back into the hotel and their red eyes blinking. Out in the middle of no-man's land was a NBC television truck and ABC mobile units were all around. The stage was set. All . . . was recorded at the perfect distance of 20 to 30 feet by the television camera above us on the marquee. They had an unimpeded vision of the clubbing and manhandling.[23]

A report prepared by the Chicago Crime Commission on the Chicago incidents supports many of the opinions of the newsmen. This report, known as the Walker Report, was prepared by a 212-member study group, which gathered 1,410 statements furnished by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and views 180 hours of motion picture film and over 12,000 still photographs, as well as several thousand news reports on the incidents. This report is the most comprehensive document resulting from the convention disturbances. I found that "newsmen and photographers were singled out for assault, and their equipment deliberately damaged. Fundamental police training was ignored; and police officers, when on the scene, were often unable to control their men. As one police officer put it: 'What happened didn't have anything to do with police work.'"[24]

An article in *Time* criticized Mayor Daley for leaving out anything which might discredit his police force from his official report and his public comments. The newsmen seemed to even suggest that Daley saw the police as infallible. The *Time* article stated that he conceded "reluctantly that police work, like any other human enterprise, can be improved," but "stubbornly maintained that the police operations had been nothing short of 'magnificent.'" It should be observed here, again, that Mayor Daley was aware of some

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[21] Chicago Report; "Clarifying Law, Order in Chicago," Louisville *Courier-Journal* (September 1, 1968), p. E2.
[22] "Daley Moves to Answer His Critics," Louisville *Courier-Journal* (September 4, 1968), p. 1, A16.
[23] "A Night of Raging Protest," *Christian Science Monitor* (August 30, 1968), pp. 1, 3.
[24] Chicago Report; *Walker Report*, p. 1.

irregular police operations. In a CBS news special narrated by Harry Reasoner, entltled simply, "1968," film was disclosed of Chicago police and national guard units training in riot control. The police were trained and prepared for the violence which arose; however, Daley stated in the Chicago report, "In the heat of emotion and riot some policemen may have over-reacted but to judge the entire police force by the alleged action of a few would be . . . unfair. . . ." The wording of this statement reveals the reluctance of the mayor to admit irregularities in police action, but he suggests that it is a possibility that such actions did take place.[25]

Some newsmen were of the opinion that the Chicago officials and police had done all that they possibly could do and that what they had done was executed in the best possible way. A Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson article takes the position that

> There is little doubt that the provocations were planned largely for the benefit of television. We found almost no action outside the circle of the TV klieg lights. Aside from some shouting and surging, little was happening in the darkness.[26]

This supports the opinion of the Chicago report that much of the news coverage was slanted and therefore unreliable as a source of information. The opinion of these newsmen, the Chicago report and the Walker Report all concur with the opinion that some of the violence and injuries were faked or staged by newsmen and cameramen. Other newsmen were of the opinion that the mayor and the officials of the city and convention had not done enough for the radicals, and that, in fact, they actually provoked violence. Tom Wicker, correspondent with *The New York Times*, was of this opinion. It is true enough that the most radical of the demonstrators' leaders wanted a "'confrontation,' but it was Daley and the police who forced it. Had they sought to control he demonstrators by cooperating with them and granting them elementary rights of marching and demonstrating instead of repressing them by force, there need have been nothing like the brute spectacle millions of Americans witnessed on their television screens. . . ."[27]

At the time, Mayor Daley was portrayed in several articles in a very unfavorable light. Even his slips of speech were used to characterize him. He did become angry with newsmen and was greatly disturbed over what was happening in the city. The newsmen charged that he neither had his facts right nor made statements which were true. Daniel Walker, president of the Chicago Crime Commission, also criticized Mayor Daley for an order which he had given earlier in 1968. The mayor had ordered his policemen, during the rioting in the Black areas, to "shoot to kill arsonists and shoot to maim looters." The report charged that the effects of this order appeared during the August week when the police "attacked demonstrators, bystanders and media representatives. . . ." The official report of the city did not admit that the police used excessive measures to repress the marches or demonstrators. The newsmen took advantage of this situation and Mayor Daley's image. Given the attack on members of their profession, the media personnel were provoked to

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[25] "Chicago," *Time* (September 20, 1968), p. 28 (cited later as "Chicago"); *The Strategy*, p. 76; "CBS News Special . . . 1968," narrated by Harry Reasoner, aired August 25, 1978 at 9 p.m. over WKYT-TV, Channel 27, Lexington, Kentucky.

[26] Drew Pearson and Jack Anderson, "Another Side to Chicago Disorder: Agitators Granted the TV Spotlight," Louisville *Courier-Journal* (September 6, 1968), p. A9; James Aronson, Deadline for the Media: Today's Challenge to Press, TV and Radio (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972), p. 148 (cited later as Aronson, *Deadline for the Media*).

[27] "Chicago"; Wicker, p. 58.

focus cameras and pens on "sore spots" and to expose the worst side of the city and its police.[28]

The Walker Report describes the deliberate harassment of news personnel:

> A newsman was pulled aside on Monday by a detective acquaintance of his who said: "The word is being passed to get newsmen." Individual newsmen who said, "The word is being passed to get newsmen." Individual newsmen were warned, "You take my picture tonight and I'm going to get you." Cries of "get the camera" preceded individual attack on photographers.[29]

While undoubtedly some abuse of media personnel occurred, the media faced criticism from people such as David Ginsberg of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorder on their conduct.

> The police undoubtedly overreacted . . . but the media must also bear the burden of guilt in failing to portray the true nature of the organizations and the degree of provocation. A balanced picture was not presented to the country. This was true of television and it was as true of the press at the time. This is not to condone the police reaction, but it is to say that the country was not told what the police faced.[30]

Some of the mass media personnel were aware of the problem and willingly spoke out on the issue. Richard Strout, writing for the *Christian Science Monitor*, charged the media with inciting people to violence.

> The mildest parade of young people brings a TV camera crew like a hook-and-ladder truck to a three-alarm fire. Any youngster who will denounce the authorities finds himself surrounded by a ring of microphones. The press has talked so much about violence that it has vested interest in violence. It will look silly if it doesn't get it. This is a case where the "medium is the message."[31]

THE OPINION OF THE DEMONSTRATORS

The demonstrators' stated objective was to disrupt the Democratic Convention and cause as much confusion as possible. They requested permission to march on the convention hall, but such permission was denied by the city officials. They looked with dismay on the American scene. Contending that they could not do anything which would influence a change in "the system," they set out to cause as much disruption and gain as much notice as possible via the mass media. It was their calculated aim to create

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[28] "Chicago Report"; Jules Witcover, "The Press and Chicago: The Truth Hurt," *Columbia Journalism Review* (Fall, 1968), pp. 5-9, seeks to explain the apparent involvement by the press on the side of the demonstrators by raising the issue of dissent. Witcover wrote of "the current repressive climate against dissent" while confessing that "part of the problem may be the press's increasing trend toward interpretive and analytical reporting and comment, and a failure to maintain a clear enough line between reporting and analysis." He confesses that the press is far from objective. Edwin Diamond, "Chicago Press: Rebellion and Retrenchment," *Ibid*., pp. 10-17, examines the relationship of the local papers to the violence in Chicago. He presents convincing arguments as to why Daley,the police, and the city received such poor press.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] *Countdown*, p. 62.

[31] *Ibid*., p. 65.

disturbances, challenge the police and attract attention. They wanted to focus the camera, wrest control of the microphone and influence the newsprint. Using "calculated provocation," they wanted:

> to irritate the police and the party bosses so intensely that their reactions would look like those of mindless brutes and skull-busters. After all the blood, sweat and tear gas, the dissidents had pretty well succeeded in doing just that.[32]

Mayor Daley's criticism of this was that it only appeared to be true that the police and officials were "mindless brutes and skull-busters." This was so because the news media gave the "revolutionaries" such favorable and sympathetic coverage. On the other hand, the charge that the police did act viciously and without restraint was, as indicated before, substantiated by the Walker Report. There is an indication that the officials of Chicago changed their minds somewhat about police brutality and excessive force. In an article on the Walker Report in the December 6, 1968 issue of *Time* we find that

> The Walker investigation may have had some effect on Chicago: last week, just before the issuance of the report, a Chicago police department board recommended that four officers be dismissed for using "excessive force" during convention week.[33]

The aim of one of the leaders of the demonstrators, Rennie Davis, was "to force the police state to become more and more visible, yet somehow survive in it." Another demonstration leader, Tom Hayden, stated in another way the same basic purpose.

> We are coming to Chicago to vomit on the politics of joy, to expose the secret decisions, upset the nightclub orgies, and face the Democratic party and its illegitimacy and criminality.

The Daley report charged that radical elements agitated to increase confusion, and that idealistic young people were unwittingly used as cover for these radicals. *Time* magazine recorded that mainly the demonstrators were "tatterdemalion innocents" who were greatly disturbed over the war in Vietnam and who had some misgivings about the American political system. The radicals served as the directors of the whole demonstration, provoking demonstrators to attack the police using taunts, vulgar language, vulgar writings, accusations and bricks, bottles, and other objects to antagonize.[34]

The dissidents not only criticized the American political system, the police and the officials of Chicago, they criticized the news media for a "plain 'cop-out'." Some of them voiced pleasure that the news media finally got a taste of what police assaults were really like. While they criticized the media, they took full advantage of the coverage afforded them in Chicago. Abbie Hoffman and the others in the protest movements understood the significance of the television and radio, the newspapers and magazines. Hoffman said in an interview, "Nobody reads books, nobody reads *The New York Times*; we look at movies and

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[32] "Who?"

[33] "Chicago Examined: Anatomy of a 'Police riot'," *Time* (December 6, 1968), p. 35.

[34] "Who?"; "Daley City Under Siege," *Time* (August 30, 1968)p. 18; *The Strategy*, p. 50; Louisville *Courier-Journal* (December 2, 1968), p. A7. James J. Kilpatrick, "The Other Side of the Chicago Police Story," *U.S. News and World Report* (September 16, 1968), pp. 61-62 (cited later as Kilpatrick). This is a reprinted article which was originally published in *The Washington Star* on September 1, 1968; "We Need a Cool Analysis of Those Angry Chicago Days," Louisville *Courier-Journal* (September 7, 1968), p. A4.

watch television." The primary aim of the dissidents was to use the media. They came to Chicago with the specific purpose of presenting an image. Capturing the cameras' eyes, the protesters communicated to a population which rivets its eyes to the TV news each evening. Hoffman said, "The cheapest means of communication on the national scale is the national media. I would say that the Yippies spent under $5,000 on Chicago, but ABC, NBC, and CBS must have spent $700,000, you see, so it's like stealing." Violence was merely a tool used by the radicals for attracting the eye of the camera. Again, Hoffman speaks for the whole of the more radical element among the protest groups when he says, "The media is attracted by violence; it plays it up. . . ." Attraction of the media's attention so as to convey their message to the largest possible audience was their purpose.[35]

The demonstrators tumbled "into blankets just off the highways, making love, not war; they urinated against the park's back wall. The hippie girls never seemed to mind. They scrawled their favorite four-letter words on benches, lamp posts, and barricades. Their one purpose was to provoke violence."[36] While there were basically two different groups—the moderates and the radicals—their aims were essentially the same. Some were idealistic and hopeful of attaining their goals by peaceful demonstrations; others were not content with peaceful demonstrations, desiring blood and disorder. The result was violence in the streets. Taunted and teased, policemen reacted with clubs, cursings and arrests. The newsmen were in the way and often the object of attack because they seemed to be supportive of the radical dissidents.

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

Having looked at some of the opinions and sources of information involved in this August week, we can see that any one of these opinions would be inadequate to explain such a complicated week. To consider one opinion at the expense of the others would be to give a slanted interpretation of what really happened and why it happened. Each source has its particular bias and weakness. From a critical analysis of the conflicting opinions and sources, however, we can come to some conclusions concerning those opinions and then some comments on the use of mass media as a resource for writing history.

The report of the city of Chicago, *The Strategy of Confrontation*, cannot be relied upon by itself to give an adequate picture of the violence. It should be noted that the authors of the report were too involved personally to be even mildly objective in their treatment of those days. This is not to say that they were deliberately dishonest in their appraisal, although that possibly could be true. They were, nonetheless biased in their viewpoint in favor of the city and the actions of the police, in criticism of the radical protesters, and in their accusations of biased news media.

From the beginning, as was mentioned earlier, this report assigns what its authors see as the blame for the disorder to the demonstrators, supported by the "sympathetic coverage" of the news media. The role of the policemen and their actions was scarcely mentioned. This seems to make the accounts and records of the news media and the radical opinions all the more important in order to give perspective to the convention week.

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[35] *Time* (September 16, 1968), p. 67; Abbie Hoffman, "Why We're Going to Chicago," *Telling It Like It Was: The Chicago Riots*, edited by Walter Schneir (New York: The New American Library, 1968), p. 12. The radicals were able to subvert the media which often is more readily at the disposal of the police and government as official sources. James Aronson reveals the relationship, for example, between Ron Koziol of the *Chicago Tribune* and the Chicago Police Red Squad and an effort to discredit the *Walker Report*. Aronson, *Deadline for the Media*, pp. 49-50, 60.

[36] Kilpatrick, p. 61.

The Walker Report is an excellent balance to such a biased report as that of the city of Chicago.

The opinions of the news media were divided. The newsmen who tended to be very critical of the city, the city officials, the Convention and other aspects of that week were handicapped in their analyses due to their personal involvement in the incidents. Having a fist in one's face, a club laid over one's head or one's camera smashed inevitably tends to bias one and temporarily limit one's objectivity. The newsmen who supported the Chicago officials and the police tend to balance the more radical reports. These reports, strangely enough, willingly admitted there were irregular police actions, unethical news reporting and picture taking. Such an admission lends more weight to their reports while at the same time giving a more accurate portrayal of events.

Perspective is as important in history, as in life. Ideological perspective will color how one views events in the present, future or the past. The three elements that we have examined in this essay have a view of Chicago during August, 1968. Within the framework of their viewpoints, they interpret those events. The Chicago officials felt the media was unfair to cast them in such poor light; the news media felt the police were brutal and bellicose; the protesters felt this was an opportunity for a national forum. Probably the radical group understood more of the dynamics involved in the week than the police and officials, even than the Convention itself. Certainly, the news media had some idea as to what was happening. Marshall McLuhan triumphed again—the medium became the message. The violence communicated to the American listening, viewing, and reading audiences the picture the radicals desired. The dissidents had correctly assessed the purpose of the media.[37]

The purpose of the media is to report events and ideas to the reading, listening, and viewing public. Obviously, this must be accomplished with the use of language and visual portrayal of events and concepts in television and radio as well as the printed word in magazines and newspapers. Just as obvious is the fact that human beings must control these means of communication and thereby furnish the potential for distortion either deliberately or unintentionally. To be honest, we must admit that personality, world-view, the setting of the event and a myriad of other factors can influence what, when, why, and how an event or idea is reported in the mass media. Jeffrey St. John's conclusion in *Countdown to Chaos* is certainly appropriate for at least some of the news media accounts of the Convention week.

> Every reporter, editor, and TV reporter has his own opinions about matters of social policy. But Chicago demonstrated what happens when the media confuses its role as report with one as advocate of a particular point of view: the result is aiding and abetting social disorder. In the process, such an explosive situation does not help to clarify, but only beclouds, the picture the American people must have of current events if they are to remain a free people[38]

When the Christian realizes the basic purpose of and the natural human opinion involved in reporting news events such as the 1968 Democratic Convention and the attendant violence, we can then begin to move to some conclusions on the use of the news media.

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[37] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* (New York: The New American Library, 1964).

[38] *Countdown*, p. 68. Aronson analyzes the reaction of the press to violence upon itself and how this may have affected reporter opinion and editorial opinion and critical analysis of on-the-scene reports. Aronson, *Deadline for the Media*, pp. 98-99.

The use of the mass media to touch vast numbers of the population is one of the significant phenomena of modern times. Ever since the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, man's community consciousness has been expanding. With the advent of modern technology, radio, tape recording, phonograph, movie, still photography and, of course, the ultimate in audio-visual mass communication, television, one now has the potential actually to reach simultaneously most of the world. This potential has many obvious advantages for the Christian who seems to communicate the Christian faith, but, as in all human things, serious disadvantages also exist. The exploitation and mismanagement which we see now in such things as "the electric church" is but one disadvantage. We must be careful that we do not use the Gospel as the vehicle to subliminally insert the message, "I'm getting the job done. Support me with your dollars." Mass media can be used to produce such an effect on a large number of people at the same time. Television is particularly susceptible to this new type of psychological engineering. The dissidents in Chicago, taking a lesson from Marshall McLuhan, realized that the media can be used to shape images in people's minds.[39]

Christians need to represent Christ in an appropriate manner via the mass media. Too long Christians have been presented as intellectually shallow, a view re-enforced and aggravated by many who have at their disposal funds to buy radio, television time, and newspaper space. Image is very important, as the violent Chicago convention week illustrated. In intellectual history for a number of years the statement has circulated and with some credence that "It doesn't matter what the truth is; it's what people think is the truth that matters." As Christian we do not want to present a false image. We must do our best and be our best in the realm of mass media presentations; however, we must be conscious that truth is truth. Because a newspaper prints, a radio speaks, or a television reports something does not make it true. We must be careful, as Christians, to represent the truth.

We must carefully consider the role of the mass media in shaping culture and give provide some moral and ethical evaluation of the media entertainment and news. Only recently has such a movement arisen as a result of the tragic immorality and abominable violence that cascades across the television screens and roars from our radios, dvds, and cd players. We must speak on these issues candidly, courageously and sanely, realizing that it is via the mass media that the average American—indeed, all of us and our children—will be at least partially shaped culturally and intellectually. What we read, hear and see has a profound psychological, spiritual and even physical effect on us. Such an initiative would prepare us better to cope with the various problems yet ahead in the use of mass media such as television and radio.

The manipulation of the mass media has come to be a frightening spectre today. This is what clearly comes out of the demonstrators' opinions of the convention week—their wanting to present an image to the American public. The regulation of what is reported and what is not reported is a critical issue. The questions of what the public should know and should not know; what historians should have access to or be barred from; what is truth or what is deception, are the basic conflicts. In the fall of 1971 this came into sharp focus with the *New York Times*' publication of the top-secret Department of Defense history of the United States' involvement in Vietnam, known as The Pentagon Papers. Thomas M. Conrad, in an article entitled "The Politics of Gullibility," contends that "it takes at least two parties to maintain a consistent, persistent pattern of deception—the liar and the more-or-less willing dupe." His contention is that the media provides what mass consumption

[39] "The Electric Church," *Wall Street Journal* (May 19, 1978), pp. 1, 29; John Tebbel's *The Media in America* is an excellent analysis of the evolution of mass media—including newspapers, books, radio and TV—from its earliest beginnings in America. While there is no direct reference to the topic of this study Tebbel's volume is instructive as to the basic philosophy and purpose of the media.

demands and that often it creates the demand. "One must recognize that to a large extent the pressures on the media are the pressures faced by any other business which cannot control consumer demand."[40]

The point which Conrad makes is a vital one. The citizenry must not only have the means of knowing the truth, but the ability to act so as to change what is not acceptable. "Public knowledge is a *tool* for regaining public control of government; it is not a substitute for power." The public can knowingly and willingly be deceived. "I know what I believe; don't confuse me with the truth." Thus the historian's task is to sort through the half-truths, and often deliberate untruths, to find the core of truth. There has grown up a kind of "public amnesia," according to Conrad, which refuses to analyze the past critically. As historians we must submit to the rigor of criticism each point and item of historical value that we might use in the reconstruction and description of a past event.[41]

It is a commonly accepted idea now that government leaders and politicians lie and deceive. Just as easy an assumption can be made of the mass media. In a society where commercials are readily admitted to be motivational, rather than informational, one can easily discern that even the dissemination of news and the narrative of events can be slanted. The old spectre of "brain-washing" and the issue of propaganda rises to haunt us. Television has frightening possibilities in shaping public opinion; it can also shape the future's perception of the past. The cameraman's choice of subject to film, the editor's prejudice and the items chosen for preservation all have a vital role to play in how events are observed, preserved and perceived. The historian must be fully aware of the weaknesses of the media and the potential for deception lest he manufacture fantasy and untruth into "fact."

We can come to these firm convictions about the rich sources which are being amassed on film, tape and in newsprint. First, we must realize that what a cameraman, interviewer, photographer or writer chooses to record on tape, film or paper is his choice. It cannot convey the whole picture and must of necessity be limited, piecemeal and an incomplete portrayal of an event. A TV camera or a news photographer's film is no more objective than a newspaperman's typewriter or an eighteenth century revolutionary's pen. The events surrounding the 1968 Democratic Convention were a complex series of human events that appear different from different perspectives. It is important what participants thought, expressed, and wrote about those events. It is possible that some of the demonstrations were stage for the cameras, and that should relay to us a message about the power and nature of the mass media.

Second, there is the fact that in the future historians will look back on such events as the 1968 Democratic Convention week and will try to explain it much as we attempt to now. They will relate the events of the convention and the protests seeking to interpret what was taking place in the American experience. What was recorded on film, tape, and in print will then become even more important as it is filtered through another's mind. This whole matter of historical interpretation is more than a chronology of events, listing of factual data, but instead is an effort to understand those events and facts. We all realize the nature of the historian's task in interpreting events, and the safeguards he must observe as he analyzes his data and facts. This is even more important for the Christian historian who is held to a higher standard than just the natural human standard.

This brings us to the third point, that the Christian historian must be aware that the weakness of using audio-visual materials as historical data is the same as using the printed sources. "The kernel of the problem," said Jack Gould of the *New York Times*, "lies in editing. The nature of TV is such that to a viewer a program may appear as a continuously

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[40] Thomas M. Conrad, "The Politics of Gullibility," *Commonweal* (October 1, 1971), pp. 13-14.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 14.

unfolding narrative through the quick film cutting is apparent to more discerning set owners." Thus the historian must apply the same skepticism to mass media resources that he does to more traditional types of historical data—letters, diaries, books, newspapers. There is a tendency to believe what is heard and seen, even more so than what is written and printed. Von Ranke gave birth to modern historical criticism that established the principle that you cannot believe everything that is written and printed. We must take this same principle, that has served so well to preserve historical factuality in the era of the written and printed word, and apply it to the audio medias such as radio, dvd, cd, tape, and phonograph and the audio-visual media of television and film.[42]

The sheer volume of material produced by the mass media is staggering. In approaching this mountain of material, we must be cautious, selective and critical of what is used. One, even a small group, cannot possibly deal with such a massive volume produced. The amount of material produced by the convention week in August of 1968 should be fair warning as to the gigantic task of historical. While we must observe the warning of Mortimer J. Adler about mundane scholarly pursuits that do not really educate, we must also have some sense of perspective and reality in history for our generation. There may be some genius in our midst, but the greater number of us are average in intellect and therefore, of necessity, forced to confine ourselves to some narrow field of study. Specialization is a necessity in the era of mass media.[43]

In evaluating any historical material we ought to know where we are personally. Our philosophy of history is very important and we ought to have some idea of its depths and heights, ways and byways, joys and griefs, highs and lows. Before we can pass judgment on our material, we must have not only adequate historical knowledge, factual information, historical perspective and a sense of personal integrity, but also a knowledge of the techniques and evaluative processes of the historian. The Christian historian is committed to truth—not just to argue a point, or to push a certain ideology.

History, as many other disciplines in the twentieth century, in reacting against rabid scientism, has become a polemical tool for various ideologies. There are those who, while paying lip service to the search for truth, in reality hold quite firmly to the idea that it doesn't matter what truth is, just what people think is the truth. So history is employed to create "truth." Thus we have the emphasis which Abbie Hoffman, one of the Chicago radicals, mentioned. This is another way of saying, "Create your own truth." However, the historian must have a commitment to truth as it exists. Anywhere truth is attained it frees and liberates. It frees from bigotry, narrowness, ignorance and all manner of evil. We must be committed to finding the truth and that can be acquired only through diligent search and sacrifice and a sense of where we stand—perspective, in other words.[44] While this is a point we must realize, there is a reasonable conclusion to any such period when considering all sides related to such an event.

The historian, using the mass media as resource material in preparing historical narrative or audio-visual presentations, must demonstrate not only personal competency in historical research techniques, personal integrity, and understanding of his personal philosophy of history and a commitment to the truth, but also evidence a commitment to his ideology. We must be aware of ideological systems. Ideology, basically, is a system of

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[42] Philip C. Rule, "CBS, the White House and the Myth of Objectivity," *America* (May 22, 1971), pp. 541-542. Jerry Mander writes persuasively in *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1978) relatively to the dangers inherent in this one medium of communication. Certainly, if there is a current interpretative problem, such a problem will persist for the future historian to deal with as he evaluates the reports of events records by this medium.
[43] Mortimer J. Adler, "The Disappearance of Culture," *Newsweek* (August 21, 1978), p. 15.
[44] John 14:6; 8:32 in the Bible.

thought committed to action which is aimed at changing the world, a viewpoint from which one can survey life, a base for living and acting. The historian comes to evaluate his sources with his ideological biases and he must not be ashamed or hesitate to admit such in his search for historical truth. Chicago, consequently, should be a warning to us about the dangers in a manipulated media and an encouragement to use every means possible to gain what is real and true, the antidote to violent disorder and disruption such as that in Chicago, 1968.

Biographical Note

Jerry Hopkins, Ph.D., is a Professor of History at East Texas Baptist University in Marshall, Texas. He is active in the Southern Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Conference on Faith and History, the East Texas Historical Association, the American Studies Association, the Baptist History and Heritage Society, the African Studies Association, and other professional organizations. He also cooperates with the Harrison County Historical Museum and the Shelby County Historical Society and Museum. Hopkins has traveled extensively in the Middle East, Europe and Asia for research, business and professional meetings. The focus of his research has been on the history and present state of evangelicalism, revivalism, racism and conservative reform movements. He also writes a weekly column on history, social and political issues for newspapers and magazines.

Spirituality and Aging: Endings and Beginnings

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To be old is a glorious thing when one has not unlearned what it means to begin.
~ Martin Buber

Introduction

The U.S. population age 65 and older is expected to more than double between 2012 and 2060, from 43.1 million to 92.0 million. This population "implosion" means that older adults will represent just over one in five U.S. residents by 2060, up from one in seven today. The increase in the number of the 'oldest old' will be even more dramatic: those 85 and older are projected to more than triple from 5.9 million to 18.2 million, reaching 4.3 percent of the total population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). The aging of the U.S. population is arguably the most significant and most under-recognized demographic transformation we are currently experiencing in American society. Other public policy issues such as immigration reform and the economy seem to overshadow this "age wave." The public policy issue of entitlement reform only indirectly addresses population aging, with its focus on possible entitlement program changes for future retirees under 50, but not on the current population of elders.

We suggest that the growing older adult population also represents a potential "crisis of meaning" created by the convergence of multiple current social patterns. Retirement has emerged as an acceptable (though sometimes proscriptive) role transition for older adults. In addition, retirement is also increasingly used a tool to regulate the job market, much like post-high school training programs (e.g., vocational-technical schools and colleges). The tendency in American culture to equate work roles with self-identity often means that older adults have to reframe their experience of purposeful activities in the face of retirement. The limited opportunities for regular intergenerational contact can further exacerbate the construction of new forms of meaning in old age (Kimble, 2001). We suggest that, due to these and other social conditions, there is a systemic crisis of meaning looming for the growing aging population.

The Aging Process as a Crisis of Meaning and Purpose

There is a need for older people to access meaningful and satisfying roles that create opportunities for aging "purposefully" (Penick, 2004). Erik Erikson (1982) described the developmental crisis of old age as involving integrity versus despair. Erikson (1982) proposed that this stage begins when a growing awareness of one's own mortality, perhaps influenced by life events such as retirement, the death of a close family member, or the loss of close friends. The introspection that evolves out of these experiences should lead to the development of ego integrity: a focus on identifying activities, ideas, and relationships perceived as lasting that transcend the physical and the temporal. To Erikson, the most

important quality of the ego that emerges from a positive resolution of this developmental crisis is wisdom. Erikson defined wisdom as a kind of "informed and detached concern with life itself in the face of death itself" (1982: 61). Alternatively, despair involves the lack of resolution of this final life crisis, and may manifest itself in a variety of ways, such as increased fear of death, anxiety about physical decline, or a sense of the brevity of life. Clearly, the framework of spirituality and aging creates a forum for successful reflection on the “crisis of old age” as described by Erikson, and this topic deserves further attention from religious studies scholars and professionals who work with elders, including ministers and chaplains.

A Brief Primer on Spirituality and Aging

The concepts of spirituality and religion are often used interchangeably. While religion and spirituality may occur together, religion is generally recognized to be the practical expression of spirituality: organization, rituals and beliefs. On the other hand, spirituality is a person’s experience of, or a belief in, a power apart from his or her own existence. Spirituality is also the aspect of human experience that refers to the way individuals seek and express meaning and purpose, and the way they experience their connectedness to “the moment,” to the self, to others, to nature, and to their sense of the sacred (Fricchione, 2011).

Spirituality is a phenomenon intrinsic to the human experience (Kimble, McFadden, and Ellor, 2003). A spiritual dimension to human experience may be viewed as fundamental to the human mind, as the skeletal structure is to the human body; it provides support and an interpretive framework for the rigors and stresses of life (Kimble et al., 2003). The idea of the “spirit” does indeed vary from culture to culture; the interpretation of its place in the span of the human life varies as well. In the course of human life, individuals are faced with the major stages of the lifespan: that is to say, the process of growing older and the physical, sociological, personal, and spiritual changes that result from aging. Aging is also a fundamental, universal human phenomenon that connects and ties the experiences of all people. The life cycle stage of old age, with its mix of both gains and losses, raises unique issues that occur less frequently in earlier stages of the life cycle. The interrelationship of spirituality and changes thereof for the aging person has been a topic that has received insufficient scholarly attention in Gerontology, Religious Studies, and related fields. Exploration of the intersection of spirituality and aging has important implications for professionals who work with older adults, and for the general quality of life of older adults. Increased understanding of the importance of spirituality in aging populations could be a great asset to anyone working in health care, social services or the clergy, as this knowledge will help formulate effective care plans and social planning activities to tend to the individual needs of frail older adults. A number of misconceptions and stereotypes exist regarding aging. An example of one misconception is that elders will always become more “spiritual” with age; another stereotype is that elders are looking for “peace and comfort” in their later years. These perceptions (stereotypes) stem from the presupposition that older adults are overly focused on spiritual matters, operating as a “reactionary beggar” desperately seeking out answers to religious or spiritual questions, and looking for salvation

as they prepare for death. We suggest that the examination of spirituality and aging is best framed more broadly, and should focus on identifying potential interpersonal and social connections between spirituality and aging. For example, how does spirituality change as elders age, and are there other changes associated with aging that may lead to a greater focus on spirituality, i.e., what life events cause spiritual concerns to become more intense and encompass more areas of their lives?

Purposeful Aging: Constructing New Meaning to Incorporate Spirituality and Aging

An understanding of spirituality and aging is also informed by consideration of the concept of purposeful aging. A number of studies in Gerontology have documented that involvement in productive and purposeful activities contributes to the health and well-being of older adults (Suri, 2010; Parker, 2012). While some elders are reluctant to set new goals or take on new challenges because they may lack confidence in personal realms, the lack of validation for a "contemplative ethic" from the larger culture is far more important in limiting societal opportunities for purposeful aging. Aging is fundamentally a social process. Traditional concepts about retirement view this stage of life as a period of well-earned rest and relaxation. Although leisure may be useful to refresh the body, mind, and spirit, excessive leisure may lead to relational and personal difficulties. Clearly, a continued reexamination of life goals, new challenges, and purposeful activities are essential to a life of meaning and purpose. Life coach Richard Leider (2010) speaks of "inner kill" - a state of limited "purposefulness" caused by major life transitions whereby purpose and passion are either ambiguous or largely absent (in the context of one's current life circumstances). Finally, Rabbi Abraham Heschel pointed out the deficiencies of the American "aging system" in regard to purposeful aging, and implicitly, the need for a greater understanding of spirituality and aging:

> *Take a moment in your hectic life right now, and pause. Take a deep breath. And re-connect with what drives you. It's what we are all about. The tragedy is that most of us are unprepared for old age. We know a great deal about what to do with things, even what to do with people. We hardly know what to do with ourselves...we know how to act in public…we do not know what to do in privacy. Old age involves the problem of what to do with privacy. Some of the programs we devise are highly effective in helping the aged become children. . Recreational activity sometimes aggravates rather than ameliorates the condition it is trying to deal with, namely, the trivialization of existence. The only answer to the anguish and boredom is a sense of significant being, the need to be needed…something being asked of every person (quoted by Levitt, 1964:303).*

Biographical Note

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The Impact of Religious Affiliation on Tax Progressivity—Evidence from U.S. States

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INTRODUCTION

During the 2012 Presidential race, Republican nominee Mitt Romney essentially characterized the 47% of Americans who do not pay federal income taxes as freeloaders (Klein 2012). This characterization of lower income Americans ignores the regressive nature of U.S. state and local (hereafter collectively "state") tax systems, which generally take a greater share of income from low- and middle-income families than from the wealthy (Brunori 2011,19) .[302]

In 2007, 78.4% of Americans identified as Christian (U.S. Religious Landscape Survey 2008, 8). Our study examines the relation between state tax system regressivity and state citizen affiliation with the three largest Christian groups: Evangelical Protestants ("Evangelicals"), Mainline Protestants and Roman Catholics ("Catholics"). Generally, we find greater Evangelical affiliation to be positively related to and Roman Catholic affiliation to be negatively related to the regressivity of a state's tax system.

Below, we set forth background and hypotheses, data and methodology, and results and discussion. We then conclude.

BACKGROUND and HYPOTHESES

State Tax Systems

In 2009 the sources of state tax revenues on average were 33.4% from property taxes,[303] 22.9% from general sales taxes, 21.3% from individual income taxes, 3.6% from corporate income taxes and 18.9% from "other" taxes (Tax Foundation 2012, Table 8).

State property taxes are generally viewed as progressive, because the wealthy tend to own more property and hence pay more property taxes (Brunori 2011, 18). In contrast, studies indicate that state sales taxes are generally regressive, placing their heaviest burden on the least wealthy; this is because (1) the least wealthy spend (rather than save) a higher percentage of their income and (2) the least wealthy spend relatively more on goods, which are subject to the tax, and relatively less on services, which generally escape the tax. Although state individual income tax systems often impose tax on families at or near the poverty level and have top tax brackets of $30,000 or less (Brunori 2011, 19), they generally

[302] Under a progressive tax, citizens pay increasing percentages of income or wealth as tax as income or wealth increases, e.g. citizens pay 0% of their income between $0 and $10,000, 10% of their income between $10,001 and $30,000, 20% of their income between $30,001 and $50,000 and 30% of their income above $50,000. Under a regressive tax, citizens pay decreasing percentages of income or wealth as tax as income or wealth increases (the reverse of a progressive system) or the system has a capped tax base. (Baumol and Blinder 2005, 397).

[303] Property taxes are the primary source of revenue for *local* governments but yield just over 2 % of *state* tax revenue (Brunori 2011, 119-121).

exempt some income and most have at least mildly progressive brackets (Brunori 2011, 87).[304] Thus, state individual income taxes are generally viewed as progressive.[305]

"Other" taxes referenced above include excise taxes (such as those on alcohol, tobacco, motor vehicles, utilities and licenses), severance taxes, stock transfer taxes, and estate/inheritance and gift taxes (Tax Foundation 2012, Table 8). We do not address the role of excise taxes, due to their being inextricably intertwined with the role of social policy objectives. We located no data regarding severance taxes or stock transfer taxes. We do address the role of estate/inheritance taxes. Although these taxes provide less than 1% of state revenue, they add a measure of progressivity to state tax systems (Brunori 2012, 122-123).

Tax Policy

Vertical Equity. "Vertical equity" pertains to the amount of taxes individuals in different economic circumstances should be required to pay (Baumol and Blinder 2005, 403).[306] There are generally three views regarding "vertical equity".

Under the "equal monetary payment view", each citizen should make an equal tax payment. Those who hold this view usually believe taxation violates freedom (Green 1984, 12; Hamill 2006, 12).

Under the "proportionate monetary payment view", citizens should pay an equal percentage (i.e., proportional amount) of their respective income or wealth as taxes. Those who hold this view usually ascribe to the "benefit" and/or "ability to pay" rationales. According to the "benefit" rationale, because citizens' financial well-being is made possible by government institutions, laws and programs that enable private wealth to accumulate and flourish, the government is entitled to share in the economic rewards of individuals (Dodge 2005, 399). Opponents of this rationale point out that often the poor may benefit more than the rich from public services provided by government. The "ability to pay" rationale needs no explanation.

Under the "proportionate sacrifice view", citizens should make a proportionate sacrifice by paying taxes representing an increasing percentage of their income or wealth as each increase. That is, tax structures should be progressive (and certainly not regressive) (Green 1984, 153). Those who hold this view usually ascribe to more extreme "benefit" and /or "ability to pay" rationales (Green 1984). Additionally, they usually ascribe to the "sacrifice" rationale. This rationale focuses upon the hardship taxation imposes on the poor and/or the lack of hardship taxation imposes upon the wealthy. In utility theory terms, they view tax dollars taken from those who are struggling to meet basic needs as representing greater lost utility (i.e., sacrifice) than tax dollars taken from those who are left with sufficient dollars to meet their needs and afford reasonable luxury (Leviner 2006, 8).

Distributive Justice. In addition to funding government, taxation can be used to promote distributive justice. One's view of justice tends to determine one's view regarding whether taxation should be used to redistribute wealth.

According to the "natural liberty and formal equality of opportunity view" of justice, justice only entails prohibition of discrimination in the economic race on the basis of sex, race or social background (Green 1984, 157).

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[304] Several of the largest states (e.g., Texas and Florida) do not have an individual income tax.

[305] Due to their relatively small contribution to state revenue, we do not address the role of state corporate income taxes.

[306] "Horizontal equity" requires that those with similar income or wealth face a similar tax burden (Baumol and Blinder 2005, 403).

According to the "fair equality of opportunity view" of justice, the results of the economic race should be respected, but government should take steps to ensure that all runners get a fair start, including taking steps to correct or compensate for handicaps caused by circumstances of birth or early home environment (Green 1984, 157).

According to the "equality of outcome view" of justice, in addition to taking steps to ensure fair equality of opportunity, government should provide social support to individuals who run the economic race unsuccessfully (Green 1984, 157). This view of justice is usually grounded upon one of two arguments. The first argument posits that wealth is not the sole product of its owner but is inextricably linked with goods and services produced by other citizens and the national economy. The social cooperation of non-affluent citizens entitles them to adequate living conditions, which represent their fair share of the fruits of social cooperation that make wealth possible (Leviner 2006). The second argument posits that vast inequality of wealth is detrimental to the cultural, social, and political ties among citizens that are necessary for the sense of community upon which democratic society relies (Leviner 2006, 11).

Impact on business and employment. The 2012 Republican Party Platform contends that taxation negatively impacts work effort, savings and investment, and thus is detrimental to business and employment (2012 Republican National Platform, 1). The Platform subscribes to the "supply-side tax cut" argument, which contends that reducing certain taxes so enhances the rewards for working, saving and investing that economic growth sufficient to generate offsetting additional tax revenue is created (Baumol and Blinder 2005, 579-580).[307]

U.S. Christians' Views Regarding Taxation

In 2007 U.S. Evangelical Protestant churches made up 26.3% of U.S. adults, and include: the Southern Baptist Convention and other Baptist denominations in the Evangelical Protestant tradition; evangelical Methodists; evangelical, charismatic, fundamentalist nondenominational, interdenominational, and community churches; Lutheran churches of the Missouri Synod and Wisconsin Synod; the Presbyterian Church in America; Pentecostal churches, i.e. Assemblies of God, Four Square Gospel, Pentecostal Church of God, and Pentecostal Holiness Church; evangelical Anglican/Episcopal churches; Church of Christ; Conservative Congregational; Holiness churches, i.e. Church of the Nazarene, Free Methodist and Wesleyan churches; Christian Reformed Church; Seventh-Day Adventist, Anabaptist, and Pietist churches. (U.S. Religious Landscape Survey 2008, 10-12). See Table 1.

In 2007 Mainline Protestant churches made up 18.1% of U.S. adults, and include: American Baptist Churches in USA; United Methodist Church; Nondenominational and interdenominational churches in the Mainline tradition; Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA); Presbyterian Church USA; Episcopal Church in the USA and Anglican Church (Church of England); Disciples of Christ; United Church of Christ; Reformed Church in America; Anabaptist churches in the Mainline tradition; and Friends in the Mainline tradition. (U.S. Religious Landscape Survey 2008, 10-12). See Table 1.

In 2007 the Roman Catholic church made up 23.9% of U.S. adults. (U.S. Religious Landscape Survey 2008, 10). See Table 1.

Surprisingly, although "[e]very decision about who and what should be taxed involves important moral decisions about values like fairness and justice", the issue of taxation has generally been neglected by religious ethicists (Green 1984, 146). While tax scholars have

[307] There is scant evidence buttressing this argument (Greeley 2012).

long debated questions of equity and distributive justice, they have largely ignored religious arguments, including those grounded in Judeo-Christian ethics (Chodorow 2008, 52). Not until the 2002 law review article *An Argument for Tax Reform Based on Judeo-Christian Ethics* by University of Alabama law school Professor Susan Pace Hamill did tax scholars begin to consider religious arguments. Given that over 75% of Americans, and an even greater percentage of American politicians, identify themselves as Christian (Hamill 2006), not referencing Christianity "runs the risk of relegating academic debate to the sidelines, as decision-makers look to the Bible and other religious texts for guidance and support" (Chodorow 2008, 53).

Tax policy views of Christians are remarkably divergent. Christians generally seek guidance regarding morality in the Bible, but individual Christians view it as prescribing very different moral values relevant to tax policy (Hamill 2006, 7).

Some Christians look to the Bible for a direct answer to what is an appropriate tax system, asking what tax systems exist in the Bible. They may, for example, cite agricultural tithing (which imposed a flat ten percent obligation on agricultural produce grown in Israel) as evidence that proportional taxation is Biblical and progressive taxation is unjust (Chodorow 2008, 53).

However, most Christians use the Bible to discern only general precepts relevant to tax policy. They then relate these general precepts to tax policy precepts (Chodorow 2008, 57).

Evangelicals. Evangelicals tend to focus upon taxation's infringement of freedom and perceived detrimental impact on business and employment (Hamill 2006). The Family Research Council views itself as "advanc[ing] faith, family and freedom in public policy and the culture from a Christian worldview (Family Research Council 2012). In September 2009 in an article entitled "Repealing Death Tax Will Create Jobs and Boost Economy" the Family Research Council focused exclusively on taxation's perceived infringement of freedom and detrimental impact on business and employment (Schoening and Fagan 2009, 6).

Mainline Protestants. Mainline Protestants tend to focus upon proportionate sacrifice vertical equity and fair equality of opportunity and outcome distributive justice. Hamill, whose views are consistent with those of her denomination, the United Methodist Church, concluded that Judeo-Christian ethics compel tax structures that "raise adequate revenues providing all citizens a reasonable opportunity to reach their potential" and "allocate the burden for paying the taxes under a moderately progressive model" (Hamill 2006, 3).

Catholics. Catholics also tend to focus upon proportionate sacrifice vertical equity and fair equality of opportunity and outcome distributive justice. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops has stated that the tax system (1) should raise adequate revenues to pay for the public needs of society, especially to meet the basic needs of the poor, (2) should be progressive as a means to reduce the "severe inequalities of income and wealth in the nation", and (3) should not require families below the official poverty line to pay income taxes (Chodorow 2008, 58). Likewise, Catholic scholars generally espouse the view that, because governments need tax money to provide for the common good and citizens have an obligation to work for the common good, the moral obligation to pay one's taxes is a matter of conscience (Curran 2001, 128).

Hypotheses

Because Mainline Protestants and Catholics generally favor greater progressivity regarding taxation than do Evangelicals, we expected the following.

H1: The overall regressivity of a state's tax system will be positively [negatively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

Because Mainline Protestants and Catholics generally favor greater progressivity regarding taxation than do Evangelicals, and state sales taxes are generally regressive while state property, individual income and estate/inheritance taxes are generally progressive, we expected the following.

H2(a): The portion of a state's revenues comprised of sales taxes is positively [negatively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H2(b): A state's general sales tax rate is positively [negatively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H2(c): A state's sales tax rate on groceries is positively [negatively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H3(a): The portion of a state's revenues comprised of property taxes is negatively [positively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H3(b): The rate of state property taxes on a median priced home is negatively [positively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H4(a): The portion of a state's revenues comprised of individual income taxes is negatively [positively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H4(b): The progressivity of a state's individual income tax rates is negatively [positively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

H5: The likelihood that a state has an estate/inheritance tax is negatively [positively] related to the percentage of its citizens comprised of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics].

DATA and METHODOLOGY

We drew data regarding the Christian group affiliation of states' citizens from the February 2008 U.S. Religious Landscape Survey by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life ("Pew Survey"). The Pew Survey indicates that the 48 Continental United States had the religious composition indicated in Table 2 (Pew Survey, page 100). We defined the variable "CompositeChristian" as a state's percentage of Evangelicals divided by the sum of the state's percentage of Mainline Protestants and Catholics.

The states vary in many ways other than religious composition. To control for these differences that would be expected to impact state tax policy, we included a control variable "RepubDem", defined as the state's percentage of Republicans/Lean Republican divided by the state's percentage of Democrats/Lean Democrat drawn from Gallup data from 2011, 2010 and 2009. See Table 3. http://www.gallup.com/poll/125066/State-States.aspx?ref=interactive

To test Hypothesis 1, we used data drawn from *Who Pays? A Distributional Analysis of the Tax Systems in All 50 States, 3rd Edition*. http://www.itepnet.org/state_reports/whopays.php The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy in Washington, D.C. compiled the report ("ITEP report"). The Averages for All States data is set forth in Table 4. The ITEP report includes such a table for all U.S. states and the District of Columbia. As shown in Table 4, the ITEP report tables contain (among other data) the percentage of income paid in Total After [Federal Deduction] Offset State & Local Taxes ("StateTaxBurden") paid in the different states by seven Income Groups. This data for the individual U.S. states is set forth in Table 5.

We regressed ratios of StateTaxBurdens for each Income Group upon the state's percentage of Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants and Catholics and upon CompositeChristian (with RepubDem as control). We set forth the standardized parameter estimates, t values, Pr. < t, and R-square values for these regressions in Table 6.

To test Hypotheses 2 through 5, we used data drawn from *Facts & Figures 2012: How does Your State Compare*. http://taxfoundation.org/sites/taxfoundation.org/files/docs/ff2012.pdf. The Tax Foundation compiled the report. This data for the individual U.S. states is set forth in Table 7. The Table 7 variables are as follows: PropertyPercent – Percentage of a state's total state and local tax revenue from property taxes (fiscal year 2009); SalesPercent – Percentage of a state's total state and local tax revenue from general sales taxes (fiscal year 2009); IncomePercent – Percentage of a state's total state and local tax revenue from individual income taxes (fiscal year 2009); PropertyMedian – Median effective property tax rates on owner-occupied housing (median real estate taxes paid divided by median home value) (calendar year 2010); SalesRate – Combined state sales and average local sales tax rates (city, county and municipal sales tax rates were weighted by population to compute an average local tax rate)(01/01/12); GroceryRate – State sales tax on groceries (01/01/12); PovAvgRate – State marginal individual income tax rate applicable at U.S. poverty guideline for one person family of $11,170 (except Alaska and Hawaii) divided by state marginal individual income tax rate applicable at the state's personal income per capita (01/01/12); AvgTopRate – State marginal individual income tax rate applicable at a state's personal income per capita divided by the state's top marginal income tax rate (01/01/12); PovTopRate – State marginal individual income tax rate applicable at U.S. poverty guideline for one person family of $11,170 (except Alaska and Hawaii) divided by the state's top marginal income tax rate (01/01/12); EstateInherit – Whether a state has either an estate or inheritance tax without 100% exemption for close family members (01/01/12).

We regressed each of the Table 7 variables upon the state's percentage of Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants and Catholics and upon CompositeChristian (with RepubDem as control). We set forth the standardized parameter estimates, t values, Pr. < t, and R-square values for these regressions in Table 8.

RESULTS and DISCUSSION

In Hypothesis 1, we expected that overall regressivity of a state's tax system is positively [negatively] related to the percentage of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics]. To test Hypothesis 1, we regressed ratios of StateTaxBurdens for each Income Group upon the state's percentage of Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants and Catholics and upon CompositeChristian (with RepubDem as control). Our results are set forth in Table 6. The relations indicated as statistically significant using $p < .10$ significance screen are as follows: (1) the StateTaxBurden of the Second 20% Income Group versus the Next 4% (96% - 99%) is positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals; (2) the StateTaxBurden of the Middle 20% Income Group versus the Next 4% (96% - 99%) is positively related to the

percentage of Evangelicals; and (3) the StateTaxBurden of the Middle 20% Income Group versus the Next 4% (96% - 99%) is positively related to CompositeChristian. These results support the validity of Hypothesis 1, at least with respect to Evangelicals, albeit somewhat weakly. Because each regression analyzed only 48 observations, our weak results may be due to lack of statistical power.

Because sales taxes are generally regressive, in Hypotheses 2 we expected that the portion of a state's revenues comprised of sales taxes[H2(a)], a state's general sales tax rate [H2(b)] and a state's sales tax rate on groceries [H2(c)] is positively [negatively] related to the percentage of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics]. Our results are set forth in Table 8.

The portion of a state's revenues comprised of sales taxes is indicated as positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and CompositeChristian using $p < .01$ significance screen and as negatively related to the percentage of Catholics using $p < .10$ significance screen. These results support the validity of Hypothesis 2(a) with respect to Evangelicals and Catholics.

States' general sales tax rate is indicated as positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and CompositeChristian using $p < .10$ significance screen. These results support the validity of Hypothesis 2(b) with respect to Evangelicals.

States' sales tax rate on groceries is indicated as positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and CompositeChristian using $p < .01$ significance screen and as negatively related to the percentage of Catholics using $p < .05$ significance screen. These results strongly support the validity of Hypothesis 2(c) with respect to Evangelicals and Catholics.

Because property taxes are generally progressive, in Hypotheses 3 we expected that the portion of a state's revenues comprised of property taxes [H3(a)] and rate of state property taxes on a median priced home [H3(b)] negatively [positively] related to the percentage of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics]. Our results are set forth in Table 8.

The portion of a state's revenues comprised of property taxes is indicated as negatively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and CompositeChristian using $p < .01$ significance screen and as positively related to the percentage of Catholics using $p < .01$ significance screen. These results strongly support the validity of Hypothesis 3(a) with respect to Evangelicals and Catholics.

The rate of state property taxes on a median priced home is indicated as negatively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and CompositeChristian using $p < .01$ significance screen and as positively related to the percentage of Catholics using $p < .01$ significance screen. These results strongly support the validity of Hypothesis 3(b) with respect to Evangelicals and Catholics.

Because individual income taxes are generally progressive, in Hypotheses 4 we expected that the portion of a state's revenues comprised of individual income taxes [H4(a)] and progressivity of a state's individual income tax rates [H4(b)] to be negatively [positively] related to Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics]. Our results are set forth in Table 8.

The portion of a state's revenues comprised of individual income taxes is not indicated as related to the percentage of Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants or Catholics or to CompositeChristian using $p < .10$ significance screen. Hypothesis 4(a) is not supported.

The state marginal individual income tax rate applicable at U.S. poverty guideline divided by the rate applicable at the state's personal income per capita (PovAvgRate) is indicated as negatively related to the percentage of Catholics using $p < .10$ significance screen. These results weakly support the validity of Hypothesis 4(b) with respect to Catholics.

Because estate/inheritance taxes are progressive, we expected that the likelihood that a state has an estate/inheritance tax to be negatively [positively] related to the percentage of Evangelicals [Mainline Protestants and Catholics]. Our results are set forth in Table 8.

The likelihood that a state has an estate/inheritance tax is indicated as negatively related to the percentage of Evangelicals using $p < .05$ significance screen. These results strongly support the validity of Hypothesis 5 with respect to Evangelicals.

In sum, our results indicate as follows: (1) overall regressivity of states' tax systems is positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals, (2) states' reliance upon regressive sales taxes and the rate of sales tax (especially on groceries) is positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and negatively related to the percentage of Catholics, (3) states' reliance upon progressive property taxes and the rate of state property taxes on a median priced home is negatively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and positively related to the percentage of Catholics, and (4) likelihood that a state has an estate/inheritance tax is positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals.

CONCLUSION

Our results indicate that, as expected, regressivity of a state's tax system is positively related to the percentage of Evangelicals and negatively related to the percentage of Catholics. Our results are inconclusive with respect to Mainline Protestants. Because our analysis controlled for state citizen political affiliation, it appears that those seeking to influence tax policy should appeal to citizens' religious leanings, not just their political leanings.

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Table 3
State's Republicans/Lean Republican and Democrats/Lean Democrat

State	Republican	Democrat	Rep/Dem
Alabama	48.9	36.4	1.34
Alaska	48.5	30.7	1.58
Arizona	43.7	38.8	1.13
Arkansas	41.8	41.6	1
California	34.1	46.7	0.73
Colorado	44.3	41.3	1.07
Conecticut	33.4	50.7	0.66
Delaware	35.3	49.9	0.71
Florida	40.4	42.2	0.96
Georgia	44	40.6	1.08
Hawaii	25.4	53.8	0.47
Idaho	56.3	26.4	2.13
Illinois	35.2	48.3	0.73
Indiana	44.2	39	1.13
Iowa	39.6	43.5	0.91
Kansas	50.1	34.7	1.44
Kentucky	41.1	46.2	0.89
Louisiana	46.1	40.1	1.15

Maine	38.5	46.2	0.83
Maryland	33.9	52.8	0.64
Massachusetts	32	52.1	0.614
Michigan	37.8	44.4	0.85
Minnesota	39.6	45.4	0.87
Mississippi	46.4	40.3	1.15
Missouri	42.8	40.5	1.06
Montana	47.1	36.3	1.3
Nebraska	49.5	35.4	1.4
Nevada	41.3	43	0.96
New Hampshire	44.2	40.6	1.09
New Jersey	36.3	47.6	0.76
New Mexico	39.4	44.9	0.88
New York	31.2	51.1	0.61
North Carolina	42.1	43	0.98
North Dakota	47.4	33.6	1.41
Ohio	41.2	42.5	0.97
Oklahoma	47	39.3	1.2
Oregon	40.3	44.3	0.91
Pennsylvania	41.3	46.1	0.9
Rhode Island	27.5	47.8	0.575
South Carolina	46.8	37.3	1.25
South Dakota	48.1	37.1	1.3
Tennessee	44.9	38.4	1.17
Texas	43.3	36.8	1.18
Utah	59.5	25.6	2.32
Vermont	32	47.8	0.67
Virginia	42.3	41.4	1.02
Washington	38.1	44.2	0.86
West Virginia	39.3	45.9	0.86
Wisconsin	40.9	45.3	0.9
Wyoming	59.2	26.4	2.24

Drawn from Gallup data from 2011, 2010 and 2009.
http://www.gallup.com/poll/125066/State-States.aspx?ref=interactive

Table 5 -- StateTaxBurden
Percentage of income paid in Total After [Federal Deduction] Offset State & Local Taxes by Income Group

	Income Group:						
State	Lowest 20%	Second 20%	Middle 20%	Fourth 20%	Next 15%	Next 4%	Top 1%
Alabama	10.2	10.5	9.5	8.2	6.6	4.9	4

Alaska	7	5.5	4	3.2	2.9	2.4	2.2
Arizona	12.5	11.2	9.1	7.8	6.4	5.1	4.6
Arkansas	12.1	12.6	11.7	10.2	8.9	7	5.9
California	10.2	8.7	8.1	7.7	7.5	8.2	7.4
Colorado	9	9	8.2	7.5	6.3	5.4	4.2
Conecticut	12	9.7	9.9	9.6	8.5	7.6	4.9
Delaware	6	6	5.4	5.5	5.2	4.8	4.5
Florida	13.5	10.4	9	7.2	5.7	4.2	2.1
Georgia	11.7	11.2	10.3	9.7	8.4	7.5	5.7
Hawaii	12.2	11.8	11.2	9.4	7.8	6.6	6.3
Idaho	8.6	8.7	8.2	8.3	7.5	6.9	6.3
Illinois	13	10.9	10.1	9.2	8.2	6.5	4.1
Indiana	11.9	11.1	10.4	9.4	8.1	6.3	5.3
Iowa	11	10.6	9.6	9.3	8.7	8	6
Kansas	9.2	8.6	9	8.9	8	7.1	5.9
Kentucky	9.4	10.8	10.8	9.7	8.7	7.4	6.1
Louisiana	10.4	10.3	9.8	8.9	7.3	5.6	5.2
Maine	9.5	9.2	9.8	9.8	9.5	8.2	6.9
Maryland	9.9	10	9.8	9	7.9	8	6.2
Massachusetts	10.1	10.1	9.6	8.8	7.7	7.1	4.8
Michigan	8.9	9.9	9.5	9.1	8	7	5.3
Minnesota	9.2	9.9	10	9.8	9	7.9	6.6
Mississippi	10.8	10.7	10.7	9.4	7.9	6.4	5.5
Missouri	9.6	9.5	9.2	8.8	7.6	6.7	5.4
Montana	6.1	6.1	6	5.6	5.4	4.8	4.6
Nebraska	11.1	10.1	10.3	9.3	8.1	7.9	6.1
Nevada	8.9	7	6.4	5.7	4.5	3.2	1.6
N.H.	8.3	6.6	6.3	5.8	4.6	3.5	2
New Jersey	10.7	9.5	8.6	8.1	7.9	8.6	7.4
New Mexico	10.8	10.2	9.9	9	7.6	5.9	4.5
New York	9.6	10	11.6	11	10.7	10.8	7.2
North Carolina	9.5	9.4	9.4	8.9	7.9	7.3	6.8
North Dakota	9.4	8	7.9	7.2	6.1	5	4.3
Ohio	12	11.2	10.6	9.8	8.9	7.6	6.4
Oklahoma	9.9	9.5	9	8.2	7.1	5.4	4.8
Oregon	8.7	8	7.9	7.7	7.4	7	6.2
Pennsylvania	11.2	9.5	9.1	8.1	7.1	5.8	3.9
Rhode Island	11.9	10	10.1	9.5	8.5	8.1	5.6
South Carolina	7.1	7.4	7.6	7.5	7.3	6.1	5.5
South Dakota	11	9.3	7.8	7.1	5.5	4	1.9
Tennessee	11.7	10.8	9.3	7.2	5.8	4.2	3.1
Texas	12.2	10.2	8.4	7.2	5.8	4.4	3
Utah	9.3	9.3	8.6	8	7	6.2	4.9

Vermont	8.2	8	9.4	9.2	8.2	7.5	7.5
Virginia	8.8	8.4	8.4	7.9	6.9	6.6	5.2
Washington	17.3	12.7	10.8	8.8	6.7	4.7	2.6
West Virginia	9.7	9.3	9.3	9	8.5	7.3	6.5
Wisconsin	9.2	10.7	10.6	10.3	9.2	7.9	6.7
Wyoming	8.3	6.9	6.1	4.8	4	2.8	1.5

Drawn from *Who Pays? A Distributional Analysis of the Tax Systems in All 50 States, 3rd Edition*. http://www.itepnet.org/state_reports/whopays.php
The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, Washington, D.C.

Table 6 – Dependent Variable = b_0 + b_1 Independent Variable + b_2 RepubDem + e

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Std. Est. b_1	t value	Pr > t	Sig.	R^2
1owone	Composite	-0.09770	-0.66	.5145		.0364
	Evangelical	-0.07229	-0.46	.6296		.0322
	Mainline	0.02398	0.16	.8712		.0277
	Catholic	0.10928	0.69	.4963		.0372
lowfour	Composite	0.05072	0.34	.7326		.0519
	Evangelical	0.07961	0.54	.5910		.0555
	Mainline	-0.03031	-0.21	.8357		.0503
	Catholic	-0.01664	-0.11	.9168		.0496
lowfifteen	Composite	-0.02538	-0.17	.8655		.0331
	Evangelical	-0.00511	-0.03	.9728		.0325
	Mainline	-0.06479	-0.44	.6601		.0367
	Catholic	0.06121	0.38	.7029		.0357
lowfourth	Composite	-0.06658	-0.45	.6576		.0294
	Evangelical	-0.04309	-0.29	.7742		.0269
	Mainline	-0.07775	-0.53	.5989		.0312
	Catholic	0.11213	0.70	.4855		.0357
lowmiddle	Composite	-0.19677	-1.33	.1894		.0500
	Evangelical	-0.16702	-1.13	.2661		.0395
	Mainline	-0.04637	-0.31	.7555		.0146
	Catholic	0.20727	1.31	.1973		.0487
secondone	Composite	-0.02836	-0.19	.8492		.0419
	Evangelical	-0.00512	-0.03	.9726		.0411
	Mainline	0.01422	0.10	.9229		.0413
	Catholic	0.05936	0.37	.7108		.0441
secondfour	Composite	0.21643	1.53	.1330		.1283
	Evangelical	0.23997	1.71	.0944	*	.1388
	Mainline	-0.06591	-0.46	.6458		.0873

	Catholic	-0.15406	-1.00	.3218		.1030
secondfifteen	Composite	0.17795	1.24	.2219		.1006
	Evangelical	0.18943	1.32	.1925		.1048
	Mainline	-0.12400	-0.87	.3892		.0853
	Catholic	-0.11636	-0.75	.4586		.0814
secondfourth	Composite	0.19169	1.34	.1879		.1045
	Evangelical	0.20773	1.46	.1524		.1108
	Mainline	-0.15858	-1.12	.2698		.0941
	Catholic	-0.11701	-0.75	.4563		.0805
middleone	Composite	-0.04022	-0.27	.7881		.0356
	Evangelical	-0.02468	-0.17	.8689		.0346
	Mainline	0.01913	0.13	.8967		.0344
	Catholic	0.08255	0.52	.6064		.0398
middlefour	Composite	0.25153	1.79	.0800	*	.1405
	Evangelical	0.26751	1.92	.0617	*	.1487
	Mainline	-0.04866	-0.34	.7351		.0816
	Catholic	-0.17147	-1.12	.2705		.1041
middlefifteen	Composite	0.10437	0.69	.4907		.0171
	Evangelical	0.08243	0.55	.5862		.0132
	Mainline	-0.15388	-1.05	.3003		.0303
	Catholic	0.10677	0.40	.6920		.0101

Significant at p < .10 *
Significant at p < .05 **
Significant at p < .01 ***

Dependent Variables:
lowone -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Lowest 20% versus Top 1%
lowfour – ratio of StateTaxBurden for Lowest 20% versus Next 4% (96% - 99%)
lowfifteen -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Lowest 20% versus Next 15% (81% - 95%)
lowfourth -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Lowest 20% versus Fourth 20%
lowmiddle -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Lowest 20% versus Middle 20%
secondone – ratio of StateTaxBurden for Second 20% versus Top 1%
secondfour -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Second 20% versus Next 4% (96% - 99%)
secondfifteen -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Second 20% versus Next 15% (81% - 95%)
secondfourth -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Second 20% versus Fourth 20%
middleone – ratio of StateTaxBurden for Middle 20% versus Top 1%
middlefour -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Middle 20% versus Next 4% (96% - 99%)
middlefifteen -- ratio of StateTaxBurden for Middle 20% versus Next 15% (81% - 95%)
See Table 5 for StateTaxBurden.

Independent Variables:
Composite – CompositeChristian: state's percentage of Evangelicals divided by the sum of the state's percentage of Mainline Protestants and Catholics

Evangelical -- state's percentage of Evangelicals
Mainline -- state's percentage of Mainline Protestants
Catholic -- state's percentage of Catholics
See Table 2.

Control Variable:
RepubDem -- State's percentage of Republicans/Lean Republican divided by the state's percentage of Democrats/Lean Democrat drawn from Gallup data from 2011, 2010 and 2009.
See Table 3.

Table 7 -- State tax system attributes.

State	Prop%	Sales%	IndInc%	PrMed	SalesR	GrocR	PovAvg	AvgTop	PovTop	EstInh
Alabama	25.04	40.56	29.23	0.41	8.33	4	100	100	100	no
Alaska	58.93	10.03	0	1.24	1.77	0	100	100	100	no
Arizona	40.05	42.04	14.64	0.85	9.12	0	85.71	75.01	63.44	no
Arkansas	20.19	46.88	28.61	0.57	8.58	2	58.33	85.71	50	no
California	37.15	25.7	30.61	0.78	8.11	0	25	77.67	19.42	no
Colorado	39.16	31.47	27.39	0.61	7.44	0	100	100	100	no
Conecticut	48.49	18.14	30.93	1.7	6.35	0	90.91	82.09	74.63	yes
Delaware	34.92	0	53.37	0.49	0	0	86.49	82.22	71.11	yes
Florida	56.86	39.58	0	1.09	6.62	0	100	100	100	no
Georgia	37.36	32.17	29.99	0.93	6.84	0	100	100	100	no
Hawaii	25.34	47.36	25.83	0.27	4.35	4	81.01	71.82	58.18	yes
Idaho	33.25	31.94	31.1	0.74	6.02	6.25	94.87	100	94.87	no
Illinois	51.15	24.23	20.66	1.93	8.2	1	100	100	100	yes
Indiana	36.2	31.06	28.55	0.84	7	0	100	100	100	no
Iowa	40.24	28.6	28.48	1.34	6.81	0	66.18	75.72	50.11	no
Kansas	38.68	29.97	27.64	1.35	8.26	6.3	97	100	96.9	no
Kentucky	27.03	27.03	41.08	0.78	6	0	100	96.67	96.67	no
Louisiana	23.46	49.8	22.02	0.43	8.85	0	66.67	100	66.67	no
Maine	46.34	21.49	29.17	1.17	5	0	82.35	100	82.35	yes
Maryland	30.95	17.35	48.42	0.98	6	0	95	90.9	86.36	yes
Massachusetts	42.79	13.62	37.23	1.08	6.25	0	100	100	100	yes
Michigan	47.4	29.67	20.69	1.82	6	0	100	100	100	no
Minnesota	36.74	23.29	35.99	1.1	7.18	0	75.89	89.81	68.15	yes
Mississippi	32.58	42.11	20.68	0.73	7	7	100	100	100	no
Missouri	35.09	30.56	32.27	0.94	7.49	1.23	100	100	100	no
Montana	56.31	0	36.46	0.85	0	0	72.46	100	72.46	no
Nebraska	41.92	28.98	25.89	1.82	6.77	0	52.19	100	52.19	no
Nevada	53	46.03	0	0.98	7.93	0	100	100	100	no
New Hampshire	84.51	0	2.62	1.92	0	0	100	100	100	no
New Jersey	52.29	18.42	23.91	2.01	6.97	0	25.32	61.65	15.61	yes

New Mexico	24.24	53.6	18.98	0.66	7.24	0	95.92	100	95.92	no
New York	34.7	18.95	37.44	1.38	8.48	0	81.4	73.13	59.52	yes
North Carolina	31.34	28.42	36.83	0.81	6.85	0	85.71	90.32	77.42	yes
North Dakota	38.93	35.74	18.79	1.36	6.39	0	53.55	70.68	37.84	no
Ohio	37.11	25.41	35.74	1.44	6.75	0	66.69	59.43	39.63	no
Oklahoma	24.9	42.46	28.77	0.8	8.66	4.5	100	100	100	no
Oregon	44.89	0	52.21	0.98	0	0	100	90.91	90.91	yes
Pennsylvania	39.34	22.37	33.95	1.4	6.34	0	100	100	100	yes
Rhode Island	52.97	20.31	23.99	1.47	7	0	78.95	79.3	62.6	yes
South Carolina	41.68	29.47	26.51	0.55	7.13	0	71.43	100	71.43	no
South Dakota	45.15	52.39	0	1.32	5.39	4	100	100	100	no
Tennessee	33.5	59.11	1.53	0.7	9.45	5.5	100	100	100	yes
Texas	57.69	42.31	0	1.9	8.14	0	100	100	100	no
Utah	32.09	32.45	32.09	0.65	6.68	1.75	100	100	100	no
Vermont	57.48	14.69	23.8	1.61	6.14	0	61.74	64.25	39.665	yes
Virginia	44.14	17.26	36	0.77	5	2.5	87	100	86.95	no
Washington	39.63	60.37	0	0.98	8.8	0	100	100	100	yes
West Virginia	29.74	25.22	35.42	0.58	6	3	88.89	69.23	61.54	no
Wisconsin	45.6	21.67	29.52	1.85	5.43	0	94.62	83.87	79.355	no
Wyoming	50.81	49.02	0	0.62	5.34	0	100	100	100	no

Prop%	PropertyPercent – % state/local tax revenue from property taxes. 2009.
Sales%	SalesPercent – % state/local tax revenue from general sales taxes. 2009.
IndInc%	IncomePercent – % state/local tax revenue from individual income taxes. 2009.
PrMed	PropertyMedian – Median effective property tax rates on owner-occupied housing. 2010.
SalesR	SalesRate – Combined state/local sales tax rates. 01/01/12.
GrocR	GroceryRate – State sales tax on groceries. 01/01/12.
PovAvg	PovAvgRate – Tax rate at poverty level/tax rate at income per capita level. 01/01/12.
AvgTop	AvgTopRate – Tax rate at income per capita level/top tax rate. 01/01/12.
PovTop	PovTopRate – Tax rate at poverty level/top tax rate. 01/01/12.
EstInh	EstateInherit – estate or inheritance tax without 100% exemption for close family. 01/01/12.

Drawn from *Facts & Figures 2012: How does Your State Compare*. The Tax Foundation.
http://taxfoundation.org/sites/taxfoundation.org/files/docs/ff2012.pdf

Table 8 – Dependent Variable = $b_0 + b_1$ Independent Variable + b_2 RepubDem + e

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Std. Est. b_1	t value	Pr > t	Sig.	R^2
PropertyPercent	Composite	-0.51829	10.72	.0002	***	.2688
	Evangelical	-0.51162	-3.94	.0003	***	.2627
	Mainline	0.10251	0.69	.4912		.0192
	Catholic	0.53388	3.79	.0004	***	.2488
SalesPercent	Composite	0.35837	2.71	.0095	***	.2388

	Evangelical	0.39384	3.04	.0040	***	.2649
	Mainline	-0.07568	-0.54	.5911		.1201
	Catholic	-0.24968	-1.68	.0990	*	.1670
IncomePercent	Composite	0.05894	0.40	.6893		.0651
	Evangelical	0.02670	0.18	.8562		.0624
	Mainline	-0.02398	-0.17	.8688		.0623
	Catholic	-0.19263	-1.25	.2194		.0930
PropertyMedian	Composite	-0.49166	-3.95	.0003	***	.3233
	Evangelical	-0.43754	-3.40	.0014	***	.2750
	Mainline	0.22862	1.65	.1049		.1415
	Catholic	0.60310	4.78	<.0001	***	.3957
SalesRate	Composite	0.27419	1.88	.0666	*	.0728
	Evangelical	0.27432	1.88	.0662	*	.0730
	Mainline	-0.18304	-1.25	.2183		.0335
	Catholic	-0.09467	-0.59	.5613		.0076
GroceryRate	Composite	0.45391	3.74	.0005	***	.3598
	Evangelical	0.39445	3.14	.0030	***	.3113
	Mainline	0.00630	0.05	.9634		.1603
	Catholic	-0.34958	-2.51	.0158	**	.2633
PovAvgRate	Composite	0.14348	0.97	.3364		.0497
	Evangelical	0.15220	1.03	.3070		.0523
	Mainline	-0.09992	-0.68	.4976		.0398
	Catholic	-0.26891	-1.74	.0893	*	.0907
AvgTopRate	Composite	0.21397	1.56	.1261		.1788
	Evangelical	0.22377	1.64	.1088		.1831
	Mainline	-0.16238	-1.19	.2408		.1609
	Catholic	-0.18033	-1.21	.2314		.1619
PovTopRate	Composite	0.18275	1.28	.2083		.1068
	Evangelical	0.18825	1.32	.1942		.1088
	Mainline	-0.15221	-1.07	.2883		.0976
	Catholic	-0.24709	-1.63	.1106		.1259
EstateInherit	*Composite*	*-0.20322*	*-1.62*	*.1126*		*.3128*
	Evangelical	-0.30074	-2.49	.0167	**	.3606
	Mainline	-0.01523	-0.12	.9052		.2731
	Catholic	0.20852	1.55	.1293		.3095

Significant at p < .20 *
Significant at p < .15 **
Significant at p < .10 ***
Significant at p < .05 ****
Significant at p < .01 *****

Dependent Variables:
PropertyPercent – % state's state and local tax revenue from property taxes. 2009.
SalesPercent – % state's state and local tax revenue from general sales taxes. 2009.
IncomePercent – % state's state and local tax revenue from individual income taxes. 2009.
PropertyMedian – Median effective property tax rates on owner-occupied housing. 2010.
SalesRate – Combined state sales and average local sales tax rates. 01/01/12.
GroceryRate – State sales tax on groceries. 01/01/12.
PovAvgRate – State income tax rate at poverty/at personal income per capita. 01/01/12.
AvgTopRate – State income tax rate at personal income per capita/top income tax rate. 01/01/12.
PovTopRate – State income tax rate at poverty/top income tax rate. 01/01/12
EstateInherit – Estate or inheritance tax without 100% exemption for close family members. 01/01/12. 2012.
See Table 7.

Independent Variables:
Composite – CompositeChristian: state's percentage of Evangelicals divided by the sum of the state's percentage of Mainline Protestants and Catholics
Evangelical -- state's percentage of Evangelicals
Mainline -- state's percentage of Mainline Protestants
Catholic -- state's percentage of Catholics
See Table 2.

Control Variable:

RepubDem -- State's percentage of Republicans/Lean Republican divided by the state's percentage of Democrats/Lean Democrat drawn from Gallup data from 2011, 2010 and 2009.
See Table 3.

Cosmocentric Economics, Global Sustainability, and the Christian Message

Michael D. Royster, Prairie View A&M University

Abstract

The proposed paper makes a reassessment of Salley McFague's assertions regarding neoclassical economics and "ecological economics" in light of a broad spectrum of Christian arguments. Although Christianity does not exists in monolithic form in the Twenty-first Century, its emergence, growth and expansion and present form has occurred with a cross sections of organizational structures which revolve around labor and resource consumption. Such structures include the following: pre-class society, Asiatic society, ancient society, feudal society, and capitalist society.

Christianity within the context of Western Industrialized society faces the challenge of acknowledgment or denial of having a share in the collective guilt involved in environmental crisis, mal-distribution of scarce resources, proliferation of an ecological unsustainable trajectory, stimulation addictions, and greed desensitization.

Conventional responses to such atrocities include, secular micro-level activism, proposed austerity measures under the guise of civil religion, and inactivity without regard to present and future generations. Although the Biblical message predates the manifestation of modern planetary perils, the message provides jeremiad implications for global stewardship. Christianity has an alternative, yet viable resolution to the earth crisis but collectively the faith can bridge scientific knowledge with spiritual wisdom and compassionate praxis.

Life Sustaining Resources and the Christian Message

Among the greatest challenges in the Twenty-first Century regarding appropriating the Christian message to praxis in civic society lies in the lack of consensus among the theological camps regarding the control over and distribution of resources. "It is no coincidence that the Greek word for house, *oikos*, is the source of our words for economics, ecology, and ecumenical," [308]Distribution of resources, justice entails considering the needs of all creation, not solely the human creature or groups. Cosmo-centric economics includes affirming the value and needs of all creatures, and consideration for future inhabitants and what they will inherit. Furthermore, cosmo-cetric economics entails regarding the necessity for all rational beings to develop consciousness regard their role as custodians of the earth itself, which functions as the common "house" shared among fellow products of creation.

Cosmo-centric economics is not directly a "Christian economic order," but such an economic order does not belong to any distinct major world religious tradition per se. The cosmo-centric economic order predates Christianity and all of the major world religions. However, such an economic order does appear in the beliefs of indigenous societies.

[308] McFague, Salley, p. 120

Indigenous spirituality derives from a distinct way of life without a sacred/secular dichotomy as typified in the West. God or the equivalence of the Western concept of God is always present and is revered and glorified throughout all one's daily mundane activities. Among the original instruction lies, the three basic rules for a sustainable global order, (1) consume no more than one's share of the available resources, (2) refrain from producing consumption waste at a faster rate than its removal, and (3) play an active role in ecological maintenance, for the earth does not belong to the human creature, but the human creature consists of approximately one percent of its inhabitants at best.[309]

Economic Implications

Forced acculturation and industrialization has posed a major threat to the indigenous way of life and has defiled that which has been held most sacred. Neoclassical economic models have been "injurious to nature and to poor people"[310]. For example,

> "In Nigeria, oil production accounts for eighty-seven percent of the government's foreign revenue. Multinational companies' activities to extract the oil have involved (1) burning the waste gases, (2) leaking oil pipelines, (3) dumping waste products, (4) and oil slicks for decades, causing extensive destruction of animal and plant life, soil damage, air and water pollution, and health problems among the indigenous peoples. The efforts of one severely affected group, the Ogoni, to protest the situation were met with harassment and ultimately the leaders being killed by the government. The ogni have continued their opposition nevertheless. Not only have their traditional lifeway's been disrupted with the destruction of their environment, but also, more significantly from their point of view, they feel they must try to protect their ancestors' graves. They feel their ancestors will not forgive them if they do not stand up to the oil business's desecration of their graves and sacred sites."[311]

Cosmo-centric economics as an ideal accompanies the challenge for both impoverished and affluent societies to either construct alternative means for generating revenue that both satisfies the material needs of the masses, while compatible with the earth's demand for ecological sustainability in the long run. Furthermore, such economic ideals would especially challenged highly developed societies to adjust to dismantling aspects of industrialization without constructing a potentially "equivalent and opposite" crisis.

The individual both impoverished and the moderately affluent lack the power to significantly influence the markets or solve ecological problems other than on a micro-level. "The globalizing economy presents new structures of exclusion, including a new slavery. This new slavery goes beyond the economic exploitation of people in third world countries to produce new forms of total control over people's lives." [312]

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[309] McFague, Salley, p. 120
[310] McFague, Salley, p. 124
[311] Fisher, Mary Pat p. 66
[312] Rieger, Joerg, p. 6

Sociological Implications

Unlike indigenous spirituality, Western religious traditions provide divine justification for "neoclassical economic models" over cosmo-centric economic models. Such difference can be partially explained by the idea that indigenous spirituality emerged in a pre-class society, such that property was collectively owned. During the era of pre-class societies, there was no concept of consumerism, surplus accumulation, and tribes existed in a nomadic state. However, Western religions emerged during the ancient era when slave populations emerged which led to a mass transference of wealth from the producers to a ruling class. During the same era emerged the advent of the widening of the gulf between the impoverished and the affluent, which also entails mal-distribution of the earth's resources, continuous warfare either by direct combat or broad and subtle violence by deprivation.

Culture plays a role in disseminating ideas and information which in turn affects the "collective conscious." From such a "collective conscious" derives the perception of the group understanding on what consists of their fair share of resources. "People who are governed by their desires and interests and do not take those of others into account will inevitably encounter a clash of interests and enter into conflict." [313] Self-interest in itself necessitates the individual will to survive with a favorable quality of life that provides the individual with the potential to facilitate global sustainability. However, human creatures are prone to becoming entrapped by the "malady of infiniteness" as they attempt to satisfy their insatiable self-interest.

Political Implications

Politics as an institution faces a set of broad and complex challenges towards legislating "ecological solidarity." Municipal, state, and federal political legislation for sanctions which at best may support and encourage "ecological solidarity" would function as an international symbolic gesture, yet lacks sufficient jurisdictional control beyond the borders. Second, there would lay a high risk for any of the industrialized nations in losing its economic edge in a global economy if it were to make abrupt changes to their legislation which could potentially dismantle its more lucrative industries. Beyond the international challenge, the domestic barrier in a representative democracy theoretically gives the common person, who has not been disenfranchised, a voice through the "town hall" and power by "ballot." Despite the ideals of a democracy, the democratic challenge lies in its attempt to accommodate for various dissenting perspectives which can include policies that contrast planetary well-being. Furthermore, democracies accompany lobbyist, special-interest groups, and (PACs) political action committees, which tend to favor neoclassical economic models which are market-driven, and impersonal to individual or collective needs.

According to Karl Marx, the rights which the modern state guaranteed for its citizens have an unfavorable structural bias against the proletariat. For example, the right to receive a profit from the labor of another functions as a denial of a fundamental human right for the

[313] Ashley, David and David M. Orenstein, p90

laborer, whose only social significance is to be used as a means to the wealth of others." [314] Although Marx's direct reference point consist primarily of the newly industrialized England in the 1840s and the inhumane exploitation of the masses by the bourgeoisie, the system of exploitation has expanded and has become globalized and increasingly more efficient, such that human creatures, animals, and sustainable resources have been demoted to disposable commodities as a means to generate profit.

Because, the accompanying culture of Christianity embraces interpreting classical doctrine from an apolitical perspective. Such perspectives have further enabled "market capitalism" to flourish. "Market capitalism is a type of economic s that allocates scarce resources on the basis of individuals successfully competing for them, not with regard to the needs of the planet's inhabitants nor with an eye to its sustainability." [315]In light of its exploitative elements and its regard for profit over the needs of living creature and the earth itself, the implicit religious support for such an economic order neutralizes "collective guilt." Despite its under emphasis, "Jesus envisioned exchanges of generalized reciprocity and generalized redistribution within fictive-kinship groups."[316] The legislative ideal for enabling earth sustainability advances the practice of ecological solidarity. "Ecological solidarity" has three foci: solidarity with human beings, with plants and animal species, and with whole ecosystems." (Cassidy: 201) Although, cosmo-centric economic model recognizes the relationship between the human creatures and animals as symbiotic, the lingering dilemma remains in the idea that when filtered through cultural lenses such relationship becomes ambiguous.

As a result, the belief in the subordination of animals to unworthy of care and compassion has prevailed in Western consumerist culture. "Christianity in the post-industrial age faces the challenge of reassessing the high levels of unsustainable consumption that produces mass slaughtering of animals, and the ecological destruction of their habitat with a degree of collective guilt that leads to repentance towards a radical form of compassion as ethically essential." [317] Until recently, conventional and progressive moral theologians have collectively ignored considering that animals play a role in God's self-disclosure. Cosmo-centric economics with respect to the Christian message entails making an "ethical appeal for the collective repentance from a partially church sanctioned destructive lifestyle with respect to animals as cohabitants with humans sharing a common ecosystem, and their worthiness to an exploitation free life."[318]

Economics as an Ideology

Economic relies on individual and cultural values as its basis. Individuals determine what the masses should deem as important or less than worthy. "Economics is not a hard

[314] Ashley, David and David M. Orenstein p.194
[315] McFague, Salley, p124
[316] Oakman, Douglas E. p.138
[317] Royster, Michael D. p114
[318] Royster, Michael D., p114

science but an ideology." [319]Due to its ideological nature, economics independent of science ignores facts regarding the "supply and demand" of the earth's resources. Ideologies have the innate ability to justify mal-distribution and the overuse of resources as just until such activities become normative. Once an economic system become normative, the resistance to such structures becomes increasingly prone to fierce opposition, even if a more favorable alternative becomes viable. Such societies become increasingly likely to embrace a form of "cultural lag"[320], such that potential improvements in collective well-being become compromised with settling for the status-quo.

Neoclassical economic paradigm consumer-driven based on individualism "assumptions of the eighteenth century view of human beings as individuals with rights and responsibilities and of the world as a machine or collection of individual parts." [321] Ecological economic model, the planetary needs priority over individual, whiles all of creation including the individual benefits. "assumptions of postmodern science in its view of human beings as the conscious and radically dependent part of the planet of the planet and of the world as a community." [322]

Moral Implications

Economic extends beyond a matter of social justice, but also a human rights issue. "In accord with papal teaching, the American bishops have consistently called for universal health care coverage (including undocumented immigrants), the reform of insurance companies that deny coverage to people with preexisting illnesses, and an end to abortion."[323] In terms of the present stance on abortion, the Roman Catholic Church does give provision for pregnancy termination in the case of post-conception implantation irregularities such that the mother's health becomes endangered. In the case rape or incest molestation, the Roman Catholic Church permits the woman to under a uterine scraping by a physician within the first seventy-two hours. However, the on-going post *Roe v. Wade* (1973) arguments have diverted attention away from life beyond birth, beyond the individual, and beyond the human creature. "From the Christian perspective, conversation can be a praxis that offers the hope of finding God and of creating meaning amid the seeming fragmentary and disconnected experiences of our suffering world."[324] Beyond personal self-interests or communal religious ethnocentrism, cosmo-centric economics transcends the confines of denominationalism, theological camps, but entails embracing the finitude of the human experience. However, such "human rights" extends beyond the "human family" to all of the earth co-inhabitants including the earth itself. Nevertheless, accountability for the well-being of all rests solely on human creatures. Due to the global interdependence of all of the earth's co-inhabitants and the earth itself, cosmo-centric economics that promotes global sustainability entails embracing an ethic of solidarity. "If a theology of solidarity helps us understand how to think about living in the world, an ethic of solidarity gives us a blueprint

[319] McFague, p121
[320] Ogburn, William, "Cultural Lag as Theory"
[321] McFague, Salley p124
[322] McFague, Salley, p124
[323] Heft, James p331
[324] Cassidy Laurie and Maureen H. O'Connell, p.6

for how to live by calling us to four tasks, metanoia, honoring difference, accountability, and action"[325] Respect for the rights of others entails limiting one's own rights.[326] Martin Luther King Jr. frequently made such references toward human tendencies toward "self-deception" and "comfortable vanity" which deters the individuals from voluntarily relinquishing their power, privilege, and resources to the less fortunate.[327] Although, King was directly making a dual appeal to the domestic issue of race relations and foreign policy in terms of America's relationship with foreign counties, such similar argument becomes applicable by default. If American as four percent of the world's population continues to consume forty percent of the world resources, then what appears as a normative trajectory would ignore the self-induced unforeseeable consequences including reaching a threshold or "breaking point" in which corrective actions no longer become possible.

Biographical Note

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[325] Cassidy Laurie and Maureen H. O'Connell, p.75
[326] Durkheim, Emile, p. 76
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"A Small Testimony of that great HONOUR due": Memorializing New England's Calvinist "Publick Persons" and "Men of Note"

Melissa Knous
Independent Scholar

As rhetoric, sermons were delivered primarily to the religious of colonial New England and were compiled and published for their benefit to add to the number of visible saints and to cement the ideals of the congregation which served as the visible representation of community—God's kingdom on earth. Thus, an examination of sermons allows a close analysis of the communalizing features of two other kinds of public rhetoric or genres which drew upon funeral sermon conventions. The mourning genres of broadside epitaphs and gravestone carvings both extended and condensed the sermon conventions to appeal to and to address other, ever-broader audiences. In distinct ways, each genre identified the deceased subjects of the texts as exemplars of God's chosen people as well as connected the mourners to the deceased subject, thus reaffirming the importance of common purpose.

In *The Puritan Way of Death*, David Stannard remarks that to the Puritan, there was no real need for elaborate burial ritual because the fate of the deceased had already been decided. As a result, there was little focus on the individuality of the deceased person in sermon, epitaph, or grave carving. Instead, the burial and surrounding ritual were geared for edifying survivors and reaffirming the unity of mourners. All three genres had a didactic purpose. Moreover, the death texts themselves were less related to memorializing the deceased than they were related to the communalizing needs of the living who remained—not for their conversion, which for many was already completed (elect or not, after all), but to their being mindful of their own pending deaths. Perhaps, most importantly, these death texts used familiar narrative forms to unify the community while preaching a message of renewed piety and faith: the jeremiad, classical rhetorical appeals, portraiture and exhortation, and Biblical figures. But each genre subverts the original form or purpose to reaffirm the message of God's wrath and desire that his chosen people adhere to their calling, to their errand to New England.

Previous research offers an examination of three major features of sermons in Calvinist New England in the first hundred years after the Massachusetts Bay colonists arrived and extends the discussion by demonstrating their influence on two additional mourning genres: broadside epitaphs and gravestone carvings. This study describes the general conventions of both printed epitaphs and gravestones, discusses the communalizing influence of sermonic conventions found in Puritan jeremiads on both types of death texts before it offers a close reading of exemplars of each genre of mourning discourse, arguing ultimately that the sermonic features found in the printed elegies and on tombstone carvings reveal them to be artifacts of the Calvinist New Englanders' anxiety produced by their perceived inability to fulfill their errand to New England.

Epitaphs

Funeral elegies printed as broadsides represent one of three genres of death texts which serve as sites of public rhetoric and which reveal the anxiety resulting from the Calvinists' unfulfilled mission to New England as they attempt to revitalize communal unity. Many of the elegies which have survived are archived digitally in America's Historical

Imprints and housed in various historical repositories in Massachusetts.[328] The fourteen broadside epitaphs under consideration in this study memorialize early New Englanders whose deaths occurred in New England between 1649 and 1718 and who were notable or "publick" enough to have their contemporaries publicly lament their deaths.[329] Not much is known about the printing, distribution, and use of these texts. Some scholars assert that the broadsides were pinned to the hearse or casket and read at the graveside as a tribute to the deceased.[330]

The surviving broadside epitaphs in no way represent a cross section of the population of New England at the time of their publication. In fact, the prints which remain suggest that this genre was used to memorialize primarily those who had status or wealth enough to be mourned publicly.[331] Without more extensive research into letters, diaries, and printers' records there is little way to tell what percentage of the total number of broadside epitaphs printed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth center have been saved. Still a surprising variety of these texts remains, revealing the development of the form and exhibiting features common to the genre.

They may be divided into two main groups in terms of memorialized subject. Seven elegies mourn those Deodat Lawson calls "Men of Note" (Savage), who are important religious, political, or military leaders of New England, among whom Winthrop may be numbered. Seven others mark the death of "Publick Persons," whom Lawson defines as exemplary community members, but not leaders (Collamore). There is a distinct hierarchy. In a number of these epitaphs, though key pieces of information are unknown, such as printer, poet, date, and location of printing, without exception the deceased person's date of death is included. Print culture scholars warn of the possibility of backdating of prints or of later printers adding more recent developments, such as more detailed wood cuts. But the broadsides themselves reveal the historical context from the period in that they all were printed during the period under investigation, so even if John Winthrop's elegy was printed several decades after his death in 1649 or if the woodcut on Lydia Minot's epitaph was added in a subsequent printing, as scholars have conjectured, the actual printing still falls within the time period of study, and each may be examined as an artifact of the time.

What do the epitaphs look like? What textual conventions do the epitaphs possess that enable them to provide a communalizing public site of mourning for the Puritans of New England? First, they are reassuringly similar in appearance. Though not precisely uniform in size, the epitaphs are between 7.5 and 11.5 inches wide and between 10 and 15.25 inches long and are in portrait rather than landscape orientation printed in black ink on white paper.[332] The usually two-columned verses on each are enclosed in stark black mourning

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[328]American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Athenaeum, Peabody Essex Museum, and Boston Public Library

[329] See Appendix: List of Epitaphs.

[330] For three sources which give further information on uses of printed broadside elegies, see Ola Elizabeth Winslow's *American Broadside Verse: From Imprints of the 17th & 18th Centuries* (xix), Jeffrey A. Hammond's *The American Puritan Elegy: A Literary and Cultural Study* (13), and David E. Stannard's *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (113).

[331] As early as Winthrop's *A Modell of Christian Charity*, a social hierarchy reveals itself. Thus one might suspect that public mourning was not a democratic process. In fact, even within the epitaphs themselves, certain class distinctions are made which might indicate that if a person were deemed unimportant, he or she did not get written about, or at least the epitaphs of the "rustick" or common people do not survive. Allan Ludwig disagrees: In New England "…everyone rode to his burial in a hearse, regardless of class, in egalitarian uniformity. If the Puritans did not practice democracy in life, there was equality in death" (Ludwig 58).

[5] Samuel Arnold's epitaph is the exception with its three columns in one and the fourth column written by Arnold himself.

borders; on some prints these borders also divide the columns. The borders themselves are straight lines, usually of no more than .25 inch width. In addition to the straight-line borders on two sides and the bottom, a number of the epitaphs feature a tympanum-style top border, mimicking the rounded top of carved gravestones of the era. Within these rounded tops, a number of the epitaphs feature woodcuts of varying skill which depict emblems of death like skull and crossbones, hourglass, spade and pick, coffins, winged hourglass, full skeletons, skulls, "Memento Mori" banners, and human figures in funeral procession.[333] The images printed on later epitaphs reflect more skillful carving and become more fanciful or imaginative whereas earlier ones reflect cruder carving and print techniques along with the plainer style of commonplace grave emblems of the period.

Readers of epitaphs expected to find centered above the verses, on each, several lines that introduce the poetry. These lines of introduction include what kind of tribute is offered ("A FUNERAL ELEGIE," "LAMENTATIONS," "A Small Testimony of that great HONOUR due . . . ," "A Mournful Remembrance," "Words of Consolation," or "A Neighbour's TEARS") before the name and office or position of the deceased person. In all fourteen elegies, the death date is included, and, in many, the age of the subject is given. Such common features provided a comforting sense of consistency and familiarity, which allowed readers to feel connected to the deceased and to one another.

Some broadside epitaphs contain anagrams, acrostics, or additional verses, specifically titled "Epitaph," following the elegies. Others contain a combination of all three, and some even include a separate stanza or two written by another poet. A number of the epitaphs feature anagrams of the person's name, which in turn introduce the poem. For instance, Joseph Brisco's anagram "Job cries hopes" leads into the first line of the elegy: "There is no *Job* but cries to God and hopes" (Brisco). Lydia Minot's word-approximations anagram "I dy to Al myn" previews this first line: "To *All mine* Earthly Joys and Friends *I dy*" (Minot). Anagrams, while seemingly gimmicky, provide a closer look at common and unifying Calvinist theology. Because of the emphasis placed on names and naming as well as on God's sovereignty, anagrams were thought to be the untangling of divine prophecy. Much as a minister was supposed to "open" the scripture to reveal God's sermon for the congregation, anagramists unscrambled the letters of a person's name to reveal God's words about the deceased. The broadside prints of Minot and Winthrop of Connecticut also conclude with stanzas of acrostic poetry made from the first and last names of the deceased. Literary or textual devices like anagrams and acrostics served as commonplaces to reveal God's plan and purpose for the community and thus served to remind mourners of their corporate mission.

The poem's speaker is often a general anonymous persona or maybe the poet himself, and the speaker may directly address the muses, the community of mourners, specific mourners (like the grieving widow or widower), Death, God, or natural forces (rain or sun), or a combination of audiences. In a few verses, the deceased person is the speaker. In such cases, the subject being memorialized offers what could be considered godly exhortation to the bereaved. This device lends authority to the words of the poem and serves to remind readers that the deceased subject is one of them, and that today is the day to adhere to the communal mission.

In broadside epitaphs, the poet or elegist is not always known. However, even if the poet is not identified, as is the case in several of the broadsides, and therefore if the speaker does not automatically possess the credibility and pre-established ethos of a man of God, the poem's speaker uses other rhetorical appeals to the sensibilities of the reader.

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[6] One exception is the print on Isaac Stetson's elegy, which attempts to depict realistically the tragedy at sea that caused his death.

The verses frequently use a rhetorical strategy called humility topos to express the poet's insufficiency or unworthiness to speak of so great a one as the deceased: "My tongue, my pen, my rustic art / Cannot express his true desert" (Lowle on Winthrop 1649); "My Pen can never fully it rehearse, / Whose Fame did overrun the Universe" (Winthrop 1676): "And how shall I, Alas! his worth inroll, / Within the Limits, of my slender Verse:" (Lawson on Savage 1681). The humility topos is a commonplace of these epitaphs and serves ostensibly to remove emphasis from the speaker, while at the same time making plain the fact that he is worthy and, indeed, authorized by God to speak.

One convention found in both funeral sermons and elegies is paired portraiture and exhortation. Portraiture refers to the description of the elegy's subject by the speaker, usually in favorable terms. Often this glorifying of the deceased is followed in Puritan funeral elegies by exhortation to the readers/mourners. In classical rhetoric, epideictic convention uses praise and blame of the speech's subject to identify with the auditors and present a larger message. However, the Puritan elite, well-versed in classical rhetoric, used the time of an individual's death to shift the focus from an earthly message found in epideictic rhetoric to one of a religious and eternal nature more befitting godly mourning. Praise of the individual remained within the elegy, but blame was removed, especially in broadsides lamenting the deaths of men of note. In its place was substituted exhortation. After all, the sovereign providence of God was not to be questioned, much less blamed. In fact, if a person died, the faithful believed that God had planned such death as part of a master plan and promise; thus, in a jeremiadic sense, the appropriate response was celebration of the fulfillment of divine purpose. Instead of continuing to lament an early death of an individual, poets were expected to shift the focus away from the individual after an appropriate amount of weeping and move toward celebration, or if not outright celebration, at least toward exhortation of the righteous. What could be learned from the life of this individual? That seemed to be the question elegists attempted to answer. What shall we then do—having lost this righteous man or woman? The focus became using the example of the deceased subject as a model for communal edification and behavior.

Portraiture of the subject requires that the elegist's speaker describes the deceased community member in often flowery terms. In the elegies found in broadside epitaphs, usually about half of the poem is devoted to lines detailing the good works and the powerful example of this now-deceased community member; such a depiction paints the portrait of the dead man or woman in preparation for the second part of the poem's purpose, the exhortation. Between the portraiture and exhortation comes a transition, reminding readers of the need to mourn. Surely this person is one who deserves mourners' tears, the elegy's speaker remarks. In a number of printed epitaphs, the transition between the two happens several times. There may be a bit of description and a reminder to mourn followed by more exemplary deeds and another reminder to weep. Finally, though, the poet shifts completely to the exhortation portion of the elegy. Here the speaker cautions against too much mourning and reminds readers what can be gained from the loss of this person through death, as well as what the mourners must do in order to continue on in God's plan. Readers are urged to act in accordance with God's design; these features serve to exhort readers to act as a unified community to follow God's will for them all.

An examination of broadside epitaphs reveals them to be a genre of mourning text which, like sermons, provided an opportunity to reaffirm the communal mission in a jeremiadic, ritualized fashion. Ivy Schweitzer notes that Puritan poets scrambled to keep up with elegies necessary for dying Puritan patriarchs, "poems that mourned the passing of the founders and enshrined their pietistic examples in a form more easily accessible than the doctrinal language of sermons" (37). Though Schweitzer claims, "Critics are embarrassed by the formulaic awkwardness of these poems," she asserts that they perform well in their roles as "important vehicles for the promotion and dissemination of the dominant ideological form

of redeemed subjectivity, providing readers with examples of saints' 'practical conformity' to God's will" (37). Elegies found on printed broadside epitaphs rely on many of the conventions of funeral sermons, but they provide more individualization for the purposes of modeling the exemplary qualities of the deceased individual in an attempt to remind mourners of their own godly responsibilities.

Broadside epitaphs provided a public site of mourning both materially and textually. Materially, elegies published as broadsides represent public, shared sites of private, individual grief. These printed broadsides were tangible articles that could held, read, kept and treasured, or pinned to the hearse or coffin in memorial tribute. If these verses had been intended to be private, elegists would not have spent the money to have them printed but instead would have composed private mourning verses. Textually, printed epitaphs were public sites of mourning because the conventions were well-known and familiar. The elegists' words had the power to draw community members together to mourn the death, to celebrate the legacy and home-going, as well as to remember God's purpose for the entire community.

Examination of an early example serves to illustrate the communalizing conventions of the broadside epitaphs as sites of public mourning. John Winthrop of Massachusetts was arguably the most notable leader of first generation immigrants to New England. He was the author of *A Modell of Christian Charity*, the message on board the ship *Arbella*, which brought the first group of colonists to Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop's lay sermon features the "city of a hill" image, which generations to come would both hail and criticize. He had served as governor of the Bay colony for nineteen years. Winthrop's is the first broadside epitaph under consideration because of his relatively early date of death (1649). The forms used by his elegist, Perciful Lowle, are seen in a number of the elegies produced in the years following and may be considered as representative of many of the textual conventions.

To begin, the poem's speaker addresses the colony:

> You English Massachusians all
> Forbear sometime from sleeping,
> Let every one both great and small
> Prepare themselves for weeping.
> For he is gone that was our friend,
> This Tyrant Death hath wrought his end.
> Who was the very Chief among
> The chiefest of our Peers
> Who hath in peace maintain'd us long
> The space of nineteen years,
> And now hee's breathless, lifeless, dead,
> Cold earth is now become his bed (1-12).

Lowle calls to the colonists, *all* and *every one*, to wake up and mourn for their leader and protector, thus linking the mourners to the deceased. Later in the verse, Lowle refers to Winthrop as "New-Englands Pelican," "New-Englands Gubernator," "New-Englands Solomon," "New-Englands Conservator," and "Joshua, [t]he Lodestone of America." The repetition of "New-Englands" is no accident; it serves to reiterate their common mission and point them back to the New England Way. The qualities encased in such terms are meant to model the characteristics of leaders that must now replace Winthrop and other "Men of Note." Winslow glosses the references to the "Pelican," "Conservator," and "Joshua / The Lodestone" to Winthrop. Lowle alludes to the fable about the "pelican nourishing her offspring with her own blood" (4). "Conservator" aptly applies to Winthrop, Winslow notes,

because he had preserved New England from injury through his repeated colonial defense before Parliament. Comparing Winthrop to Joshua offers another opportunity to remark on his faith and leadership. Joshua was one of twelve men chosen to scout out the feasibility of the Israelites' ability to invade the land of Canaan and seize it from the inhabitants. Only he and one other scout advocated for the invasion God urged, and though Joshua observed the dangers inherent in taking the land, he also saw the richness and beauty it contained. Additionally, the story of Joshua reveals that being informed of the dangers is imperative, but having faith in God and knowing God's purpose for the people is more important. In other words, the speaker of the poem relies on readers' knowing that Joshua had been given a vision of the possibility of possessing the land that God had given, much as John Winthrop had when he came to New England. His "Lodestone" or magnetic, attractive qualities included his ability to convince the godly to come to the land God had promised his people, New England.

Following the portraiture, in which the speaker glowingly reports of Winthrop's godly leadership, Lowle shifts into the exhortation mode by transitioning from the portrait with a depiction of his own sadness and humility. He is unable to praise well enough, and claims to leave the praise of Winthrop to others with more writing or speaking skill. Following the show of humility, the poet urges readers to mourn, but to "mourn with moderation":

> New England thou hast cause to mourn,
> For that thy special friend is gone,
> Yet see you mourn with moderation,
> No cause you have of Desparation
> They yet survive who may renew
> Decay'd and dying hopes in you
> With honour due let us respect them,
> No cause we have for to reject them,
> They are to us as true Directors
> And under God our chief Protectors. (81-90)

In other words, the speaker says, you may have lost a great leader here in Massachusetts—your first and continual leader since you came in 1630—but do not despair. Lowle exhorts community members specifically to follow the leadership of those who survive. There are others who can renew hope, he says. Look respectfully to them to direct and to protect the colony. The speaker first addresses readers: "No cause **you** have of Desparation," (*sic*.) before including himself,

> With honour due let **us** respect them,
> No cause **we** have for to reject them,
> They are to **us** as true Directors
> And under God **our** chief Protectors. (Lowle 87-90, emphasis added)

John Winthrop's (1649)[334] elegy is exceptional in that Perciful Lowle uses the funeral sermon conventions of portraiture and exhortation ultimately to present familiar images and types, specifically Biblical figures. In Winthrop's elegy, the speaker urges the colonists of Massachusetts Bay to prepare to weep, but not just for their loss of the man, Governor John Winthrop. He reminds them of the commonplace of mourning at the deaths of other exemplary men of God.

[334]The date in parenthesis is the date of Winthrop's death as printed on the epitaph.

The Jews did for their Moses weep
Who was their Gubernator,
Let us for Winthrope do the like
Who was our Conservator. (13-16)

By association with Moses, Winthrop is recognized as the leader of a godly exodus into the Canaan of New England. In fact, throughout Winthrop's elegy, the speaker compares him to great leaders from the Old Testament of the Bible, Moses, Abraham, Joseph, Jonathan, Solomon, and Joshua, all obedient, but fallible men used by God, as a way to remark on Winthrop's exemplary qualities. The Bay colonists knew these Bible figures well, and they could be expected to realize Lowle's purpose and deeper meaning developed through Biblical allusion. Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, the place of bondage, on a journey to the Promised Land, Israel, much as Winthrop had done when he led God's chosen from England (bondage) to Massachusetts Bay (God's Promised Land or Canaan). All the richness of the migration of God's chosen people can be found in calling Winthrop Moses. What is not remarked on is the wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness for a generation because of their disobedience. Moses did lead them *to* the land of promise, but he was not permitted to enter because of his own earlier lapse in attention to God's instructions. The colonists would have known this information, too, of course, and would have been reminded that adhering to God's ideal would be the only way that their entrance into this new land would offer success and spiritual prosperity.

Other broadsides associate the deceased subjects, especially leaders, with Moses as a way to connect mourners to the people Moses lead, the Israelites, God's chosen people. In this way, the New Englanders would be reminded that they, too, were God's chosen who had been sent into the wilderness to tame it for God's purpose.

The 1676 epitaph of Reverend John Reiner, pastor at Plymouth and later Dover, New Hampshire laments, "Ah, such a *Moses* we shall dearly miss." And one elegy of John Alden (1687) contains little exhortation, but nearly all portraiture made by comparisons of Alden to seven Biblical figures: Enoch, Abram, Moses, Simeon, Jacob, Barzillai, and St. Paul.[335] Reverend Samuel Arnold's 1693 elegy identifies him as godly, but untrained, a common man who knew the scriptures. Called a "text-man" (someone who knows the Bible), identified with Peter and John as a fisherman, the poet calls him a man of modest means but someone who made a big impact on people's lives. Arnold is also likened to Amos, the prophet, former herdsman and King David, the former shepherd. References to Biblical men of modest means could easily relate the godly examples to colonists so that even the most unsung among them might be reminded of God's ability to use the common person to unify his people, much as the colonists were expected to do.

Three of the epitaphs feature allusions to Abraham (or Abram, his pre-covenant name). Abraham was the father of the chosen nation of Israel, with whom God established a covenant to make his children as numerous as the stars. In his epitaph of Winthrop, for example, Lowle likens the deceased leader to Abraham, as if to say Winthrop had been chosen by God and spiritually fathered a large nation, just as Abraham had. The implication about Winthrop is that his obedience to God would result in a great increase in godly people and in countless generations of godly men and women to come in the colonies of New England. Again, though, Abraham was not perfect. He had concocted a plan on his own to fulfill God's promise, and as a result of his impatient disobedience, he had also fathered

[335]Winslow says there's another broadside elegy on John Alden "Upon the Death of that Aged, Pious, Sincere-hearted Christian, John Alden, Esq.," the last male survivor of the Mayflower Compact signers, who left Southampton in 1620 with the Pilgrims, though not from the Leyden church and who later married Priscilla Mullins.

enemy nations. Still, the lesson is that God uses fallible, yet willing men to accomplish his purposes on earth. Mourners were thereby encouraged to follow Winthrop's example by identifying themselves with the people Moses led, thus making them a unified community of saints. John Alden's elegist says that "[like] Abram he did with JEHOVAH talk." Nathaniel Pitcher's (1718) elegy on Isaac Stetson uses his name to compare him to Abraham's son Isaac as he addresses Isaac's parents in his "Words of Consolation to Mr. Robert Stetson & Mrs. Mary Stetson, his Wife":

When th'Famous Patriarch, *Abram* of Old
Was Call'd by GOD (who oft to him foretold,
Of Wondrous things, should be in future Times
And blessings that should Spring out of his Loines.)
To Sacrifice his Only *Isaac* Dear,
Belov'd as Life, and to his Heart most Near;
Bright Faith, and Love, Obedience to prove
Unto his GOD, the GOD of Heaven Above,
Resigningly he parts with his dear Son,
With Bright Devotion, LORD, *Thy Will be done*. (1-10)

What the elegist fails to point out is that the Old Testament Isaac did not actually die because, at the last moment, God, as a result of Abraham's faith and willingness to sacrifice his son, provided a substitute. However, the implication is that if God tested the great men of the Bible, then those of his chosen people of New England's New Zion should feel honored that God would test them in their time.

Later in that same epitaph, Pitcher uses another familiar text to exhort Isaac Stetson's parents:

By Faith and Prayer, Submit; Yea and Resign
Your dying *Isaac* to the'Will Divine.
Altho' you've lost a Son out of your Band
Yet bless the Giving, and the Taking Hand : (31-34)

This last line refers to the verses in Job (1:20-21), where Satan was given permission to test Job to see if he really was as blameless and upright as he seemed to be. When informed that he had just lost all his sons and daughters and livestock, Job mourned but began to worship God, saying "Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I will depart. The Lord gave and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." The writer of Job further narrates "In all this, Job did not sin by charging God with wrongdoing" (1:23). Of course, mourners of young Stetson would be well aware of the Old Testament reference. The elegist's intent seems to be reminding the Stetsons that their son has been given by God to them, and that his taking their son simply provides another opportunity to praise and worship God: "Then shall that Sacred Word be Understood, / T*hat All shall work Together for your Good*" (Romans 8:28).

In short, the elegists of broadside epitaphs used rich allusions to Bible personages, well-known to the New Englanders, to remind them of their spiritual heritage and their special status as God's chosen nation. These familiar references had the effect both of reminding them of their obligation as the God's true church and of their responsibility to join together to accomplish their covenanted purpose. Both of these spiritual obligations required a tightly knit community working together. In Stetson's epitaph, Pitcher reminded mourners of their steadfast hope: "All shall work Together for your Good."

In his funeral elegy for Thomas Savage (1681), Lawson addresses death:

Great King of Terrours, art thou not content
To rage and tyrannize, uncessantly,
Over the Mortals, of a mean descent:
And fill thy craving Urn, with Peasantry.
But thou must climbing and aspiring be,
To snatch our Men of Note, and high degree:
And make them feel thy pow'r, and bow their heads to thee. (15-21)

The speaker asks Death, the "King of Terrours" if he cannot simply take the peasants and let the leaders live? Must he take the notable and important men among them? Lawson's speaker continues in the next stanza: "When such Stars fall, well may it us afright, / In sense of our departing glory's light; Lest we should cover'd be, with dismal shades of night" (Lawson). "Departing glory" refers to the fading of the vision that empowers the communal mission and to the fear that the glory of God would leave them because they had not fulfilled their part of the covenant. Thus, these lines epitomize the fear and anxiety besetting the Bay colonists. Of course, Lawson argues, the people should be afraid when they lose their leaders! Such "Stars" as Thomas Savage, the poet seems to say, light the way and lead the community in godly pursuits. But as each leader dies, the illumination of the path is replaced with only darkness. And though Savage's epitaph does not explicitly refer here to God's purpose for New England, the message is clear: we are right to be worried about the successful completion of our continued mission; God may already have abandoned us, and if not, we must work to show our commitment to the mission. The elegy then transitions into the portraiture of Savage as a model of righteous, patterned behavior, reminding readers that as they die, leaders like him must be replaced by other "Men of Note." Thus the lament for the loss of one such notable man as Savage turns into a call to renew the communal vision in a jeremiadic fashion.

Lawson calls Thomas Savage "a pattern, of great Piety, / Endeavoring God's Glory to advance." In the "His Epitaph" section of the broadside, Lawson implores readers to follow the example of the deceased Savage:

But Reader, since thou see'st him, in this State,
His Grace, and Virtue, learn to imitate:
Tread in his steps, and walk incessantly;
So live with him, in Bliss Eternally. (9-12)

Lawson's exhortation to the community to model themselves after Savage reminds them not only of their earthly purpose to pattern their lives after his, but also the eternal consequences of not doing so. If those who remain do not follow his model, the community will be plunged into the aforementioned "Dismal shades of night," indicating not only that the people will be unmotivated and find it more difficult to proceed with their mission, but also that God's glory may depart if they do not follow his lead. The mention of what to do to "live with him, in Bliss Eternally" provides by contrast what will happen if they do not follow his example. "Dismal shades of night" may mean eternal separation from God or eternity in hell. Ministers encouraged people from all walks of life to mourn, thereby communalizing the shared sorrow for the purpose of drawing people together. In Daniel Denison's elegy, William Hubbard outlines the kinds of people who must be mourned by the common people.

Let Shrubs take heed when thus the Cedars tall,
By fatal stroke we see cut down and fall;
When Clouds of Darkness gathered are above,

Men to behink themselves it doth behove.
A stormy season seems to be at hand,
The which they cannot easily withstand.
When Pillars which the Building do upbear,
Are ta'n away it's Ruine's very near.
When broken is the stay and staffe of Bread;
By which the people are maintain'd and fed;
When as the Mighty Man and Man of War,
By fatal hand of Death removed are;
The Judge most sage, and holy Prophet too,
The Captain of the great and lower Bands
With Wisdome and with Valour that commands.
When once removed are the Councellous
Cunning Artificers and Oratour:
Such changes sad do unto all portend
That peoples welfare suddenly will end. (37-56)

The death of all the powerful people will cause an end to the welfare of God's people. Lest readers forget who these powerful people are, the author lists their types. Hubbard's "Cedars" represent one group of those notables that the "Shrubs" or common people must observe. In other words, the poem's speaker advises that the community must pay attention when the notables among them are taken from among them. The "Pillars" represent those on whom the community and church rest. The "stay and staff of Bread" refers to God's men, the ministers among them, those who feed the people God's holy word or bread of life. "Mighty Man and Man of War" means those who fight for the land, the soldiers and warriors. "Judge" and "Prophet," "Prudent" and "Ancient "represent those who are civic leaders. The "Cunning Artificers and Oratours" are those who speak well within the church and colony. After listing those who should be closely observed, the speaker points out that "A stormy season seems to be at hand / The which they cannot easily withstand" (41-2). In other words, a dangerous time ("stormy season") is coming, and when the support system of the colony dies, they are ruined, he says. The elegy concludes:

Such changes sad do unto all portend
That peoples welfare suddenly will end.
Lord, thou to whom Earths Shields do all belong,
Our fears avert, out hopes revive among
Thy People all, that still within our Land
May dwell thy glory: Always for us stand. (55-60)

Since the poet predicts that the death of all the powerful people will cause an end to the welfare of God's people, next he implores God to avert their fears, revive their hopes so that God's glory may dwell in their land. His final plea addresses God, "Lord . . . Always for us stand" (60). By using the pronoun "us," the elegist links the individual mourner to the community through identification with the deceased person. The elegy offers a condensed sermon by presenting mourners with the communally-desired qualities found in this individual. The poem asks readers to follow the model, to observe how God was glorified by this life, and by extension, how God can use the mourner/observer. Thus, the printed epitaph potentially appealed to a broader audience than the sermon, while still urging readers' adherence to communal expectations. Because epitaphs had a wider audience which extended outside the place of worship or home where sermons were delivered or

read, they gave the *appearance* of being separate from the religious ideology. But their language proved otherwise.

Gravestones

Like epitaphs, gravestones also revealed the Puritans' anxieties about their communal mission. They, too, adapted the stylized conventions of the jeremiad sermon and served as a public reminder of the New Englanders' anxieties. This portion of the study focuses on selected grave markers which memorialize men, women, and children whose deaths occurred between 1666 and 1726 in and around the Boston area.[336] The markers included in this study represent only a tiny segment of those surviving in colonial burial grounds and contain memorials to individuals and groups, figures both well-known and unknown to contemporary graveyard visitors, but known and materially mourned by loved ones at their times of death. As in the case of some broadside epitaphs' having been printed many years after the death of the memorialized subject, so, obviously, may the gravestones have been carved years, and sometimes even decades, after the individual's death. On the other hand, Harriette Merrifield Forbes claims that at least one gravestone was present as early as the funeral (13), but other scholars speculate that most gravestones were placed within a year after a person's death. Further study of town records reveals a lengthier gap between death and gravestone carving or placement. Still, as with printed verse, generally speaking, the stones reveal conventions contemporary to the period of study. [337]

What common visual and textual features do the gravestones possess that provide a material record of the unifying effects of mourning for the Puritans of New England? According to the most prolific photographers and data collectors from the burial grounds in New England, Daniel and Jessie Lie Farber,[338] there seems to be no standard in terms of size of head and foot stones. Jessie Farber reports, "The oldest New England headstones tended to stand about [thirty] inches high, and the average height increased somewhat during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century" ("Common sizes"). She continues to describe the parts of the most popular stones as suggestive of "the headboard and footboard of a bed" ("Shape"):

> The headstone's rounded tympanum is flanked on each side by rounded shoulders, or finials. The inscribed tablet under the tympanum is usually bordered with decorative carving on two, three, and sometimes all four sides. The tympanum and shoulders are nearly always decorated. Footstones are smaller than headstones. Some footstones are cut to match the shape of their headstones, but [their] shapes are usually simple, often just a small slab with rounded corners. (Farber)

[336] Images of the examined stones come from my private collection or from the Farber Collection, an online photographic repository of the American Antiquarian Society, which houses over 13,000 gravestone images, the large majority of which are of New England stones. The AAS archive can be found by using one of the two image viewers at www.davidrumsey.com/farber.

[337] Three gravestones that might have been included in the project, but were not because of just such a lengthy gap between death and memorial stone placement were those of the Reverend John Cotton, Governor John Winthrop, and last surviving Mayflower passenger, John Alden. Cotton's gravestone features names of other ministers who served the Boston Church. Winthrop's stone is a table-top marker containing the family crest and the names of other notable Winthrops who came after him. Alden's gravestone was placed by a family society in 1930.

[338] The photographic records of the Farber Collection have been digitally archived and made available via the Internet at www.davidrumsey.com/farber in a convenient and searchable format. Earlier photographs of New England's gravestones compiled by Harriette Merrifield Forbes and Ernest Caulfield are also included in the 13,000-plus images available.

However, some early examples are missing the finials and provide no adornment beside text, and many are crudely carved chunks of rock, containing only the name or initials of the deceased and the year of death.[339] Occasionally, these early markers have deeply cut horizontal guide lines to keep text aligned and grouped letters into words by placement of colons. Textual innovations improved carving styles and sophistication of the work itself, like the eventual discarding of the guidelines and colons, which were replaced by "floating periods" between words. Eventually, both the guidelines and the excessive punctuation all but disappeared.

The first real stylistic development on stones in New England burial grounds seems to have originated in the Boston area in the final quarter of the seventeenth century, when the first emblems are added to the lines of inscription text carved on grave markers. The Tashjians assert that the main focus of most carved images was metamorphosis and the changing of one state to another (11-2). The transition from life to death is represented by the image of the winged skull or death's head or the winged hourglass, both symbols of mortality, which was carved into the tympanum, indicating that death comes quickly. Latin phrases like *FUGIT HORA* or *MEMENTO MORI* (roughly translated "Time Flies" and "Remember Death") often accompanied the winged skulls or hourglasses for emphasis. The skulls of early death's heads feature empty eye sockets and grim, toothy grins, which extend across the width of the jaw. The wings themselves extend uniformly to both sides of the skull and often occupy most of the area of the tympanum. Feathers on the wings are either in horizontal rows across or "coined" in more realistic fashion. Some carvings place these skulls either above or beneath a running hour glass, emphasizing the passing of time, and some place the winged death's head on an architectural column, thus adding the dimension of space to the flat carving. On some stones, other mortuary articles appear to reiterate the grim reality of death: crossed bones, a spade and pick, and coffins. Thomas Call's stone features all of the above and the Latin phrase "*FUGIT HORA*." Surrounded by columns, the tablet underneath the tympanum on which the inscription appears suggests a portal to eternity, a passage from one world to the next. The Neal children's stone is exceptional with its angular tympanum and its three rounded tablets, marking the graves of the children of Andrew and Nelicen Neal. The tablets lie in the foreground of the portals framed by four shallowly-incised columns. In deeper relief, forming the background of each doorway, stylized suns rise and set as if to symbolize the beginnings and endings of the short lives of the three who lived for five days, two weeks, and eighteen months.

Depending on the carver, pinwheels, leaves, and other stylized flourishes surrounded the death's head within the tympanum or flowed down the finials. Breast-like fruit appears frequently on the finials of Boston-area gravestones of both men and women. Forbes, Ludwig, Tashjian, and Farber agree that these emblems represent spiritual nurturing, whether "church, ministry or nourishment of the soul" (Farber) rather than erotic subjects. Developing over time and sometimes appearing alongside the winged death's head, kinder looking, more human winged creatures represent the first shift toward representational carving. Called "soul effigies," these emblems' eyes were more animated, and a hint of a smile replaced the skull's teeth. Many gravestones containing either winged skulls or soul effigies became more stylized and decorative and featured birds or other animate creatures in addition to the less-realistic wings. Other carvings present mythical sea

[339] The development of carving conventions is an interesting study bearing much more research, even in light of Allan Ludwig's remarkable dissertation turned book in 1966 and its subsequent reissue in 1999 with additional resources and foreword added. According to Ludwig, several important innovations in New England occurred between 1647 (earliest dated stone found by Ludwig) and the ending of this study (1730).

creatures (dagons) or imps with their darts of death bearing what appears to be the pall of the deceased, emblems which may be considered uncharacteristic of Puritan strictness against representation of the individual or pagan and erotic images.[340]

Replacing the grinning skulls of the winged death's head with smiling cherubic figures indicates something of a shift in attitudes toward death. Death seems less to be feared. Eventually, these non-representational "soul effigies" are replaced by images which actually represent, if not resemble, the deceased individual. This development is called "portrait," though it was not designed to look like the memorialized subject in the contemporary sense of the word. The stone of the Reverend Jonathan Pierpont (1709) is among the first recorded examples and features him dressed in clerical collar and holding a book, presumably the Bible.

Carvings and emblems did not change in a regular or systematized fashion, and most innovations continued to appear alongside one another and older forms for decades. The anthropological research of Dethlefsen and Deetz demonstrates the frequency of each type of carving in the burying grounds in areas around Boston. Also, for gravestone carvings as with both sermons and epitaphs, researchers must be aware of the potential of back-dating, especially when attempting to place a marker by carving and ornamentation style.

If the images engraved in stone are not intended to be especially representative of the individual person, and if they are related less to theology and more to memorializing the dead and remarking on death in general, how can scholars attempt to understand these carvings? And where did the emblems carved thereon originate? Numerous scholars[341] have noted that common wording and emblematic or symbolic features were in many cases copied directly from print sources such as emblem books, broadsides, and New England primers. These print sources with their didactic and communally unifying messages in words and pictures became even more condensed lessons of mortality as they were used more and more frequently on gravestones.

Gazing across any of a number of peaceful New England burial grounds today provides a clearer understanding of the communalizing effect of a field of gray stones of similar size and shape. By the early 1700s, such a sight must have reminded God's people that in death, their chances to effect a change in their New Canaan were dwindling, even as the stones multiplied over the years.

Carved gravestones marked a physical site of mourning for New England's settlers. Materially, like epitaphs, they represented public, shared sites of private, individual grief. Most surviving markers were literally "graven images," carved in stone, and as such represent a tangible and lasting reminder to religious mourners of the wages of sin but also of the transcendent quality of death for sanctified individuals. The stone itself, whether slate, schist, soapstone, or sandstone, marked the physical location of a person's remains, thereby serving as or providing a place of reminder, a physical site of mourning, and a very visible appeal to the community to follow God's mission before death came to them all.

As with the other death texts, New England gravestone conventions relied on traditions brought with the colonists from their homeland. In England, gravestones developed from marking the *death* of an individual to marking the *place* of burial. Ludwig explains English burial history through his reliance on John Weever's *Ancient Funerall*

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[340] Scholars make much of the contrast between English Puritans' iconoclasm and New England's Puritans and their eventual acceptance (within the first few decades) of iconography on tombstones. Some argue that because the burial was a civil activity and not a religious one, or that because the graves were not meant for worship, images on grave markers did not break the second commandment. Others assert that what the religious said and what they did were simply at odds with one another, that practice did not match theology.

[341] See Ludwig, Farber, and the Tashjians.

Monuments (1631).[342] Many of the customs that the New Englanders rejected can be traced to the first millennium of the Christian Church. In the Catholic Church, the placement of a person's remains relied ultimately on the status and wealth of the deceased or of the deceased's family, which arranged for burial. For instance, burial inside the church cost more money but was important because resting there or near the church, in the churchyard perhaps, allowed a certain visibility, necessary to stimulate regular prayers for the soul of the deceased and thereby to ensure God's eternal favor. Of course, Puritan reformers wanted no part of this practice, so burial places for their dead were civic spaces rather than sacred ones.

Few Puritan gravestones during this time period contained Christian iconography of any kind. Such images were associated with the English Church, which to the Puritans needed severe reform. Visitors to New England's burying grounds did not expect a sermon, either graphic or verbal. The burial grounds were not connected to the church, and any symbols present related more to mortality and spiritual metamorphosis than to theology; indeed, it was this feature of gravestones that was the most democratic and therefore unifying. The ungodly were not at a disadvantage in the graveyard. Neither were the illiterate. To "read" the gravestone, one had only to locate the selected person's stone. If there were symbols, they communicated clearly enough. Even if there were only initials or a name and date of death, the stone's presence itself conveyed the message.

The rhetorical situation, or audience, purpose, and context, of gravestone carvings is less easily explained than that of sermons and epitaphs. In some ways, the identity of any possible speaker of the text and icons on grave markers seems less important than the purpose of the message conveyed. The audience for carved gravestones is broader than the audience for funeral sermons and broadside epitaphs. Anyone could "read" a gravestone, and the message was literally carved in stone, nearly immoveable, and lasting for generations. The Tashjians indicate a clear link to sermons: "The visual impact of these stones is typical of most in New England and suggests an analogy to the plain style of Puritan sermons: the most common, the least educated, could understand the carvings and profit from their didactic import" (52). In keeping with the intention of the printed texts, one purpose of marking burial places was to disseminate information about the deceased. The stones' purpose to announce death and, in New England, to mark the place of burial in civic, public ground conveyed a communally unifying message in ways that burial in a church yard could not. The public stone marking death—and that individual's passage from death to life eternal—proclaimed as well as any tolling bell that the community had lost one of its own and now would do well to join together ever more soberly. Thus, gravestones also provided subtle correction and instruction for mourners, much like sermons and epitaphs did. The death of an individual meant one less mission-minded person working toward God's purpose in New England, and gravestones marked that absence clearly. Thus, those who remained must work even more diligently than before, and the community must link itself together to reaffirm its common goals. The burying grounds, therefore, represented a very visible urging toward communal compliance.

Because the "speaker" of the gravestone carving related uniquely to each individual's death, the rhetorical appeals of ethos, logos, and pathos demonstrated in such memorials is less easily clarified. Depending on the situation, the carver may have used a boilerplate form with set or popular emblems; alternatively, he may have taken clear direction from the surviving family members of the deceased regarding what to carve on the stone. Ludwig and others mention the correlation between some emblems and woodcuts on broadside

[342] The early publication date of this book makes it daunting to locate; however, it is available in its entirety online.

epitaphs. Few records remain to clarify any true authors or speakers of the carvings.[343] The dearth of Massachusetts Bay area carvers' records, which could conceivably reveal the propagation of specific ideology, can be read in two ways. It may mean that the images and text carved onto grave markers were so common and well-known to people of the area that no explanation was necessary. Perhaps a stone carver merely appealed to popular aesthetics and current fashion in his practice of the art of carving, or alternatively, he may have relied on the iconic and textual choices of the person who paid for the memorial stone. Whether these speculations are accurate, or whether another vastly different reasoning explains the stones' appearance, the materiality of the text itself provided the requisite rhetorical appeal.

The materiality of a gravestone carving is arguably the most important feature of this type of death text. Its enduring material features and public location overwhelm any wording or carved emblems in terms of message. Gravestones reminded the community that life is fleeting and eternity lasts forever, so preparation for death counts as wisdom for the individual, but also for the preservation of the community and its mission. Early carvings have only words and no images. Later stones employ emblems of death, which are representative of ideas rather than of reality. Allan Ludwig in *Graven Images* writes,

> Stonecarvers did not consciously attempt to mirror theological dogma and the intellectuals never programmed any complicated cycles for them. Indeed, stonecarvers were almost always mute concerning their craft and the ministers had equally little to say about the imagery. In addition, Puritan writings about religion are almost always cast into theological abstractions while the imagery speaks in the language of sensuous form. Yet both attempted to symbolize the joys of life to come and in attempting to express by symbols the unity and beauty of the "invisible world" both have much in common. (6)

These "joys of life to come" portrayed in the abstract theology of sermons and the sensory images of the gravestones were reserved for the elect, for God's chosen among them. And as such, both served as unifying or communalizing forces linking the material stone to the invisible world, in effect reminding mourners that turning to God today was the only means of attaining access to those joys provided in eternity. Still, there was no strict connection between what ministers preached from the pulpit and what imagery wound up on gravestones.

Although some gravestones are more skillfully carved and ornate than others, the carvings themselves do not point to the existence of a social hierarchy between "men of note" and "publick persons" as overtly as some of the epitaphs do. Their very shape, size, and style reveal them as memorials not only to the death, but also to the prestige of an individual. Scholars note that, because of stone and labor costs, common men and women often could not afford a grave marker at the time of death. In many cases, gravestones were added to burial plots many years after the death of a person, in which case the carving represents the later carving and emblem style and causes difficulty in accurate dating of the stone. However, gravestone experts agree that only a select group was memorialized in stone.[344] Jessie Lie Farber notes that "there is a solid relationship between the importance of the deceased and the size of the head and foot stones" ("What are common sizes . . . of gravestones?"). In "A Century and One-Half of American Epitaphs (1660-1813): Toward the Study of Collective Attitudes about Death," Michel Vovelle adds that carved gravestones

[343] John Stevens of Newport, Rhode Island, may be one of the few stone carvers who left any substantial records. See both Farber and Ludwig.
[344] See both Vovelle and Farber.

were "[r]eserved in the seventeenth century for the most important personages—governors, mayors, high officials and famous clergy—[carved stones] were not democratized, but noticeably diffused among the urban and rural elite" (535). Size of the stone and ornateness of carving often correlated to the prestige of the memorialized subject.

For instance, an examination of the marked burial places of the clergy reveals that well-loved ministers often had the most impressive gravestones in terms of carver skill and innovation of emblem. The beauty and craftsmanship of a memorial for the godly effectively served to mark the beauty of a life lived for God's glory and purpose, thus providing one more indication that linking themselves together in community and following the way offered by these exemplars of God's kingdom was valued here on earth as well as in the life to come.

The appearance of gravestone carvings in New England changed steadily between 1630 and 1730. Over these hundred years, the carvings' themes ranged from simple marking of a burial site to a more didactic focus on death as a natural punishment for sin and later on the rewards offered by death through the resurrection provided to the elect. While some scholars warn about the difficulties in analyzing gravestones, especially in terms of religious symbolism, the stones nevertheless focused the community on the loss of the faithful through death, and in so doing, reveal the survivors' concerns about successfully continuing the mission.[345] While not overtly religious in meaning or intent in terms of religious symbolism, gravestones are communalizing in perhaps the most visibly useful way: their provision of a public site of mourning allows all members of the community to view them, not just the godly churchgoers who would attend a sermon or the readers of printed broadsides. Gravestones appear in public burial grounds, and as such are *public* reminders of the mortality of the individual—and of the community itself.

While they provided a physical location in which to mourn, grave markers also had a number of other communalizing traits similar to those of funeral sermons and printed broadside epitaphs—they served ritualizing and regularizing purposes. Much like the textual conventions of funeral sermons and verse, gravestones have conventional forms. Gravestones used familiar forms adapted to their new land and circumstances. While the colonists in New England relied on the use of gravestones in many of the same ways they had in England, they also left many of the old ways behind. For instance, though neither the stone nor the burial ground was overtly intended to promote religious practice or extend religious space, because the New England Way permeated (or attempted to permeate) every aspect of community life, even the care taken to distinguish between civic and religious activities and spaces could not separate the people from their communal goal. Indeed, the concentrated attempts to maintain control further reveal the throes of anxiety. In comparison to the clear link between the Scripture and sermons and epitaphs, few Bible images appear carved on the gravestones of New England between 1630 and 1730. Instead, the iconography of death on grave carvings makes broader statements about death and eternity, statements in code that any New Englander would recognize, though not

[345] In *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of Early New England Stonecarving*, Dickran and Ann Tashjian assert that researchers must be careful when analyzing gravestones, not to attribute theological meaning to emblems on gravestones (58). And, as Ludwig explains, "the iconography of New England was often lacking in specific Christian content" (66). During the last half of the seventeenth century in New England, very few symbols appear on gravestones that are explicitly Christian, and Ludwig asserts, "It is impossible to tell one denomination from another by looking at the carved symbols" (66). For instance, there appears to be no symbolic or iconographic marker of whether a deceased individual belonged to an "acceptable" congregation or to no congregation at all. After all, religious art and symbols like crosses or crowns of thorns were considered papish relics and thus, especially in the first several generations, unacceptable for God's true church.

dictated or even found in the literature of the day to have been approved by ministers, but used with surprising frequency and in ornate fashion on their gravestones as well.

For instance, the Joseph Tapping stone (1678) depicts the skeleton of darted Death snuffing out the candle of life of an individual. Bearded Time accompanies him, scythe in hand, ready to cut down the subject who does not appear on the stone. Architectural forms appear to either side of the scene, indicating the portal of death through which each person who dies must pass. Such images were more symbolic, not exactly pointing to the person of the deceased. Instead the emblems of death found carved in stone represent Puritan ideals in a more symbolic fashion. For instance, winged skulls, and later soul effigies depict not the soul of the individual whose graves they mark. Instead, they represent the notion that when a person died, his soul leaves earth for other realms.

Still, gravestones served a communalizing purpose. Each stone visibly marked and conveyed, in ways that the spoken words and quickly decaying printed papers of funeral sermons and broadside epitaphs could not, that each member of the community would face death soon. As the members of the community died, the survivors must have realized that to continue the mission, they had to convey God's purpose to the next generation while revitalizing their own piety and enthusiasm for the task.

The sermonic conventions of portraiture and exhortation appeared to a lesser degree on gravestones. Portraiture on gravestones was reduced to factual details of death and relationship. Here Lies the Body of . . . wife of . . . who deceased in the year. . ., Aged . . . years. There was often little description of the deceased individual in terms of his/her service to God's kingdom or to the community.[346] Carved words noted the name and important family or community relationships, followed by death date and age at the time of death. In this way, the lettering echoed the top matter on broadside epitaphs. Exhortation was silent, but present in material, if not textual form. In other words, no gravestones have been found in New England during the period of the study which rebuked mourners, but a few remarked verbally on ways that mourners could emulate the deceased or learn from his or her example—mainly by way of the Latin phrases mentioned previously. Of course, the exhortation found in these phrases was also well-represented in the mortuary emblems such as the winged death's head images, the crossed bones, the shovel and pick, the standing or reclining skeleton, the figures of Death with his dart and Time with his scythe. On more ornate gravestones, elegiac verses appeared, similar to those of printed broadsides.

If "jeremiadic" indicates the use of lamentation followed by celebration, gravestones reveal themselves to be jeremiadic. As burial markers, they certainly lament an individual's death. But by providing a physical marker, they also memorialize, and thus, celebrate, the individual's God-given life. As with the broadsides, the gravestones utilize the deceased subject of the marker as a model for the community and leave the stone itself as an enduring reminder of his or her exemplary qualities. The shifts from grim death's head to more angelic soul effigies to portraits mark a change in attitude in that both their materiality and their iconic message subvert the negative aspects of death. The near-smiles on the soul effigies' faces hint at the eternal reward which follows the death of God's chosen.

As jeremiadic texts, gravestones were simply succinct and silent but effective in their offering communal opportunity for lamentation and rejoicing to remind the mourners that God would punish them because he loved his children. As a public location to grieve, a tombstone marking a grave may have offered the place and opportunity for lamentation. But to a broader audience, to all who passed by, an individual gravestone offered the reminder that death had been swallowed up in victory. For every Calvinist was most certainly aware that once a person died, the community would feel the loss. He or she was no longer present in the earthly realm, but had gone on to eternal reward or damnation. Little if any

[346] Jonathan Pierpont's gravestone's verses represent one exception.

attention was given in representing those who died without salvation's assurance. Grouped gravestones in civic, rather than in sacred ground of a churchyard, pointed even more clearly to the communal loss seen in the gathered stones and the lesson that life is short and the time to accomplish the mission is swiftly passing. Thus the gathered stones visibly pointed to the missing community members, which offered a clear depiction of the need for those who remained to link arms in pursuing their earthly part of God's covenant, of establishing his Church in New England.

Death came to all, not just to those wealthy or elite enough to afford a nicely carved memorial of death, so despite the non-democratic production of such stones, they revealed a familiar message to all levels of society. Gravestone carvings provide tangible reminders of individual responsibility of each viewer to the community. The grouping of gravestones into a civic burial ground provides a visual representation of those who have now gone into eternity. Such a message could not but help to remind those who were left of their own mortality and responsibility.

For the Puritans of New England, who were voluntarily separated from their homeland and intent on establishing a true Church of Christ in the New Zion of America, funeral sermons, broadside epitaphs, and carved gravestones served to ritualize death and mourning in communalizing ways. The New Englanders in their mourning texts used familiar English forms and adapted them to their new circumstances. The adaptations of the death-textual forms linked the colonists just enough to their homeland to remind them why they left and to reaffirm the communal nature and corporate unity necessary for success of their mission. Yet the forms simultaneously broke ties with England, especially after 1660, and cemented their connections to one another in God's promised land by creating new textual forms which more accurately represented their new purpose—reaffirming God's communal mission for his chosen people in the new world.

Each of the three genres of mourning texts, funeral sermons, broadside epitaphs, and gravestone carvings, fulfills one part of the communalizing ritual surrounding the death of Puritan New Englanders. Each accomplishes its own purposes for its chosen audience in a set context. Sermons speak to the godly congregant of the need for rededication to the errand into the wilderness. Epitaphs link the godly mission to the wider audience of both godly and ungodly literate citizenry. Both printed forms are fleeting reminders of the colony's goals. Gravestones represent the most enduring message to the broadest audience. Together the three mourning genres provide a cohesive message that links theology to the community and reveal the rituals which attempt to reconfirm the Calvinist mission.

Biographical Note

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Appendix: List of Epitaphs[347]

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[347] Epitaphs are alphabetized by last name of deceased subject.