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Faculty Forum President's Letter

It is my privilege to welcome you to the Fall 2007 edition of the *Journal of the Union Faculty Forum*. It is a special honor to introduce this particular edition, dedicated to Dr. Kyle Hathcox – a beloved friend and wise mentor to the entire Union family and to me personally.

As you know, the forum in ancient Roman cities was a public square or marketplace. Implicit in that description is the idea of the forum as a place for the exchange of ideas through open discussion and a place for important public business to be transacted. These basic functions continue in our monthly Faculty Forum meetings at Union, as we meet to freely discuss significant topics that facilitate the business of the University. Information exchange also occurs through this *Journal*, with engaging and enlightening articles from a wide array of disciplines. Likewise, the *Journal* assists with the transaction of essential University business by providing a means for the dissemination of scholarship to a diverse audience.

I invite you to join in our monthly discussions and to read this fine *Journal*. By doing so, you will enrich the discourse of the public square and perhaps gain valuable information for your personal use. I also invite you to contact me with any questions or concerns you may have; the other Forum officers and I look forward to serving you this year.

Please join Gavin Richardson (vice-president), Joanne Stephenson (secretary), and me in thanking the contributors to this *Journal*. We also offer our sincere and hearty appreciation to Roger Stanley, *JUFF* editor, for his consistently excellent work.

—Jeannette H. Russ

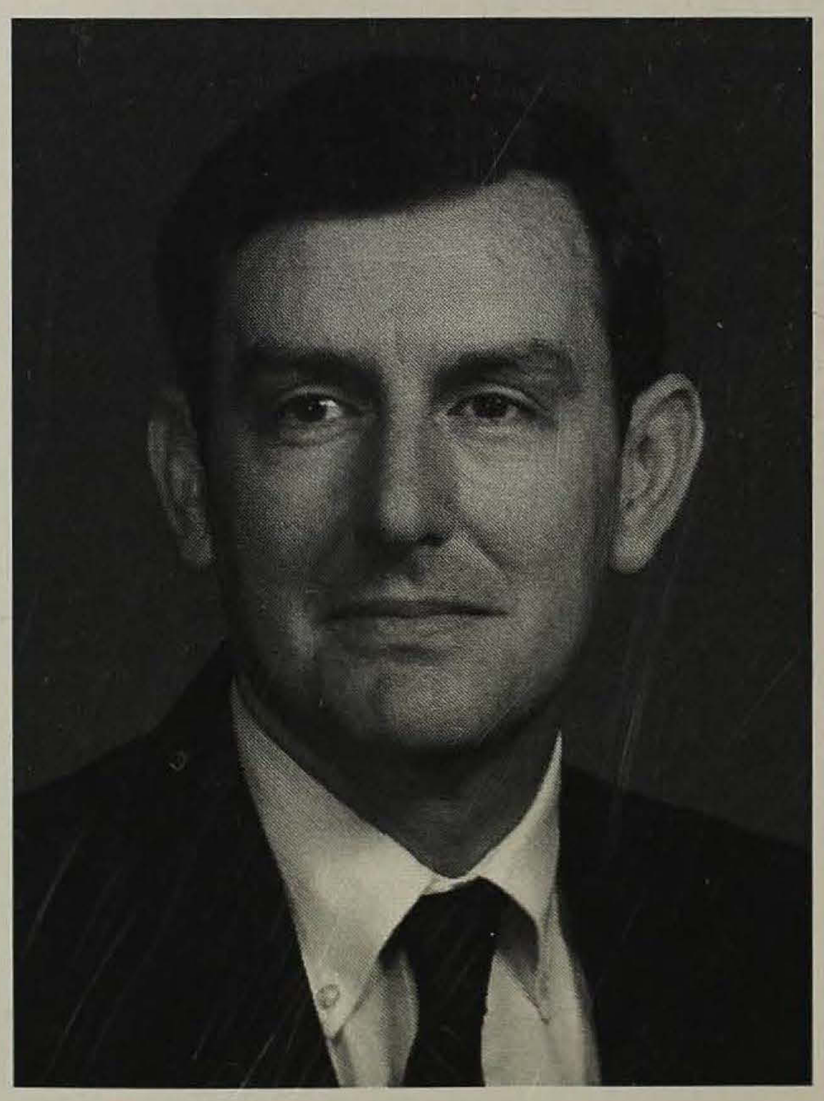
A Word from the Editor

by Roger Stanley

As one preparing to hand over the reins of JUFF to whomever might be galloping forth (perhaps at a canter or a trot more like) to saddle the beast in future years, I offer volume 27 here by way of swan song (to alter the animal metaphor away from the equine). When current Faculty Forum president Jeannette Russ (see page i), asked me whether I considered this decade and a half of either co-editorship or editorship a "labor of love," I had to say yes. I don't know whether the subtext of that question was getting to the issue of renumeration for duties (there's no such, for any of the four Forum officer positions), but my answer in any case would have been immediate. The name of my predecessor Ernie Pinson has been invoked many times in this "column," and I'd like to thank others too, like my own former co-editors—Janice Wood and Melinda Clarke—and the recently retired whiz kid of University Services, Marjorie Richard ("kid" despite the retirement status, "whiz" always). To the Provost's office in general and Carla Sanderson in particular, thanks for the funding through the years; may JUFF continue to be deemed worthy of support, financially and otherwise.

It's my fellow faculty, the contributors through the issues, who must most be acknowledged. I can't name them all here, but folks represented in these current pages like Melissa Moore and Judy Leforge and Matt Lunsford have been faithful to more than one issue of JUFF. We usually don't accept multiple submissions, but the high quality of work by Melissa and by Hal Poe merits bookend inclusion here, near the beginning of the issue and again toward the end.

Finally, it's bittersweet to be able to dedicate JUFF volume 27 to one we lost over the summer, Kyle Hathcox. Kyle was the first person to submit, sending me "Is Anything Absolute?" last fall. Poignantly, a Groupwise message with attachment for JUFF came through again from him on June 20, 2007. As you read "Quantity or Quality in Education?" here, please spare a thought for a human being whose mind, even at that late date, was at least partly on his service to Union University.







In Memory of Kyle Hathcox

1947-2007

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Eyes on the Prize

by Harry Lee Poe

With narrow ken and hungry eyes
the vultures spied the precious prize.
One took his picture and walked away;
the other one ate him for lunch that day.
With scarcely a motion the little boy died—
no whimpers or groanings or sighings were cried.
The man took an hour to set up the shot;
the bird would not wait for the carcass to rot.
The thought of a Pulitzer danced in one head,
while the other expected to feast on the dead.
The vultures took turns as they fed on their prey,
then hurried along, much too busy to stay.

after hearing Tom Elliff in chapel

The Reading Parent

by Melissa Moore

Christian parents know that we are to be *reading* parents.

After all, our Christian walk with the Lord Jesus is directed by a Book. We take our children to Sunday School and church so they can learn about Christ and develop a reverence for His Word. We teach our children to pray, and perhaps buy them devotional materials or Bible study guides, to encourage them to develop a quiet time of their own with God. Many of us, sensing our own inadequacies, read books or magazines on becoming a better parent or a more devoted Christian, or getting our finances in order, or strengthening our marriage. A great number of us enjoy Christian fiction, because it spurs us on in our pursuit of the things of God. Whatever our focus, we read because we believe there is truth to be found in the printed word. There is help for our struggles, if we only look in the right place.

I would even presume that most of us value the act, the practice, of reading. That's why you have found time to read this article—you are operating under the presumption that there is something good to be found in my words, some idea that might help you as a Christian and as a parent. Moreover, what we value as parents we typically want to pass on to our children as well. That's why my father was disappointed when none of his children turned out to be fishermen. It's why I am looking forward to the day my daughters (ages six and nearly-eight) are old enough to cross-stitch with their mom. Don't we want our children to be readers? I am thinking beyond the acquisition of that skill to the delight that comes from losing oneself in a wonderful story, or finding your heart's expression in a poem, or the challenge of confronting new ideas found in the latest bestseller.

How do we make them readers?

Maybe more importantly, how do we make them *Christian* readers?

Rediscover the Classics

I am firmly committed to the classics. I can remember reading Little Women and Through the Looking Glass when I was ten and eleven, sitting in my bedroom window seat. My favorite books in high school were Jane Eyre and East of Eden (which may explain my choice of an English major in college). Interestingly enough, if you look at the reading level assigned to The Secret Garden or The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe, you may be surprised (or maybe not) to discover that the classics are typically more complex structurally, with more challenging syntax and vocabulary, than most of what is published today for youth. Ask any young person who has waded through Hans Brinker lately (if you can find one), and he will prove my point.

Yet the stories remain, because they are in many ways universal. I believe that, given the right introduction and the right person to come alongside them in the reading process, many middle school and high school students would delight in discovering the books that meant so much to many of us. Let me encourage you to revisit the books that were special to you as a youngster. Immerse yourself in them again; see if they are truly timeless. Think about your child's interests, abilities, and limitations. Would he enjoy the story? Is the vocabulary or sentence structure too sophisticated for her at this point in her life? Could you read it together?

Read What Others are Reading

Participate in the reading life of your child. Too often, we leave our children to fend for themselves once they pass picture-book age, but if we give in to that temptation for the sake of convenience,

we miss a prime learning opportunity. If your son or daughter is really excited about a book, read it. Find out what touches him so deeply. Sharing the story (whether fiction or nonfiction) makes the reading, and the learning, much richer for your child. It also helps you understand your child. If you pay careful attention, you can get a clearer picture of what your child really values and what she worries about, because she is just like you—she gravitates toward the books that will speak to her soul.

I remember reading all the Nancy Drew books in fifth grade like a thirsty man in the desert. When I re-read one last year, the magic was gone. I saw for the first time the improbable and repetitive plot, the stereotyped characters, the weak writing. Does that mean I won't let my daughters read Nancy Drew when they're in fifth grade? No. Instead, I plan to come alongside them when they get on this female sleuth's bandwagon and help them both enjoy the suspense and the discovery, teaching them to see what would make the story even better.

Don't neglect your child's required reading. There have already been several times when our eighth-grade son has been required to read something for school which he was, shall we say, less than enthusiastic about. Sometimes, because of my background or my teaching responsibilities, I have known the book and been able to tell him, "Just make it to chapter three; it really picks up when the aliens arrive." Other times, I haven't been familiar with the book, so I try to get my hands on another copy and read it. *Yes, I read what he reads*. It provides us with many common experiences and helps me teach him to read with Christian discernment. He may get caught up, as many fourteen-year-old boys would, in the excitement of the search for buried treasure, and not (consciously) notice the "fibs" told to the parents to cover the characters' actions. He needs someone to point that out to him. Who better than his mom?

Reading Christianly

Probably 75 percent of what I read is not "Christian." I enjoy Christian fiction and devotional material, and even read some headier theology from time to time (chalk it up to "pastor's wife syndrome"). But I also read library journals (I *am* a librarian, after all) and English literature (remnants of my college days), critically-acclaimed fiction and biographies, middle school and young adult literature (I teach classes in these fields). Some of these books are easily compatible with my faith, but not many. Yet I need to, and usually want to, read these works. Surprisingly, most of them I enjoy a great deal—for the great character development, the exciting plot, the thoughtful examination of issues, the sheer gain of knowledge and experience.

I am fortunate enough to have been placed by God nearly fifteen years ago at Union University. The faculty and the administration at Union are working together to inculcate our students with a Christian worldview, a frame of reference informed by Scripture. I too am learning to read within a Christian worldview. For many of the books I read, I try to examine them in light of these kinds of questions: What is there of truth in this story? What is the author's agenda, and is it compatible with my priorities as a Christian? Do the characters commit sin, and if so, what is the result? Can they be redeemed, and if so, at what cost? Does reading this book make me uncomfortable spiritually? If so, why? Attempting to answer these questions honestly when reading can be an eye-opening experience. Teaching your child to ask these questions, and discern the answers, will be a life-altering gift. But the only way you can teach your son or daughter how is to read with him.

The Priority of Reading

I would challenge every Christian, and particularly every Christian parent, to hold on to reading in an age that prizes technology so highly. I will confess that my husband and I do own a television and a computer. We use both daily for gaining information about the world, and frequently for entertainment for ourselves and our three children. Yet, there are books in every room of our home. Book-

cases full to overflowing in all three bedrooms. A beautiful solid oak bookcase in our family room (a gift from my parents years ago) that is so full of books, you can't put knickknacks or photographs in it. A bookshelf in our dining room with a complete set of Jane Austen's novels in hardback and over twelve Oxford Illustrated editions of Charles Dickens's books (gifts from my husband over 16 years of marriage). And I haven't mentioned my pastor-husband's study upstairs, with three walls of built-in bookcases full of commentaries, sermons, books of theology and pastoral care. If we ever move, it will most likely be because Mike needs one room to study in and one room to keep his books in!

I take my Sabbath seriously. Consequently, I work very hard the other six days of the week. I have been known to fold laundry at 9 p.m., and to start another load the next morning at 6 a.m. If things go particularly well that week, I am able to sit down and read for a few minutes before getting dinner ready. I remember clearly one night when our youngest daughter had just turned two and she was playing dolls in a corner of the family room. I quickly got absorbed in my novel, so it took me a few minutes to realize she was staring at me. I expected her to need me to do something. Instead, she approached me and pointed at the book in my hands, then chirped, "Mommy read." She then turned around and got a book from the over-crowded shelf, and sat down to read. This same child learned to read in kindergarten this past year and hoards books under her pillow each night. What would you do if you found a Greek New Testament in her pillowcase along with Hop on Pop? (She said she liked the feel of the New Testament.)

A Parent's Influence

We often forget the influence (for good or ill) which we carry, due to our role as parents. My children listen to what I say, but they also closely watch what I do. I can say that going to church to worship God is important and a joyful experience, but if the ongoing reality is my exasperation over running late and having wrinkled clothes, my children eventually learn that church may be important to Mommy, but it's a far cry from joyous.

I remember finding out that our second child was going to be a girl. I had always wanted a daughter to dress up and be best friends with, a relationship like the one I have enjoyed with my mother over the years. After the initial thrill, though, reality set in. In less than five months, there would be someone in our home who would grow up watching me as the prime example of what it means to be a godly woman. I was scared out of my mind, because I knew how far short I fall! (I still know; I thank God for that awareness, which keeps me on my knees.) What a great responsibility we have as parents, to raise our children in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and to be godly examples.

What kind of example are you? What do your children see you doing when you get a spare moment? Are you watching TV? Talking on the phone? Working on a hobby? They learn from us what is valuable. If you want your children to value prayer, then pray before them and with them. If you want them to respect others, you must model respect for them. And if you want them to value and enjoy reading, children must see you read. Sophie's imitation of me at two years old speaks volumes. Reading was important to me that day. It was my reward, an oasis in a busy day. Something about *me*, about my experience, made her want to be like her Mommy: "Mommy read."

Make reading a priority in your home. Let your child see you reading.

Quantity or Quality in Education?

by Kyle Hathcox

The value of education is firmly entrenched in American culture. It is considered to be the ladder to success and riches. We have all seen statistics that compare the earnings of the average college graduate to the average high school graduate and even to high school dropouts. Living in a high-tech world we believe the data and conclude that we will benefit if more people attend college--particularly in today's times where everything is becoming more technical and jobs are requiring an ever increasing amount of specialized skills and quality education.

Employers, however, seem to be increasingly concerned that new employees do not have adequate knowledge to properly do their job assignment. The December 2005 report *The National Assessment of Adult Literacy* by the National Center for Educational Statistics reports that only 25 percent of college graduates are proficient from a literacy standpoint. A similar report by the American Institute of Research in January 2006, *The Literacy of Americans College Students,* states that 20 percent of college graduates cannot complete simple quantitative calculations. Is there any guarantee that sending more people to college will create a more productive economy or a better nation? Are we swapping quality for quantity in education? While statistically getting more education seems to offer a better job and more money, that is not always the case. Everyone knows of college graduates who have trouble finding a job or accept a menial job. According to the Labor Department, about 20 percent of college graduates acquire jobs that do not require a college degree.

From 1970 to 1990 the percentage of college graduates nearly doubled, yet productivity and standards of living changed only slightly. (Although the total number of graduates is up, the percent of students who finish college actually dropped considerably. In 1983, 52 percent of freshmen graduated, while in 2000 only 42 percent graduated from public colleges, according to a CNN August 2001 report.) While high school graduates increased slightly, the dropout rate fell considerably during this time period. Thus, more people are now completing course requirements and graduating. Then why is productivity not increasing proportionally? Why is the poor performance of the American worker being debated by corporate leaders everywhere? More "schooling" may not be the answer if the students are not truly being educated. It seems that the degrees and diplomas granted in today's economy are not as significant as they were in the past. The skills of today's graduate do not appear to be as relevant to job assignments as in prior times. Why?

As one indicator, consider a topic much discussed by educators today, grade inflation. Grade inflation is well documented in the literature. In 1966, approximately 15 percent of college freshmen had an A average from high school. By 1990, that number had grown to 24 percent, and by 2005 the number was over 30 percent. One might argue that we are getting brighter students in college, but the basic outcomes tend to indicate otherwise. This was happening over a time period when there was a general decline in ACT and SAT scores. Grade inflation is not only a secondary school problem. John Merrow, writing for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, notes that Harvard had 22 percent honor graduates in 1966 but in 2005 the number had risen to 91 percent. Harvard's grades above B+ went from 15 percent in 1950 to 70 percent in 2005. On a national scale, in the 1960's approximately 10 percent of college students received an A in classes. Within 20 years, 1986, that rate was up to about 25 percent. And in 2006 the rate at numerous schools is over 40 percent, with rates over 50 percent not uncommon in many disciplines. Looking at the other end of the grade spectrum, the number of low grades has dropped dramatically. Students with less than a B average in 1963 were 48 percent. Today this is often less than 20 percent at many schools. The old traditional bell curve has about 60 percent of the students with less than a B average. The bell curve

distribution disappeared long ago in education. We now live in Wobegon, where everyone is above average. Hardly anyone does poorly anymore. Teachers certainly don't want to hurt the students' self-esteem.

Consider a couple of other aspects to the grade inflation phenomenon. First, grades are considerably higher at private colleges than public ones. Does this have anything to do with competition for students, or are students at private colleges inherently brighter and working harder? Another point to consider is the concern in the U.S. about the declining number of scientists and engineers relative to the population. Can you guess what area has experienced the least grade inflation--science and math. As an example, Georgia Tech's office of Institutional Research reports the college of science gave 30 percent A's in 2006, but the college of liberal arts gave 43 percent A's. There are those who argue the easier grading in social sciences and humanities has contributed to students being lured away from science and engineering where grading is tougher and class work more demanding. Others argue that math and science are boring and today's students want more exciting subjects. We are graduating more students today, but they have a scarcity of skills needed for the high tech society in which we live. Are we doing these students an injustice?

Grade inflation can be corrected; faculty and administrators simply must have the determination. Some schools are beginning to move to correct grade inflation. The University of Iowa stresses a grade scale which has a maximum of 15-18 percent A's in introductory courses, and the faculty's grade distribution is published. Princeton suggests no more than 35 percent A's and B's. Maybe the pendulum is beginning to swing the other way.

Employers look to colleges to act as a discriminator, to separate the students in some fashion. If nearly all students have similar grades, who should the employer hire? Are they really all the same? If Consumer Reports rates every washing machine the same, has it helped the public, or would there even be a need for such a magazine? Schools traditionally segregated students via grades and employers assumed that had something to do with the student's ability. With grades now clumped together, that discrimination is disappearing. Is it any wonder that many employers are now doing their own testing of potential hires? They feel they can no longer rely on college transcripts.

The message in all of this is not that going to high school or college and receiving a diploma or degree is not important: it is. In general, both society and the individual benefit from more education. But what really counts is not how many students go to school, but what do they study, how hard have they worked, have they been pushed to do their best, have they received the proper skills for today's society, can they think and analyze, what have they actually learned. This is true whether we are talking about secondary school or college. We need to focus on quality, not just quantity, in education.

As a parting footnote, perhaps we should consider whether our own school is immune from this blight. A study of the 1993 grade distribution reveals 27 percent of grades were A's and 7 percent were F's. Ten years later, by 2003, over 41 percent were A's in the regular classes, with slightly over 3 percent F's and 86 percent A's in adult classes. We may need to look at our grade inflation and consider a fresh examination. Many schools are now on this path.

The 19th Century Civil Rights Movement: Black Women and the Church

by Judy Bussell LeForge

Contrary to popular opinion, the first civil rights movement for blacks did not begin in the 1950s and 1960s. Nor did their efforts start during the Civil War or the Reconstruction era. Instead, black Americans first organized a movement to win their civil rights in 1830. Their national colored convention movement began on September 20, 1830, when a group of forty free blacks from nine states met in Philadelphia to respond to growing efforts of the American Colonization Society to encourage free Negroes in northern cities to "remove to Africa." [1] Members of the first convention opposed emigration laws that forced blacks to leave their homes and seek asylum in Africa.[2] In addition to addressing this issue, these delegates established the precedent of national assemblies to discuss matters of concern for blacks. Because these conventions effectively publicized the plight and aspirations of blacks, these assemblies represented the first civil rights movement.

From 1830 to 1879, seventeen national colored conventions assembled to provide a voice for Negro grievances before, during, and after the Civil War. The first twelve conventions (1830-1864) took place in the North. Emanating from these assemblies was the repeated reminder that slavery still marred the image of a Christian democratic nation. These gatherings often preached the value of temperance, morality, education, economy and self-help. Delegates asked not for special considerations but for equality of opportunity. The convention movement served as the sole voice of Northern blacks from 1830 to the Civil War.[3]

Postwar conventions (1865-1879) were more national in nature because they were held in both the North and the South. The defeat of the Southern slaveholders did not eliminate the need for conventions. In order to make the Northern victory meaningful, organization and action by blacks themselves were essential. Negroes who were only just released from bondage quickly utilized the convention movement to express their grievances and aspirations. These delegates expressed their appeals in the language of republicanism. They drew up addresses and petitions for the right to vote, insisting that racial discrimination violated the fundamental principles upon which the nation was founded.[4]

By 1879, it was clear the Republican Party had abdicated its position as the protector of black rights in the South. Racial segregation began spreading throughout the region. Reacting to the worsening conditions during the Jim Crow Era, black regional conventions became more frequent. These regional assemblies helped to develop the grass-roots framework from which several national organizations of agitation and protest emerged in the last decade of the nineteenth century. For example, in 1890 Thomas Fortune organized the National Afro-American League to combat disenfranchisement, lynching and other injustices. Six years later, the National Association of Colored Men and the National Association of Colored Women were established.[5] In 1898 the National Afro-American League was revived as the National Afro-American Council. This Council remained active until 1906. Its platform advocated civil rights, and foreshadowed the goals of the Niagara Movement (1905). The Niagara Movement later led to the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1910.

Considering the profound impact of the nineteenth century Negro convention movement on the quest for civil rights, two areas perhaps merit further investigation: the role of the black church and the role of black women. Let us first examine the role of the church in the nineteenth century black political movement.

Throughout much of the African-American experience, the church has occupied a central position in the black community. The nineteenth century proved no exception. Religion represented a major force in the lives of Negroes in the 1800s, but the church served as far more than a religious institu-

tion. It also functioned as a social, economic, and political institution by offering a structure through which people, ideas, and resources could be mobilized. For instance, slave preachers led the three largest slave revolts in American history: Gabriel Prosser near Richmond, Virginia (1800); Denmark Vesey in Charleston, South Carolina (1822); and Nat Turner in Southampton, Virginia (1831). Indeed, the church helped to perpetuate the sense of group identity that characterized slave and free black culture throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.[6]

As the freed people and those who had been unbound before the Civil War worked together to reorganize their society, the church served as a cornerstone. It not only provided instruction in spiritual matters, but dealt in a worldly business as well. It offered recreation and a measure of social security to its many adherents. Ministers served as political leaders while they acted as teachers and counselors. So vitally important was the church, in fact, that it is difficult to imagine how the black community in the post-Civil War South could have developed as well as it did without it.[7]

Prior to the Reconstruction period and particularly after its failure, black churches in the South performed a variety of roles and functions that could easily provide the transition to the arena of protest and electoral politics. Excluded from the mainstream electoral process, black people voted and chose their leaders in their churches, selecting pastors, bishops, trustees, deacons and deaconesses, the presidents of the conventions, women's auxiliaries, and the like. This surrogate politics carried on in the black church became an intensive training ground of political experience with all of the triumphs and disappointments of which the political process is capable. It was the one area of social life where leadership skills and talents could be honed and tested, and it was the only area for most African Americans where the struggle for power and leadership could be satisfied. The skills learned on the job in the church could be easily transferred outside the church should the opportunity ever present itself.[8]

The black church embodied many of the basic ingredients of a nationalist movement. At a time of economic stagnation, betrayal and abandonment by the Republican Party, and often brutally violent discrimination, the church organized blacks in the interest of their own betterment by offering a theology that helped to define African Americans culturally. It channeled emigration sentiment toward an African Zion and sought to mobilize black Americans in a common cause with Africans to follow the Christian road to political redemption and the benefits of civilization. The church, more than any other black institution, exemplified the nationalist ideal of independence and self-reliance. In the absence of any other effective grass-roots political organization, the church was the only means by which political leaders could organize and mobilize constituencies that elected delegates to the national and regional conventions. According to AME minister Wesley J. Gaines, "without the African-American church there would have been no black political movement."[9]

The black church became especially important for black men who were denied the normative masculine role in every area of social life. From the period of slavery until the twentieth century civil rights era, adult black males were usually called "boy" by white Southerners, and only the black minister was given a title such as "preacher" or "Reverend." Black women were also denigrated by always being called by their first names without customary titles.[10] As a matter of fact, any woman who addressed an assembly was considered by most people in nineteenth-century America to be without high moral character and goodwill. For this reason, many early women speakers opened their texts with the claim that they had been called to speak out, compelled by a religious power to do "God's work."[11]

By the 1830s, the "cult of true womanhood," encouraging domesticity, subservience, and piety in middle-class and upper-class white women, was firmly established in the North. In truth, though, Northern women had been tiptoeing away from the hearth since the beginning of the century, organizing charitable and temperance societies, missionary groups and literary clubs. As these activities were largely sponsored by churches, they were considered perfectly respectable.[12]

Free black women in the North were organizing too, but with different goals. Unlike white women, most black women had to work outside the home, yet were still hemmed in by legal and social constraints. Their societies were more often aimed at mutual relief, designed to help themselves, their families, neighbors, and other blacks for whom poverty and discrimination were realities or ever-present threats. Black women established schools and orphanages, founded settlement houses, and aided their down-and-out sisters. They also organized literary and moral improvement societies, determined to prove that they were just as genteel, just as culture-loving and just as free from moral taint as any white woman.[13]

With antislavery sentiment swelling in New England in the early 1830s, women, black and white, rushed to the abolitionist cause. Referring to the important role played by women, Frederick Douglass once remarked "when the true history of the antislavery cause shall be written, woman will occupy a large space in its pages; for the slave has been peculiarly woman's cause." In 1832, Maria Stewart, a fiery young black abolitionist and former domestic, urged an audience of men and women at Boston's Franklin Hall to join the fight. Her address was sponsored by the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society. Stewart, the first American woman to speak publicly to a mixed group, carefully prefaced her remarks with this statement: "I believe that God has fired my soul with a holy zeal for his cause." In addition, she justified social activism with scripture. The speeches of Stewart and other black women reveal the thinking of biblically inspired women, keenly aware of their rhetorical constraints, compelled by God and the plight of their people to advocate for social action.[14]

Women soon organized antislavery societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other cities throughout the Northeast. Collecting money through fairs and other fund-raising events, they played a crucial role in financing the abolitionist movement. They inundated Congress and state legislatures with hundreds of thousands of signatures collected on antislavery petitions. With mounting confidence, they published magazines, wrote articles, spoke out at meetings, and organized conventions. Along the way, they encountered increasing opposition from men, even from some of their own male allies in the abolitionist cause.[15]

In 1837, black and white women abolitionists gathered in New York City for the first Antislavery Convention of American Women. They formally declared that a woman had the right to carve out her own role in fighting slavery, independent of men, the right "to do all that she can by her voice, and her pen, and her purse, and the influence of her example, to overthrown the horrible system. . ." Church leaders viewed such bold assertions with growing alarm.[16] Nonetheless, many women continued their efforts.

Mary Ann Shadd Cary, the first black female newspaper editor, published the *Provincial Freeman*, a weekly Canadian newspaper for fugitive slaves and others who had fled to Canada in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Act. From 1852 to 1853, she was the only black missionary in the field for the American Missionary Association, the largest abolitionist organization in America. By 1855, Cary was "allowed" to speak to at the National Colored Convention in Philadelphia. Following considerable discussion, she was reluctantly seated. According to convention records, the vote allowing her to speak consisted of 38 yeas and 23 nays. In her historic address to this assembly, Cary advocated for the emigration of blacks to Canada and for their integration into Canadian society. By 1864, two more women, Francis Harper and Edmonia Highgate, were allowed to speak before the male-dominated national colored convention held in Syracuse, New York. These speakers were the embodiment of their message – whether the message was the abolition of slavery, support for black women, or recognition of racial autonomy.[17]

In addition to her abolitionist activities in Canada, Maria Cary addressed groups on behalf of women's rights, assigning the emancipation of slaves and the liberation of women equal importance. By 1869, Cary, under pressure from black women delegates, was permitted to address the National

Colored Labor Union. As a result of her speech on woman's rights and suffrage, the union voted to include women workers in its organizations.[18]

Some black women spoke boldly about increasing their role and responsibility in the church and in society. In 1886 Lucy Wilmot Smith addressed black women's needs to a largely male audience at the meeting of the American National Baptist Convention. She spoke uncompromisingly of the lack of training and employment opportunities for black women. She encouraged the church to give women more responsibilities for "the salvation of the world" and to enlist them "to labor by the side of the men" so that "it will not be many years before a revolution will be felt all over this broad land, and the heathen will no longer walk in darkness, but will praise God, the light of their Salvation."[19] That same year, Anna Julia Cooper delivered her most challenging defense of black women at the Convocation of the Colored Clergy in Washington, D.C. She criticized the clergy and the Episcopalian Church for discriminating against women. Cooper also helped organize the Washington Colored Women's League.[20]

Another notable black woman during this time was Ida B. Wells. Most turn-of-the-century anti-lynching activities revolved around the efforts of this remarkable black woman. Until her death in 1931, Wells spoke out against the denial of women's rights, against racism generally, and, of course, against the practice of lynching.[21]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the focus of benevolence had begun to shift somewhat from the grass-roots to the national level. In the 1890s, black women began to create clubs such as the Women's Era Club (1894), the National Federation of Colored Women (1895), and the National Colored Women's League (1897) to collectively organize their efforts. The creation of these organizations launched what is now commonly known as the black women's club movement. So prevalent was black women's public and social presence that Frances Harper declared the period she was living in to be the "women's era." This club movement enabled black women to be taken seriously as active agents for change.[22]

In 1896, black women from various parts of the country met in the Nineteenth Street Baptist Church in Washington, D.C., to found the National Association of Colored Women. The formation of this group signified a drift not only upward toward the national level of organization, but also away from church responsibility for social welfare. However, the woman's group maintained strong links to the church and did not supplant it as the primary agency outside of the household through which women fulfilled their traditional roles as nurturers and moral leaders.[23]

In conclusion, the nineteenth century colored convention movement proved remarkable because it showed the independence of thought and self-assertion of both the black man and the black woman. Without a doubt, the church occupied a central position in the black community. In addition to functioning as a religious institution, the church offered a structure through which people, ideas and resources could be mobilized to bring about change. Despite efforts by male black church leaders to silence them, black women boldly carved out their own role in fighting slavery and racism. Because of the efforts of men and women in the black church, the nineteenth century national colored convention movement served as a framework for the twentieth century civil rights movement. Indeed, the nineteenth century movement, as a vehicle for unity, played a major role in defining a common future for black Americans in the next century.

(Endnotes)

1 *Minutes Of The Proceedings Of The National Negro Conventions, 1830-1864, ed. Howard Holman Bell (New York: Arno Press, 1969), I, 5, 8. The conventions sincerely protested against the coercive measures of the interference from the American Colonization Society. The 1832 national assembly asked the society to "cease their unhallowed persecutions of a people already sufficiently oppressed." The 1834 convention declared that "... as long at least as the Colonization society exists, will a Colonization Society exists, will a Convention of coloured people be highly necessary."*

2 Ibid., 9-10, v. Canada-bound blacks paid not less than 25 cents on entering, and "thereafter quarterly eighteen and three quarter cents." Black immigrants encountered problems with the legal transfer of lands in Canada because "citizens of these United States could not purchase lands in Upper Canada, and legally transfer the same to other individuals."

3 *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865-1900,* ed. Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), xxi. The first meeting of the National Colored Convention initiated a trend. The number of conventions had at local, state, and national levels, blossomed to such a level that, in October 1859, the *Anglo-African Magazine* reported that "colored conventions" were almost as frequent as church meetings.

4 Ibid. See *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867,* ed. Ira Berlin, Series II: *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1984); Although the conventions tended to took to the Federal government to guarantee their rights, the postwar Southern assemblies did not emphasize the necessity for the confiscation of the plantations into small holdings. Instead, they sought to find ways by which the freedmen could readily purchase land. *Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions,* xxiii.

5 A convention held in Washington, D.C., was the occasion for the merger in 1896 of the National Federation of Afro-American women's club movement – that formed the National association of Colored Women. Its founders included Harriet Tubman, Frances E.W. Harper, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, and Mary Church Terrell, who became the organization's first president.

6 *The Black Church in the African-American Experience*, C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 203.

7 *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900.* William E. Montgomery (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), xii.

8 *The Black Church in the African-American Experience*, 205-206.

9 *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, 252, 157, 163.

10 *The Black Church in the African-American Experience*, 206.

11 *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African-American Women.* Ed. Shirley Wilson Logan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 4.

12 *Freedom's Daughters; The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970.* Lynne Olson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 27.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 21.

15 Ibid., 28.

16 Ibid.

17 *"We Are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women.* Shirley Wilson Logan (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), 2, 5, 19.

18 Ibid., 9.

19 Ibid., 12-13.

20 Ibid., 15.

21 Ibid., 15-16.

22 *Prophesying Daughters: Black Women Preachers and the Word, 1823-1913.* Chanta M. Haywood (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 90-91.

23 *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree*, 230.

Galois' Remarkable Subgroups
Using Original Ideas in the Teaching of Abstract Algebra

by Matt Lunsford

Introduction

In his famous memoir of 1831 [E, Appendix 1], French mathematician Evariste Galois developed a theory for addressing the question of whether or not a specific polynomial equation is solvable by radicals. A polynomial equation is said to be *solvable by radicals* if it is possible to express all of the roots of the polynomial equation using only known quantities and the arithmetic operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, and the extraction of roots. Galois' theory rested upon the structure of a permutation group associated with the given polynomial equation. If this group possessed a particular structure, one could conclude that the associated polynomial was solvable by radicals. To describe the key structure that the group must exhibit, Galois used the phrases "remarkable property" and "further property" [E, pp. 106-7]. These phrases refer to properties of a subgroup--properties which are currently defined by the terms *conjugate* and *normal*. This paper will explore how the original ideas that Galois expressed regarding these significant concepts could impact the pedagogy of a first course in abstract algebra.

Galois' Subgroups

Galois began with a polynomial equation, $f(x)=0$, which, without loss of generality, he assumed had r distinct roots in some algebraic extension field of the field of coefficients. For our purposes, it suffices to assume that the coefficients belong to the field Q of rational numbers. Galois associated a group of permutations with this polynomial equation as described in the following steps. First, he found a rational function of these r distinct roots with the property that all permutations of the roots produced distinct values of this rational function. This rational function is now known as a Galois *resolvent*. Next, he formed an auxiliary polynomial equation $G(x)=0$ whose roots are all of the $r!$ distinct values obtained by permuting the roots in the Galois *resolvent*. It was known to Galois from the previous work of Lagrange and others that the coefficients of this auxiliary polynomial are known quantities [E, p. 38]. The roots of this auxiliary equation can be identified with arrangements of the original r roots of the equation $f(x)=0$. Next, he factored this auxiliary polynomial into irreducible factors over the field of coefficients, and then he defined an equivalence relation on the arrangements as follows: two arrangements v and v' are equivalent if and only if they represent roots of the same irreducible factor of the auxiliary polynomial. The Galois group of the original polynomial $f(x)$ is the set of permutations that results by transforming one arrangement in an equivalence class into another arrangement of the same class. Galois noted that this set of permutations exhibits the property of being closed under the operation of composition. In addition, Galois' definition guarantees that the remaining group axioms of associativity, existence of an identity permutation, and existence of inverse elements are automatically satisfied [For a complete description of Galois' definition of permutation groups, see T, p. 295-301]. Thus, the notion of *group* was born.

Next, Galois wanted to know if the roots of the original polynomial equation $f(x)=0$ could be found by adjoining known quantities to the field of coefficients and using the basic arithmetic operations already mentioned. He was able to show that if one adjoins to the field of coefficients a root

of an irreducible polynomial $g(x)$ to form a larger field, it is possible that irreducible factors of the auxiliary equation $G(x)=0$ will factor over this extension field. If this does happen, the Galois group of $f(x)$ over this extended field will be reduced to a subgroup of the original permutation group. This leaves several issues to address. First of all, if one varies which root of the irreducible polynomial $g(x)$ is adjoined, the various subgroups that result from the corresponding partition of the arrangements will exhibit the "remarkable property" that they are all conjugate subgroups [K, p. 84]. Secondly, if one adjoins *all* of the roots of the irreducible polynomial $g(x)$, the subgroup associated with the arrangements will have the "further property" that all conjugations of this subgroup yield exactly the same subgroup. Hence, all the *conjugate* subgroups are, in fact, equal, and thus the subgroup is *normal* [K, p. 84]. Galois' results completely characterized the situation: a polynomial is solvable by radicals precisely when its Galois group admits a sequence of normal subgroups, beginning with the full group and ending with the trivial subgroup, for which the consecutive quotient groups are cyclic. A finite group with this property is now called *solvable*.

Example

Consider the cubic polynomial $f(x)=x^3-2$. If we denote a primitive cube root of unity by $\omega=\dfrac{-1+i\sqrt{3}}{2}$, then the three distinct roots of $f(x)=0$ can be expressed as $a=\sqrt[3]{2}$, $b=\omega a$, and $c=\omega^2 a$. A Galois resolvent for the given polynomial is given by $t_1=(1)a+(-1)b+(0)c$. The polynomial $G(x)=x^6+108$ has the six roots obtained by permuting the three roots of $f(x)$ in the Galois resolvent; namely, $t_1=a-b$, $t_2=a-c$, $t_3=b-a$, $t_4=c-a$, $t_5=b-c$, $t_6=c-b$. As the polynomial $G(x)$ is irreducible over the field Q of rational numbers, all six arrangements of the roots a, b, and c are included in the Galois group. Hence, the Galois group over Q is the full symmetric group S_3.

To determine if the polynomial $f(x)$ is solvable by radicals, let's consider the irreducible polynomial $g_1(x)=x^2+x+1$, which has as its roots ω and ω^2. If we adjoin these roots to the field Q of rational numbers, we obtain the extension field $Q(\omega)$. Over this field, $G(x)$ has the factorization $G(x)=\left(6\sqrt{3}-ix^3\right)\left(6\sqrt{3}+ix^3\right)$. The first factor has roots t_1, t_4, t_5, with the remaining t_i being roots of the second factor. The arrangements

$$t_1 : a\ b\ c$$
$$t_4 : c\ a\ b$$
$$t_5 : b\ c\ a$$

yield the Galois group for $f(x)$ over the extension field $Q(\omega)$, which is the cyclic subgroup $\{(id),(acb),(abc)\}$ of S_3. Since $Q(\omega)$ contains both roots of the irreducible polynomial $g_1(x)$, the Galois subgroup obtained is a normal subgroup of the original group S_3. If one now adjoins the root a to the field $Q(\omega)$ to obtain the splitting field $Q(\omega,a)$ of $f(x)$, then $G(x)$ will split into linear factors, each term having one of the t_i as its unique root. Consequently, the Galois group of $f(x)$ over $Q(\omega,a)$ is the trivial group. Thus, we see that $f(x)$ is indeed solvable by radicals.

To illustrate how conjugate subgroups can arise, let $g_2(x)=x^3-2$. Obviously $g_2(x)$ is equal to $f(x)$ and has as its roots *a*, *b*, and *c*. Furthermore, $g_2(x)$ is irreducible over *Q*. If one adjoins the root *a* to *Q* to form the extension field $Q(a)$, then $G(x)$ has the factorization $G(x)=\left(x^2+3\sqrt[3]{4}\right)\left(x^2-3\sqrt[3]{2}\,x+3\sqrt[3]{4}\right)\left(x^2+3\sqrt[3]{2}\,x+3\sqrt[3]{4}\right)$. The second factor has roots t_1 and t_2. Hence, the arrangements

$$t_1 : a\ b\ c$$
$$t_2 : a\ c\ b$$

yield a Galois group of $\{(id),(bc)\}$ for $f(x)$ over the extension field $Q(a)$. In a similar manner, one can factor $G(x)$ over the field $Q(b)$ and then again over the field $Q(c)$. The first factorization leads to the arrangements

$$t_1 : a\ b\ c$$
$$t_6 : c\ b\ a$$

and a Galois group of $\{(id),(ac)\}$ for $f(x)$ over $Q(b)$. The second gives the arrangements

$$t_1 : a\ b\ c$$
$$t_3 : b\ a\ c$$

and a Galois group of $\{(id),(ab)\}$ for $f(x)$ over $Q(c)$. These three Galois groups are the distinct two-element subgroups of S_3. While these subgroups are not normal subgroups of S_3, they do exhibit the "remarkable property" of being conjugate to each other. The notable remark in this case is that adjoining a single root of the irreducible polynomial $g_2(x)$ did not result in an extension field that contained the other roots, i.e., $Q(a)\neq Q(a,b,c)$.

Applications to Pedagogy

The organization of topics in a first course in abstract algebra typically introduces the set of integers and related number systems (integers modulo *n*, rational numbers, etc.) to motivate the four axioms for a group. In many cases, permutation groups are mentioned after exploring the group axioms, elementary properties of groups, and the notion of a subgroup. Also, it is common that conjugate subgroups are presented only as an exercise, either with subgroups or later in the course, and that no immediate connection is made between conjugate subgroups and normal subgroups. Normal subgroups often are introduced later, after the presentation of cosets and Lagrange's Theorem.

The following organization of these topics is arguably more faithful to the original ideas as presented by Galois in his 1831 memoir. First, use finite permutation groups to motivate the definition of a group and the four group axioms. From Galois' point of view, only one of the four axioms in the current definition of a group needs to be verified: closure. The other three axioms (associativity, presence of the identity element, and presence of inverse elements) are satisfied automatically by his definition of a finite permutation group. Second, introduce conjugate subgroups and normal subgroups as part of the material on subgroups, which traditionally follows the group axioms and the properties of elementary groups. Then, define a *normal* subgroup as a self-conjugate subgroup, i.e. a

subgroup that is equal to all of its *conjugate* subgroups. Now, the important concepts of normal and conjugate subgroups have been introduced earlier in the course. Following the presentation of cosets, the index of a subgroup, and quotient groups, the notion of a solvable group can be introduced as a synthesis concept that links groups with normal subgroups and quotient groups. Finally, the connection with the historic problem of whether or not a polynomial equation is solvable by radicals can be explored to provide further motivation for all major topics presented thus far in the course.

Conclusion

There are several benefits to the presentation of the topics as described above. Foremost, this presentation provides a more historical approach to the subject matter. The focus remains on permutation groups to introduce the four axioms of a group and on subgroups to introduce both *conjugate* and *normal* subgroups. This approach also allows conjugate and normal subgroups to be introduced earlier in the course without first developing the more sophisticated concepts of cosets, index, and quotient groups. Solvable groups and their relation to solvable polynomials can be discussed after these additional topics have been introduced. Finally, this approach keeps symmetry and permutations at the forefront of group theory.

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Is Anything Absolute?

by Kyle Hathcox

One of the topics often discussed in today's society centers on whether or not there are absolutes. I suppose the debate will go on forever, but for the moment let us consider some of the facts from the world we live in and review certain beliefs that we use and live by each day.

In reviewing this issue, a good starting point would be to look at an area that in one sense of the word studies everything. That topic is physics, because the laws of physics are the basic foundation upon which all the other laws in science are based. Whatever area you wish to discuss, at its lowest common denominator you find the laws of physics as a foundation. So let's begin with a few basic physics concepts.

First, consider space and time. Man assumes that the laws of physics are the same across space and time. Certainly you can find someone who might argue this point, but in general the laws that work here on Earth are assumed to work on Neptune and in another galaxy and throughout the universe. The same laws that work today are assumed to have worked the same way thousands of years ago. If this is not true, then all of our theories about the universe are no longer valid because they were developed with the assumption that the physical laws have always been the same. Thus one might say the laws of physics are absolute over space and time. Granted there are laws for highly unusual conditions such as extremely high speed which requires relativity and extremely small dimensions such as atomic particles which require quantum physics, but for the layman the laws of physics in everyday life are still valid for any place and any time.

We find numerous laws in science which are referred to as conservation laws. Such a law basically means that some quantity is "conserved," that is, constant in time. Quantities such as mass, charge, momentum and energy are conserved in nature; that is, within a system these quantities are fixed and do not change over time. If these quantities do not change, can we not say they are absolute? In thermodynamics there is a quantity called absolute zero, a point below which man cannot go. As its name implies, it appears to be a fixed and absolute point. In relativity, the speed of light in a vacuum is considered to be a fixed constant and the ultimate speed. If that speed is constant for all observers, then is it not absolute? When we consider man's Big Bang theory, there is a specific point at which things "begin," a beginning, before which we can know nothing. Is this not an absolute point in time for mankind?

Science is replete with absolutes, yet in our daily life we love to say everything is relative. The law of gravity works here on Earth and it was assumed that law would work the same way on the moon: men went to the moon using that assumption. They knew what to expect when they got there because the laws of physics remain the same throughout space. You might say the laws of physics are omnipresent and eternal, and that seems to make them absolute.

Extending this thought, if there are so many things in nature that point us to absolutes, why are we so obsessed with wanting to say everything is relative? If there are absolutes in nature, it would seem natural for us to look for some absolutes in other areas. It just might be that there are absolutes to live by, absolutes for a society or culture that we would do well to find. Maybe there are absolutes in ethics and social science and in every area of our life. How will we find them? Will we even look for other absolutes, or will we be satisfied saying that while there may be absolutes in science and nature, they do not exist in any other realm? After all, man prefers for things to be relative. That gives us lots of wiggle room to make up our own rules.

Reading Beyond Our Comfort Zones

by Melissa Moore

What 'cha Eatin'?

When I was growing up, it seemed inevitable that the telephone would ring just as we sat down to dinner. Since caller ID had yet to be invented, and my father was a doctor, we always had to answer it. Frequently, it was my grandmother, whose first words would be, "Are ya eatin' yet? What 'cha eatin'?"

I'm predictable.

When I go to a restaurant, I always order the same thing. At the theater, I always choose the same type of movies. When I go in a bookstore, I always head in the same direction: first, new paperbacks (because the heft of a hardback makes reading in bed awkward); then the sale tables and mysteries; followed by adult fiction, occasionally history, then the children's department.

When I read reviews, or look at advertisements, I focus on the types of books – fantasy, historical fiction, contemporary literature, mystery – I already enjoy. I have favorite authors, like J. K. Rowling and Donna Jo Napoli, and I always look forward eagerly to their next publication.

But reading only what you like can be kind of like a low-carb diet: steak and salad are great, but I couldn't eat them every day. (Couldn't afford it either, but that's another story.) Don't nutritionists say you should eat from a wide variety of fruits, vegetables, proteins, and grains in order to get all the nutrients you need to ensure good health? I believe our minds also need variety, a diversity of ideas. I have become convinced over the last several years that we need to be reading beyond our comfort zones. So what 'cha eatin'?

Why We Need Variety in Our Diet

Every summer, I teach a graduate class on Young Adult Literature. Instead of using a textbook, we read books written for middle and high school students from as many as thirteen different genres. On the first day of class, when individual titles are assigned, I always get groans ("I hate sports books," or "I never understand fantasy," or "Why would anyone want to read historical fiction? It's all so dry and dull"). When I get the student evaluations back after the class is over, I always get thank-you's for requiring students to read outside of their comfort zones. Sometimes they discover a new writer or a genre they like; sometimes they simply gain an appreciation for that type of writing. But most come to realize that they have made assumptions about certain genres which aren't always borne out by reality.

It seemed to take forever for Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix to be published. (In reality, it was nearly 3 years.) During that time, Potter fans who visited bookstores or Amazon.com were continually told "What to read while you're waiting on HP #5." All the books (like the Series of Unfortunate Events and the Artemis Fowl books) were not imitations of Rowling's masterpieces but rather other fantasies for middle school readers. A lot of readers tend to do this—while waiting on the new John Grisham, they will settle for an inferior mystery. But I am proposing something radical—go in a totally different direction. Treat your mind to a completely different experience. Read beyond your boundaries.

How to Know Where to Eat

When my family grows tired of the same ten meals being rotated, they begin to grumble, and eventually they murmur loud enough that I cannot ignore them any longer. I watch Food TV; or browse

through one of my cookbooks; or ask my mother what she's fixed lately. I end up with great ideas and recipes, and even occasionally discover a new family favorite.

Reading works the same way. We have to look beyond what we know to see what else is out there. Here are a few ideas:

- Use the Web. Look at the bestsellers on the websites for booksellers like Barnes & Noble or Books-A-Million. They also feature forthcoming titles and new releases. Typically, these web pages include excerpts from reviews done in the big journals along with the synopsis.
- Go Shopping. Spend an hour each month browsing the library or a local bookstore.
- Go to School. Take a literature course which will stretch you, or join a reading group. That way, someone else is choosing what you should read, and you will be exposed to poetry, nonfiction, and stories that you wouldn't select on your own but come to appreciate through the class. This spring, I am teaching a graduate course for our Education department on multicultural literature for children. The students will be reading books from cultures other than their own. This kind of broadening experience is invaluable to educators, parents, and other citizens, not to mention their children.
- Go to Virtual School! If actually attending a class or group is not an option for you, consider joining an online reading group, like the ones offered through Barnes & Noble Book Clubs (this month, you can discuss Pride and Prejudice, Stephen King, or The Secret).
- Check out the TV. Who's on Oprah this month? Her book club claims to be the largest in the world, and she is certainly influencing what people read by frequently having authors on her program. News programs also frequently feature books or authors which have made an impact. Even C-SPAN2 has BookTV, with 48 hours every weekend of non-fiction titles and their authors.
- Reading Partnerships. Get involved in a reading partnership. Seek out another reader, or a person whose conversation stimulates your gray matter, or just someone you want to know better. Then choose a book to read together and meet once a month over lunch or coffee to discuss your "homework." I've been in partnerships with my husband and my mother-in-law, with friends and college students and even academic peers. It's always a rewarding experience.
- Talk to other readers. I had one of our strongest Humanities students come to me before Christmas a few years ago and ask me what she should read for fun over the Christmas holidays. That year, I had read 98 books, so I was able to send her away with three very different kinds of books which I could recommend.

The Health Benefits from a Varied Diet

To be well-rounded individuals, we need to read from viewpoints different than our own. We should read the latest parenting book, to see if what our co-workers and family members are being told about how to raise their children is wisdom or foolishness. The same holds true with the latest bestsellers on political issues, the environment, and education, as well as fiction titles. When we are willing to push our borders, what will we gain?

- Compassion. Two of the most powerful books I have read recently gave me fresh compassion for those who suffer in unusual ways. Shattered Glass is the powerful autobiography of Kathy Wingo who suffered physical, mental, and sexual abuse at the hands of her stepfather and first husband for years, yet found peace. Stuck in Neutral, by Terry Trueman, is the first person narrative of Shawn, a young man with cerebral palsy. Shawn obviously cannot talk, but Trueman's story lets the reader see inside the damaged body a person similar to ourselves. Each of these stories sheds light on experiences not my own but that foster compassion in my heart for others.
- Understanding of Complex Ethical Issues. All too frequently, a news story will surface of violent or criminal behavior and we quickly rush to judgment. Stories which examine the

complexities of ethical issues challenge us to look at all sides of the issue. On a simplistic level, The True Story of the Three Little Pigs, by Jon Scieszka, does this, when we read to our children Alexander T. Wolf's side of the story and how he's been framed. To go deeper, look no further than Inside Out, by Terry Trueman, which relates Zach's experience as a hostage in the hold-up of a coffee shop. Good versus evil is made more complex when the motivations of "Frosty" and "Stormy" are made clear. Zach is also schizophrenic and borderline-suicidal. Reading stories that are uncomfortable help us to be deliberate in our responses to complex ethical issues.

- Confirmation of Our Own Beliefs. While reading an article or book in line with your own belief-system will confirm your personal convictions, reading something on "the other side of the issue" can have the same result. Reading Rush Limbaugh might confirm your Republican convictions, or it might make you a Democrat. But as an American citizen, it is important to know the thoughts and priorities of a man who has the ear of millions. The same is true for books on education, religion, philosophy—the list goes on and on.

So push your boundaries. Expand your borders. Eat at another person's table for a while. It will change you. It may even change your world.

On the Road to Memphis

by Harry Lee Poe

Riding through the silken shadows of a Southern summer eve,
Gliding on the asphalt paths that weary work crews leave,
Listening to the music.

Banjos and mandolins were never made for jazz.

Driving on a back road past a thousand-acre soybean field,
Cruising with the windows down while big bugs splatter on the windshield,
Singing out loud.

Electric amps and microphones ruined the blues.

Sailing past the thickets where the honeysuckle bloomed in spring,
Flying down the old state road like a January dove on wing,
Whistling a tune.

And nobody knows how to dance anymore.

Headed for Memphis:
Where the blues were born
. . . Elvis Presley lived
. . . and Martin King died.

JUFF Contributors

The late *Kyle Hathcox* is the person to whom this issue is dedicated. Former Associate Dean of Arts and Sciences and University Professor of Physics, he was also a contributor to JUFF volume 26 with his article "Visualizing Time."

Judy Bussell Leforge is a past JUFF contributor on the topic of the Tennessee lottery; she is Associate Professor of History and has served Union since 1999.

Matt Lunsford; Professor of Mathematics, has been instrumental in getting Union's emphasis on Undergraduate Research off the ground and running; also a past contributor, he has been on the Union faculty since 1993.

Melissa Moore has been frequently published in JUFF and holds the titles of Reference Librarian, Team Leader for Public Service, and Professor of Library Services. She has also taught classes for Union in the English Department and others.

Harry Lee Poe came to Union in 1996 and is currently Charles Colson Professor of Faith and Culture and Special Assistant to the President; a prolific writer of books and articles in his field, he ventures into the lyric poetry realm here.

Jeannette H. Russ is Associate Professor of Engineering and former Forum vice-president.

Roger Stanley has just completed his umpteenth year as JUFF editor.

Beyond the Corporate-Chain Model: A Personal Excursion into Independent Bookstore/Café Life

by Roger Stanley

As an idealistic and free-floating grad student in the mid-eighties, I had no qualms, upon finding myself temporarily in the capital city of Virginia, in walking onto the campus of Virginia Commonwealth University and approaching the first open faculty office door of its English Department. "Where is the best bookstore in Richmond?" I boldly questioned its tweedy occupant after the most minimal of greetings. His studied reply— "in Charlottesville"—rightfully sent me packing off campus and, a few days later, back to my much smaller (and practically bookstore-less) east Tennessee college town. As an assistant professor of English today who has completed over a decade and a half's service to one institution in southwest Tennessee, I have sometimes aspired to riff on the anonymous VCU professor's quick wit by answering of my town: "in Oxford, Mississippi." But no one ever asked.

*

Thus the alpha and omega of Jackson, Tennessee's "grand experiment" (*Jackson Sun*) in independent bookstore life, Davis-Kidd Booksellers and Café, born 1995, dead forever as of January 2006. For five or so years, the first ones of the 90's, I had the Oxford answer ready for any literate Jacksonian; a decade on, I'm available again to guide such a figure a hundred miles down TN Highway 18 and MS 7 to the lovely Square Books (with token café). In between, I scarcely dared give credence to what seemingly existed (I don't say thrived) less than a mile from my house, just crosstown from my job/campus. I guess I split my early 90's "café" time between one of our Waffle House franchises (we're nothing if not a franchise town, just off interstate 40) and our main branch/one-branch public library. I guess I will now purchase a Books-a-Million discount card and acclimatize the spoiled quasi-bohemian self to fluorescence and a little corner space called Joe Muggs.

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Karen Davis and Thelma Kidd, the former a west Tennessee native, opened their fourth eponymous bookstore in 1995. We knew our market paled in comparison to that of the flagship store in Nashville—as well as to Memphis and Knoxville. The two women, trained as social workers, purportedly canvassed the area's penchant for book clubs and the like before leasing space, but it's hard to think Jackson—four colleges or not—could, then or now, stand up to any demographic-based bookstore market analysis worth its corporate salt. What we import are tornadoes, what we provide in the way of service industry are suitable bathrooms inside our franchise eateries at exits 80 and 82. It was a labor of love for Ms. Kidd and Ms. Davis—and I said as much on the giant going-away card patrons and employees signed for them in 1997, as they ceded over their Jackson store and the three others to "independent" Ohio-based entity Joseph-Beth Booksellers.

*

Those first two years were the glory years, even granting Joseph-Beth's thesis that the succeeding eight were a constant struggle against small-market red ink. Sure elements of my town objected to a prominent "Gay and Lesbian Studies" section in the store, but this was an understandable reaction from a conservative community, one which soon found a solution in compromise. Sure initial manager Kay Ferree took her lumps in trying to be an advocate for community morés to the two "outside" owners without yielding to the forces of censorship. But those first months. . . . Coffee was an even dollar, and no one cared if readers or sippers took up prime café real estate—even though lunch and dinner hours got busy, with full menus. Up to its overnight demise in December 2005 (at least the bookstore closing was phased), Jackson's café was the only one of eight which resisted the notion of table service, of the mandate to go through a hostess even to sit with a book on the restaurant side.

*

The common wisdom among the denizens of our town—the grievers and the January firesale bargain-seekers alike—was that Joseph-Beth owner Neil Van Uum did all he could to keep the doors open as the century turned and a Books-a-Million franchise opened on Jackson's relatively booming northside. Folks still point to Van Uum's retention of the Davis-Kidd name for his Tennessee stores, his alleged efforts to procure new space away from our static midtown as the lease was set to expire in early '06. Yet the Jackson establishment's downfall came with precedent, as Joseph-Beth had closed the west Knoxville Davis-Kidd in a matter of months after the 1997 buyout. Granted, that store never had a café, and it was probably a mistake for Kidd and Davis to have uprooted it from the vibrant "Strip" location near the University of Tennessee campus in favor of suburban west. Three separate book franchise book retailers (you can name them yourself, springing off the same letter near the beginning of our alphabet), each with café, opening within a mile and a half of Davis-Kidd's Knoxville location probably sealed its doom long before Van Uum came south to the Tennessee scene, inherited business ("Joseph-Beth" is a construction based upon spousal and in-law names) in tow.

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At Malaprop's Bookstore of Asheville, North Carolina, I was once denied a highly craved latte because a light jazz quartet was performing across the way and the employee would not activate the steamed milk machine until set break. She was polite but firm, making me feel chastened but not about to chafe in the wake of what was after all an inappropriate request in context. Not so at Davis-Kidd Jackson, where I hosted a monthly open mike poetry reading for three years; the mike may have remained open from 6:30-8 each third Tuesday, but employee-page announcements and the hissing of espresso machines continued unabated, to the occasional discombobulation of our readers, practiced and amateur alike. No one had to signpost the sentiments underlying this to our small yet shifting group, for we could parse the business-as-usual, victuals before verse dynamics for ourselves. When store manager Linda Reed abruptly cancelled the readings

in the summer of 2001, the failure of regional wannabe poets to bring a revenue stream into the building one night a month was as close to an explanation as I got, with a hint as well that "corporate" disapproved. My letter to Van Uum went unanswered.

*

The line between a "chain" or "corporate" establishment as opposed to an "independent " one is wavering at best. How many members of the organization Book Sense own and operate seven stores under two different names, having shuttered two for good while constructing some of the currently operative ones? [Van Uum also closed his Cleveland Shaker Heights space after only a few years, shifting ground to a trendier district of the city] The pattern seems to befit a chain, though Joseph-Beth trumpets its "independent bookstore" status in every piece of promotional literature it can. Clearly Square Books and Malaprops are lone wolves, a fact obvious in décor and layout—though each has expanded down the block or across the street in its time. Perhaps the coalition Book Sense is a bit contradictory itself: independents banding together in an avowed battle against the corporate Man. Aside from its Pittsburgh and Cleveland II franchises, I've spent time in all (defunct and present) bookstores under the Joseph-Beth umbrella, and it's been comfortable there, certainly more welcoming in ambience than any Border's I've tripped, and generally comparable in book selection. Still, former manager Reed was never above a single three-syllable rationale for any change to the Jackson store deemed unfavorable by any given customer: "corporate." Can you have it both ways, blaming "corporate" for, say, the closing of the outdoor café patio, yet insisting that local and regional well-being is the prime impetus behind any legitimate strides (e.g., resisting café table service) Davis-Kidd Jackson might be making?

*

At Tattered Cover Bookstore of lower downtown Denver, there are postcards for sale picturing an elderly reader named Charlie, happy and as if embalmed with his newspaper forever in the store's own literate confines. I took this for self-metaphor, once mailing such a card back to my bookseller friends in Jackson while on vacation. Before the patio was closed and the somewhat seedy-looking easy chairs and couches hard by the Davis-Kidd fireplace were disposed of, Denver's great store (chain of two, flagship having remained across town in a strip mall) shared a certain affinity of décor with my Jackson one as a haven for reading. Gradually bric-a-brac usurped book in our town; the nadir came when one employee picked a certain bar of scented soap for her "book of the month" one emblematic February. Come to think of it, that display of staff choices quietly faded too sometime after the Van Uum takeover, but I knew this employee well enough to say not a whit of irony graced her selection. Business school colleagues tell me the trade in new books is seldom profitable—whether for a Davis-Kidd, a Joseph-Beth, or a Books-a-Million. Remainders rule the day for the latter, while calendars and candles and the like may give the illusion of per-item profitability. I watched with chagrin as Joseph-Beth eliminated the Reader's Circle card, a kind of rebate for frequent book buyers, and supplemented the shelves with display kiosks featuring all manner of retail sundries. The expansion into CD's was good to see, but when you have employees whose entire daily "shelving" hour is devoted to stripping books off the racks for return to the

distributor, it's easy to wonder whether a prominent used and/or remainder section would have been a better survival tactic.

*

At Atticus Bookstore/Café of New Haven, Connecticut, there's a wraparound counter with elevated stools for food patrons placed centrally to the bookshelves. Such integration of life's most serendipitous products seemed more than sensible to me one August as I overheard locals lining up on both sides of the Red Sox—Yankees divide during my visit for the Pilot Pen tennis tourney. A sizable Yale contingent lent the patter a more philosophical timbre; I'd like to think the folks I have met through the years at Davis-Kidd Jackson are equally conversant with the escapades of athletes and intellectuals. It was always important to me that the bookstore was closer to my residence than to my job site, a symbolic step away from daytime academia by way of transition to evening leisure. For me, leisure has always included fairly equal parts caffeine, conversation, and reading material. Inside Davis-Kidd, I could rap with my crosstown colleague Gary, a Methodist supply pastor with some progressive ideas that neither of our institutions would be likely to endorse. When my Russian Orthodox friend Thomas tried to start a weekly discussion group in the café concerning "Christian art," it never got far in numbers—but he and I debated and clashed and empathized there through many a month. Conversely, it was stimulating for me as a Christian to hold court with non-believers of many stripes, employees and fellow customers alike. Theology aside, however, will Jackson lose its Cubs Double A minor league affiliate in the same year as its top bookstore? The debate is on in our daily *Sun* and once graced our café tables, to be continued perhaps in the corridors of Books-a-Million.

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While the store's overall heyday was 1995-1997, for me the period between being asked to start a monthly poetry reading (late '98) and having the plug pulled (summer '01) was a personal high. Friends who lived far away seemed puzzled that I would do such a public crossover-to-entertainment thing, despite my role as lecturer nine months out of the year. It certainly was not a temperamental fit, and I never quite shook what the singer-songwriters I most admire like Anne McCue and Lucinda Williams still label today their pervasive "stage fright." Not that our event played to hundreds or thousands (a half dozen readers, double-figure spectators constituted a good Tuesday) or ever needed to go high-tech, but I was petrified for months about simple microphone adjustments, about bungling my reader introductions, about the mix of my own verse and favorite contemporary poems which started each reading and which I feared would set all the wrong tone. Then there was the expectation that I was a representative of the store during these occasions, not an employee mind you but a de facto PR figure. My defense of readers who did such things from the mike like curse or suggest their poetry could be purchased at a local college bookstore but not in the house did nothing to endear me to manager Reed (who never attended a single reading herself in three years, but was told about many). The language was within certain poems and not gratuitous, while the matter of poetry book sales seemed

beyond the ken of my charge as a host, not a booster. Reed wanted the environment bland and safe for the moneyed north Jackson crowd, "closed" as it were, which is understandable from a bottom-line perspective but antithetical to "open" artistic events. Baby and bathwater went down simultaneously; we got cancelled along with our more electrified Monday cousin Open Mic Music Night, which had dared to convene and get raucous *weekly* since 1997.

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At Elliot Bay Bookstore/Café of Seattle, it all comes together. I've had a chance to visit that wonderful place multiple times, always including at least one writer's appearance downstairs among the used books—most notably Amy Tan and Donald Hall. At Davis-Kidd, author events have generally fallen within archetypal categories like the ghostwriter-assisted coach (Rick Pitino); the confessions of a local thespian (Dixie Carter); or the ever popular astronaut-as-bardic-illuminator (Buzz Aldrin). I mean, I'm glad an effort was made, and I hear that other Davis-Kidd and Joseph-Beth branches have drawn from more literary echelons for signings, but wouldn't it have been easier just to mike the soap bar and trail an autograph line in its wake? Does Elliot Bay have a line-item budget for such appearances much above what Joseph-Beth could have doled out to all its franchises? I doubt it, and when Jackson's store hosted the likes of talented Nashville-based singer/songwriter Kate Campbell or eminent North Carolina fictionalist Michael Parker, promotion was poor and virtually no one showed. Which brings us back to 1995: what had we done to deserve this new business, this haven of chairs and books and out-of-town newspapers and journals and cheap coffee and food? Could we have supported it in better (tangible and intangible) ways? Should a decade's quasi-bliss suffice, or is there some retail analogy to be drawn, some lesson to be learned about the role of the printed book in our new century?

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Though probably unintentional, the banners provided by Joseph-Beth to herald the store's closing slighted original owners Kidd and Davis: "Thanks Jackson for 8 Great Years." Let's say two "great," eight good. So yes, you'll find me at the strip mall housing Books-a-Million, but I'll be going south some too, down Oxford way. Somehow I think neither site will see a Wiccan contingent battling the Society for Creative Anachronism for conference table space anytime soon— as actually happened a few years back at Davis-Kidd. Management's solution: close the room and farm the fringe folk out to other meeting nooks. And the notion of Square Books owner Richard Howorth or a BAM suit banning the Joshuas or Jennifers of our town from the premises: unthinkable. As I watched my bookstore start posting earlier closing times and its café end daily service and start stacking chairs even before that, I cut back on—though by no means eliminated—my visits. It seemed no longer viable to try to convene my upper division classes there once or twice a semester, or meet our English honor organization there. Under new local management, Davis-Kidd was good enough to commemorate National Poetry Month in the springs of 2004 and 2005 by offering space for one-off readings, and my friend James from the Griot Collective managed to host a couple of literary events

under the radar there. But my bookstore became no longer the first public place where I felt comfortable leaving my daughter alone for a short period; I wouldn't have replicated that this century, and this has nothing to do with any change of clientele. Perhaps it's time, some two decades on, to find that unnamed space in Virginia which my tweedy stranger so enigmatically referenced.

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"At _____ Bookstore/Café of Charlottesville. . . "

Exegesis, Eisegesis, and Bad Translation

by Walton Padelford

Exegesis means carefully drawing meaning out of a text. Eisegesis means reading a meaning or interpretation into a text. Both of these exercises have implications for translation. I am referring here particularly to Bible translation of one passage in which eisegesis has produced a confusing translation.

The passage in question is found in Genesis 22:17: "indeed I will greatly bless you, and I will greatly multiply your seed as the stars of the heavens, and as the sand which is on the seashore; and your seed shall possess the gate of their enemies" (NASB). Verse 18 follows with: "And in your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, because you have obeyed My voice."

These verses are taken from the passage concerning Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in which, happily, the Angel of the Lord stays Abraham's hand, and a ram is substituted as a sacrifice for Isaac. After this event, the voice of the angel comes from heaven saying, "because you have done this thing and have not withheld your son, your only son, indeed I will greatly bless you,…"

It doesn't take great spiritual insight here to see that we are being shown Old Testament figures of the Father giving up His only son, and also one life being substituted for another life, as the ram is substituted for Isaac as a sacrifice. There is more involved in this passage also. The phrase in verse 18, "…in your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed…," is a repetition of one of the original promises given to Abraham in Genesis 12:3: "And in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed." Genesis 22:18 is an amplification and clarification of that promise indicating that the fulfillment would take place through the seed.

While it may be evident to much of evangelicalism that the seed here is Israel, the Apostle disagrees. "Now the promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed. He does not say, 'And to seeds,' as referring to many, but rather to one,: 'And to your seed,' that is, Christ" (Galatians 3:16).

Since "your seed" refers to Christ, it is clear that Paul wishes us to understand that the blessing that would come upon all nations through Abraham occurs because of faith in that one seed, namely Christ: "…in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come to the Gentiles, so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith" (Galatians 3:14). It is this truth that becomes muddled through translation in Genesis 22: 17-18. Let's look at each mention of "your seed" in these two verses and see if each one applies to Christ.

"…I will greatly multiply your seed as the stars of the heavens, and as the sand which is on the seashore;…" I have understood this to refer to the heavenly seed of Abraham (all the saved) and the earthly descendants of Abraham (the Jews and the Ishmaelite and Keturahite Arabs). However, what if the best meaning is "Christ?" Would this do violence to understanding the passage? No. The seed is Christ, and He will multiply His

life in all His people so that the people of God become as numerous as the stars of the heavens, and as the sand which is on the seashore.[1]

"…and your seed shall possess the gate of their enemies." This passage, as it stands, seems to have a plural meaning in which seed should be understood as a plural collective noun[2] to agree with "their enemies." This would refer to the nation of Israel or the people of God (the Israel of God). However, the Apostle is adamant in saying that "seed" is singular, as indeed it is throughout these two verses. The Hebrew word here is זרעך (zerayka). The letter caf (ך) is a second person masculine singular possessive, "your," which in Hebrew is added as a suffix. The root word זרע (zeray) is a feminine singular noun, as the Apostle states. Why then use the confusing "their enemies" in this passage if "seed" should have a singular sense? It is here that a little whole-Bible theology might be practiced. We might read "his enemies" as a better meaning, denoting Christ, or that singular seed which is the subject. However, we don't have to impose our meaning on the text here, because the Hebrew word is ויביא (oyebayv). The final suffix is יו (ayv), which again indicates a possessive. In this case it is a third person masculine singular possessive used with plural nouns.[3] The root word is ביא , enemy, here used in a plural form. The translation is "his enemies."

Now the passage reads smoothly and in accordance with the Apostle's guidance: "…and your seed shall possess the gate of his enemies." It is Christ who possesses the gate of his enemies, namely death and Hades (Rev 1:18). Genesis 22:18 also makes sense in this context: "And in your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, because you have obeyed My voice." It is through that one seed of Abraham, Christ, that the blessings of God flow out to the whole world.[4]

This small amount of work in Hebrew would seem to be the straightforward way of translating Genesis 22:17. Indeed, in Proverbs 16:7 we find the same phrase which is translated in this straightforward manner. "When a man's ways are pleasing to the Lord, He makes even his enemies to be at peace with him." "His enemies" is the same construction as above, and is so translated.[5] The translation fits nicely with the antecedent, "man." Indeed, the singular noun, "man," agrees with the singular pronoun,

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[1] "What person now needs an explanation to know how the seed of Christ is multiplied, who sees the preaching of the gospel extended from the ends of the earth to the ends of the earth." Origen, "Homilies on Genesis 9:2," *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, ed. Thomas C. Oden (Downer's Grove, Ill.: Inter Varsity Press, 2002) 113.

[2] "Commencing with Gen 3:15, the word 'seed' is regularly used as a collective noun in the singular (never plural). This technical term is an important aspect of the promise doctrine, for Hebrew never uses the plural of this root to refer to 'posterity' or 'offspring'….Thus the word designates the whole line of descendants as a unit, yet it is deliberately flexible enough to denote either one person who epitomizes the whole group (i.e. the man of promise and ultimately Christ), or the many persons in that whole line of natural and/or spiritual descendants." R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago, Ill.: The Moody Bible Institute, 1980) 253.

[3] Waylon D. Bailey and J.O. Strange, *Biblical Hebrew Grammar* (New Orleans: Insight Press, 1985) 39.

[4] "And to Abraham's seed he promised –what? In your seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. His seed is Christ;….And what was promised to Abraham we find fulfilled among ourselves. In your seed, it says, shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. He believed this before he had seen anything; he believed, and he never saw what was promised." Augustine, 113A.10, *Ancient Christian Commentary*, 115.

[5] *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, (The Bible Society in Israel, 1991) 684.

"his." Evidently, the translators of Genesis 22:17 believe that the word "seed" is a plural denoting a group like the people of Israel or all the people of God. This difficulty in translation is the reason the Apostle Paul has given us the correct reading of the passage. "Seed" is singular; therefore the pronoun before the word "enemies" should be singular also—that is, "his enemies."

The truth of the seed promise was well known to interpreters of an earlier generation such as James P. Boyce.[6] Why then the very common translation of Genesis 22:17 as "their enemies" as found in the New International Version, Today's New International Version, the New King James Version, the New Revised Version, the Holman Bible, and the New American Standard Version?[7]

One reason must be the continuing influence of dispensational theology in evangelical circles in which primacy of prophetic focus is on the nation of Israel. Therefore, it would seem reasonable that "seed" would refer to Israel. Another reason could be the continuing influence of Enlightenment views of Biblical interpretation which place great weight on rationalistic thought and downplay the importance or possibility of messianic predictive prophecy.

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[6] *The Patriachal Seed*, "A more definite and undoubted promise of the Messiah as 'a seed' was made to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. The apostle to the Galatians distinctly declares that 'the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all the nations be blessed.' Gal. 3:8. He also says emphatically (Gal. 3:16) that this seed 'is Christ.' The predictions of this kind to Abraham are recorded in Gen. 12:3;18:18; 22:17, 18. Each of these three passages refers in so many words to 'the Seed,' in connection with the spiritual blessing of the nations. Others, as indeed do the first two of these, contain also promises of the bestowal of the land of Canaan upon the natural descendants of Abraham. See Gen. 12:7; 13:14-17; 15:5-18; 17:8; 24:7. By this promise as to the nations the prediction in Eden, which had heretofore been general of the race, confined the birth of the Messiah to a descendant of Abraham. Both promises, that of the earthly Canaan and that of the spiritual seed, were repeated to Isaac....These predictions constitute properly the patriarchal promise of 'the Seed,' which is more commonly spoken of as the promise to Abraham, because of his greater prominence, as well as because first announced to him." James P. Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (Hanford, CA: den Dulk Christian Foundation, reprint of edition of 1887) 261.

[7]This is not an exhaustive survey of different versions of the English Bible. It should also be noted that the New American Standard Version has a marginal note indicating that the literal translation of the passage in question is "his enemies."

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CLIO Encounters Eschatology:
Recent Historiographical Interest in Christian Belief About the Future

by James A. Patterson

Introduction

In 1970, Hal Lindsey publicly inaugurated what proved to be a remarkable career as an evangelical prophecy guru with the initial release of *The Late Great Planet Earth*. This volume, which was not far removed from the literary genre of tabloid journalism, became a national best seller and precipitated a deluge of books, newsletters, films, and television shows devoted to frequently sensationalized depictions of prophetic themes.[1] For his part, Lindsey essentially popularized the dispensational tradition of John Nelson Darby, C. I. Scofield, and Lewis Sperry Chafer; of course, he offered several new interpretive twists to fit the unfolding events of the late twentieth century into the classic system. Moreover, as Chris Hall has recently noted, Lindsey "unexpectedly uncovered a deep vein of eschatological and apocalyptic longing in the fundamentalist/evangelical subculture and in American culture at large."[2]

In the same year that *The Late Great Planet Earth* gazed expectantly toward the future for the impending fulfillment of biblical prophecies, the late church historian Ernest R. Sandeen published *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, a landmark monograph that looked to the past for perspective on, among other things, conservative Christian beliefs about the future.[3] Lindsey and Sandeen probably were unaware of each other in 1970; in addition, they wrote for different reasons and disparate audiences. Nevertheless, Sandeen's explorations in British and American millenarian sources yielded historical insights that subsequently would help to explain the Lindsey phenomenon. If American evangelicals and fundamentalists had devoured *The Roots of Fundamentalism* with as much gusto as they imbibed *The Late Great Planet Earth*, their grasp of Lindsey's context and significance would have been much sharper. Furthermore, they might have been far less euphoric about the former tugboat captain's prophetic speculations.

Sandeen, then a professor at Macalester College in Minnesota, was not the first scholar to address historical manifestations of prophecy belief.[4] What set his endeavor apart from others was his focus on American fundamentalism as a theological tradition that could not be explained simply in cultural, psychological, or social terms. As an intellectual historian, Sandeen contended that premillennialism represented one of two major components at the very heart of the fundamentalist movement.[5] He carefully traced the influence of nineteenth-century British millenarians like Edward Irving and John Nelson Darby, giving special attention to the latter's ecclesiology and theory of a secret rapture.[6] Through a number of visits to the United States, the Plymouth Brethren leader convinced many American Protestants to accept his dispensational theology, even if few were inclined to join his movement. As Sandeen demonstrated, dispensationalism was then Americanized through the efforts of men like C. I. Scofield, known especially for his *Reference Bible*.[7]

In his thorough investigation of the origins of fundamentalist eschatological beliefs, Sandeen showed that he took them seriously. While his overall interpretation of fundamentalism has been justifiably challenged, Sandeen contributed significantly to the historiography of Christian beliefs about the future.[8] His book provided a useful historical backdrop for what was happening among more apocalyptically-oriented evangelicals after 1970; at the same time, it

suggestively paved the way for further research into the historical development of Christian eschatology.

Timothy P. Weber, now the academic dean at Northern Baptist Theological Seminary near Chicago, pursued some of Sandeen's themes in his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, eventually published as *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming.*[9] Weber shared Sandeen's interest in the theological world view of premillennialism, including its methods of biblical interpretation. But he also sought to incorporate the historical models of Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. and Martin E. Marty, his dissertation advisor.[10] Hence, Weber aimed his analytical skills not only at doctrine, but also at the forms of behavior that were shaped and influenced by doctrine. He approached his study of premillennialism by asking whether a belief in the imminent return of Christ made any difference in how people actually lived, behaved, or conducted their lives.[11]

After explaining the eschatology of premillennialism, Weber then examined the impact of belief in the imminent Second Coming on attitudes toward social reform, foreign missions, war, Zionism, and other issues with potential links to biblical prophecy. Like Sandeen, Weber presented premillennialism primarily as a *religious* movement: "Although it has had some social and political consequences, premillennialism's paramount appeal is to personal and religious sentiments."[12] On the other hand, Weber's behavioral perspective allowed him to show more interest than Sandeen in the social and political implications of premillennial beliefs. In the final analysis, Weber went beyond Sandeen's basically theological treatment, resulting in a more realistic picture of premillennialism.

Led by historians like Sandeen and Weber, there was an explosion of scholarly writing about prophecy beliefs and apocalypticism in the 1970s and 1980s. These works ranged in scope well beyond American fundamentalism and evangelicalism to include several different historical eras and types of eschatological doctrines.[13] Clearly, Christian eschatology had gained acceptance as a legitimate topic for historical research and writing. In fact, the 1990s would bring a further expansion of scholarly efforts to understand and explain the historical development of Christian beliefs about the end times, most notably in the works of Paul Boyer, Bernard McGinn, and Robert Fuller.[14]

Paul Boyer: Mining the Sources

In 1992, Paul Boyer, the Merle Curti Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, published *When Time Shall Be No More*, the most exhaustive study of modern American premillennialism yet written. Raised in the Brethren in Christ denomination, Boyer first became aware of prophecy issues during childhood through the sermons of his grandfather.[15] Through previous works on the Salem witchcraft episode, urban history, and the nuclear age, Boyer achieved wide acclaim in the guild of professional historians.[16]

In *When Time Shall Be No More*, Boyer's central concern is to account for the pervasiveness, persistence, and adaptability of prophecy belief in modern American culture. He steadfastly avoids condescending or reductionistic analyses, preferring to treat premillennial eschatology with respect as primarily a religious belief system. At the same time, Boyer alertly recognizes that doctrines concerning the end times contribute to a world view that offers psychological and ontological benefits: "Prophecy belief is a way of ordering experience. It gives a grand, overarching shape to history, and thus ultimate meaning to the lives of individuals caught up in history's stream. Here, I believe, is a key to its enduring appeal."[17]

In a recent article that serves to update his book, Boyer elaborates further on this more functional side of prophecy belief:

> So long as premillennial dispensationalism continues to meet the emotional and psychological needs of a great many Americans, and so long as the popularizers of Bible prophecy continue to weave our deepest collective anxieties into their end-time scenarios, this ancient belief system, with its infinite flexibility and its imaginative, drama-filled vision of history, will remain a significant shaping force in our politics and culture.[18]

Boyer's sensitivity to these dimensions of eschatological belief, while not fully developed in *When Time Shall Be No More*, nonetheless helps to qualify the criticisms of reviewers who judge him as long on narrative and short on analysis and interpretation.[19]

Like Sandeen, Boyer is most comfortable employing the tools of intellectual history; in particular, he depends primarily on the reading of texts for his information about the "hidden world" of prophecy belief. Indeed, the mere quantity of prophetic materials that Boyer read staggers the imagination. During a four-year period, he digested over three hundred prophecy books, as well as papers from prophecy conferences, prophecy newsletters, and religious periodicals devoted to prophecy themes. To supplement his scouring of written sources, Boyer also interviewed five prophecy writers, listened to prophecy sermons by visiting speakers at two churches in Madison, Wisconsin, and attended a prophecy seminar held under the auspices of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Over one hundred pages of endnotes attest to the thoroughness of Boyer's research.[20]

In good historical fashion, Boyer sets the stage for the core of his book by establishing the background and context of premillennial eschatology. His first chapter concisely scans the early development of prophetic and apocalyptic thought in ancient Israel and the early church. He limits his discussion of biblical materials to Ezekiel, Daniel, Mark 13, and Revelation; here his comments indicate at least a modest acceptance of higher critical conclusions. For example, Boyer states that "the weight of scholarly opinion views the Book of Daniel as a pseudepigraphic apocalypse written around 167 B.C. and predated to enhance its credibility."[21] Even so, he recognizes the enormous influence of the Bible's apocalyptic texts on later believers who viewed them as "vital source of doctrine, reassurance, and foreknowledge."[22]

His overview in chapter two of the "rhythms" of eschatological beliefs throughout church history covers key individuals and movements like Irenaeus, Augustine, Joachim of Flora, the Reformers, the Puritans, and Jonathan Edwards. The compressed character of this section is understandable in light of Boyer's overall purpose; certainly it invited other scholars like McGinn to shape more substantive treatments of apocalyptic thinking in periods and contexts to which *When Time Shall Be No More* gives short shrift. Still, Boyer manages to glean some suggestive themes from his historical survey, including (1) the durability and adaptability of prophetic beliefs; (2) the danger of these doctrines becoming politicized; and (3) the reality that in the contemporary world, intellectual and theological leaders are no longer the chief expounders of the prophetic scriptures.[23]

Boyer's third introductory chapter, which covers some of the same ground as Sandeen's *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, charts the history of premillennialism through 1945. The Wisconsin professor is especially adept at measuring the impact of the World War II era on premillennialist scenarios. In fact, the momentous wartime events, Boyer concludes, provided prophecy writers with "compelling empirical validation of their unfashionable but remarkably tenacious vision of human destiny."[24] Many of the themes that unfold more fully in later chapters are introduced in this section.

The heart of Boyer's tome can be found in the five chapters that make up part II. Here he meticulously draws on his vast reading of prophecy literature to recount the story of dispensational premillennialism over the last half-century. Boyer focuses specifically on how the prophecy movement sought to interpret biblical texts in response to the advent of the atomic bomb, the regathering of Israel as a nation, the rise and fall of the Soviet Union, and the prominent role of the United States in world affairs. Chapter eight tactfully catalogs the host of Antichrist candidates that prophecy speculators have identified since 1945--Anwar el-Sadat, King Juan Carlos, Henry Kissinger, Mikhail Gorbachev, and Ronald Reagan, among others, received consideration for beastly status. In these chapters, Boyer copiously cites prophecy writers and preachers like Donald Grey Barnhouse, M. R. DeHaan, Dave Hunt, Salem Kirban, Tim LaHaye, Mary Stewart Relfe, Chuck Smith, Charles Taylor, Jack Van Impe, John Walvoord, and, of course, Hal Lindsey. The reader has to be struck not only by the apocalyptic nature of the times, but also by the boldness with which the prophecy experts put forth their applications of biblical texts to current events.

The final two chapters reveal Boyer at his interpretive best. For example, he offers the image of the theater as the most helpful metaphor for understanding the premillennial view of history as predestined. Premillennialism's keen sense of harmony, symmetry, and meaning in history, in fact, partly explains its appeal: "With secular historians no longer speaking the language of progress or portraying the majestic unfolding of a divine plan in history, prophecy popularizers took up the slack and found a vast audience in the process."[25] Boyer is also effective in pointing out how the premillennial concept of history is linked to a pronounced utopianism with its emphasis on the coming Millennium as an "alternative future.[26]

Boyer's most weighty achievement in this long volume is his consistent attention to the resiliency of prophecy belief. Even when the prophecy teachers and writers have been wrong on the significance of events or in their identifications of the Antichrist, they have not hesitated to reset their timetables or rework their interpretations of prophetic passages. Near the end of his book, Boyer comes close to commending the flexibility of contemporary premillennialists: "As the configuration of world power alignments and public concerns shifts at the end of the century, prophecy popularizers, like their predecessors over the centuries, are proving extremely resourceful at restructuring their scenario."[27] While this assessment might suggest that biblical prophecy becomes a ball of wax in the hands of some its expounders, it also helps to explain why a distinguished historian like Paul Boyer regards prophecy belief as an enduring reality in modern American culture.

Bernard McGinn: Antichrist over Two Millennia

Bernard McGinn's *Antichrist* represents only one of several works that this respected medieval historian has penned on the historical development of Christian eschatological beliefs, an area he has researched for over twenty years. Among other important volumes on prophetic doctrines, the Naomi Shenstone Donnelley Professor of Historical Theology and the History of Christianity at the University of Chicago Divinity School has authored *Visions of the End* and served as one of the editors for *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism.*[28] Like Boyer, McGinn writes primarily as an intellectual historian, although his major area of expertise is Europe, not America

The fact that McGinn is a Roman Catholic in the Augustinian tradition helps to explain his overall approach in *Antichrist.*[29] From the outset, he disclaims a literal Antichrist, averring

instead that the paramount manifestation of evil has already come: "the most important message of the Antichrist legend in Western history is what it has to tell us about our past, and perhaps even about our present attitudes toward evil."[30] He then elaborates on this theme with the proposal that "the Antichrist legend can be seen as a projection, or perhaps better as a mirror, for conceptions and fears about ultimate human evil."[31] Thus an allegorical or symbolic understanding of the Antichrist functions as McGinn's vehicle for taking Christian eschatology seriously.

McGinn's aversion to a literal Antichrist is even more evident when he discusses the internal-external and dread-deception polarities that have characterized the various images of the Antichrist in Christian history. He unequivocally identifies with those Christian thinkers, such as Augustine of Hippo, who have located the central meaning of Antichrist in "the spirit that resists Christ present in the hearts of believers" or in the deceit of those "who confess Christ with their mouths but deny him by their deeds."[32] For McGinn, this spiritualized, even domesticated Antichrist is far more plausible than an external enemy who inspires dread like a persecutor or who practices outright deception from a seat of religious power.

These theological musings about the nature of the Antichrist form the backdrop for McGinn's historical survey. He begins his account by delving into the apocalyptic traditions of Second Temple Judaism, which he regards as a complex interaction of myth, legend, and history. The angelic and human adversaries of God and His messiah that emerge in these writings, McGinn argues, "form a necessary part of the background to the Antichrist legend."[33] Among the important Jewish antecedents he discusses is the "Final Tyrant" found in the Book of Daniel, a writing that McGinn dates to the Maccabean period. By limiting the application of the "little horn" in Daniel 7-12 to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, McGinn adopts a posture toward the Old Testament prophetical book that is very similar to Boyer's. In other words, the author of Daniel creatively utilized apocalyptic eschatology to interpret his own troubled times. Even as he ignores any predictive value in Daniel's prophecies, McGinn frets over the apocalyptic writer's externalization of good and evil "in terms of present historical conflicts."[34] Consequently, McGinn infers that the apocalypticism of Second Temple Judaism influenced Christian eschatology in deleterious ways.

McGinn's comprehensive overview of Christian Antichrist images occupies eight chapters, each one devoted to a distinct historical period. In covering early Christianity, the Chicago historian combines a higher critical approach to the New Testament with a marked preference for patristic authorities like Origen, Jerome, Tyconius, and Augustine.[35] All of these Fathers articulated non-millennial eschatologies, usually accompanied by inner moral interpretations of Antichrist. Four chapters on the Middle Ages, McGinn's specialty, scrutinize topics like the monk Adso's "Last Emperor" motif, Hildegard of Bingen's innovative symbolism, Joachim of Flora's apocalyptic speculations, and dissident Franciscans' espousal of a papal Antichrist. In these sections, McGinn incorporates useful references to poetry, drama, and art, thus illustrating how apocalypticism played out in popular culture.[36]

For the Reformation and modern periods, McGinn employs the rubrics "Antichrist Divided" and "Antichrist in Decline." First, he adeptly shows how polarization became inevitable as a result of Martin Luther's "uncompromising denunciation of the papacy as true and final Antichrist present in the world."[37] This stridency set the tone for later debate; indeed, radical, Anabaptist, Puritan, and Catholic voices all responded in one way or another to the Lutheran Reformer's identification of the papacy as the Final Enemy. Second, McGinn depicts

the marginalization of literal Antichrist beliefs after 1660, a development he appears to welcome. He offers this critical prognosis of modern trends:

> Antichrist as a form of vague rhetoric to be used against any opponent helped weaken the content of a term that was already being undercut by the neglect of its more personal applications. . . . Antichrist's reality became increasingly problematic as Enlightenment ideas spread, but Christianity itself had prepared the way for this collapse. Because of this, most eighteenth- and nineteenth-century views of Antichrist seem empty repetitions of once-vibrant symbols.[38]

In McGinn's analysis, a divided Western Christendom lacked the resources to sustain a viable Antichrist tradition.

In his final chapter, "Antichrist Our Contemporary," McGinn assesses various twentieth-century versions. After a brief discussion of Roman Catholic perspectives, he evaluates dispensational premillennialism's chronic search for the Antichrist, covering much of the same ground as Sandeen, Weber, and Boyer—although failing to cite the latter. McGinn seems somewhat hopeful about the Antichrists of literature, noting writers of modern fiction like Frank Kermode, Czeslaw Milosz, Robert Hugh Benson, and Charles Williams, all of whom wrestle with the motivation behind ultimate human evil. McGinn also points to Carl Jung's notion of Antichrist as "an inexorable psychological law," not because he views it as plausible but rather as another possible way of emphasizing the "inner meaning of Antichrist."[39]

McGinn's quest for the contemporary relevance of Antichrist stems largely from his concern that the traditional "legend" serves mainly to foster "hatred and oppression of groups, such as Jews and Muslims, seen as collective manifestations of Antichrist's power."[40] His salvage operation on Antichrist belief finally arrives where it began, stressing the symbolic nature of the Antichrist within: "At the end of this millennium we can still reflect on deception both within and without each of us and in our world at large as the most insidious malice--that which is most contrary to what Christians believe was and still is the meaning of Christ."[41] As some of McGinn's critics have suggested, it remains to be seen whether this Antichrist image is adequate to account for either the biblical texts or contemporary manifestations of evil in our world.[42] Nevertheless, McGinn has written the best one-volume historical account of the Antichrist tradition, one that is still influencing our journalistic culture today.[43]

Robert Fuller: An American Obsession?

Following Paul Boyer's magisterial study of prophecy belief in America and Bernard McGinn's thorough examination of the Antichrist tradition in Christian history, Robert Fuller's *Naming the Antichrist* is something of a disappointment. First, Fuller is much briefer than McGinn on the overall history of Antichrist belief and not nearly as comprehensive as Boyer when dealing with the American scene. Second, Fuller writes with an obvious agenda. He is appalled by the persistence of literal interpretations of biblical prophecy in fundamentalism. Rather than appraise these beliefs at face value, Fuller attempts, with limited success, to explain them primarily with psychological and social categories. In fact, he claims that one of the essential tasks of intellectual history is to be alert to "the sociology of knowledge":

> The whole point of humanistic inquiry, particularly historical inquiry, is to explicate meanings that are not overtly present in a text, a historical event, or a person's self-awareness. A judicious use of social, economic, and psychological perspectives that

make such an explication possible is thus an indispensable part of the interpretive process.[44]

While this is a laudable goal, Fuller seems more bent on discrediting the fundamentalist world view than on offering a plausible and convincing account of it.

Fuller, Professor of Religious Studies at Bradley University, contends in his introduction that Christians through history have used the Antichrist symbol to shape their self-understanding and to demonize their enemies. For Americans, in particular, naming the Antichrist aids in the establishment of "the symbolic boundaries that separate all that is holy and good from the powers of chaos that continually threaten to engulf them."[45] Apocalyptic thought then, according to Fuller, functions as a protective device for those plagued by doubts and uncertainties about life.

The initial chapter of *Naming the Antichrist* traces the origins of Antichrist doctrine from the New Testament era through the colonial period in America, a span of almost eighteen hundred years. Fuller's psychosocial approach to eschatology is clearly evident when he interprets the beast of the sea, or Antichrist, in John's Apocalypse as "a mythic device" that has allowed readers "to label and interpret their fears and frustrations."[46] The remainder of Fuller's historical survey through the Reformation correlates apocalypticism not so much with theological speculation as with social, economic, and political disruption.[47]

Fuller's treatment of the Puritans in chapter two leaves much to be desired. In terms of historical matters, he wrongly implies that Puritans were Separatists, and fails to distinguish carefully between Puritans and Pilgrims.[48] On the interpretive side, he organizes his analysis around the idea that apocalyptic thought in New England provided a mechanism for the Puritans to demonize their enemies, whether they be native Americans, dissenters, or witches. Fuller, however, does not supply sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the Puritans identified all their "enemies" with Antichrist, or that they viewed all their social and political conflicts in apocalyptic proportions. He also delivers some low blows; for example, he suggests that "Cotton Mather's lifelong obsession with the devil was an inherited trait."[49] Except for his generally balanced presentation of Jonathan Edwards's eschatology, Fuller's overview of Puritanism is condescending and much too driven by social and psychological explanations.

Following a chapter on developments in American apocalyptic thought during the nineteenth century, Fuller devotes most of the remaining parts of his book to fundamentalist eschatology. Overall, his explication of fundamentalism in many ways parallels his treatment of Puritanism. He sees both movements as representative of the darker side of apocalyptic belief; both used Antichrist doctrine to project their fears and anxieties upon demonic enemies, thus serving as typical exemplars of the American "obsession." Hence, Fuller writes about both with a decidedly polemical edge.

Fuller's portrait of fundamentalism draws on the scholarship of Boyer, Marsden, Sandeen, and Weber, among others. The major difference is that they are more nuanced and less tendentious than Fuller. For example, far more than any previous author, Fuller wants to identify premillennialism as the sine qua non of fundamentalism, ignoring the fact that not all fundamentalists have been premillennialists. He also jumps from a discussion of early fundamentalism in chapter four to "Crusades of Hate" in chapter five, assuming significant historical continuity between those who stood for the fundamentals of the faith in the 1920s and those more extreme fundamentalists who later launched virulent anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-New Deal campaigns. Indeed, it is not entirely obvious who falls under this judgment of Fuller: "[t]he story of twentieth-century Antichrist is thus in large part the story of naming,

dramatizing, and mythologizing the enemies of ultraconservative Protestantism."[50] At times, Fuller appears to classify anyone who believes in biblical inerrancy, premillennialism, evangelism, and social and moral separatism with the "apostles of discord" and "paranoid" types described in chapter five. Fuller's assessment of fundamentalism as basically ill, empty, and even evil has provoked one critic to remark that *Naming the Antichrist* "is an invitation not to understand but to deride and dismiss."[51]

Although Fuller drops many interpretive hints throughout his book, he waits until the epilogue to reveal his full agenda. After reviewing several earlier theories concerning apocalypticism, he opts for a perspective that combines philosophical pragmatism and functionalism:

> A functionalist interpretation of specific religious beliefs, such as belief in the Antichrist, focuses on the functions of these beliefs in guiding individual and group interaction with the surrounding world. Philosophical pragmatism comes into play as we begin seeking some means of comparing or evaluating competing ideas or beliefs. Pragmatism shifts our attention away from philosophy's traditional interest in judging the truth of an idea, in favor of the task of assessing an idea's functional value.[52]

What especially irks Fuller about apocalyptic fundamentalism is that its eschatological beliefs promote nativism, territorialism, and "tribalistic boundary posturing," which he apparently judges to be "absolutely" wrong, even though his philosophical allegiance is to a system that denies absolutes.[53]

In the final analysis, Fuller regards naming the Antichrist as a functionally counterproductive activity. It not only prevents people from becoming fully participating contributors in a pluralistic society, but it also represents an attempt to project one's own faults and shortcomings onto an enemy, which is psychologically dysfunctional. Yet Fuller seems not entirely satisfied with his functionalist perspective when he borrows social gospel rhetoric for his last sentence: "[t]his relentless obsession with the Antichrist appears to have done more to forestall than to signal the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth."[54] Perhaps even a pragmatic functionalist like Robert Fuller is entitled to entertain an eschatological hope.

Conclusion

In his recent book *Apocalypses*, retired UCLA professor Eugen Weber sets forth a compelling rationale for the historical investigation of prophecy belief:

> If scores of eschatologists have proved mistaken, the answer is not that one of them will prove right one day, but that too many of them have proved too influential—destructive, constructive, inspiring, consoling—and that it is foolish for historians to dismiss or, worse, to ignore them.[55]

The point of Weber's statement reverberates through the scholarly contributions considered in this essay. Because several researchers chose not to neglect an important and legitimate sphere of historical inquiry, we have a fuller and much richer portrait of the development of eschatological doctrines in Christian history. Their work not only demonstrates the significant impact that beliefs about the future have exerted at various times in the past; it also illuminates the cultural, historical, and religious contexts that have helped to shape those beliefs.

The studies of Boyer, McGinn, Fuller, and others hold special relevance for Christian readers. As Weber observes, several "eschatologists" have made serious miscalculations about prophetic timetables or patently erroneous conjectures regarding the fulfillment of biblical

prophecies. The existence of contrived, sensationalized, or highly speculative apocalyptic scenarios in the past should alert evangelical Christians against such follies in the present. If the history of prophecy belief teaches anything, it calls its practitioners to exercise caution and humility when attempting to chart the future plans and actions of God.

Finally, while the historical labors reviewed here yield many benefits, they also suggest some interpretive limitations. McGinn, Fuller, and—to a lesser degree—Boyer at times adopt an adversarial posture toward their subjects. As a result, some of their analyses tend toward reductionism, especially when they employ political, psychological, and social explanations for the vitality and persistence of prophecy belief. While such perspectives certainly have validity, they also threaten to obscure the importance of religious aspirations and theological convictions in the lives of those energized by eschatology. To enlarge on Weber's warning, patronizing the eschatologists can be as problematic as dismissing or ignoring them.

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[1]Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970). For a discussion of Lindsey in relation to other modern prophecy buffs, see Richard Kyle, *The Last Days Are Here Again: A History of the End Times* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), 115-22. See also Robert G. Clouse, "Late Great Predictions," *Christian History* 18, no. 1 (1999): 40-41.

[2]Chris Hall, "What Hal Lindsey Taught Me about the Second Coming," *Christianity Today*, 25 October 1999, 84.

[3]Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[4]For example, see the earlier path-breaking work by Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957). Ironically, the third edition of Cohn's book was published in 1970 by Oxford University Press.

[5]Sandeen saw the Princeton Theology of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the other vital component. See *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, esp. chap. 5.

[6]Ibid., esp. chap. 3.

[7]Ibid., 222-24.

[8]The most successful challenge to Sandeen's two-source thesis was George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[9]Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[10]See Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York: Free Press, 1969); and Martin E. Marty, *A Nation of Behavers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

[11]Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982*, enlarged ed. (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, Zondervan Publishing House, 1983), 8.

[12]Ibid., 229.

[13]A very selective listing would include Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); Katherine R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); J. F. C. Harrison, *The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism, 1780-1850* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979); and Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). For a helpful historiographical overview with a limited geographical focus, see Dietrich Buss, "Meeting of Heaven and Earth: A Survey and Analysis of the Literature on Millennialism in America, 1965-1985," *Fides et Historia* 20 (January 1988): 5-28. For another essentially bibliographical contribution, see Jon R. Stone, *A Guide to the End of the World: Popular Eschatology in America: The Mainstream Evangelical Tradition* (Hamden, Conn.: Garland Publishing, 1994).

[14]Three very recent books that do not add a whole lot more to what Boyer, McGinn and Fuller have already covered include Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); David S. Katz and Richard H. Popkin, *Messianic Revolution: Radical Religious Politics to the End of the Second Millennium* (New York: Hill & Wang), 1999; and Eugen Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999). For a thoughtful review essay on these and other works, see Anthony Grafton, "The Varieties of Millennial Experience," *New Republic*, 8 November 1999, 76-88. Although Grafton underscores "variety," he overlooks treatments of more liberal Protestant versions of eschatology. For example, see James H. Moorhead, *World without End: Mainstream Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).

[15]Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 447.

[16]See respectively, Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

[17]Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, xi.

[18]Boyer, "Bible Prophecy Belief in Contemporary American Culture," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 67 (December 1998): 466. It is not clear whether "this ancient belief system" is a reference to biblical prophecy in general or to premillennial dispensationalism in particular.

[19]For example, see Bruce Kuklick, review of *When Time Shall Be No More*, by Paul Boyer, *American Historical Review* 98 (June 1993): 827-28; Leo Ribuffo, review of *When Time Shall Be No More*, by Paul Boyer, *Journal of American History* 80 (December 1993): 1150-51; and John F. Wilson, review of *When Time Shall Be No More*, by Paul Boyer, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Spring 1994): 763-65.

[20]On his sources, see Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, xiii-xiv. For the endnotes, see ibid., 341-444.

[21]Ibid., 31.

[22]Ibid., 45.

[23]Ibid., 77-79.

[24]Ibid., 112.

[25]Ibid., 317-18.

[26]Ibid., 318-24.

[27]Ibid., 338-39.

[28]Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994); McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); and McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen J. Stein, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3 vols. (New York: Continuum, 1998). In 2000, Columbia University Press (New York) released *Antichrist* in a paperback edition.

[29]On McGinn's Catholicism, see John Van Engen, "Evil Personified," review of *Antichrist*, by Bernard McGinn, *Christian Century*, 15 November 1995, 1088.

[30]McGinn, *Antichrist*, xii.

[31]Ibid., 2.

[32]Ibid., 4-5.

[33]Ibid., 9.

[34]Ibid., 32.

[35]Ibid., esp. chaps. 2 and 3.

[36]Ibid., chaps. 4-7.

[37]Ibid., 208.

[38]Ibid., 249.

[39]Ibid., 274-75.

[40]Ibid., 273.

[41]Ibid., 280.

[42]See A. J. Conyers, "Antichrist Our Contemporary," review of *Antichrist*, by Bernard McGinn, and *The Renaissance Antichrist*, by Jonathan B. Reiss, *Books & Culture* 2 (May/June 1996): 9-10; and Walter Sundberg, "The Accursed One," review of *Antichrist*, by Bernard McGinn, *First Things* (June/July 1995): 43-44.

[43]For example, look for the impact of McGinn on Kenneth L. Woodward, "The Way the World Ends," *Newsweek*, 1 November 1999, 67-74. At the end of his article, Woodward asks, "And who's to say that John's mythic battle between Christ and Antichrist is not a valid insight into what the history of humankind is ultimately all about?"

[44]Robert Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist: The History of An American Obsession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 10.

[45]Ibid., 5.

[46]Ibid., 30.

[47]For example, see ibid., 34-37.

[48]Ibid., 42-44.

[49]Ibid., 62.

[50]Ibid., 136.

[51]A. Gregory Schneider, "In Search of the Evangelical Self: History, Psychology, and Religious Subcultures in America," *Religious Studies Review* 23 (April 1997): 138.

[52]Fuller, *Naming the Antichrist*, 194-95.

[53]Ibid., 195-96.

[54]Ibid., 200.

[55]Weber, *Apocalypses*, 239.

Tennessee: Raveling the Edges of Who I am

by Jenny Brooks White

When I was there, I was a cotton farmer's daughter with wild hair and bare feet and I let no one tie my days to order. I climbed the highest trees, fingered scars in the rough bark, and felt my hands turned raw and sweaty. When I looked over the cotton fields, I saw deer flash their white tails and run when they caught my scent. I've run, too, through the roughest fields with grass whipping my bare legs and the ground rising up to meet my fast steps. I was a sister and fought my brothers with the wrath of a young woman. I pounded my fists into their adolescent chests and I even bloodied their noses. And I bloodied my knees and elbows, fell from swings and bicycles, cut my feet on the gravel drive. I was a granddaughter and I walked my grandfather's garden rows, found bits of coal and glass, reached through the scratchy squash and picked fruit swollen with time. And now time reaches up for me and takes me back to Tennessee, a place far away, a place once visited, once lived, and it shakes out its memory in my mind the way my grandfather shook fruit trees—bringing the ripest, most delicate to the ground. I look back at that cotton farmer's daughter and see her ragged pants and tangled hair and I say to myself: this is who I am.

JUFF Contributors

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honorific, which became widely popular in the Middle Ages. Honorius Augustodunensis writes that Mary Magdalene merited her singular Christophany ("angelum videre meruit Dominusque resurgens primo omnium ei publice apparuit"), and that Christ sent her as an apostle to his Apostles ("eamque apostolam apostolis suis misit"); Honorius sees Mary as a second Eve bearing the message of eternal life instead of subjecting humankind to mortality ("et sicut prima femina mortem viro traderet, ita nunc femina perhennem vitam viris nunciaret"; *PL* 172.981). In Joseph Szövérffy's survey of medieval Magdalene hymns, *Apostola* is one of four principal titles that she is repeatedly given (92). Vernacular authors such as Osbern Bokenham (139) and Nicholas Love (206) also observe this distinction in their praise of the Magdalene, and Joseph Harris has argued that the ballad "Maiden in the Mor Lay" draws upon similar Magdalene traditions (79). Possibly the most dramatic illustration of her apostolic role can be found in an English twelfth-century psalter probably prepared for Christina of Markyate. Here the Magdalene, with hand raised, extends her finger in a gesture of address, recounting the news of the Resurrection to eleven wide-eyed Apostles who hang on her every word. This iconography is not common, but it can be found in multiple manuscript illustrations, carvings, and stained glass beginning in the eleventh century (Haskins 220, 452).

Conscience's suggestion that the Magdalene noised her news indiscriminately abroad undermines her quasi-evangelical authority. Even his summarizing statement, "Thus cam it out þat crist overcoom, recouerede and lyuede," implies a random relaying of information. The language of the Vulgate, confirmed by patristic, hagiographic, dramatic, and lyric traditions, stresses Mary Magdalene's role as an appointed envoy to the Apostles, not the indiscriminate speaker we find in Conscience's account.

III

Conscience's portrayal of a garrulous Magdalene offers an ideal opportunity to employ the proverb "What a woman knows may not well remain secret." The garrulity of women was a proverbial commonplace, and its appearance in one of the most encyclopedic poems of the English Middle Ages may therefore be unsurprising. Examination of the contexts in which this proverb occurs elsewhere, however, reveals more specific, and more specifically ideological, agendas which condition its use and which motivate Conscience's apparently gratuitous denigration of the Magdalene.

The "counseille" proverb's first English attestation comes from the widely popular *Proverbs of Alfred*, in which we are told that King Alfred was "þe wysuste mon þat wes englelond on" (lines 23-24).[6] For the author or compiler of the *Proverbs*, part of the king's wisdom involved a facility with misogynistic traditions. At "Sifford," before a gathering of bishops and earls, knights and clerks, Alfred counsels his men: "Be never so insane nor so drunk with wine that you ever tell your wife all your plans, because she will reveal all in front of all your enemies . . . for woman is word-crazy and has a tongue too swift, and even though she

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Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident, des origenes à la fin du moyen âge.

[6] I translate from the J text (Jesus College Oxford MS. 29). The "counseille" proverb is item W534 in the Whitings' proverb dictionary; compare items F426 and W485, and Tilley's item W649.

might want to, she cannot withhold anything." In the *Proverbs of Alfred* we first witness what will become a recurrent narrative context for this proverb: the secrets which a "word-wod" woman divulges will be hazardous to men.

No text more strongly emphasizes the danger of confiding in wives than Jean de Meun's portion of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which the female personification Nature "confesses" to a male Genius for creating that most reprehensible of all creatures, Man. What ensues is a broad parody of Catholic confession in which a priestly Genius uses his authority not only to counsel Nature, but also to embark on a diatribe against the seductive menace and verbal infidelity of women, employing the same sententious advice found a century earlier in the *Proverbs of Alfred*:

> No man born of woman, unless he is drunk or demented, should reveal anything to a woman that should be kept hidden, if he doesn't want to hear it from someone else . . . for if, just one single time he ever dares grouch at her or scold her or get angry, he puts his life in danger--if he deserved death for his deed--that she will have him hanged by the neck, if the judges catch him, or secretly murdered by friends. (276)

As in the *Proverbs of Alfred,* we see the details of the insanity or drunkenness that must afflict a foolish man who speaks his mind to his wife, as well as the disastrous consequence which would befall him. A few lines later, Genius dramatizes the proverb by portraying a sexually seductive wife who weasels her husband's secret out of him, saying:

> I see all these other women who are sufficiently mistresses of their houses so that their husbands confide in them enough to tell them all their secrets. They all take counsel with their wives when they lie awake together in their beds, and they confess themselves privately so that there is nothing left to them to tell. Truth to tell, they even do so more often than they do to the priest. I know it well from them themselves, for many times I have heard them; they have revealed to me everything, whatever they have heard and seen and even all that they think. In this way they purge and empty themselves. However, I am not the same sort. (278)

Jean de Meun's mention of priests in this passage transforms these loose-lipped wives into metaphorical confessors--a metaphor further explored below.

Chaucer would make liberal use of the "counseille" proverb, employing some form of it in *The Wife of Bath's Tale* (the digression on Midas and his ass's ears, line 980), *The Monk's Tale* (2015-30; 2090-94), and *The Tale of Melibee* (1060). Chaucer's Monk, for example, does not ascribe Samson's downfall to fortune , but to his error of confiding in women:

> Of Sampson now wol I namoore sayn.
> Beth war by this ensample oold and playn
> That no men telle hir conseil til hir wyves
> Of swich thyng as they wolde han secree fayn,
> If that it touche hir lymes or hir lyves.
> (*MkT* 2090-94)

The Wife of Bath is especially fond of quoting proverbs, even to the disparagement of her own gender. In her tale, when she discusses the suggestion that a woman most desires her husband's confidence, she embarks on a long digression employing, and radically altering, the familiar myth of King Midas and his ass's ears--a digression in which Midas's wife, not his barber, betrays his embarrassing secret. She further affirms the truth of the proverb in a confessional passage concerning the secrets of Jankin:

> My fifthe housbonde--God his soule blesse!--
> Which that I took for love, and no richesse,
> He som tyme was a clerk of Oxenforde,
> And hadde left scole, and went at hom to bord
> With my gossib, dwellynge in oure toun;
> She knew myn herte, and eek my privetee,
> Bet than oure parisshe preest, so moot I thee!
> To hire biwreyed I my conseil al.
> For hadde my housbonde pissed on a wal,
> Or doon a thyng that sholde han cost his lyf,
> To hire, and to another worthy wyf,
> And to my nece, which that I loved weel,
> I wolde han toold his conseil every deel.
> And so I dide ful often, God it woot,
> That made his face often reed and hoot
> For verray shame, and blamed hymself for he
> Had toold to me so greet a pryvetee.
> (*Prol. WBT* 531-42)

Thus Jankin joins husbands from the *Proverbs of Alfred*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the Wife's own tale as men whose lives are ruined or jeopardized by their loose-lipped wives.[7]

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[7] One might also observe that the verbal promiscuity of these women frequently possesses a sexual correlative. The wife of Genius's *Roman de la Rose* diatribe partially undresses as she solicits her husband's secret, while Delilah and the Wife of Bath are both portrayed as sexually powerful and potentially dangerous. The "counseille" proverb also features prominently in Thomas Hoccleve's *Tale of Jonathas*, in which the prying woman is the prostitute Fellicula. This correlation between verbal and sexual promiscuity might have prompted Langland's audience to recall the Magdalene's traditional status as a reformed prostitute, thereby associating her with the Venerien Wife of Bath, the prostitute Fellicula, the temptress Delilah, and the seductive wife of Genius's diatribe in a sorority of sexually and verbally dangerous women. Langland alludes to the Magdalene's sexuality in passus 5, lines 496-498 and passus 10, line 428, presenting the Magdalene as one of salvation history's greatest sinners whose redemption illustrates God's abundant grace. No one, according to the Dreamer, could have led a worse life in the world than her. Conscience, however, does not make the Magdalene's presumed sexual past an issue in passus 19.

This selective but representative narrative history of the proverb reveals that loose-lipped and prying women jeopardize men's crucial secrets, and sometimes their very lives. And in two instances the usually domestic "counseille" proverb carries with it implicit ecclesiastical associations. Genius's diatribe in the *Roman de la Rose*, with its portrayal of women as irresponsible secular confessors, reinforces the exclusively male role of confessor by pointing out a woman's inability to hold an office so dependent upon the ability to "keep counseille." Chaucer was to repeat these ecclesiastical associations in the Wife of Bath's *Prologue*, in which Alisoun asserts that her gossip "knew myn herte, and eek my privetee, / Bet than oure parisshe preest . . . ." If this is how women keep counsel, so the argument would run, they surely would make disastrous priests. In the *Roman de la Rose* and the Wife of Bath's *Prologue*, the proverbial garrulity of women is expanded from a domestic sphere to reflect a religious one.

However, the author who provides the clearest connection between the "counseille" proverb and anxieties over women's religious authority is Langland himself. In passus 5, Wrath, a former friar, slanders all women while confessing to Repentance:

> I haue an Aunte to Nonne and an Abbesse boþe;
> Hir were leuere swowe or swelte þan suffre any peyne.
> I haue be cook in hir kichene and þe Couent serued
> Manye Monþes wiþ hem, and wiþ Monkes boþe.
> I was þe Prioresse potager and oþere pouere ladies,
> And maad hem Ioutes of Ianglyng þat dame Iohane was a bastard,
> And dame Clarice a kny3tes dou3ter ac a cokewold was hir sire,
> And dame Pernele a preestes fyle; Prioresse worþ she neuere
> For she hadde child in chirietyme; al oure Chapitre it wiste.
> Of wikkede wordes I, wraþe, hire wortes made
> Til "þow lixt!" and "þow lixt!" lopen out at ones
> And eiþer hitte ooþer vnder þe cheke.
> Hadde þei had knyues, by crist! hir eiþer hadde kild ooþer.
> Seint Gregory was a good pope, and hadde a good forwit:
> That no Prioresse were preest, for þat he purueiede;
> They hadde þanne ben *Infamis*, þei kan so yuele hele counseil.
>
> (5.153-68)

For Wrath, the "counseille" proverb involves no mere metaphor but stands as the principal argument against women priests. Wrath dismisses the prioresses' assumptions of authority with the same reproach that Conscience levels at the Magdalene, using the same proverb; they cannot restrain their "janglyng" mouths.

IV

Up to now my focus has been on literary traditions that may help make sense of Langland's problematical Magdalene, but it is in a social context that Conscience's proverbial denigration of the Magdalene can be better understood, and gendered controversies of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries recommend such an approach. In the first half of the

thirteenth century, it appears that some prioresses were testing the limits of their religious authority despite the oft-repeated injunctions of 1 Timothy 2:11-12, encroaching upon the priestly duty of hearing nuns' confessions. Their presumption led to a sharp rebuke by Pope Gregory IX, who forbade prioresses to assume such duties.[8] It is this decretal to which Wrath alludes in passus 5, and Wrath's use of the "couseille" proverb implies an association on some level in Langland's mind between the Magdalene and these prioresses who had overstepped their bounds.

Perhaps Langland was concerned with these gendered tensions because his age was uniquely marked by an increasingly public feminine religiosity that became associated with everything subversive and dangerous. The explosion of lay piety, affective devotion, and vernacular translation of Scripture threatened to circumvent the already-besieged clerical community in England. Mystics such as Julian of Norwich were recording their spiritual experiences while Langland was writing his poem, and those who received visions from God authorizing non-traditional actions would prove most difficult to contain. Jean de Gerson, the staunch defender of orthodoxy best known for his vigorous persecution of Wyclif's continental counterpart, Jan Hus, felt compelled to remind Langland's generation that "the female sex is forbidden on apostolic authority to teach in public, that is either by word or by writing . . . . All women's teaching, particularly formal teaching by word and by writing, is to be held suspect unless it has been diligently examined, and much more fully than men's" (Colledge and Walsh 151). Here we may be reminded of a Canterbury monk's reaction to Margery Kempe: "I wold þow wer closyd in an hows of ston þat þer schuld no man speke wyth þe" (27).

If contemporary accounts can be trusted, there were not enough houses of stone in all of England to contain the women who were supposedly assuming important roles in heretical movements of Langland's day. Lollardy especially offered opportunities for women that orthodox Catholicism would never have allowed, as women assumed important but hazardous roles as readers and interpreters of Scripture. Yet the extent to which women were actually involved in Lollardy is the subject of considerable debate. Claire Cross has suggested that through being central to the family unit by which Lollardy thrived, women were spiritual leaders in the heresy. According to Cross, women were active teachers mainly through Conventicle recitation of memorized Scripture (360, 370-71). Margaret Aston continued Cross's line of inquiry, additionally addressing rumors that Lollard women were actually functioning as priests. However, Shannon McSheffrey has cautioned against exaggerating women's roles, reminding us that most of these women were illiterate and ancillary to a definite male leadership structure. McSheffrey writes, "Even most influential female Lollards confined their endeavors to informal situations rather than public teaching roles" (21).

Although the extent of women's actual involvement in Lollardy is debatable, one thing is certain: women were *perceived* to be usurping traditionally male roles in heretical movements, including preaching and expounding Scripture, and this usurpation was to be a source of great anxiety. Margery Kempe's public religiosity repeatedly earned her the accusation of "fals loller," suggesting an association among her contemporaries between the heresy and preaching

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[8] See Friedberg, Decretal Gregor. IX Lib. V. Tit. XXXVIII. cap. x (cols. 886-7).

women. It may be no coincidence that the two great persecutors of Wycliffite and Hussite belief, Thomas Arundel and Jean de Gerson, also made a point of condemning women preachers. Margaret Aston adduces considerable evidence from chronicle and sermon literature, poetry, and polemical tracts to reveal widespread concern over women's roles among the champions of orthodoxy. By the 1390s rumors were circulating throughout London that women were celebrating masses, and Hoccleve's oft-quoted verbal assault on Oldcastle shows how women were already established as vigorous heretical interpreters of Scripture in the minds of the orthodox by this time:

> Some wommen eeke, thogh hir wit be thynne,
> Wole argumentes make in holy writ!
> Lewde calates! sittith doun and spynne,
> And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit
> Is al to feeble to despute of it!
> To Clerkes grete apparteneth þat aart
> The knowleche of þat, god hath fro yow shit;
> Stynte and leue of for right sclendre is your paart. (13)

Hoccleve responds to the threat of Lollard women scholars in what is by now a predictable pattern: by impugning their authority through misogynistic portrayals of small minds and big mouths. The imagined "kakeling" of Hoccleve's women is a revealing correlative to Langland's depiction of "janglyng" prioresses and an indiscriminate Magdalene. The charge of garrulity seems to have been a multi-purpose putdown for any group of presumptuous women.

Aston discusses the most compelling evidence for a late fourteenth-century debate over women's religious authority in the case of Walter Brut (or Brit), arrested in 1391 on heresy charges. Brought before the Bishop of Hereford, John Trefnant, Brut contended that women did indeed have priestly powers denied them by orthodoxy, expressing such powers in explicitly Petrine terms (e.g., they have the power "to bind and to loose").[9] Prominent theologians were convened to counter Brut's claims, and his case evolved into a kind of referendum on whether women could attain religious privileges formerly reserved to men. In the debate between Brut and his opponents, the Magdalene was introduced as proof of the defensibility of women preachers: "multe mulieres constanter predicaverunt verbum quando sacerdotes et alii non audebant verbum loqui et patet de Magdalena et Martha" ("Many women steadfastly preached the Word when priests and others did not dare speak the Word, as evinced by the Magdalene and Martha" (Aston 52; my translation). Brut's case demonstrates that the symbolic power of the Magdalene's voice could be and was appropriated by proponents of expanded female religious liberties.[10]

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[9] William White was also alleged to have used these Petrine terms in the early fifteenth century; see Aston 52, 59.

[10] Here one might also be mindful of allegations made toward Waldensian women. In his *Summa adversus Catharos et Valdenses* (ca. 1241), the Dominican Moneta of Cremona asserts that "the Waldensians appealed to the example of Mary Magdalene to justify preaching

Brut's defense benefitted from hagiographical traditions that made Mary and Martha outstanding women evangelists. In the *Legenda Aurea*, St. Peter entrusts Mary Magdalene to the care of Maximin fourteen years after the Resurrection. When the disciples disperse to spread the gospel, Maximin, Mary, Martha, Lazarus, and others are cast out to sea in a rudderless ship by unbelievers. Miraculously arriving safely at Marseilles, the Magdalene immediately sets to work converting heathens through the power of her speech. The composer of the *vita* invests the Magdalene's lips with both erotic and rhetorical power:

> When blessed Mary Magdalene saw the people gathering at the shrine to offer sacrifice to the idols, she came forward, her manner calm and her face serene, and with well-chosen words called them away from the cult of idols and preached Christ fervidly to them. All who heard her were in admiration at her beauty, her eloquence, and the sweetness of her message . . . and no wonder, that the mouth which had pressed such pious and beautiful kisses on the Savior's feet should breathe forth the perfume of the word of God more profusely than others could. (376-77)

It is no wonder then, given Mary Magdalene's status as an emblem of the value--even the privilege--of women's speech, that she could be perceived as a dangerous role model by later clerics. A figure outside the male apostolic circle of Christ but who was still clearly favored by him, the Magdalene would serve as an inspiration for a growing body of late medieval women who similarly sought an affective bond with Christ independent of a male clerical "inner circle." Prominent women such as Christina of Markyate and possibly even Richard II's Queen Isabella owned Psalters depicting the Magdalene proclaiming the Resurrection to the other Apostles. Osbern Bokenham tells us that Lady Bourchier, Countess of Eu, commissioned the English translation of her *vita*, with pointed emphasis on her apostolic role:

> "I have," quod she, "of pure affeccyoun
> Ful longe tym had a synguler deuocyoun
> To þat holy wumman, wych, as I gesse,
> Is clepyd of apostyls þe apostyllesse;
> Blyssyd Mary mawdelyn y mene,
> Whom cryste from syn made pure & clene,
> As þe clerkys seyn, ful mercyfully,
> Whos lyf in englysshe I desyre sothly
> To han maad, & for my sake
> If ye lykyd þe labour for to take,
> & for reuerence of hyr, I wold you preye."
> (5065-75)

And when Margery Kempe portrays herself repeatedly answering the question, "Why wepist þu so, woman?" surely she is engaging in more than a little self-fashioning. Conscience's proverbial

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by women" (Kienzle 105). Of course, since this *Summa* was intended to point out the errors of the heresy, its allegations may be distortions of actual Waldensian practice.

denigration of the Magdalene, then, reflects contemporary tension between a male clerical orthodoxy struggling to maintain ecclesiastical control in opposition to a growing number of women who, like the Magdalene, refused to be silent, who believed in the validity of their spiritual experience, and who sought a greater public authority in matters of the soul.

V

We are finally confronted with an issue raised at the outset of this study: if Conscience is such a courteous character in passus 19, why attribute this proverbial misogyny to him? Any discussion of Conscience's role must begin with a definition of his function in faculty psychology, and Mary Carruthers offers a useful summary of scholarly readings. According to Carruthers, scholastics held that Conscience represented basic "moral sense," a blend of synderesis and conscience. Quoting Aquinas, Carruthers defines synderesis as a "habit, a natural disposition of the practical intellect, 'the first practical principles bestowed on us by nature,' by means of which the practical intellect is inclined to the good and is able 'to discover, and to judge of what [it has] discovered'" (Schroeder 15). Conscience, then, is a catch-all term for several "intellectual habits" derived from synderesis, and is a faculty devoted to making distinctions and applying knowledge. Carruthers further comments, "The role of conscience was able to include not only the function of moral judge but also that of intellectual judge distinguishing between truth and falsehood" (16). Given this definition, it appears strange that Conscience would depart from Scripture and portray an indiscriminate Magdalene by means of an antifeminist proverb in his account of the Resurrection. Perhaps Carruthers' discussion of Conscience's collective role explains the portrayal. Citing the work of Morton Bloomfield, Carruthers observes that Conscience's role as knight "may indeed reflect an aspect of the monastic conception of conscience--not only as the guide and protector of the individual soul but as a collective conscience defending the collective soul of the Church" (17-18).

I would suggest that Conscience's account of the Resurrection results from his collective role as defender of Holy Church, and his use of proverbial misogyny constitutes an attempt to unify and defend an increasingly fractured Catholic orthodoxy. This is a role he will play in greater detail as the final two passus unfold--building and defending the Barn of Unity. Immediately after employing the "counseille" proverb, Conscience tells us that "Peter parceyued al þis and pursued after, / Boþe Iames and Iohan, Iesu to seke, / Thaddee and ten mo wiþ Thomas of Inde." Conscience emphasizes Peter's intellectual understanding of Mary Magdalene's words, for these words prompt him and other Apostles to await Christ's appearance before the Eleven. The sense of 19:157-69 is that Mary Magdalene indiscriminately broadcasts the news of the Resurrection, but it is Peter who first fully understands its ramifications and, with the other Apostles, takes action. Here Langland may have been influenced by an interpretation best developed by Aquinas, who argued that the Magdalene's Christophany was flawed, that she was unfit to preach and needed the male Apostles to translate her information into action (Børresen 245-46).

Perhaps Conscience, in devaluing Mary Magdalene's authority and affirming Peter's, is making clear just who exactly has the power to bind and loose. Given the historical rivalry that

obtains between the two figures,[11] it may be no coincidence that the divestment of Mary's authority and the investment of Peter's occurs in the space of a mere thirty-four lines, culminating with the papal privilege given to St. Peter:

> And whan þis dede was doon do best he þouȝte,
> And yaf Piers pardon, and power he grauntede hym,
> Myght men to assoille of alle manere synnes,
> To alle maner men mercy and forȝifnesse
> In couenaunt þat þei come and kneweliche to paie
> To Piers pardon þe Plowman *redde quod debes.*
> Thus haþ Piers power, be his pardon paied,
> To bynde and vnbynde boþe here and ellis,
> And assoille men of alle synnes saue of dette one. (19.182-90)

Here Conscience replaces Christ's post-Resurrection commission to all of the Apostles (John

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[11] Christ's command to Mary Magdalene to bear the news of the Resurrection specifically to Peter entwines these two figures forever in the narrative of the greatest authority-conferring experience in church history, and calls attention to Peter's dependence upon Mary Magdalene for the news. The Magdalene's Christophany granted her a privilege unattained even by Peter, the foremost of the Apostles and the "rock" upon which the church is founded. The respective designations of Mary Magdalene and Peter even betray a kind of hierarchical rivalry, as *apostola apostolorum* and *princeps apostolorum* both make special claims for themselves. This rivalry was much more than a nominal one. Gnostic gospels reveal a well-documented and strongly gendered tension between Mary Magdalene and Peter in nascent Christianity. (On the Magdalene in Gnostic writings, generally see Malvern 42-56; Pagels 12-14, 22, 64-66; and Haskins 42. For other early texts that depict a gendered tension among the Apostles, see Schüssler-Fiorenza 304-9, 332-33.) Perhaps Gnostic and medieval writers were elaborating on the same tensions suggested in New Testament accounts in which Peter seems to doubt the Magdalene's words (e.g., Luke 24:12). Most importantly, Mary's unequivocal privilege of seeing Christ first was undermined by Paul's mention of Peter and omission of Mary in the Resurrection account of 1 Corinthians 15:5, thus making them competitors for the distinction and fostering a debate that would prove to be of the highest importance in establishing papal power and the roles of women in the church. In the figure of Peter, medieval dramatists would depict an Apostle angrily dismissive of the Magdalene in terms that emphasized her gender. The Towneley *Thomas Indie*, for example, begins with Mary Magdalene bringing the news to the Apostles; Peter shouts her down with an impassioned "Do way, woman, thou carpys wast!" (1ine 7). The exchange continues at length, with the Magdalene accusing Peter of heresy and Peter vigorously maintaining that the Magdalene's lying is shameful. For other medieval texts which depict Peter's skepticism of the Magdalene, see the Coventry ("Corpus Christi") *Appearance to Mary Magdalene* (Davies 343-46), and the Ms. e Museo 160 *Christ's Resurrection* (726-29; Baker 191). This rivalry would provide Langland with an inviting narrative context in which to insert a misogynistic proverb so dependent upon gendered tension and mistrust.

20:19-23) with Peter's singular commission (Matt. 16:18-19). Conscience also undermines the communal sense of John 20 by referring to the gathering as "Peter and . . . hise Apostles"--a foregrounding of Peter not found in Scripture. Peter's special commission is similar to the communal commission, but it occurs well before the Resurrection, even before Christ's transfiguration. Perhaps Conscience makes these changes in the belief that a resurrected Christ would have greater divine authority to bestow on Peter; the sequence of events is shifted accordingly.

Given Langland's skepticism regarding the ecclesiastical abuses of the post-apostolic church, perhaps Conscience's portrayal of the Magdalene is meant to demonstrate how earthly power can corrupt this essential faculty. (Conscience's unwise decision to allow the friars, particularly Frere Flaterere, entrance into the Barn of Unity will later demonstrate his debilitated powers of discernment). In Conscience we see a figure enhancing the authority of Peter (and, by extension, papal authority) at all costs, even at the expense of a beloved saint. And of course the Great Schism forms the contemporary backdrop for Langland's narrative--a backdrop of divisiveness in which church authority was fragmented among two and three popes between 1378-1417, and to which Langland alludes in 19.417-27. Conscience's efforts in the name of unity illustrate the impulses that yield such a state of affairs; his attempts to consolidate Peter's authority necessarily detract from Mary Magdalene's. For a church to have one earthly leader, there can be no division of power.

Although it is true that Langland was in many ways a social conservative who probably would have opposed women's pursuit of greater ecclesiastical authority, Conscience seems too deeply flawed for his views to be considered authorial. Langland might have supported the end of his arguments, but not the means, characterized as they are by a mocking application of proverbial misogyny. Conscience's prejudices involving Mary Magdalene cannot be attributed merely to a confusion of traditions; Langland manifests a strong familiarity with relevant Scripture and Magdalene hagiography elsewhere. There are six references to Mary Magdalene in *Piers Plowman.* In 5.497 Repentance says that Christ appeared to the Magdalene first to show that he died for sinners. In 10.428 Will refers to her sinful nature to justify a self-indulgent predestinarianism since even some of the most iniquitous are saved: "Than Marie Maudeleyne who myȝte do werse?" In the speech attributed to Trajan in 11.250-58, Langland employs the interpretation of Luke 10:40-42 that casts Mary Magdalene as a representation of the contemplative life in order to praise poverty. In 13.194 Conscience praises poverty as well, noting that Mary Magdalene gained more from her box of ointment than Zacchaeus did from half his riches. Anima also associates the Magdalene with virtuous poverty in 15.294, observing the extra-biblical tradition that she lived on roots and dew and her devotion to God in her later life. The Resurrection account of 19.157-62 marks the final appearance of Mary Magdalene in *Piers Plowman.* It seems, then, that for Langland's characters, as well as for principal actors in church history, Mary Magdalene could be whatever each figure needed her to be--saint, sinner, whore, apostle, gossip--and Conscience is no different. His interest in affirming male ecclesiastical authority leads him to apply the proverb "þat womman witeþ may noȝt wel be counseille," with all of its unflattering narrative associations, in depicting a "word-wod" Magdalene unworthy of the momentous news she bears, incapable of using it to establish Holy Church. For Langland, Conscience is the revisionist historian of a church lamentably estranged from a once unified, divine origin.

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The Status of Pollution in Tennessee

by H. W. Wofford

What places come to mind when you think about polluted sites in the United States? Perhaps you think about Love Canal in Niagara Falls, New York, where the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Co. buried 22,000 tons of chemical waste in a half-dug canal and where a housing development was built on top of it (1). Or maybe Lake Erie comes to mind. It was so heavily contaminated by industrial wastes and sewage that it was closed for fishing and swimming, and many species of lake fish were on the verge of extinction. In 1965, almost one-fourth of the lake was so polluted that its oxygen supply was virtually depleted (2). What about Los Angeles, California? Los Angeles is located in a geological bowl which traps air pollution, and during the sixties smog sometimes got so bad that industries and motor vehicle traffic had to be shut down for several days a year. You may not be as familiar with Boston harbor. At one time it was so polluted that there were reports of rats **walking across** the harbor on the floating debris!

When people are asked to name polluted states, New Jersey is often mentioned. This is probably because of areas on the coast such as Newark, with its sprawling railroad yards and chemical refineries. Much of Newark is an eyesore, prompting a friend of mine from New Jersey to describe it as the "armpit of the universe." However, this is probably not a fair way to characterize New Jersey as a whole. When you get away from the industrial areas, the country-side in New Jersey is among the most beautiful and undisturbed in the United States. Sometimes Texas and Louisiana will be added to the list because of the expansive petrochemical industries on the Gulf Coast of these states.

But what about our state? Where would you rank Tennessee as a polluted state? I don't think most people in Tennessee would consider our state to be very polluted. After all, we have traditionally been known for our agricultural economy, rather than for our industrial output. I must confess that, until I returned to Tennessee after having spent fifteen years training as an ecotoxicologist, I did not think of Tennessee as polluted. It is interesting how differently you look at the place where you grew up after having been away for some time. You can back off and look at it a little more objectively. Coming back as a trained environmental toxicologist, I looked at Tennessee through new eyes. Over the last twelve years, I have been accumulating information about the state of pollution in Tennessee from newspaper clippings, state and federal publications, and web sites. My goal for this paper is to pass on to you a summary of what I have gleaned from all this information. What you read may surprise you.

I can't possibly write about every environmental problem in Tennessee in a paper of this length. In order to make the task a bit more manageable, I will begin with some overall statistics concerning the status of pollution in Tennessee, and then focus on our immediate environment, Madison and surrounding counties.

Tennessee's Environmental Scorecard

There are many ways in which the environmental health of an area can be assessed. These include determination of the amount of air pollution, the amount of water pollution, the amount of waste emptied into the sewer system, the rate of deforestation, the public health status, and the status of environmental education. I have summarized some of them in **Table 1**. As you can see, Tennessee consistently comes in as one of the ten worst polluted states in the nation.

It is informative to go to the Agricultural Museum in Milan, Tennessee. In this museum, there is an exhibit about soil erosion and conservation efforts made by Tennessee to prevent it. There is a picture in this exhibit of a man standing in a ditch caused by soil erosion. He cannot see out of the ditch! Great strides have been made in recent years to control soil erosion, with no-till farming being the most recent such control measure.

Air pollution is also a big problem in Tennessee. It is probably contributing to the destruction of hundreds of thousands of acres of trees in the Great Smoky Mountains Park. Air pollution, mainly sulfur and nitrogen oxides, from industry and the cars of the millions of tourists who visit this park weakens the trees, making them susceptible to infections by fungi, bacteria and insects (5). I had the opportunity to talk to a technician at the Agricultural Experimental Station here in Jackson. He has been measuring the pH of the rainwater falling on the station for several years. Though it isn't part of his job, he does it out of interest. On several occasions, the precipitation falling on Jackson was acidic enough to be classified as acid rain. Interestingly, this always happens when the wind is coming from the southwest. This shouldn't be too surprising, since Memphis, the largest center of industry in West Tennessee, is southwest of us. On one or two occasions he recorded alkaline rain. I have never seen this discussed in the environmental literature. What are we putting into the air in West Tennessee that is making our air more alkaline (basic)?

Tennessee Rivers and Lakes

Another way to assess the environmental health of a state is to examine the health of its rivers and lakes. 60,000 stream miles and 540,000 lake acres can be found within Tennessee (27). One way of determining the health of these waterways is to look at whether or not these waterways have been posted. In other words, have some intended uses of these waterways been restricted? This usually means that either body contact, recreation, or fishing has been restricted or banned. In 1996, twenty-six per cent of stream miles and twenty-two per cent of lake acres in Tennessee were classified as not fully supporting their intended use (27). These waterways have been posted for such diverse causes as presence of fecal coliforms, lead, mercury, PCBs, chlordane, and dioxins.

Two Tennessee rivers, the Forked Deer River and the Obion River (which pass through parts of Madison or Gibson Counties), are classified as completely failing to support their intended use (**Table 2**). The Mississippi River, which is notorious for its pollution, has been added to the table for purposes of comparison. As you can see from the table, our local river systems are not considered safe for the usages we commonly make of waterways and are considered less safe than the "mighty Mississippi." Having contracted either Giardia or amebic

dysentery from swimming in the Forked Deer River in the days of my youth, I heartily recommend that you heed the warnings!

Madison and Gibson Counties' Environmental Scorecards

The Environmental Defense Fund maintains a web site that allows individuals to rank almost any site in the country according to its rate of release of toxic chemicals and the health effects of these chemicals (28). In terms of release of Toxics Release Inventory (TRI) chemicals, an inventory of chemicals maintained and monitored by the EPA, Madison County ranks forty-seventh in the state in release of these chemicals, while Gibson County ranks sixteenth. This surprised me. I expected that Madison County would release more chemicals than Gibson County. However, Gibson County has four facilities in the top one hundred for most chemicals released, while Madison County has none. It is important to note that these numbers do not take into consideration non-TRI chemicals, including many agricultural chemicals. I shudder to think of what I was exposed to while "growing up on the farm."

However, these rankings should not give residents of Madison County too much peace of mind. Although Madison County fares well in comparison to other Tennessee counties, it must be compared to the nation as a whole (28). Madison County ranks in the top twenty per cent of all counties in the U.S. in terms of:

Release of non-cancer hazards
Water releases of recognized developmental toxicants
Water releases of suspected immunotoxicants
Release of chemicals with ozone-depleting potential.

Gibson County fares even worse. It ranks in the top twenty per cent of all counties in the U.S. in terms of:

Release of cancer hazards
Air releases of recognized carcinogens
Air releases of recognized developmental toxicants
Air releases of suspected cardiovascular or blood toxicants
Air releases of suspected reproductive toxicants.

Problem sites in the Madison County Area - Superfund Sites

Another criterion that can be used as a yardstick of the environmental health of a region is whether or not that region contains any Superfund sites. Residents of Jackson have the dubious distinction of living within thirty miles of four EPA Superfund sites (**Table 3**). Two of these are located within the city limits of Jackson and are within two miles of ten of Jackson's water wells. EPA Superfund sites are sites that are deemed to be so contaminated and pose such a health risk that they are assigned the highest priority for cleanup. The problem with Superfund sites is that when the funding was set up for this program, the cost of the cleanup was grossly

underestimated. As a result, many sites have been identified, but have not been cleaned up. Regarding the four sites in the vicinity of Jackson, only partial cleanup has been undertaken, and cleanup efforts are still underway.

The state of Tennessee also has a Superfund program. **Table 3** contains a listing of the Tennessee Superfund sites in Madison and Gibson Counties. As you can see, Tennessee has added an additional seven sites in our area to the Superfund list. Of these sites, only the Owens-Corning site has been declared clean. **Table 3** also includes some sites in this area that have not been declared Superfund sites, but have been in the news lately because of environmental problems.

In order to give you a better appreciation of the magnitude of these environmental problems in our area, I have given some of the history and the possible health consequences of some of these sites in the following sections.

American Creosote Works

The American Creosote Works was declared an EPA Superfund site in 1987 and is considered to be one of the worst creosote-contaminated sites in the country (21). The plant operated from the early 1930's until 1981. It was located on fifty-five acres in southwest Jackson just off of State Street, between the Forked Deer River and the 45 Bypass.

Creosote is used as a wood preservative. It is most often seen in old telephone poles and railroad ties. After the wood was treated by placing it in baths of hot creosote, it was stacked on racks outside to dry. The excess creosote dripped onto the ground and has been working its way into the water table. Creosote contains a large number of chemicals called polyaromatic hydrocarbons and related compounds, many of which are potentially carcinogenic (cancer-causing). One PAH, benzo[a]pyrene (BAP), was found in high concentrations in the soil. BAP is one of the five most carcinogenic chemicals that we have currently identified.

In 1991, the EPA started the cleanup of the site. All of the remaining creosote (approximately 200,000 gallons) was removed, and all structures were torn down to the ground. However, funding problems halted the cleanup of the soil at the site (22). The state and federal governments planned to spend $5 to $12 million to clean up this site (21). However, the total projected costs have increased to as much as $50 million. About 8.4 acres of land will be scraped two to five feet deep, removing 35,000 to 88,000 tons of soil. The work was scheduled to begin in 1996 or 1997, but I have not seen evidence of cleanup operations. At one point it was seriously suggested that the site be used as a jail! I can't imagine how many lawsuits that would have generated. Does being used for bioremediation constitute cruel and unusual punishment?!

Iselin Railroad Yard

The Environmental Protection Agency wants to put Jackson's old Iselin Railroad Yard on its Superfund list of the most serious hazardous waste sites (12). This eighty-acre site is just south of Iselin Street in Southeast Jackson, directly across from Washington-Douglass Elementary School. It is also near ten of JUD's city water wells. This site was used for the maintenance and repair of railroad engines for many years by the Mobile & Ohio and Illinois

Central railroads (13). The degreasers used to clean the engines and their parts were often allowed to run onto the ground and into a creek that fed into the Forked Deer River. Often, the water in the creek ran black.

Among the chemicals found at the Iselin site are chromium, lead, vinyl chloride, chloroethane, benzene, copper, tetrachloroethane, dichloroethane, ethylbenzene, and xylene. These chemicals carry such possible health risks as cancer, birth defects, liver toxicity, kidney toxicity and neurotoxicity. JUD is currently monitoring the city water for these chemicals and has plans in place for treating the water if necessary.

Cleanup of the Iselin site was predicted to start in 1996, but to the best of my knowledge this process has not started yet (14).

Milan Army Ammunition Plant

The Milan Army Ammunition Plant has been in operation since 1942, manufacturing ordinance for the military. From 1942 to 1978, wastewater from the O-line production area was discharged into eleven unlined settling ponds. In 1991, it was discovered that RDX and other potential carcinogens such as TNT, 2,4-dinitrotoluene, nitrobenzene, and HMX used in the manufacture of explosives, had seeped out of these ponds and had gotten into the groundwater that provides the drinking water for Milan (19). In 1992, the U.S. Army started a $9 million study to assess the degree of contamination of the water, eventually drilling four hundred test wells (16, 20). The results of this testing indicated that the city's drinking water was below the danger point of 2.0 ppb.

In light of concerns that the levels of these chemicals could increase in the future, the Army agreed to spend $9 to build a water treatment facility at the plant and to drill three new water wells for Milan farther away from the arsenal. In May 1995, the levels of the chemicals in the city water had not increased significantly (17). By 1997, the Army had spent $58 million on the cleanup operation. This involved the design and construction of cleanup systems using a combination of high-tech filtration and UV systems, and a low-tech artificial wetlands where native plants and microorganisms break down the chemicals, a process called bioremediation (18). The O-line ponds were also capped with clay to prevent further leaching of the chemicals into the water table. A recent report indicates that the cleanup of the contaminated ground water is on schedule and should be complete by 2009 (29). Unfortunately, parts of the city park will be unavailable for the next six to eight months as wells are being dug which will be used to filter the groundwater.

Lead Exposure in Jackson

Jackson is the only city in West Tennessee to be cited by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for having high lead levels in the drinking water. According to EPA guidelines, lead levels in drinking water must not exceed fifteen ppb. Unsafe levels of lead were found in a small number of homes with lead materials in their plumbing and are not due to lead in the JUD water supply. Although a report in 1994 showed that about twenty-two per cent of the children

in Madison County have elevated levels of lead in their blood, it is believed that most of this lead did not come from the water, but from lead-based paint and leaded gasoline.

More recently, residents of East Jackson in the neighborhood of the former H. O. Forgy recycling plant have been tested for lead levels (15). This plant that turned scrap metals into materials for industry allowed lead to seep into the soil for thirty-seven years, from 1946 to 1983. When evaluated for its risk, this site received a score of 85.26. In order for a site to be placed on the EPA Superfund List, it must have a score of 28.5. The score for the H. O. Forgy site is one of the highest ever seen.

Velsicol Corporation Dump Site

The Velsicol Corporation is a Memphis-based company involved in the manufacture of insecticides. Several hundred thousand drums (seven million gallons) of waste created from the production of these insecticides were buried on thirty-seven acres between 1964 and 1974 in Hardeman County near Toone, which is just south of Jackson (23). Over time the drums rusted and leaked, allowing the chemicals to leach into the water table. It is estimated that over one thousand acres of groundwater are contaminated because of this leakage (24).

Removing and properly disposing of all these drums could cost in excess of $1 billion. At this point, a ground water treatment plant has been constructed, and the area has been capped with clay to prevent further leaching into the water table. This is all the cleanup that is currently planned. Velsicol has spent $12 million on capping and stabilizing the site to this point (25). However, the clay cap over the site has been found to be only ninety-eight per cent effective (26). It is now being capped with plastic, which will be "one hundred per cent effective." The workers who went into this site to stabilize it were either very brave or very foolish. This is by far the worst contaminated site that I have ever encountered, and it's only a thirty-minute drive away!

Conclusions

I have presented a large number of facts and figures about the state of pollution in Tennessee. What conclusions can we draw from all of this? The obvious conclusion is that Tennessee is a relatively contaminated state. It is very likely that health problems are and will continue to be a result of this contamination. Many of these sites are areas where chemicals are entering our water table. Adequate quality drinking water may very well be the next great environmental crisis for the whole world, including the United States. West Tennessee is blessed with one of the best aquifers in the world. However, there are many sites in which chemicals are slowly working their way into this aquifer. These chemicals will not stay localized. Hydrologists tell us that the aquifer in West Tennessee flows. As it does, it will carry chemicals to areas that are many miles away from the sites of contamination.

It should be noted that as bad as the status of pollution in Tennessee may seem, it is getting better. Almost every statistic I have mentioned in this paper has shown improvement in the last twenty years. For example, in 1996, twenty-six per cent of stream miles and twenty-two per cent of lake acres in Tennessee were classified as not fully supporting their intended use (27). In

1984, forty-six per cent of stream miles and thirty-four per cent of lake acres were not fully supporting. This constitutes a significant improvement.

How did we get this way? I suspect it has much to do with our state historically having a predominantly rural economy. Thus, some of the problems resulting from urbanization and industrialization have come to us later than for other states, and we are dealing with them much later as a result. Also, I feel there is almost a vacuum of environmental awareness and consciousness in West Tennessee. I was impressed by this when I came back to Tennessee after having spent fifteen years in other parts of the country. Many people think nothing of littering in this area, and they tend to pour out chemicals such as used oil and antifreeze on the ground. This same attitude has carried over into industry. For most of this century, industrial wastes have just been dumped into a ditch. Jackson has only very recently put a tree ordinance in place. In New England, you must get permission from all of your neighbors before you can cut one tree in your yard. Union, as a Christian university, **must** set an example of environmental stewardship for the community.

I suspect that the contamination of our area also has to do with the loss of contact between our citizens and the environment. As people moved away from the farms, seeking jobs in the cities, they lost their contact with the soil. I grew up on a farm. I spent most of my waking hours prowling around, turning over logs, watching birds fly, and catching insects and tadpoles; in the process, I developed a deep appreciation and love for the environment. The students in my classes have learned this, as I frequently get on my "soap box" about environmental issues. Children who grow up in cities don't have these opportunities. Studies have shown that inner city children have no idea where their food comes from, other than the store. These children don't have a connection to the land, and it is less likely that they will show concern about environmental issues. I have been impressed on many occasions by individuals who will get outraged about the fate of whales, which they have never seen, and not be concerned about the destruction of the environment going on behind their own house.

Ultimately, the contamination of Tennessee is about our population. As the population and economy of Tennessee has grown, so has the demand for food and goods. With this increase, there has to be an increase in the utilization of chemicals and subsequent problems of dealing with the byproducts of the manufacture of these chemicals. My dad understands this very well. He is a retired farmer. During his career as a farmer, he has released thousands of pounds of agricultural chemicals into the environment. He despises these chemicals, but he can't see any way around the use of them. Without the use of pesticides and herbicides, we wouldn't be able to feed everyone in the U.S., much less export excess food to starving people in other parts of the world.

What can we do about it? We can't avoid the use of water. There are some things that we can do at a personal level to help protect ourselves. For example, we could drink bottled water. But recent studies have shown that bottled water, despite its cost, is not necessarily any safer than our tap water. It would be a good choice if you live in an area with a known contamination problem.

Filtration of the water might be an option. However, this also has its problems. The type of filtration employed must match the contamination problem. A different approach is necessary to remove bacteria from water than to remove heavy metals or organics. Another problem is

knowing when to change out the filters. In many cases, there is no obvious way to tell when a filter is saturated other than having the water tested. After a filter becomes saturated, it may start to release its absorbed chemicals back into the water and, in some cases, the concentration of the pollutants in the water may be higher than without a filter.

You can have your water tested. This is especially advised if you have reason to believe that it is contaminated. However, unless you can convince the Health Department that there is a problem, you may have to pay for the testing yourself. Depending on the contaminant you are concerned about, this can range from fifteen dollars up to several hundred dollars per test. If you have city water, it should be tested for a wide range of chemicals on a regular basis, and you should be able to get a report from the city.

The best way to get good quality drinking water is to have uncontaminated water in the first place. This requires us to develop a sound environmental ethic about the proper handling of waste products. Here, education is probably the most important factor. Be informed. I suspect that often chemicals have been released into the environment more out of ignorance than out of greed. Get involved. Attend community meetings on environmental issues. There have been many in this area, some very recently. Write your legislators. Remember that in even the worst cases that I have described, the companies involved were not breaking any laws at the time.

After reading this article, has your opinion about the amount of pollution in Tennessee changed? If so, let me know.

Table 1 - Tennessee's Environmental Scorecard

Quantity of release		
No. 1 in the nation for soil erosion		
2nd worst air-polluting state	1990	(8)
	1995	(3)
139 million lbs of toxic chemicals into the air in 1990	1997	(6)
	1995	(10)
12th worst water-polluting state	1995	(10)
8th worst state for toxins dumped into sewers	1990	(11)
21 million lbs of toxic wastes		
10th worst state for toxins dumped into sewers	1994	(4)
15.7 million lbs of toxic wastes		
6th worst toxin-emitting facility in the country	1990	
New Johnsonville power plant		
3rd worst state in the nation overall	1992	
	1995	(9)
5th worst state in the nation overall	1997	(6)
Health Implications of the release		
2nd worst in the nation for protecting the environment	1989	(7)
Criteria: Drinking water, Food safety, solid-waste recycling, forest management, and impact of growth		
9th worst in the nation in release of chemicals which cause birth defects	1995	(10)
11th worst in the nation in release of chemicals which cause cancer	1995	(10)
Three cities in top 25 % with premature heart- and lung-related deaths linked to particulate air pollution: Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga	1996	(5)

Table 2 - The Health of Local Rivers in Tennessee (27)

		Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation Classification		
River	**Miles in Tennessee**	**Fully Supporting**	**Partially Supporting**	**Not Supporting**
Forked Deer	20.7	0 %	0 %	100 %
Obion	71.1	0 %	0 %	100 %
Mississippi	175.3	0 %	14 %	86%

Supporting - Can be used for body contact, recreation and fishing

Table 3 - Problem Sites in the Madison / Gibson County Areas

Site	County	City
EPA Superfund Sites		
American Creosote Works	Madison	Jackson
Iselin Railroad Yard (Proposed)	Madison	Jackson
Milan Army Ammunition Plant	Gibson	Milan
Velsicol Corp. Dump Site	Hardeman	Toone
Tennessee Superfund Sites		
H. O. Forgy and Son	Madison	Jackson
Boone Dry Cleaners	Madison	Jackson
Porter-Cable Corporation	Madison	
Noma-ITT	Madison	Jackson
Owens-Corning (Now declared clean)	Madison	
B & H Transformer	Gibson	
Michie Dump	McNairy	Michie
Other Problem Sites		
ITT Milan (Jones Companies Ltd.)	Gibson	Milan
Yorkville Elementary School	Gibson	Yorkville

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3. *Jackson Sun*. June 27, 1996. Tennessee 2nd in toxic emissions.

4. *Jackson Sun*. September 26, 1996. State 10th in toxic dumping in rivers.

5. *Jackson Sun*. December 27, 1996. State's water, air quality low, trash reduced.

6. *Jackson Sun*. May 22, 1997. State drops to fifth in toxic emissions.

7. *Good Housekeeping*. July 1989. Protecting the environment: Where your state stands.

8. *Jackson Sun*. June 4, 1992. State air pollution report is shameful.

9. *Jackson Sun*. March 28, 1995. Tennessee ranks 3rd in toxic releases

10. *Jackson Sun*. January 26, 1995. Hardin, Dyer on pollution listing.

11. *Jackson Sun*. October 29, 1991. Tennessee in top 10 on new sewer toxics list, report says.

12. *Jackson Sun*. May 11, 1993. EPA seeks comment on Iselin.

13. *Jackson Sun*. May 13, 1993. State began Iselin work 2 years ago.

14. *Jackson Sun*. November 23, 1995. Probe may delay cleanup.

15. *Jackson Sun*. March 16, 1999. East Jackson residents face testing for toxic lead.

16. *Jackson Sun*. June 4, 1992. Army checks Milan water.

17. *Jackson Sun*. May 27, 1995. Drinking water in one well shows no change.

18. *Jackson Sun*. January 21, 1997. Military uses natural technique to clean water.

19. *Jackson Sun*. October 31, 1996. Water being tested around Milan Arsenal.

20. *Jackson Sun.* January 26, 1997. Clean water the natural way.

21. *Jackson Sun.* June 26, 1996. No one shows up for EPA hazard meeting.

22. *Jackson Sun.* June 25, 1996. Massive cleanup will ready superfund site.

23. *Jackson Sun.* March 16, 1995. Hazardous waste cleanup drags on.

24. *Jackson Sun.* September 29, 1995. On the endangered list.

25. *Jackson Sun.* October 14, 1997. Toone-Teague landfill site is 'contained'.

26. *Jackson Sun.* May 22, 1996. Velsicol dumping site: It may never be the same again.

27. Tennessee Department of Environment and Conservation. 1999. http://www.state.tn.us./environment/

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Juff Contributors

John Jaeger further explores his interest in philosophical issues here, on the heels of his 1998 *JUFF* piece on Kierkegaard. He is assistant professor of library sciences and holds a master of divinity degree as well.

Randy Johnston is Department Chair and associate professor of chemistry. This is his third article to appear in *JUFF* since his 1994 arrival at Union.

Barbara McMillin has just been named Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences after serving six years as chair of English. The article here is a reworking of a paper presentation last February at the Tennessee Philological Association meeting in Jackson.

Melissa Moore has contributed multiple articles to *JUFF* in the area of literary criticism. Currently on maternity leave, she holds the title of associate professor of library services.

Gavin Richardson begins his second year at Union with his *JUFF* debut. Assistant professor of English, his article is being revised for cross-publication.

Roger Stanley has edited or co-edited *JUFF* since 1995. He holds the title of assistant professor of English.

Jan Wilms assumes the presidency of the Faculty Forum after serving as its vice-president for 1998-99. He is associate professor of computer science and Chair of mathematics and computer science.

H. W. Wofford is a former president of Union's Faculty Forum and well known regionally for his acumen on environmental issues. He serves as Director of the Center for Scientific Research and is an associate professor of biology.

Janice Wood enters her second year as co-editor of *JUFF* and has been a past contributor. She is assistant professor of communication arts.