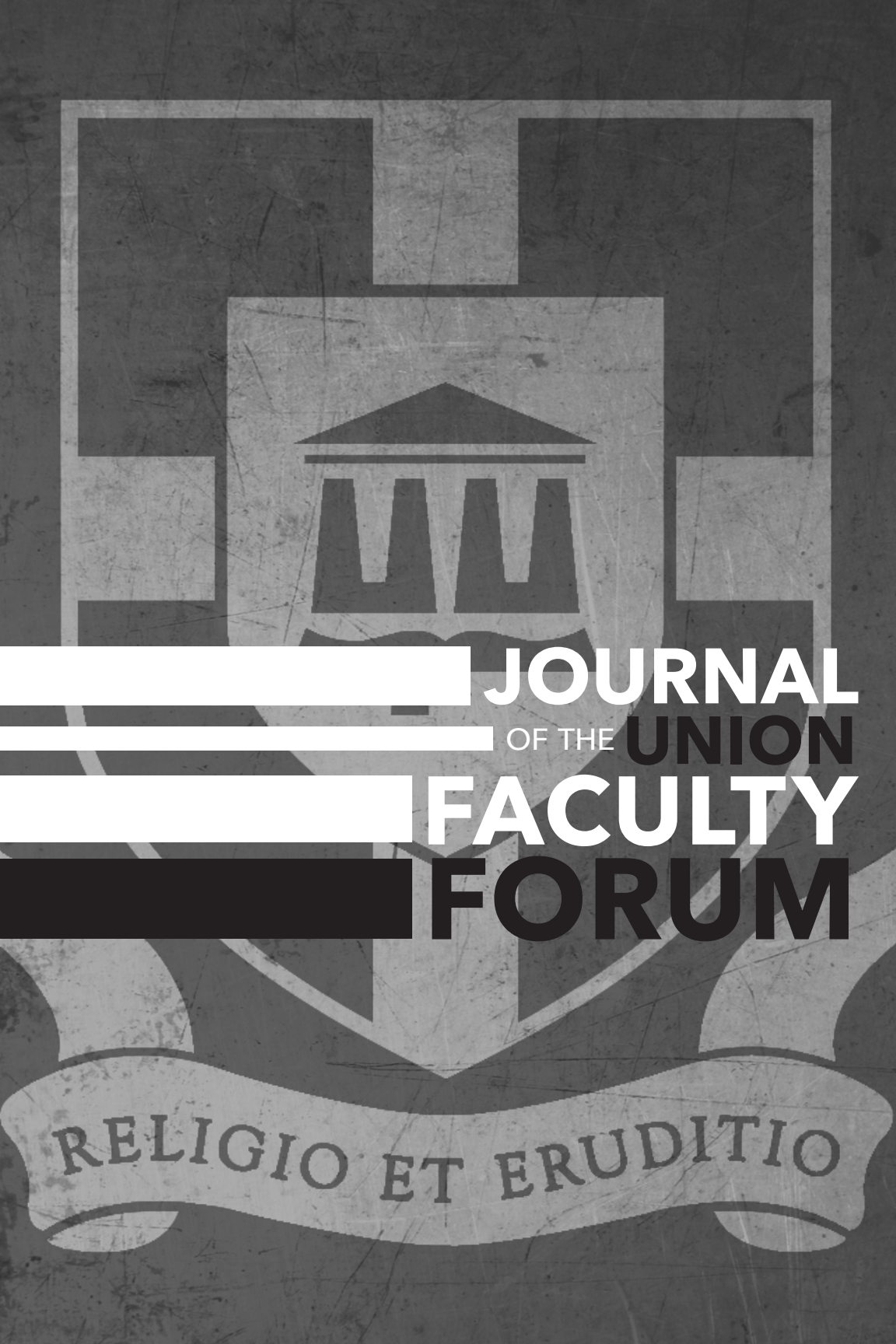
JOURNAL OF THE UNION FACULTY FORUM

VOL. 36 | 2016 - 2017

RELIGIO ET ERUDITIO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The *Journal of the Union Faculty Forum*, now in its 36th volume, consists of scholarly articles and creative works from all areas of study. The journal is published during each fall semester. The editors invite submissions of poetry, fiction, creative nonfiction, artwork, and scholarly articles in various academic disciplines. Acceptance is determined by the quality of the work. Please submit all works through the *JUFF* website: uu.edu/journals/juff.

A WORD FROM THE UNION FACULTY FORUM PRESIDENT

It is always such a joy and encouragement to hear about the outstanding scholarly work being done by the faculty at Union. I am humbled to be a member of such a distinguished faculty at an institution like Union, where scholarship, teaching, service, and spiritual formation are all highly valued components of our work. I hope that this issue of the *Journal of the Union Faculty Forum* will encourage you, too, to be active in the great and timely work that God has given to us. I pray that God will continue to bless this institution and that this institution will always seek to serve Him first.

I also encourage you to participate in the governance of this fine institution through Union's Faculty Forum and to contribute your work to the *Journal of the Union Faculty Forum*. Our common pursuit of excellence in our various guilds, in our teaching, and in our areas of service unites us. Let us press on together, then, for His glory!

JOSHUA R. WILLIAMS

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UNION'S NEXT QUALITY ENHANCEMENT PLAN

ENHANCING THE CULTURE OF STUDENT WRITING AT UNION UNIVERSITY

CHRISTINE BAILEY, JASON CASTLES, AND PHILLIP RYAN

Union University will provide students with a Writing Center in the fall of 2017 as a part of its reaffirmation of accreditation for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission on Colleges (SACSCOC). The writing center will be put into place following a Quality Enhancement Plan (QEP) involved in the reaffirmation. Each institution seeking reaffirmation of accreditation with SACSCOC is required to develop a QEP: "A focused course of action that addresses a well-defined topic or issue(s) related to enhancing student learning."

The University's QEP, Writing Enhancement at Union, is designed to strengthen student writing, specifically by establishing a Writing Center and providing pedagogical and curricular support for writing. The QEP will impact traditional, adult, and multilingual undergraduate students. The Writing Center fits with Union's current strategic plan, "United in Spirit. Grounded in Truth," in two ways:

1. Developing Leaders for the Future: The Writing Center and enhanced curricular support for writing will promote the effective written communication skills that are vital for successful leadership. Additionally, it will cultivate leadership skills in students who serve as peer tutors.

2. Supporting Meaningful Research among Students: The Writing Center will support students as they learn to communicate research findings.

The QEP was developed in a collaborative and reflective campus-wide process, beginning with a topic selection committee that sought input from various constituencies including faculty, staff, and students. The committee gathered data to support the development of the QEP, identifying the best options to impact student learning at the University. This collaborative process culminated in Writing Enhancement at Union—a QEP initiative focused on the following goals designed to support and improve student writing:

> **Goal #1:** Students will strengthen foundational writing skills.
>
> **Goal #2:** Students will demonstrate proficiency in discipline-specific writing.

To achieve these goals and their subsequent learning outcomes, the University has committed itself to the implementation of a Writing Center with qualified faculty and staff to support campus writing communities. The Writing Center will serve as the hub of writing enhancement, a means to provide students with resources needed to enhance writing, beginning with the freshman year and extending into the completion of the major. Additionally, the Writing Center will equip undergraduate students with resources aimed at building upon their foundational writing skills to develop a scholarly voice in their disciplines. The plan includes a focus on 1) foundational writing skills in First Year Composition (FYC) or English 111 and English 112; and 2) discipline-specific writing in eight Writing Intensive (WI) courses, each guided by the Writing Center Director. Some majors already have WI courses (standard content courses that incorporate writing intensive pedagogies and assignments); the Writing Center Director will review these course offerings with liaisons, course instructors, and department chairs.

The assessment of student writing, which will continue throughout the five-year plan, will measure student progress

in writing. Tools to measure student learning practices will include common rubrics, student and faculty surveys, focus groups, and two external measures: the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and the Educational Testing Service (ETS) Proficiency Profile. All of these tools will allow for the continual gauging of performance among students in both foundational writing courses and discipline-specific writing courses.

Writing Enhancement at Union will greatly impact the future of the University as it supports Union's Core Values as being "Excellence-driven, Christ-centered, People-focused, and Future-directed." To ensure the means to execute the plan, the University has committed an appropriate budget over a five-year period and has crafted a detailed timeline for its implementation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Writing Center is vital to the success of the University's writing enhancement initiative, which seeks to support faculty and students in the composition classroom and in writing across the curriculum (WAC). WAC is broadly defined as a movement in composition studies that embraces the connection of writing and learning in classes beyond the English Department (Emig, 1977). Mullin (2001) noted, "We know that one-on-one interaction of writing centers and the student-focused classroom provided by WAC programs change [sic] the teaching and learning culture" (p. 195). As such, the University seeks to enhance its existing culture of writing by establishing a unified, collaborative center.

This section begins by reviewing scholarship on writing center theory to construct its theoretical framework. Next, it explores research related to the role writing centers play in tutoring marginalized and/or multilingual students, then moves on to address general composition theory, including Writing-to-

Learn (WTL) strategies and writing as a process. This review concludes by surveying practical strategies for implementation, reiterating the importance of the Writing Center to the overall success of Writing Enhancement at Union.

THE WRITING CENTER

According to the International Writing Center Association's (IWCA) position statement (2007), writing centers should "provide a physical space and location conducive to the variety of services provided" (p. 1). As the IWCA also observed, "Writing with technology should be encouraged and supported; but a campus writing center should not primarily be perceived as or operated as a computer lab" (p. 1). As outlined previously, services offered by the University's Writing Center will include pedagogical and curricular support for writing through 1) one-on-one consultations between students and trained writing tutors; 2) regularly-held writing workshops for students and faculty in all disciplines; and 3) on-going support, including writing and instructional resources for faculty members.

The IWCA (2007) also suggests that "writing centers should avoid operating as proofreading services; rather, they should address editing and revising through practices consistent with current writing center pedagogy." In "The Idea of a Writing Center," North (1984) posited that "the 'old' center instruction tended to focus on the correction of textual problems; in the 'new' center the teaching takes place as much as possible during writing, during the activity being learned, and tends to focus on the activity itself" (p. 239). According to Bawarshi and Pelowski (1999), "North's landmark essay began a rich conversation about ways to move beyond the old version of the writing center as a skills fix-it shop or quarantine" (p. 50). Subsequently, "participants in this conversation have borrowed critical theories from areas traditionally outside of composition studies to continue forging a new direction for writing centers" (p. 50).

North (1984) further stated that the writing center is not merely a service component of the composition classroom or the English Department, but that "the writing center can and must become its own place" (Bawarshi & Pelowski, 1999, p. 44). The writing center, preferably one outside of the English Department (Blair, 1988), is a collaborative space for those in multiple disciplines to receive writing assistance; it should foster a culture of writing among all communities: undergraduate and graduate students; faculty and staff; Honors students as well as marginalized students, which are defined as students of "low socio-economic status, and/or students from families whose cultural and linguistic backgrounds differ from that of their Caucasian peers" (Simone, 2012, p. 2).

Regarding the impact of writing centers upon campus diversity, the IWCA seeks to address the barriers—the "material impacts of structural inequalities that directly affect the quality of education and professional life for historically underrepresented groups"—in meaningful ways (p. 1). The IWCA Diversity Initiative (2006) stated that "Writing Centers are inherently multicultural and multilingual sites that welcome and accommodate diversity. Writing centers inclusively serve all students, including members of underrepresented groups" (p. 1). In "Postcolonialism and the idea of a writing center," Bawarshi and Pelowski (1999) suggested that the writing center become a "contact zone":

> Rather than treating the writing center as a space in which marginalized students can "engage in the trial and error of putting their thoughts into writing," we suggest it be transformed into another kind of space, one in which students [...] can engage in the process of assessing what happens to their experiences—what happens to them—when they begin to master academic discourses (p. 52).

The writing center, then, according to Bawarshi and Pelowski, is in a "unique position to teach marginalized students how to negotiate diverse discourses" (p. 53). The authors concluded: "Knowing not only what writing does,

but also why and where it does it, allows these student writers to make more informed choices" (p. 55).

TUTORING IN THE WRITING CENTER

Students who visit a writing center for tutoring may come from cultural contexts in which academic writing is not significantly developed in secondary education. Moreover, they may come from contexts that do not provide sanctioned and structured peer tutoring support. Thus, student writers often embark on communication systems and processes that are minimally familiar to them. Tutoring writing means integrating a range of cultural considerations beyond mechanics and even rhetorical familiarity, entailing considerations of transition shock, power distance, positioning (Harre & Moghaddam, 2003), face, individualism and collectivism (Dodd, 1987; Ting-Toomey, 2011), and gender as contributing factors to the overall tutoring experience.

TUTORING MULTILINGUAL WRITERS. As multilingual writers enter the American academy, they may need individualized guidance and clarification to navigate the codified yet often contested array of discourses they will face (Friederich, 2006). Some schools provide peer-driven support for academic discourse orientation; for example, one option is to connect every incoming international student with a current student who can provide peer tutor support (Fischer, 2011). Regardless, multilingual writers may be unfamiliar with institutional peer tutoring and the "rules of engagement" for accessing and negotiating this type of support.

Likewise, writing tutors may be unfamiliar with the range of complicating factors that will determine the overall efficacy of a tutoring session with a multilingual writer. Writing tutors may reject the limitations of prescriptive, methodological

approaches to writing development (Gebhard & Oprandy, 1999). They understand the shortcomings of approaching a given discourse as a set of static conventions or "best practices" (Lu & Horner, 2013; Ryan, et al., 2015). They recognize that writing is a highly individualized and contextualized act that brings with it a range of fluctuating considerations; each tutoring event will be different.

Additionally, the potential to reduce and totalize a multilingual writer to a set of mechanical challenges must be corrected. Canagarajah (2006) advocated for a distinction between difference and error. He suggested that what might often be considered to be an error in a multilingual writer's text may, in reality, come from an intentional and deliberate communicative choice by the writer. By reducing and totalizing multilingual writing to a set of skills limitations to be corrected, error-driven approaches tend to restrict the developing voice of the writer. Writing tutors should foster a balance between cultivating the individualized voice of the multilingual student while helping her grasp the essentials of Standard English.

WRITING THEORY & PEDAGOGY

WRITING-TO-LEARN. One way that students, both multilingual and native speakers, can interact with intellectual content is to integrate reading with writing—a process called Writing-to-Learn (WTL). Current research suggests that students use writing to clarify and make sense of a topic through reasoning (Fry & Villagomez, 2012). For example, Cannon (1990) used journal writing as a means for students to process complex material and argued that student learning was enhanced by time spent thinking through and writing about content. Writing-to-learn activities, such as Cannon's, cause students to interface with and personalize material (Maimon, 1991) and can be utilized in any course regardless of the subject or content (Rubin, 1988). Through writing assignments, students can

make meaning of what they are learning in the classroom and gain a better understanding of topics.

WTL activities span the curriculum. Sampson and Walker (2012) utilized an instructional model that provided students in chemistry labs with the opportunity to write more often. For example, in the chemistry labs from the study, instructors would first pose a research question. Next, students would conduct the experiment to generate data. Students would then provide detailed reasoning for their responses to the research question. Rather than simply providing the answer to the research question, students were required to thoroughly explain their answer in written form. In turn, they improved their writing ability and learned more about chemistry in the course. The participants also enhanced their skills in reviewing the writing of their peers through this program. Yeong's (2015) case study indicated how WTL assignments assisted science students in gaining a better understanding of topics presented in class. Davidson and Gumnior (1988) studied the collaboration of a writing teacher and business instructor to examine the benefits of writing assignments for students. Feedback was essential during the process as students wrote several drafts. Students seemed to value writing more and viewed it as a helpful tool in the process of learning. Davidson and Gumnior concluded that assignments that require students to provide depth to their answers, such as writing assignments, can help prepare students to face multifaceted challenges beyond college.

Gingerich et al. (2014) conducted a study that utilized WTL assignments that were completed in class in large psychology courses in an effort to increase learning and comprehension of material. For example, students were asked to write about a research idea and identify the independent and dependent variables when the instructors wanted to solidify the concept of variables in class. Students were also asked to summarize in one sentence the difference between independent and dependent variables. These simple writing assignments only took a few minutes of class time but aided in the comprehension of class

concepts. The participants had modestly higher scores on exam questions related to the WTL assignments compared to questions related to lecture notes from slides. The participants also retained the information at a slightly higher rate from the WTL assignments when retested 8.5 weeks later. The authors suggest that WTL assignments challenge students to engage the material and process it actively rather than passively.

Even if there is not a significant difference in specified outcomes using WTL activities, there can be other residual benefits. The participants in Fry and Villagomez's (2012) study were education majors. Findings indicated that WTL activities for the participants did not significantly impact the students' post-test performance, but students did state that writing activities that were accompanied by reflection and feedback from the instructor were helpful. Thus, WTL strategies enhanced student learning in the course even though post-test scores were not significantly improved. Demaree et al. (2007) conducted their study because alumni from the college utilized for the research stated that they wanted to be more prepared in their writing and communication ability upon graduation. Physics students from the institution of study completed writing activities. The writing activities were beneficial to the participants' understanding of the topics from the course, even though the participants did not have a positive attitude related to writing.

Many faculty members have stated that students need to be able to write effectively in order to succeed in their courses. Writing labs provide valuable guidance to students, especially since 41% of students from Nakamura, Fearrien, and Hershinow's (1984) research indicated that their writing ability would impact success in careers after college. Students in a freshman writing course were utilized in Saglamel and Kayaoglu's (2015) study. Results indicated that students enjoyed writing that used course-related topics and applying them to daily life topics. Saglamel and Kayaoglu stated that writing should be emphasized more due to its

practical application in tests and assignments as well as use in processing meaning.

While some faculty may resist writing initiatives across the disciplines, Odell (1993) argued that "the evaluation of writing can help both students and teachers better understand the ways of knowing that are important in a particular academic context" (p. 87). Thus, faculty compliance is key to the success of a writing program, which serves as a valuable vehicle for discipline-specific writing (Mississippi State University, 2014, p.12). Adopting WTL initiatives across the University may be intimidating to some faculty; however, literature suggests that the Writing Center can support and lessen anxieties as WTL components are implemented.

WRITING AS A PROCESS. Writing across the curriculum initiatives at Union should strive to incorporate the process theory of composition. Educators across disciplines typically require research papers and reports as a means of evaluation, often resulting in a focus on writing as a product. However, effective writing requires a learning process rather than a formulaic series of steps that culminate in a finished product. Arguments for a process approach to writing surfaced within composition studies during the late 1960s, when pedagogy was more concerned with process and self-expression as Murray (1972) posited, and not as much with rigid conventions of rule-driven writing. Murray explored the valuable effects of approaching student texts as works in progress and noted that when students approach writing for what they might accomplish and not as what they have produced, they become engaged in the "process of discovery through language" (p. 4). Murray also focused on a basic, three-step process of writing (prewriting, writing, and revision), based upon Emig's 1971 book, *The Composing Processes of Twelfth Graders*. In addition to Murray, other moderate expressivists to emerge during that time included Maxine Hairston and Ken Macrorie, who argued for writing

as a vehicle for expression and an opportunity for growth and discovery through process.

By connecting the work of linguists, psychologists, and educators, Emig (1977) made a compelling case for process-oriented writing, including more time for writing not just in the English classroom, but also in every classroom. Emig defended the role of the writer as a learner, as a "participant of all things" (Pirsig, 1974, as cited in Emig, 1977, p. 12). The student using writing as a learning device instead of as a product outcome is an active learner. The student can create context and meaning by organizing, analyzing, and synthesizing the information being studied at his or her own pace as an active member of the learning community, which, in turn, provides the student with a graphic representation of his or her evolution of understanding.

Kent (1999), however, argued that a process-based approach endorses a "generalizable writing process" and that it makes general claims about the act of writing as private and highly organized (p. 1). But most post-process theorists, such as Kent, consider the act of writing to be public, interpretive, and situated, meaning that "people cannot communicate from nowhere; in order to communicate, you must be somewhere, and being somewhere—being positioned in relation to other language users—means that you always come with baggage, with beliefs, desires, hopes, and fears about the world" (p. 4). In addition to Kent's oppositions, other commonly argued constraints of process theory include a lessened focus on grammar and mechanics; more focus on content over form; and an emphasis on writing drafts that are often based on a writer's experience and not on the significance of context (Tobin, 2001).

While such debates over theory and practice are far from new, composition specialists agree that effective writing most often includes a process of brainstorming, research, and revision, and that a single draft is unlikely to result in the strongest outcome. Thus, many of the tenets of process-

based writing are used in classrooms today. Both students and instructors benefit from process methods that involve classroom discussion and student-centered activities such as peer reviews and student-to-tutor collaborations. Additionally, clearly set assignment guidelines and course rubrics often help writers understand the task (The University of Mary Hardin-Baylor, 2014, p. 19).

While a writing course cannot teach students the stylistic requirements of every academic discourse they will encounter, it can provide them with a framework that prepares them for discursive stylistic variations (Elbow, 1991). Developing academic writers must know how to maneuver various discourse community expectations in order to succeed academically. To address the stylistic issues of academic discourses, Elbow recommends exercises that encourage students to consider audiences critically.

RHETORICAL & DISCURSIVE CONSIDERATIONS. Writing centers also provide resources and pedagogical support for faculty who face challenges in teaching writing to both native and non-native speakers. When asked in a WAC survey conducted by California State University, Sacramento (2002), "What challenges do you face in incorporating writing assignments in your classes?" 40.1% of faculty said they felt challenged by working with ESL students. Additionally, 56.3% said they felt challenged in helping students to improve their writing. Multilingual writing is a complex phenomenon, with multilingual writers bringing to the writing act a range of linguistic, rhetorical, and cultural skills that determine their levels of participation in academic discourse (Canagarajah, 2002; Canagarajah, 2006; Ferris, 2009; Fischer, 2011; Matsuda, 2006; Perez, 2004; Richard-Amato, 2010; Ryan, et al., 2015).

Canagarajah (2002) calls for a pedagogy that both provides multilingual learners with familiarity of "dominant

conventions" and encourages critical engagement with those norms over blind acceptance of them. He calls for the agency and creativity of the learners to be respected, encouraged, and pedagogically advocated for, with the goal of "developing not only competent writers but also critical writers." Elbow (1991) reinforced this notion by suggesting that access to and familiarity with academic discourse is a form of power.

Elbow (1991) further noted that there are countless written academic discourses. In the English-speaking academic world alone, there are more discourses than can be taught to native speakers in a college-level course. These discourses have varying and conflicting demands and expectations for text construction. Kutz (1986) suggested making writing training an interdisciplinary endeavor, allowing students to learn about both a particular written academic discourse, as well as dominant norms of written English. Such a method also encourages, according to Kutz (1986), interaction with intellectual content as opposed to a careful hiding behind the formalities of academic writing.

PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATIONS / CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, informed writing instruction that focuses on teaching writing as a process and writing as an interdisciplinary endeavor is key to the success of Union University's QEP. The QEP should also seek to provide trained writing consultants for both first- and second-language writers (Babcock & Thonus, 2012; Bishop, 1990; Bruffee, 1984; Harris, 1995; Rafoth, 2000). To accomplish the goal of enhancing student writing across the University, faculty and students alike must commit to the mission of the Writing Center.

STUDENT AND FACULTY ENGAGEMENT. By creating an inviting and positive space for learners via the Writing Center, and by investing in a WAC initiative, Union University's QEP offers significant opportunities for student engagement and retention (Kuh, Kinzie, Schuh, & Whitt, 2008). Anderson, Anson, Gonyea, and Paine (2015) reviewed three studies that support writing across disciplines as a means of student learning and development. In one study, Light (2001) drew upon findings from more than 1,600 students from Harvard and 24 other colleges and universities; the results showed that the amount of writing "has a stronger relationship with students' level of engagement than does any other course characteristic, whether engagement is measured by time spent on the course, or the intellectual challenge it presents, or students' level of interest in it" (p. 55).

In another study, Arum and Roksa (2011) looked at over 2,300 students at 24 colleges and universities on the College Learning Assessment (CLA); results showed that improvement in critical thinking and complex reasoning was "barely noticeable" (p. 35) after the first three semesters, except for writing: "[S]tudents made significant gains in both areas if they had taken courses taught by faculty who required 20 or more pages of writing during a semester" (Anderson et al., 2015, p. 201). Writing was a significant factor but not the only factor in such outcomes.

In their own research study, Anderson et al. (2015) "examined survey responses from over 70,000 first-year and senior students who were enrolled at 80 bachelor's degree-granting colleges and universities in the United States" (p. 204). They concluded the following:

> Based on students' experiences across a variety of institutional types, sizes, missions, and geographic locations, writing assignments that involve the three constructs of Interactive Writing Processes, Meaning-Making Writing Tasks, and Clear Writing Expectations enhance undergraduate students' participation in deep approaches to learning (higher-order learning,

> integrative learning, and reflective learning) and their perceived gains in learning and development as defined by the acquisition of Practical Competence, Personal and Social Development, and General Education Learning. (p. 232)

As evidenced in these studies, the more writing that is required, and the more kinds of writing assignments required, the more engaged students become (Anderson et al., 2015; Light, 1990). Light (1990) stated, "The simple correlation between the amount of writing required in a course and students' overall commitment to it tells a lot of the importance of writing" (pp. 55-56). Further, Anderson et al. (2015) noted that the "interest in spreading writing broadly across the curriculum is supported by the importance of writing ability in both academia and the workforce," according to Hart Research Associates and the National Commission on Writing (p. 200). Effective writing not only impacts the student writer in the college classroom but also her success in future endeavors outside of it.

Many effective teaching practices can be implemented in the classroom, and with the guidance of trained Writing Center personnel, both students and faculty can benefit from the integration of these constructive and proven practices in writing studies. Personnel can also further specify writing guidelines and discipline-specific conventions. Finally, by serving as a collaborative and positive space for all writers, the proposed Writing Center will cultivate an enhanced writing experience across disciplines.

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LOVE AND FOOTBALL

THE LANE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

TED KLUCK

Excerpted from Ted's forthcoming book *Upside Down Football: An Inside Look at Long Snapping in the NFL* (Rowman & Littlefield).

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *I wrote this excerpt a year ago—shortly after I arrived at Union University as an assistant professor of journalism. Today, after teaching my classes, I will trade my jeans, hipster boots, and glasses for Lane Football workout gear and head downtown, where I will coach the Lane long snappers*[1] *in preparation for our first game vs. Texas College.*

Getting the job at Lane wasn't hard and didn't come after years of thoughtful contemplation and white papering about the state of race relations in the South. Rather, it involved me picking up a phone and saying to Head Coach Derrick Burroughs,[2] *"I'd like to help coach your long snappers," to which he replied, "You can start tomorrow." Football has plenty of problems, but it is nothing if not brutally efficient, a nice foil to academia.*

Coaching at Lane has been a wonderful blessing and a formative experience. After a recent dinner at my house, my players informed me that they had never been invited into a white person's home before. I was shocked but grateful that the Lord has allowed me to be a part of their lives.

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1 Long snapping happens on punts and placekicks; it is the art of bending over a football and firing a perfect spiral either fifteen yards (punt) or seven yards (placekick) and doing so regardless of weather or turf conditions, and in a variety of pressure-packed game situations. It's harder than it looks and almost nobody wants to do it.

2 Burroughs is a former NFL first-round draft pick who played with the Buffalo Bills. Our staff includes another coach who played in four Super Bowls and yet another who was a defensive lineman for the Denver Broncos. It's an amazing staff and is, in my opinion, the best-kept football secret in Jackson.

FALL 2015

I am a lifelong football addict, and like all addicts, I like my fixes to come in a particular way. I've played and coached the sport my entire life and, as such, I have an almost physical ache for it each fall. Ideally I'm playing it, but in lieu of that, I'm at least watching a lot, preferably in person.

When I learned that I'd be teaching journalism at a football-less university in Jackson, Tennessee, I immediately started scoping out the college football in the area and found that… there isn't much. The University of Tennessee at Knoxville is six hours away. Memphis is an hour and tickets are expensive. But then I learned that there is a college with football—Lane College—right in my city, and very nearly in my backyard.

My first weekend here, I drove through Lane's campus and found it fascinating … old, stately buildings in an older part of town. I drove by their practice field and was disappointed that there were no players on it. I wanted to watch a practice and just be near it (like I said, a sickness). Lane is a historically black college and has an interesting history with my school, and by interesting I mean that things haven't always been good, though how "not good" probably depends on who you ask. When a couple of my best journalism students[3] said, "We should start a journalism partnership with Lane," I enthusiastically agreed—for reasons both philosophical[4] and, admittedly, selfish. Lane has something that I want, and that something is college football. A civil rights hero I am not.

The partnership has been everything that I'd hoped it would be—fun, stimulating, enriching and redemptive[5] for students and faculty on both sides. It's early, and nothing is ever perfect, but I'm hopeful.

Today was Lane's first home football game. They play on a retro high school field here in Jackson whose defining characteristic is a set of very crooked goalposts. The stands

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3 Danica Smithwick ('16) and Emily Littleton ('17)

4 Meaning, I think stuff like this is a good idea, although to be completely honest, I didn't really know "how" to go about it and what I expected, other than to potentially meet some friends and try to generate some fresh writing which, thankfully, is what happened.

5 It's good for students at Union to meet students at Lane, and vice versa, so to the degree that that happened, I think it has been "redemptive." And I mean that in the least-smug, self-congratulatory way possible.

are brick and old. Paint peels. Grass yellows in the bright sun. Rap music throbs out of portable speakers but soon gives way to drumlines and the best marching band music I have ever heard in my entire life.

On my way in, a Lane professor greeted me with a hug. Another offered me barbecue on the house. I met Lane's president, who was warm and hospitable. The game opened with a very evangelical prayer in which both teams, both bands, and both sets of fans bowed heads and prayed for goodwill and harmony between the schools. In all my years of football, I've never seen anything like it. My son Maxim and I sat on the front row, just a few feet away from the Lane bench. And though the game was hard and violent—like all good football games are hard and violent—it had zero fights and almost no profanity. At no point did I have to cover my son Maxim's ears, as I've had to do so many times at Spartan Stadium,[6] Ford Field,[7] and many of the other venues we've frequented over the years, where buffoonery is the norm.

Lane played Tuskeegee and their white jerseys were emblazoned with the word 'Skeegee (note: I'm an avid jersey collector and want one … bad). Their players, like ours, danced to the marching band music during warm-ups. Swagger was present in droves, but it was an unselfconscious kind of redemptive swag. I stood along a fence and noticed a young boy, about my son's age with his eyes closed and head swaying, dancing (as they say) like nobody was watching. A lone Tuskeegee player knelt and prayed in the end zone before the game.

The football wasn't perfect—far from it, in fact. There were, I think, six turnovers in the first nine minutes. Both teams ran the spread offense (no fullbacks, lots of bubble-screens), which I hate for reasons both aesthetic and practical. Lane lost 40-14, but it didn't matter. It was a beautiful day of live college football with a team I'm now calling my own. I will be back the very next time they play at home and each time thereafter. Both bands played back and forth at one another,

6 Home of the Michigan State Spartans, where the seats are roughly six inches wide and in the men's bathroom everybody pees in a giant sink.

7 Home of the Detroit Lions.

battle style, the entire afternoon. “I could listen to this music all day long,” I told my son.

He looked at me like I was crazy and started climbing the fence like he owned the place, and like there was never even a moment of weirdness or division between black and white in Jackson, Tennessee.

THINKING ABOUT THE TOWER SCENE IN "A GOOD MAN IS HARD TO FIND" FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

ROGER STANLEY

In her signature story "A Good Man is Hard to Find," the Southern writer Flannery O'Connor captures a slice of mid-twentieth century life both bound to its time frame and somehow universal in scope. This story of a family road trip run amok, which culminates in a theologically-tinged dialogue between the family matriarch and a psychotic assassin, has been anthologized in many textbooks and parsed for its regional and religious content in too many classrooms to tally. Through its use of actual 1950s Georgia place and brand names, which nonetheless resonate with global implications today, the Tower scene in "A Good Man is Hard to Find" may well serve as a microcosm of the story's cultural impact, then and now.

A mere nineteen lines after introducing the town of Jasper, Georgia's somewhat effetely labeled native son, Edgar Atkins Teagarden, Flannery O'Connor's affinity for transparent names drops a couple of socioeconomic notches. This happens when she introduces the all-important character Red Sammy Butts. It doesn't take a genealogical expert to discern that this "Fat Boy with the Happy Laugh" was sired by no family patriarch whose surname references a beverage or a public horticultural space in any way British, like the name of the grandmother's wooer from her so-called "maiden" days. Instead, the grounds of Red Sammy's domain, The Tower, have minimal botanical—though certainly some zoological–interest: the earth is described as "bare" in this "clearing outside of Timothy" [Georgia]. Trees exist in what Red Sammy's wife calls from within her assuredly pre-ecological 50s world view "This green world of

God's," but only as refuge for fleas and monkeys, including one sent packing to "the highest limb" by the charging presence of the two children in the story, June Star and John Wesley.

In thinking about the Tower scene culturally in today's transnational economic world, it's worth noting what O'Connor uses to bridge the flashback scene with Mr. Teagarden to the actual scene with Red Sammy: Coca-Cola. Just before the paragraph beginning "They stopped at the Tower for barbecued sandwiches," O'Connor references "the Coca-Cola stock" which Mr. Teagarden purportedly purchased in the early days of that Atlanta-based company, founded in 1886. Sixteen paragraphs later, Red Sammy orders his spouse to button her lip and "…bring those people their Co'Colas." Dropped syllable or not, this ubiquitous Southern (and national) beverage would have gone through a sales spurt or two since the gentlemanly Teagarden first invested in its shares, and the notion that a rural Georgia convenience store in 2016 would likely also offer Pepsi products might have scandalized Red Sammy and his family of mid-twentieth century customers.

Though no mention is made beyond "barbecued sandwiches" as to what brand name foods the hungry travelers specifically consume, the words "order" or "orders" appear four times in the Tower sequence. Employing a believable 50s-era division of labor according to gender, it's the "tall burnt-brown" Mrs. Butts who's sent around to take orders only three paragraphs into the scene. Later, Red Sammy must prompt her to "hurry up with those people's order" instead of leaning on the lunch counter, and toward the end of the scene there is still "the rest of the order" to be reckoned with after the woman lugs in "five plates all at once without a tray, two in each hand and one balanced on her arm." The scene terminates fairly soon from there, leaving the reader to assume the sixth character, that of the baby, is otherwise accounted for with breast or bottle. And given the prominence (and various appetites) of the family cat Pitty Sing in the story, plus the apparent quick turnaround time (fewer than 20 lines) between food delivery and family

exit, one might speculate that some version of the "doggie bag" might have been put into play between restaurant and automobile. Still, zero food product brand names exist in the scene, which might leave us with the image of Pitty Sing covertly lapping up some Coke with whatever morsels he is otherwise sneaked by the grandmother.

A second level of so-called brand-naming is represented by the song title "The Tennessee Waltz," in the third paragraph of the Tower sequence. Unlike several scenes in O'Connor's fiction which incorporate lyrics—one thinks of the background gospel music serenading the motley crew of prospective patients in "Revelation," with Ruby Turpin herself piously humming along —"The Tennessee Waltz" is known chiefly as an instrumental number. John Huston's effective use of it throughout his 1979 movie *Wise Blood* lends poignancy to the plight of the "Christian despite himself" Hazel Motes, protagonist of O'Connor's novel of the same title. Here in the short story, it is the generic "children's mother" who pops one of Bailey's hard-earned dimes into the Tower nickelodeon and selects a number more attuned to her mother-in-law's generation and values than to her own or her bratty children's. Presumably, budding tap-dancer June Star indulges the song to its conclusion while her grandmother "swayed her head from side to side," but this playlist segues quickly to a June Star request, a so-called "fast number." The title is kept anonymous by O'Connor, but we can probably assume it does not reference a state deemed earlier by sibling John Wesley "a hillbilly dumping ground."

Music is germane to this scene and the overall story in other ways too. Consider that the family's journey away from Tennessee through Georgia and on toward Florida culminates in an encounter with the much foreshadowed Misfit, one of whose many jobs through the years was gospel singer. Furthermore, Red Sammy himself is not above emitting a "combination sigh and yodel" right after June Star has finished prancing to the second jukebox selection. It might be going too far to suggest O'Connor is alluding to the great Mississippi singing brakeman Jimmie Rodgers at this point (for one thing, the tubercular Rodgers never had an overhanging stomach "swaying under his shirt like a sack

of meal"), but this early blues and country artist all but patented the yodel. O'Connor's sound effects may ultimately be more cacophonous than harmonic in this scene, with the grandmother hissing and Mrs. Butts "stretching her mouth politely" at various junctures, yet the clear strains of "The Tennessee Waltz" evoke nostalgia for a world no longer there from the mid-twentieth century perspectives of the grandmother, and also of Hazel Motes.

If soft drinks like Coca-Cola and regional ballads like "The Tennessee Waltz" have long been appropriated by international beverage and media consumers of all stripes, then how much quainter to a twenty-first century reader is the notion of an "old beat-up Chrysler" plying the roadways of post-WWII Georgia? This is the image evoked by Red Sammy at midpoint of the Tower scene—not vis-à-vis his own wheels or Bailey's vehicle, but by way of escape car for the thieving mill-workers who ripped him off the week before the family passes through. The motif of the automobile in O'Connor has generated much verbal and visual response: Think of illustrators trying to reproduce the part of the color spectrum known as "rat" on *Wise Blood* book covers; the Martha Dillard postcard series highlighting the characters of "A Good Man is Hard to Find" in transit; Brian Abel Regan's book-length critical analysis of O'Connor and four-wheelers. It suffices here to place the Big Three brand name Chrysler in the context of Red Sammy's patriotic service, and of his shared disdain, with the grandmother, for the continent of Europe.

Most likely, the military stint leading to Red Sammy's all-uppercase "VETERAN" designation on Tower advertising signage reflects a WWII campaign. Both matronly Southern widows and retail proprietors a generation and a half their juniors might have been expected to blame the actions of a foreign continent for the absence of goodness in early Cold War America—no matter how provincial or scapegoating their words seem today. Red Sammy may think even a "beat-up" American-made vehicle trumps anything produced on the soil of his presumed 1940s service, yet his grandchildren or great-grandchildren today might unblinkingly opt for a

Daimler purchase—the German company which swallowed Chrysler in 1998. While no individual foreign nation is named in this scene, and men like Red Sammy might never have fought from within German territory, the dominance of German companies like Daimler—not to mention those based in Germany's WWII ally Japan—in today's auto industry is undeniable. That is to say, among other things, that no one in 2016 would likely extend petrol credit on the basis of the wholesomeness of a vehicular brand name, like the all-American entrepreneur Red Sammy Butts does shortly upon his return from the European war theatre.

In 2002, the Grammy-winning jazz popster Norah Jones released her live-in-New Orleans version of "The Tennessee Waltz" as a DVD bonus track. In October 2007, a "DaimlerChrysler Extraordinary Shareholders' Meeting" approved the renaming of the company, to Daimler AG. October 4, 2010 marked the first stock trading day for the new Coca-Cola Enterprises, picking up exclusive bottling rights in Norway and Sweden. Perhaps O'Connor's grandmother wasn't wrong to note at the end of the Tower scene that "we (a pronoun which now encompasses an infinitely more globalized humanity than the American citizens she intended) were made of money." And while Red Sam saw "no use [in] talking about it" at the time, the global branding, arts-media appropriation, and general trans-conglomeration of product entities today does bear talking about in a twenty-first century world prone to the absence of goodness, to its all too conspicuous consumption.

A TENNESSEAN'S WAY OF SEEING

BOBBY C. ROGERS

From a distance, the Memphis airport is designed to look like martini glasses hanging above a bar. I went there to pick up Charles Wright the day after he won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *Black Zodiac.* He was flying back to Tennessee to give a poetry reading at Union University. It was the spring of 1998. He'd been interviewed the night before on the PBS *NewsHour* by a slightly bemused Elizabeth Farnsworth, who hadn't known what to make of his claim that "Death's still the secret of life, the garden reminds us. Or vice-versa." Wright's poems, with their otherworldly yearnings and their penetratingly observed settings in the Umbrian hills of central Italy, in Montana, in the lee of Virginia's Blue Ridge, seem to have little to do with his home state. My students, reading him in Tennessee, never immediately pick up on his Tennessee background. I was looking forward to congratulating my teacher.

Black Zodiac was Charles Wright's twelfth book of poetry. He was sixty-two years old, well into as successful a career as an American poet can hope for: he'd won a National Book Award, held an endowed professorship; an appointment as U.S. Poet Laureate was waiting in his future. On the surface of it, it would be hard to claim *Black Zodiac* as a Tennessee book, much harder than the books of Peter Taylor, Charles' good friend and retired colleague at the University of Virginia, books that maintained more direct ties to his home state, with titles like *In the Tennessee Country* and *A Summons to Memphis*, which had won the Pulitzer for fiction a decade earlier. But Charles Wright is a Tennessee writer, too, in equally essential ways. His broadly influenced and influential work resonates with Tennessee colloquial language, simple phrases such as "They've gone and done it again," or homely terms like "lonesomeness" illumined by meditations on the modern art of Morandi, Cézanne, and Rothko. His work is as regional and universal as William Faulkner's with its seamless incorporation

of European modernism (in Wright's case, Heideggerian phenomenology and Eastern mysticism) into a local method.

The Pulitzer sometimes seems to be given as a lifetime achievement award. More commonly, I think, it is bestowed a book too late, given to recognize the previous book no one had the sense to know was as good as it was, rather than for the one that actually wins it. With Charles, the prize may have come several books too late. He'd been a finalist in 1982 for *The Southern Cross*, in 1983 for *Country Music: Selected Early Poems,* in 1985 for *The Other Side of the River,* and in 1996 for *Chickamauga*. It got to be a joke among those who cared about his writing and its fortunes. The weight of the award is such that poets have made a career out of being named a finalist once. It's always a short shortlist: usually three books. Being named to it sets you apart. You can never again consider yourself a writer's writer, superior in your chaste obscurity.

Black Zodiac is representative enough of Wright's work. The first poem, "Apologia Pro Vita Sua," offers an outline of his entire project:

> *Journal and landscape*
>
> *—Discredited form, discredited subject matter—*
>
> *I tried to resuscitate both, breath and blood,*
>
> *making them whole again*
>
> *Through language, strict attention—.*

Journal and landscape. Wright's primary obsession has always been with landscape. As he confessed to Elizabeth Farnsworth on the *NewsHour,* he finds landscape "ravishing." Despite its astrological title, *Black Zodiac* retains a Tennessee savour grounded in the places of Sullivan County, the South Fork of the Holston River, plenty of honeysuckle and magnolia. Perhaps it is this appetite for "Language, the weather, the word of God" that makes him open to the wooded and mystical philosophy of Martin Heidegger. "Sundays define me," he writes,

Born on a back-lit Sunday, like today,

But later, in August,

And elsewhere, in Tennessee, Sundays dismantle me.

There is a solitude about Sunday afternoons

In small towns, surrounded by all that's familiar

And of necessity dear….

He refuses to bury his Tennessee past beneath his erudition, even in this book decades removed from the last time he lived in the state.

Wright was born at Pickwick Dam at one end of Tennessee and grew up in Kingsport, 425 miles away at the other, with a few war years spent in Oak Ridge. In the lobby of the state park lodge at Pickwick, there's a 1930s-era photograph blown up to mural size of the dam-construction crew, and somewhere in that group of laborers is Wright's jodhpur-wearing engineer father. No matter how cosmopolitan the content of Wright's poetry, with its Eastern influences, its Italian landscapes and Continental philosophy, there remains an Americanness and a Southernness at its core that may be felt in his preoccupation with family and family stories, the shaping forces of nature and clan, his love for the music of the Carter Family, the depth he finds in seemingly simple folk forms.

The form he appropriated for his poems is that of a journal. From his 1987 book *Zone Journals* onward, Wright's poems have often been presented as journal entries. What is simpler, less distorted by artifice, than a journal? He has famously claimed to be the only Southerner who cannot tell a story, but the journal is a kind of ultimate narrative, story in its purest embodiment, uninterested in manipulation, a constantly revising record of what one sees and feels and has come to think about it. His interest in the phenomenology of Martin Heidegger surely affected his choice of this "discredited" form: Heidegger

sensed that all understanding is radically historical, that we are constantly in dialogue with nature and must be quiet and attend.

In "Jesuit Graves," which remains my favorite poem of the book, Wright uses the journal form to fashion an elegy that bears discussing with the finest elegies written by an American. Not as grandly ambitious as "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," which is journal-like in its own way, and not occasioned by as significant an event as was moving Whitman, Wright's elegy for Gerard Manley Hopkins is nevertheless as worthy as other great American elegies, echoing Pound's pact with Whitman, drawing much from Frank O'Hara's Billie Holliday elegy, as questioning as Roethke's "Elegy for Jane," as philosophical as Allen Tate's graveyard poem, "Ode to the Confederate Dead." The subject of this Tennessean's elegy is not an American, though there is a singularity of voice in Hopkins that is decidedly un-British, a discarding of class and convention and European models. Hopkins is the Emily Dickinson of British poetry, completely ignored by the poets around him and jarringly ahead of his time. He's not even buried in England. Charles was a tourist in Belfast, being shown the sites by Seamus Heaney. One would guess Hopkins' grave was an important stop on the tour.

Art is a scaffolding, the poem says, a form-buttressing skeleton, but also a gallows, a site of sacrifice, a cross. Hopkins' sense of a divinely charged creation would be attractive to a poet who in *Black Zodiac* writes that "Landscape's a lever of transcendence." Wright is a product of Flannery O'Connor's Christ-haunted South, though the tones of his work are exploratory and truth-seeking rather than the certainty-hardened stances one meets in O'Connor's world. The thinking in his poems is supple and marked by humility, content to express wonder at nature rather than use it as a kind of proof-texting, as Hopkins is wont to do.

That night in Jackson, hours after the Pulitzer announcement, I suppose it could be said we were witnessing Charles Wright at the height of his powers. Much strong work was still to

be written—his magnificent 2009 book *Sestets* comes to mind—what John Berryman in his William Carlos Williams dream song called "the mysterious late excellence." We'd gotten out news of the prize as best we could with phone calls, emails, word of mouth, but I was concerned about the size of the audience willing to show up for a poetry reading on a Thursday night. The Pulitzer Prize in poetry is still a poetry prize. But the students and townspeople came, townspeople perhaps curious to see what a Pulitzer Prize-winner looked like, and students who had graduated from high school affairs with Sylvia Plath's *Ariel* and undergraduate bouts of reading Eliot's *Four Quartets* as a devotional text, to have lately become acolytes of this living poet, a Tennessee poet returned to his home ground an easy hour's drive from his birthplace. He stepped to the microphone, bent open a still-new copy of *Black Zodiac*, and began to read.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Iconographical and Iconological Examinations of the Sevillian Paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán

HAELIM ALLEN

The paintings of the Immaculate Conception by Spanish artist Francisco de Zurbarán from the 1630s are the earliest examples of this subject matter in his body of work [Figures 1-3].[1] He painted approximately fourteen paintings featuring the Immaculate Conception, but only three of these belong to this early period and are associated specifically with the city of Seville. Two of these will be thoroughly examined in this article: one painting is now housed in the Museo del Prado [Figure 2] and the other is in the Museo Diocesano de Siguenza in Guadalajara, Spain [Figure 3].[2] Not only do they show the influence of Francisco Pacheco and the visual authority associated with the Spanish Inquisition in Seville, but they also display similar iconographies that stem from various historical traditions. In both paintings, Zurbarán depicts the Virgin mid-air, suspended on a crescent moon and looking down onto a cityscape of a port city with a ship on a body of water. Symbolic references to the Virgin's attributes such as the spotless mirror, gate of heaven, and the star of the sea, are all incorporated within the composition that surrounds the Virgin.

The focus of this article is to examine the theological, socio-political, and iconographical contexts of these paintings, all of which illustrate the Immaculate Conception, which was yet to be declared as official Roman Catholic dogma, as well as to provide a better understanding of Zurbarán's early examples of this subject matter. The iconological significance to the citizens of Seville will also be examined, demonstrating how they embodied the devotional convictions

1 There are scholars who believed Zurbarán had painted a version in 1616 (see Soria 1953, P. Guinard 1960, Jonathan Brown 1974, Guidol 1977), but the version currently in the collection of Placido Arango has now been dated to 1656 by Jeannine Baticle, *Zurbarán* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 296.

2 Julian Gallego, and Jose Gudiol, *Zurbarán 1598-1664* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 154 for the Jadraque version, and p. 172 for the Prado version. See Appendix A for the third c. 1630 painting.

and practices of the city's (and Spain's) longstanding and continued dedication to Mariology, especially in contrast to other major geo-political areas like that of northern Europe or eastern European regions dominated by Orthodox Christianity. From these various examinations, the two Zurbarán paintings of the 1630s show unique features, not only from the rest of his paintings on the theme but also from one another.

The Immaculate Conception in its theological development was only established as official dogma in the Roman Catholic Church in 1854 after a lengthy period of time. When compared to other Marian dogmas, such as that of Mary as the *Theotokos*, the Bearer or Mother of God, in AD 431 at the Third Ecumenical Council held in Ephesus,[3] or her Perpetual Virginity affirmed at the Council of the Lateran in AD 649, the Immaculate Conception has a long and even contentious history.[4] This dogma declares that Mary was without original sin from the very moment of her conception; she was without original sin at the moment of the reception of her soul in human nature within the womb of her mother, Anna.[5] There had been much debate since the early New Testament church regarding such convictions [Figure 4].[6] Around the time of Zurbarán's paintings, the main factions involved in this debate were the Franciscans and the Jesuits, who supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and desired it to be dogma, and the Dominicans, who acknowledged Mary, like everyone else with the exception of Christ, as being conceived in original

3 Origen in the third century uses the term for Mary, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries Her Place in the History of Culture*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 19. At the council - Nestorius = "Christokos," deemphasizing Christ's membership in the Godhead, see Pelikan, 56. Eastern and Western churches had yet to split.

4 Immaculate Conception has roots in the Eastern (Greek) church; see Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, 189.

5 Papal edicts of 1617 and 1622 ordered removal of any mention of original sin in liturgies in honor of the Virgin. Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 80.

6 Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, 191. Augustine from *On Nature and Grace* (AD 415) notes that even saints of the Old and New Testaments had original sin, but he writes of Mary: "We must make an exception of the holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom I wish to raise no question when it touches the subject of sins, out of honor to the Lord. For from him we know what abundance of grace for overcoming sin in every particular [ad vincendum omni ex parte peccatum] was conferred upon her who had the merit to conceive and bear he who undoubtedly had no sin." Without further explanation from Augustine, the church (Western in particular) developed an understanding of this "great exception" for the next fourteen centuries: Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, p. 191.

sin [Figure 5].[7] Despite the controversy, there are numerous examples of the Immaculate Conception depicted in visual art during this period, as seen in Crivelli's 1492 version [Figure 6].[8] Regarding the visual depiction of the Immaculate Conception, Jaroslav Pelikan states, "But as it has done with the doctrine of Mary throughout history, Christian art often anticipated the development of dogma, which eventually caught up with the iconography."[9] This statement is quite appropriate for the circumstances and development of the Immaculate Conception in art and its influence on church polity. But how was the visual imagery of this future dogma developed? How was this significant to those in the city of Seville? Why was Spain a leading proponent of this doctrine?

There are several reasons to acknowledge Spain as one of the central proponents of this doctrine. During the controversy over the Immaculate Conception, which lasted from the 12th century until it became dogma in the 19th century, Spain as a political and religious entity not only supported the doctrine but also desired it to become dogma. From the early 13th century, both the kings and clergy of Spain supported the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[10] Perhaps the various Iberian Peninsula monarchs along with their citizens desired the purity of the Virgin due to the centuries of conflict brought about by the invasion and settlement of Muslims since the early 700s. The Treaty of Granada in 1491 brought an end to the Moorish presence, which had caused anxiety and uncertainty for generations of Spaniards. The Spanish quest for religious homogeneity, whether through forced conversions of the Jews and Moors to Christianity, expulsion, or even death of those who did not comply, continued for centuries after the Treaty.[11] This

7 The feast of the Immaculate Conception was first solemnized as a Holy Day of Obligation on December 6, 1708 under the Papal Bull *Commissi Nobis Divinitus* by Pope Clement XI. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 140.

8 Nathalie Augier de Moussac, "De la Inmaculada a la Mujer Águila del Apocalipsis, imágenes marianas novohispanas 1555-1648," *Altre Modernita* (2012-2013): 330.

9 Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, 194.

10 Odile Delenda, ""L'art au service du dogme. Contribution de l'École sévillane et de Zurbarán a l'iconographie de l'Immaculée Conception" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 111 (April 1988): 239.

Delenda notes how Juan I King of Aragon of 1398, Queen Isabel, Philip III, and Philip IV all zealously defended the Immaculate Conception. The Spanish kings had held the Immaculate Conception in special devotion ever since the 15th century; see, Paola D'Agostino, "Neopolitan Metalwork in New York: Viceregal Patronage and the Theme of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 43 (2008): 117 for further discussion.

11 Juan J. Linz, "Intellectual Roles in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spain" *Daedalus* 101, 3 (Summer 1972): 59.

spirit of "national" purity relates to the Spanish desire for their intercessor, Mary, to be pure as well.[12] Adriano Prosperi notes how the inmaculada of the Madonna not only defined Christianity as the supreme religion versus Islam and Judaism but also served as a unifying bond for the Spanish nation.[13] Citizens during this time desired a savior and intercessor with Christ-like purity, but who lived out her life on earth and could save them from this persecution. Zurbarán deals with this subject matter of the Virgin interceding for the Spaniards against the Muslims in his paintings, *The Surrender of Seville* and *The Battle of Christians and Moors at El Sotillo* [Figures 7 and 8].[14] The need for a savior, not only politically but also psychologically and emotionally, continued when other national entities such as England defeated the powerful Spanish Armada in 1588.[15] The painting by Alejo Fernandez, which precedes 1588, shows how the Spaniards regarded Mary as a protectress to those traveling to the New World [Figure 9].[16] The Virgin had become a "national" symbol in addition to her spiritual role. Zurbarán's painting, *The Virgins of the Carthusians*, contemporary to his c. 1630 Immaculate Conception paintings for the Carthusian Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas, shows Mary's protection over the Carthusian monks [Figure 10].[17]

These political situations may give a historical context toward explaining the Spaniards' desire for the Virgin to be pure, especially if they regarded Mary as a co-redemptrix.[18] Along with the religious communities, the crown fostered the Immaculate Conception in Spanish art.[19] Christianity in the 17th century still felt the effects of the Reformation

12 Adriano Prosperi, "L'Immacolata a Siviglia e la fondazione sacra della monarchia spagnola" *Studi Storici*, 47 (2006): 492.

13 Ibid., 492.

14 Baticle, *Zurbarán*, 113 for *The Surrender of Seville*, and 192 for *The Battle of Christians and Moors at El Sotillo.*

15 John H. Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain." in *Bartolome Murillo*, Jane Martineau, ed. (London Royal Academy of Arts, 1982), 40-52.

16 Robert S. Stone, "Time Will Darken Them: Caravels and Galleons in Zurbaran's Immaculate Conceptions," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 13, (April 2007): 55.

17 Baticle, *Zurbarán*, 230.

18 F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, editors. *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition, (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1997), 1048.

John Bowden, editor. *Encyclopedia of Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 730. Co-redemptrix has the following connotations: Mary, as giving birth to Christ, is viewed as part of the redemptive plan for humanity or even as the goddess of the Christian religion.

19 de Moussac, "De la Inmaculada a la Mujer Águila del Apocalipsis," 335.

from the 1500s. As part of the Roman Catholic Church's Counter-Reformation, art (especially paintings) encouraged continued faith and inspiration in the populace. These images of the Immaculate Conception would be viewed as paintings created not merely from human hands but also stemming directly from the Hand of God.[20] Victor Stoichita validates this idea in the following manner: "Thus, the proponents of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception often employed the metaphor of the Virgin as a 'divine painting,' created by 'The Divine Artisan'."[21] To generate a devotional image that defines the Immaculate Conception, artists based their compositions upon both visual and literary sources. The visual iconography of the Immaculate Conception is derived from liturgical practices, in the forms of songs, prayers, celebrations; from Scripture, in particular the *Song of Solomon* and *Revelation*; and also from the Apocrypha, most notably the books of *Ecclesiasticus* and *Judith*.

The early development of the Immaculate Conception of Mary was influential to the *Tota Pulchra Es*, an old prayer traditionally dating back to the fourth century [Figure 11].[22] This was part of the five antiphons for the Psalms of Second Vespers (evening prayers or service) for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The title referring to the Virgin Mary translates, "All Beautiful" or "You are completely beautiful." The text derives from *Song of Solomon* 4:7 and the apocryphal book of *Judith*. Within the prayer or song, Mary's spotlessness is declared, "*Tota pulchra es, Maria, et macula originalis non est in te*," or in English, "You are all beautiful, Mary, and the original stain [of sin] is not in you." Scripture is another source for the iconographical and visual development of the Immaculate Conception, specifically the passage from *Revelation* 12:1, which states, "And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." The Apocalyptic woman mentioned is identified as Mary, since the chapter also describes her male child who will rule all the nations and who is defined as Christ.

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20 Victor I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), 105- 106; Victor I. Stoichita, "Image and Apparition: Spanish Painting of the Golden Age and New World Popular Devotion" RES: *Anthropology and Aesthetics* 26 (Autumn, 1994): 33.

21 Stoichita, "Image and Apparition," 33.

22 Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 41-43. As a visual reference, *Tota Pulchra Es* included a set of visual emblems associated with the Immaculate Conception iconography. See Appendix B for the prayer and Appendix C for a full list and description of the emblems.

Another source for Zurbarán would be paintings of the Immaculate Conception housed at the various institutions of Seville. For example, Seville native Diego Velázquez painted in Seville at the beginning of his career and also apprenticed under Francisco Pacheco before his appointment as an official court painter [Figure 12]. Italian Guido Reni also contributed two paintings similar to Velázquez [Figure 13].[23] The visual inspiration from the previous sources, such as the *Tota Pulchra Es*, is more evident in Velázquez's example than with Reni's. Yet since both were located in Seville, it is most certain that Zurbarán was aware of both artists' works.

Painter Francisco Pacheco also influenced Zurbarán's early paintings of the Immaculate Conception. Pacheco served as an official (visual) censor to the Spanish Inquisition, in addition to establishing an art "academy" in Seville.[24] He described the traits and characteristics of the immaculate Virgin Mary in his book, posthumously published in 1649, *Arte de la Pintura*:

> The mystery of that flowering age of twelve or thirteen (*Misterio esa senora la flor de su edad de doze a treze anos…*), beautiful young girl, rosy cheeks, pretty but serious eyes, perfect nose and mouth, beautiful, long golden locks… wearing a white tunic and blue cloak… crowned and with stars, under her feet is the moon which instead of being solid should be transparent so that the landscape shows through, the sun radiating around her… a model of perfection like that of her son."[25]

Pacheco's 1621 painting, *Immaculate Conception with Miguel Cid*, exhibits much of his visual prescriptions [Figure 14].[26] For the most part, these were observed by Zurbarán and the other Sevillian artists in their paintings of the Immaculate Conception.[27]

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23 Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 65 Reni, and 83 Velázquez.

24 Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 21.

25 Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la pintura su antiguedad y grandeazas* (Seville, printed by Simon Faxardo, 1649), 482. Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown, *Italian and Spanish Art 1600-1750 Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press 1992), 166. For translation.

26 Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 81.

27 V.I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience*, 8, who points out that the Spanish Inquisition was very strict on sacred images. Jonathan Brown, *Francisco de Zurbarán* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1974), 90.

This survey of visual and textual references aids in the analysis of Zurbarán's paintings [Figures 2 and 3]. The adherence to the emblems of the *Tota Pulchra*; the Virgin's aerial situation like that of those paintings by Velázquez and Reni; the Virgin standing on the crescent moon and her dress and crown of stars, all demonstrate Zurbarán's references to Pacheco and Velázquez, if not showing a direct derivation.[28] Even so, there are particular motifs in both paintings by Zurbarán that warrant a closer look. The horizons at the bottom portion of the paintings show a vista with certain architectural references, along with one ship coming into or going out from a port.[29] The ship motif and the architecture support the notion that these two paintings are specifically tied to Seville. The city of Seville was a small town on the river Guadalquivir, before it became a major trading port for the New World in the early 16th century. In addition to the inclusion of a ship, Zurbarán embeds the earthly emblems with the cityscape that many scholars like Robert Stone believe Zurbaran uses to represent Seville as a New Jerusalem in his two c. 1630 Immaculate Conception paintings.[30]

The Jadraque or Guadalajara painting shows architecture distinctly from the city of Seville, alongside the spiritual emblems of the Immaculate Conception. From left to right, the recognizable city structures are the Tower of the Seville Cathedral or the Giralda; the Alcazar in front of it; and the Sevillian cityscape on the Guadalquivir. If, as Jonathan Brown theorizes, the city council commissioned this painting and displayed it in the City Hall, then the visual references can be explained. Zurbarán merges the Virgin's attributes in such a naturalistic manner that one could easily miss the heavenly references, such as the enclosed garden, tower of David, and the fountain amidst the Sevillian landscape.

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28 Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Evolution of Marian Devotionalism within Christianity and the Ibero-Mediterranean Polity" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (March 1998), 65, citing Maravall (1975/1986), who acknowledges that these emblems and references were understood by all social classes.

Brown, *Francisco de Zurbarán*, 24, notes Zurbarán's composition (image 2) in direct correlation to that of Pacheco's example (image 15). Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 60. Stratton notes that the Immaculate Conception's visual associations of the Apocalyptic woman and the *Tota Pulchra Es* were from Flemish sources (prints like those from Marten de Vos, along with other artists like Hieronymus Wierix).

29 Stone, "Time Will Darken Them", 43. The ship in both paintings is either a galleon or caravel, usually identified with exploration or trading.

30 Enggass and Brown, *Italian and Spanish Art 1600-1750 Sources and Documents*, 167. For depicting the Virgin's attributes in the composition, Enggess and Brown translate Pacheco's allowance to depict the earthly emblems in the landscape versus in the heavenly realm.

The second and probably earlier painting of the Immaculate Conception may also shed some light on why Zurbarán strives to incorporate the spiritual and physical realms in such a naturalistic manner.[31] This version, now in the Museo del Prado, has a ship similar to that of the Jadraque version, but it does not show the crowded Sevillian cityscape. Instead, it shows what seems to be, as Robert Stone states, "an idealized citadel."[32] If this is the case, and this painting was for the religious order of Comunidad de Religiosas Esclavas Concepcionistas del Divino Corazón de Jesús of Seville, then the lack of an exact reference to the Sevillian cityscape, even with the inclusion of a ship, prompts further investigation. If the Prado version is considered in conjunction with the Jadraque painting, which implies that the city of Seville is a New Jerusalem, and one which is honored and protected by the Virgin Mary, then this correlation may also be attributed to the Prado version.[33] The paintings show harmony between the heavenly and earthly realms, all of which the Virgin oversees.

However, in reality, 17th century Seville was experiencing a decline. John Elliott notes that by the end of the 17th century, Spain was viewed as a second-class nation and an object of European derision, despite being a great imperial power just the century prior.[34] This degradation in power reflects the continued effects of the defeat of the Armada, the Reformation, the Spanish Inquisition, and societal issues which stemmed from an economic decline. Turmoil associated with the occurrence of natural disasters and epidemics also contributed to understanding the significance of these paintings to the citizens of Seville. For these citizens, the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception was one of the most significant matters of faith.[35] The Immaculate Conception paintings

31 On the dating of the Jadraque to 1630, see: Guidol, *Zurbarán*, 154; Brown, *Zurbarán*, 23. For the Prado painting to 1625-1630 see Guidol, *Zurbarán*, 172; Stone, "Time Will Darken," 57.

32 Stone, "Time Will Darken Them," 57.

33 Ibid., 59.

34 Elliott, "Decline of 17th c. Spain," 41.

35 Jonathan Brown, "Patronage and Piety: Religious Imagery in the Art of Francisco de Zurbarán," in *Zurbaran*, Jeannine Baticle, ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 15; Suzanne Stratton, "The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Renaissance and Baroque Art," PhD dissertation, New York University, New York, 1983. Prosperi, "L'Immacolata a Siviglia," 499. Prosperi recounts the violent reaction from Sevillians when the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was challenged by the Dominicans.

visually reminded people to keep the faith during such drastic economic changes, Spain's continued loss of global power, and the natural disasters that affected the city of Seville.

Pacheco provides the following statement regarding sacred, devotional paintings: "These holy images heighten our spirits, perfect our understanding, move our will, refresh our memory of divine things."[36] The Virgin serves as a protectress, a patroness, and a mediatrix between heaven and earth.[37] Everyone, from the powerful citizens, like those on the city council, to the common people of Seville, needed a protectress during this time of change and decline. Through her hands in prayer, her gaze down upon the city, and the many putti or infants at her feet, the Jadraque painting visually reminds the Sevillians that the Virgin continually intercedes for them. Granted access to the gate of heaven by her purity, the Virgin acts as a guiding star, in addition to providing intercessions. What more could she have symbolized to them beyond these roles and the conveyance of her Immaculate Conception?

In his article, "The Evolution of Marian Devotionalism within Christianity and the Ibero-Mediterranean Polity," Anthony Stevens-Arroyo drew upon both social science and theology as part of his methodology in connecting popular religiosity with formal theology.[38] Within the framework regarding devotionalism, he labels this approach "material theology," examining those paraphernalia of devotions that generate piety and, in turn, that have been instruments of religious education in matters of belief.[39] Zurbarán's paintings of the Immaculate Conception, under Steven-Arroyo's definition, may be considered material theology. In application, this means ascertaining the beliefs or perceptions that would have

36 Enggass and Brown, *Italian and Spanish Art 1600-1750*, 164, for translation.

37 Or intercessor

de Moussac, "De la Inmaculada," 338, notes Mary's "… exceptional nature who is literally between heaven and earth." Full quote in Spanish: "Consideramos que este tipo de 'escenografia'… la Virgen responda al problema de la natura excepcional de Maria que se encuentra literalmente entre el cielo y la tierra."

Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 140. Stratton cites Dalmiro de la Valgoma y Diaz-Varela, "La Orden de Carlos III," 1988 for this reference—Mary as a Patroness.

Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 33, noting that the Virgin was a "crucial link between God the Father and his mortal children."

38 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Evolution of Marian Devotionalism," 51.

39 Ibid.

been understood via material theology by those who housed the painting now in the Prado, but that were previously in a Sevillian female religious order, Comunidad de Religiosas Esclavas Concepcionistas del Divino Corazón de Jesús.[40]

The women of the order would have associated the Virgin as the spotless mediatrix, a pillar of the moral order, someone to emulate,[41] but what of the New Jerusalem reference? Or, as Robert Stone posits, perhaps this painting is a depiction of an idealized citadel. This particular painting's lower portion, unlike that of the Jadraque version, is much more enigmatic. If it is for a religious order, then why the ship reference? It may certainly have to do with the city as a port, but is it the idealized citadel, or a reference to the New Jerusalem? It is possible that these paintings provided hope for these women during this time of socio-economic decline, or perhaps protection from natural disasters.[42] For example, if this painting alludes to the great flood of 1626,[43] when a third of the city was under water for more than a month, it would resonate with any member of Sevillian society, including the religious order that may very well have been affected.

The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception in the Prado has the same pose as the Virgin in the Jadraque version. She is standing on the crescent moon, but there are no infants or putti to sustain her, or rather to separate her from the lower portion. She is part of the space depicted. The Virgin's hands are together in prayer, matching that of the Jadraque version. But unlike the vista of the city, she looks down at a submerged cityscape. The "idealized citadel" seems to be in the middle of

40 The particular religious order is the Comunidad de Religiosas Esclavas Concepcionistas del Divino Corazón de Jesús (Community of Sisters Servants Concepcionistas the Divine Heart of Jesus), or the Order of the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart. No historical documents could be found establishing this order or its existence during this particular period. However, the Marquise of La Puebla of Ovando may have been: Inés Bernaldo de Quirós y Fernandez de Córdoba, Marquise of la Puebla de Ovando or Leonor de Avila y Guzman, 2a Marquise of la Puebla * c. 1620 † 09.1653

A Marquise or Marqueses is a member of the nobility of lower status than a Duke.

There are historical accounts of women of the nobility donating funds, in this case a painting, to female religious orders.

41 Mary Elizabeth Perry, "'Lost Women' in Early Modern Seville: The Politics of Prostitution" *Feminist Studies* 4 (1978): 204. Perry notes the Virgin's impeccable example as a role model for all women.

42 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990): 78-79.

43 George Haley, "Some Aspects of Religious Life in 17th Century Seville," *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 54, No. 2 (April 1960): 15. Haley notes the veneration of spiritual figures intensified with the epidemics and natural disasters of this time, as with the flood of 1626.

the water without much of a coastline. The caravel or galleon heading towards this citadel will certainly provide hope for its citizens, who may await its arrival with expectation of treasures and funds from the New World.[44] If the Prado version alludes to the flood of 1626, then the visual connotations would certainly be conveyed to those affected. Of course, these are just speculations, but they are attempts at reconciling the symbolic gestures within the possible historical context and attempts to offer possible explanations for why this version differs from the Jadraque painting.

Whatever the case may be, these early paintings by Zurbarán were painted with inclusions of Marian symbols that are not emphasized, or that are altogether absent in his later examples of the same theme [Figures 15, 16].[45] The later examples do not show, unless faintly, the spiritual emblems established for the Immaculate Conception. Instead, the 1661 versions are parallel to the Immaculate Conception developed by Guido Reni [Figure 13].[46] Duncan Kinkead describes this shift in Zurbarán's work of the later period towards "softer…and sweeter in his emotional content," as a mode to gain or retain his reputation and success in competing with artists like Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.[47] The younger Sevillian was acknowledged as the city's finest painter in 1655.[48] As Murillo became more popular, Zurbarán's career declined, which leads some scholars to believe is responsible for the change in his style. Santiago Alcolea observes that Zurbarán "painted in the doctrinal spirit of the Counter-Reformation gave way to an intense, vibrant emotivity which was in fashion."[49] Zurbarán's two 1661 paintings of the Immaculate Conception, the Langon and Budapest versions, display these changes.[50] Robert Stone points out that these paintings show no Marian symbols

44 Duncan T. Kinkead, "The Last Sevillan Period of Francisco de Zurbaran," *The Art Bulletin* 65 (1983): 308.

45 Gallego and Guidol, *Zurbarán*, 367 for both Langon and Budapest examples

46 Howard Hibbard, "Guido Reni's Painting of the Immaculate Conception," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, 28 (1969): 25.

47 Duncan T. Kinkead, "The Last Sevillan Period," 305.

48 Ibid.

49 Stone, "Time Will Darken Them," 65, S. Alcolea, *Zurbarán*, 20.

50 The two late versions are referred to by their present location: Church of Saint Gervais et Saint Protais in Langon and Musee des Beaux-Arts in Budapest. See Baticle, *Zurbarán*, 309 and Brown, *Zurbarán*, 152 for the Langon version and Guinard, *Zurbarán*, 185 for Budapest version.

but instead only the inclusion of a few putti underneath the Virgin.[51] These later paintings display tell-tale Baroque tendencies: the flowing, wind-swept blue cloaks; the loose brushwork; and the putti holding the Virgin up instead of a moon under her feet. The palette, especially seen in the Budapest version, is light and airy. Yet, neither painting gives reference to a "real" place as seen in the earliest versions- a visual representation for a city in need of prayers and intercession.

Suzanne Stratton in her monograph, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, defines the development of the visual imagery for the Immaculate Conception as one of the most effective representations in the service of propaganda and instruction.[52] This examination of Zurbarán's paintings of the Immaculate Conception embodies the visual complexities of their development, both in the actual iconography and also in the original socio-political contexts. Whether or not we regard the paintings as propaganda for the sake of the quest to achieve dogmatic status, or as instruction for the faithful, Zurbarán certainly contributed to both aims. Zurbarán painted not only for those patrons from religious, municipal, and private sectors but also for himself. Zurbarán's deep devotion to the Virgin is clearly displayed in his extensive body of work dealing with the Immaculate Conception. His last will and testament, written on the eve of his death, began thus: "Alavado sea el SS Sacramento y la pura y limpida Concepcion de nra Senora la Virgen Maria conzevida sin mancha de pecado original. Amen." Translated: "Praised be the Most Holy Sacrament and the pure and spotless Conception of Our Lady the Virgin Mary, conceived without stain of original sin. Amen."[53]

51 Stone, "Time Will Darken Them," 62. The Budapest version shows some of the Marian emblems ever so faintly at the bottom of the painting.

52 Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, 145.

53 Baticle, *Zurbarán*, 309, for translation.

REFERENCES

FIGURE 1

Francisco de Zurbarán
Immaculate Conception

1616* (initially designated by Soria-1953, Guinard-1960, J. Brown-1974, Guidol-1977)
1656 by J. Baticle – 1987

6' 4" x 5' 1 ¾"

Collection of Placido Arango

FIGURE 2

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Immaculate Conception

c. 1630

Oil on linen
128 x 89 cm

Museo del Prado - c. 1628-30

Provenance: Museo Prado's website:

Marquise of La Puebla de Ovando; "Comunidad de religiosas Esclavas Concepcionistas del Divino Corazón de Jesús", Sevilla, 1956. Acquisition, 1956.

FIGURE 3

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Immaculate Conception

1630

Oil on canvas
174 x 138 cm

Museo Diocesano de Siguenza, Guadalajara, Spain

Provenance: Museo Diocesano de Siguenza Guadalajara does not give any provenance.

Baticle (*Zurbarán*, 277-278) states that this work could not be the painting commissioned by the City Council whereas; Brown (*Zurbarán*, 24) does attribute this work commissioned by the council in 1630.

FIGURE 4

Giovanni Antonio Sogliani
Disputation over the Immaculate Conception with Saints John the Evangelist, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Ambrogio, Bernard and the Assumption of the Virgin (Disputation of the Doctors)

1st half 16th C

347 x 230 cm

Galleria dell'Accademia (Florence, Italy)

FIGURE 5

Anonymous Painter from Lucca
A Franciscan Friar Defending the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception with the Ordeal by Fire

Repository - Pinacoteca Vaticana, Vatican City

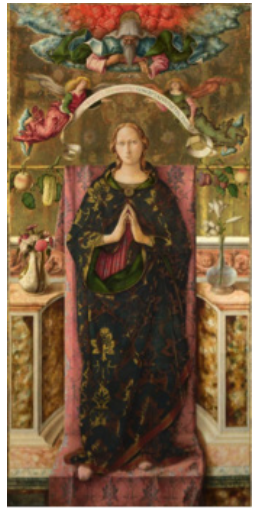

FIGURE 6

Carlo Crivelli
The Immaculate Conception

1492

Tempera on wood
194.3 x 93.3 cm

Franciscan chruch of San Francesco, Pergola (central Italy)

National Gallery, London

FIGURE 7

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Surrender of Seville

1634

Oil on canvas
63 x 82 inches

Original location: Seville, Monastery of the Merced Calzada (date of contract Aug. 29, 1628)

Duke of Westminster Collection, England

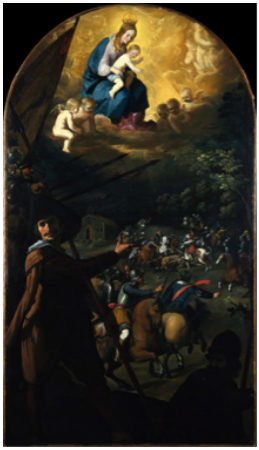

FIGURE 8

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Battle of Christians and Moors at El Sotillo

c. 1638

Oil on canvas
10' 11 7/8" x 6' 3 ¼"

Metropolitan Museum of Art, NYC

Originally at the Monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Defensión, Jerez de la Frontera

This actual event from the Spaniards' perspective was a miracle endowed by Mary who was their source of their victory against the Muslims.

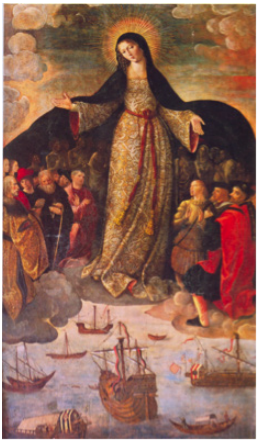

FIGURE 9

Alejo Fernández
The Virgin of the Navigators

1531–36

oil on panel

Center panel for altarpiece in the Chapel of Casa de Contratacion

Seville, Spain

FIGURE 10

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Virgin of the Carthusians

(Virgin of Mercy or Madonna della Misericordia)

c. 1625

267 x 320 cm (8'9 1/8" x 10'6")

Museum of Fine Arts, Seville, Spain

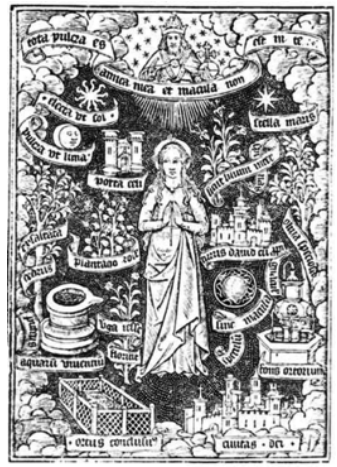

FIGURE 11

Unknown artist
The Virgin "Tota Pulchra"

c. 1500

Frontispiece of Heures de la Vierge a l'usage de Rome

Published by Theilman Kerver

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

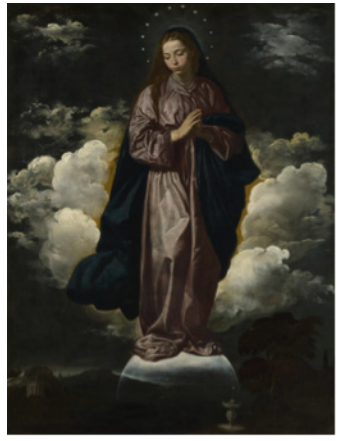

FIGURE 12

Diego Velázquez
The Immaculate Conception

1618-19

Oil on canvas
135 x 101.6 cm

Initially hung in a Carmelite convent in Seville

The National Gallery, London

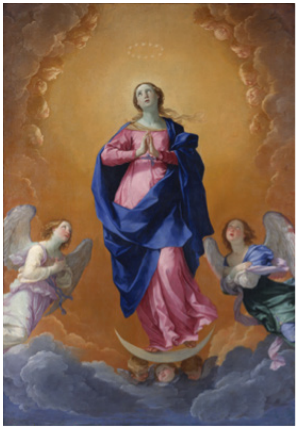

FIGURE 13

Guido Reni
The Immaculate Conception

1627

Oil on canvas
105 1/2 x 73 in. (268 x 185.4 cm)

Cathedral of Seville

Metropolitan Museum of Art NYC

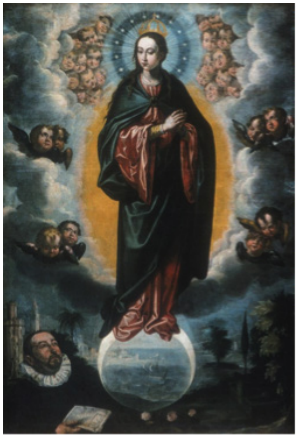

FIGURE 14

Francisco Pacheco
Immaculate Conception with Miguel Cid

1621

149X109 cm (59 x 43 in)

Sacristy of the Chalices

Seville Cathedral

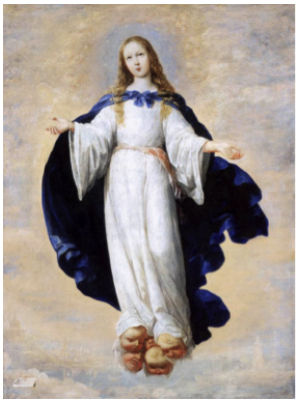

FIGURE 15

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Immaculate Conception

1661

Oil on canvas
136.5 x 102.5 cm

Provenance unknown until 1820 as in the collection of the Esterhazy princes

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

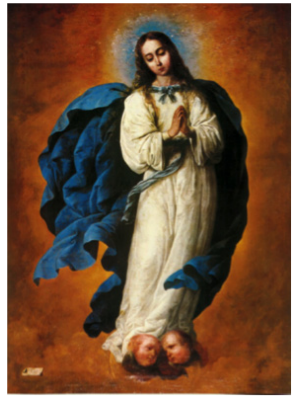

FIGURE 16

Francisco de Zurbarán
The Immaculate Conception

1661

Oil on canvas
55 1/8 x 40 ½"

Parish Chruch, Langon (Bordeaux)

Provenance unknown until 1837

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Francisco de Zurbaran
The Immaculate Conception with Two Young Noblemen

1632

252 x 170 cm

Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

This painting was omitted from the analysis even though it was done in Seville in the early 1630s due to its private commission rather than a public one like the other two examples (2, 3).

Appendix B

Tota Pulchra Es

Tota pulchra es, Maria,
et macula originalis non est in te.
Vestimentum tuum candidum quasi nix, et facies tua sicut sol.
Tota pulchra es, Maria,
et macula originalis non est in te.
Tu gloria Jerusalem, tu laetitia Israel, tu honorificentia populi nostri.
Tota pulchra es, Maria.

You are all beautiful, Mary,
and the original stain [of sin] is not in you.
Your clothing is white as snow, and your face is like the sun.
You are all beautiful, Mary,
and the original stain [of sin] is not in you.

Appendix C

You are the glory of Jerusalem, you are the joy of Israel, you give honour to our people.
You are all beautiful, Mary.

The Virgin is surrounded by fourteen emblems of Immaculate Conception (additional emblems not found here are noted at the bottom of this list)

1 Personification of Sun, surrounded rays, amid clouds, above scroll, inscribed ELECTA VT SOL from Song of Solomon 6:10 (Vulg., 6:9).

2 Star above scroll, inscribed STELLA MARIS from Hymn, Ave maris stella.

3 Personification of crescent Moon, surrounded by rays, amid clouds, above scroll, inscribed PVLCRA VT LVNA from Song of Solomon 6:10 (Vulg., 6:9).

4 Mirror above scroll, inscribed [SPECVLVM] SINE MACULA from Wisdom 07:26.

5 City gate of Paradise above scroll, inscribed PORTA CELI.

6 Flower of lily above scroll, inscribed QVASI LILIVM from Ecclesiasticus 39:19.

7 Rose bush above scroll, inscribed PLA(N)TACIO ROSE from Ecclesiasticus 24:18.

8 Fountain above scroll, inscribed, FONS SIGNATVS, from Song of Solomon 4:12.

9 Wellhead with pulley above scroll, inscribed PVTEVS AQUARUM [VIVENTIUM] from Song of Solomon 4:15.

10 Cedar tree above scroll inscribed QVASI CEDRVS from Ecclesiasticus 24:17.

11 Tree of Jesse above scroll, inscribed VIRGA IESSE based on Isaiah 11:1.

12 Gated wall enclosing garden above scroll, inscribed ORTVS CONCLVSVS from Song of Solomon 4:12.

13 Tower of David above scroll, inscribed TVRRIS DAVID from Song of Solomon 4:4.

14 Heavenly city above scroll, inscribed CIVITAS DEI from Psalm 087:03 (Vulg., 086:03)

Additional emblems include:

15 Olive tree (Liudmila L. Kagane, p. 58)

16 Ladder (some like Liudmila L. Kagane in the monograph on Murillo, p. 58 note it as leading to Solomon's throne while others believe it to be Jacob's ladder)

REFLECTIONS

BETH MADISON

REFLECTION ON GOD'S GRACE

PSALM 73:26 (NIV)

My flesh and my heart may fail, but God is the strength of my heart and my portion forever.

Chronic illness is not what I'd planned. Chronic illness is not the path I would've chosen. Yet chronic illness is the laboratory where I'm learning to be a better wife, mother, daughter, professor, and friend.

Chronic illness occurs in nearly 45% of the U.S. population and causes 7 out of every 10 deaths annually in the U.S. Such conditions include diabetes, heart disease, cancer, and rheumatoid arthritis. These conditions can range in severity from a nuisance to debilitating. Regardless of where someone falls on the severity spectrum, chronic illness is life-changing.

For me, the life changes in the last four years since my diagnosis have led to significant changes in my daily life—using a cane, walker, or wheelchair versus running seven miles a day; teaching online versus all–day field trips in the woods; regimented pills and injections versus the occasional multivitamin; etc.

But the greatest life changes for me have been attitude changes (and, hopefully, these changes are as visible as the cane, walker, and wheelchair):

1. TRUSTING GOD

"Tenacious"; "highly determined"; "fiercely independent"—all of these and more have been used to describe me in the past. I used to regard these statements as great compliments, but now I see them for what they were—trusting myself and my abilities rather than trusting God. Life now requires dependence on God to provide another gram of strength to make it through the next task without complaining or giving in to the pain. Every hour centers on trusting Him that this next task won't be impossible, or if it is, that He will bring someone along to help.

2. ACCEPTING HELP

"Thanks, but I've got it" used to be my catch-phrase because, really, I could do it on my own. Yet "thank you so much for your help" has become so sweet to me every single day because when someone helps me, they give me the gift of caring—be it opening a door, carrying my bag, bringing a meal for my family, running an errand, praying for us, etc. And, more importantly, my accepting of help allows another person to receive the gift of the joy of worshipping God through loving people by serving them.

3. BEING GRATEFUL

"Move along people, we've got a long ways to go" was something I would normally call to students or family when we were out hiking before four years ago. I had my sights set on the end game of getting there, teaching a lesson, and getting home before sunset. But now, my perspective of a day looks very different. I

find delight in the many little things I once overlooked—a view outside my bedroom window of the wind in the trees; sending a note or text to a friend for whom I'm praying; the lyrics of a song on the radio. Meditating and praying a single verse of Scripture has become so very precious and rich—especially the songs of David in the Psalms (as with Psalm 73:26). Yes, much has been lost, but the realization that so much more has been given is a grace which floods my life daily by finding beauty in the small things.

4. GIVING GRACE

"Where do I sign up?" used to be the normal question for me; I was always quick to volunteer for some project or activity. I just couldn't understand why others would refrain from the task at hand, and I judged them for holding back. But now, I see things differently and, hopefully, extend grace for potential invisible illnesses like depression, finances, family issues, past rejection, or abuse. So many of us carry around burdens that are not readily apparent but are so demanding that we cannot stand up under them outside of the grace given to us by others in the love of Christ. Yes, I still am "hard–nosed" on my syllabi at the beginning of the semester, but far more grace is available from me (both to students and colleagues) throughout the term than ever before. And many times, grace is manifested in the giving of my time and energy through calls, visits, emails, or texts, which can be exactly what that person needs to give him the strength to give grace to another.

When I encounter people I don't see every day, they usually ask me, "Are you still teaching?" They seem surprised when I reply "Yes." And with every "yes," I am grateful. Very grateful. I am grateful not just to be a professor but to be a student learning trust, acceptance, gratitude, and grace in the often hard lessons of daily struggles. I surely don't want to miss any lessons by not showing up for class, but I especially don't want to fail the lessons God has for me to learn. He is the patient, faithful teacher who is "the strength of my heart and my portion forever."

REFLECTION ON GOD'S FAITHFULNESS

GENESIS 50:20 (GNT)

You plotted evil against me, but God turned it into good, in order to preserve the lives of many people who are alive today because of what happened.

"You can't do anything right"; "you're not smart enough"; "no one else really cares for you." Female students enter my classroom or office every day with these and other such lies running through their heads and hearts. I can see it in their eyes or in their responses to my questions because "it takes one to know one," and I was one.

I was a victim of a two-and-a-half-year abusive relationship in college.

Even though it's been nearly 30 years since God rescued me from my abuser and "gave me a firm place to stand" (Psalm 40:2, NIV), I can still remember the fear, the shame, and the pain. And that's a good thing, because these memories help me to be a better professor, wife, mother, and friend by reminding me that we are all in desperate need of God for honesty, help, and hope.

I needed the honest realization that every day is a gift for me since 79% of women who try to leave an abusive relationship are killed by their abuser. In reality, it can happen to anyone, including those that we wouldn't consider as vulnerable. According to a United Nations panel expert on human trafficking and abuse, statistics show that 1 in 6 women physicians are in abusive relationships; strong, intelligent, determined women are "prime targets, prime prey" for abusers. No one is truly immune to the devastation of abuse which can wreck lives for generations to follow.

I needed the help that was given to me through the prayers of others who sensed something was wrong even though

I hid the truth from everyone, including close friends and family. Long sleeved shirts weren't just for the cold; they were also for the bruises. Yet the bruises on my heart and mind required more than just time for healing —they required the help of caring people to listen, love, and give sound biblical wisdom to replace the lies I'd believed about myself in the abuse. Even now, the lies still try to regain control, but thankfully, God's truth stands stronger.

The hope that absolutely nothing—including abuse—could ever separate me from God and His love (Romans 8:38–39) was engraved on my heart at that time. God loved me because He chose to love me. I didn't have to earn His love —He gave it. He was faithful to keep giving it even when I didn't feel worthy of anyone's love. And God hasn't stopped in the grace, which allows me to remember this time; he enables me to rejoice in the truth that He does use all things for good for those who love Him in return (Romans 8:28). When they are displayed in the everyday, such grace and truth can have outward radiating circles of influence in many lives—be it a classroom or office or conference room or hallway.

When I am faithful to pray and tell my story, and more importantly, to listen to the stories of my students, I have the privilege of seeing God work. And He does work—such as giving women the courage to leave their abusers, enabling them to confront the lies they've carried from past abuse, and educating (and hopefully protecting) women from potential abusers and their insidious lies. I've seen all of this and more by simply telling truth, listening, and praying. Only God can take evil and make it for my good and then the good of many, including male students who have had their eyes opened to abuse so they can help their sisters and friends in such situations.

We can't forget that abuse is far more common that we might think and that we can help through opening our eyes to our students and praying for them, listening to them, and giving them wise advice. We can be a safe place for our students to find the freedom of Christ in all areas of their lives.

Two professional counselors recommended some helpful online resources we can use to help our students:

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ROUNDTABLE

domesticviolenceroundtable.org

HIDDEN HURT

hiddenhurt.co.uk

LOVE IS RESPECT

loveisrespect.org

T.E.A.R. (TEENS EXPERIENCING ABUSIVE RELATIONSHIPS)

teensagainstabuse.org

THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOTLINE

thehotline.org

WRAP (WOMEN'S RESOURCE & RAPE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM)

wraptn.org

JAMES ROBINSON GRAVES VS. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

A HEATED JOURNALISTIC RIVALRY IN THE ANTEBELLUM SOUTH [1]

JAMES A. PATTERSON

The American frontier in the mid-nineteenth century—which included Tennessee and other sections of the mid-South—was marked by intense religious activity that was manifest in church planting, revivals, and an often aggressive denominational competition. In that setting, colorful and contentious personalities like Alexander Campbell (1788-1866) and James Robinson Graves (1820-1893) staked out disparate doctrinal and ecclesiological positions that they energetically and belligerently defended. In particular, during the 1850s Graves and Campbell took up their literary pens against each other, resulting in a passionate war of words that generated considerable clatter but was not especially edifying. While readers of the antebellum religious press learned something about what differentiated Baptists like Graves and Restorationists like Campbell, the instruction frequently was packaged with bloated rhetoric and journalistic venom. At the same time, Graves and Campbell helped to shape the dynamics of interdenominational discourse between Baptists and the heirs of the Stone-Campbell tradition, some of which endures to this day.

The Graves-Campbell controversy was complicated by the fact that Campbell's Brush Run Church in western Pennsylvania had belonged to the Redstone Baptist Association for about twelve years (1813-1825). During that period Baptist leaders became increasingly concerned about Campbell's teachings that seemed to deviate from accepted Baptist norms. Campbell and his father, Thomas (1763-1854), had repudiated Presbyterianism and embraced believers' baptism by immersion, steps that initially made them welcome in Baptist circles.

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1 Much of the material for this article has been adapted from James A. Patterson, *James Robinson Graves: Setting the Boundaries of Baptist Identity* (Nashville: B & H Academic, 2012), chapters 1 and 3, and is used with permission of the publisher (1 LifeWay Plaza, Nashville, TN 37234). The consent of Editor Jim Baird to draw portions from my book is gratefully acknowledged. In addition, this article is appearing in the Fall 2016 issue of *Tennessee Baptist History*. Editor Jim Taulman kindly agreed that the essay could also be published in *JUFF*.

Moreover, the Campbells came to affirm the autonomy of local churches, which also resonated well with Baptists. On the other hand, these Scotch-Irish immigrants promulgated suspect ideas about the work of the Holy Spirit and the meaning of baptism; they also employed a biblicist or highly literal interpretation of Scripture that rejected confessional statements, mission agencies, and the use of musical instruments in worship. The promotion of such beliefs naturally set off alarms among the Baptists who heard them. Furthermore, Alexander Campbell's pronounced Arminianism seemed out of step with most Baptists in America in the early nineteenth century (except for the relatively small number of Free Will Baptists).[2]

When Alexander Campbell fell out of fellowship with the Baptists, J. R. Graves was a young boy living in New England, where he was religiously nurtured in the Congregationalism that dominated the region. Just two years after Campbell and Barton Stone (1772-1844) organized the "nondenominational" Disciples/Christian movement, Graves was baptized and received into the membership of the North Springfield Baptist Church in Vermont (1834). While Graves was palpably exposed to the remnants of the Separate Baptist tradition that had been birthed in New England almost a century earlier, there is no evidence to suggest that he had even heard of Campbell and the Restorationists until 1841 when—after a short sojourn in Ohio—he landed in Kentucky.[3]

GRAVES AND THE CAMPBELL MOVEMENT IN THE BLUEGRASS STATE

Although J. R. Graves's primary vocation in Kentucky was schoolteacher, he was nevertheless licensed and ordained in 1842 by the Mount Freedom Baptist Church in rural Jessamine County, Kentucky, where he preached occasionally, but did not serve as pastor. For more than a decade, the

2 For a succinct overview of the Baptist conflict with the Campbells, see James Leo Garrett Jr., *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2009), 249-57. For a more detailed discussion, see Austin Bennett Amonette, "Alexander Campbell among the Baptists: An Examination of the Beginning, Ambiguity, and Deterioration of Their Relationship, 1812-1830" (Ph.D. diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 2002). On the younger Campbell, particularly as a controversialist, see Richard J. Cherok, *Debating for God: Alexander Campbell's Challenge to Skepticism in Antebellum America* (Abilene, Tex.: Abilene Christian University Press, 2008); and Peter A. Verkruyse, *Prophet, Pastor, and Patriarch: The Rhetorical Leadership of Alexander Campbell* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005).

3 For biographical information on Graves's youth and early adulthood, see Patterson, *James Robinson Graves*, 7-21. Graves returned to Ohio in 1843 for another brief period.

Campbell movement had grown significantly in Kentucky, sometimes at the expense of the Baptists; in fact, a sizable number of Baptist congregations had become "Reformed" or Restorationist since the late 1820s. Indeed, at its founding in 1832 the Mount Freedom church sounded off about the dangers of Campbellism: "Owing to many strange doctrines lately propagated among the Baptist denomination, and in order that society and the world may know our opinion, we do solemnly protest against the doctrines of the Rev. Alexander Campbell and all its adherents." In 1838 the same congregation found it necessary both to protect the Lord's Supper from and not accept the previous baptisms of any who were "not of the same faith and order with us."[4]

In addition, some of Graves's mentors in Kentucky were known for the rhetorical barbs that they aimed at Campbell and his followers. R. T. Dillard, who pastored a neighboring church, evidently emboldened the budding preacher to stand firm against Campbell's doctrines, at least according to Graves's son-in-law and biographer O. L. Hailey.[5] John L. Waller, whose father pastored the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Jessamine County during the time that Graves lived there, exercised a more verifiable impact. Waller, who gained his reputation as an editor of Kentucky Baptist periodicals, first met Graves in 1841. The young schoolmaster was well aware of Waller's published broadsides against Campbell and his supporters.[6]

Despite the polemical opposition to Campbellism among Baptist leaders in Kentucky and Graves's own subsequent writings against the movement, during his time in Nashville he faced allegations that he once professed sympathy for it. In the context of a dispute with some Southern Baptists

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4 S. J. Conkwright, *History of the Churches of Boone's Creek Baptist Association of Kentucky with a Brief History of the Association* (Winchester, Ky.: Boone's Creek Baptist Association, 1923), accessed June 2, 2008, http://www.geocities.com/baptist_documents/KYjessamine.mt.freedom.bc.html. On the disruptive effects of Restorationism on Baptist life in Kentucky, see H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 377.

5 O. L. Hailey, *J. R. Graves: Life, Times and Teachings* (Nashville: by the author, 1929), 18 and 21.

6 See J. R. Graves, "Reaction of Injury," *Tennessee Baptist*, July 10, 1858, [2]; Graves, ed., *The Little Iron Wheel: A Declaration of Christian Rights and Articles, Showing the Despotism of Episcopal Methodism* (Nashville: South-Western Publishing House; Graves, Marks and Company, 1856), 258; and A. H. Lanier Jr., "The Relationship of the Ecclesiology of John Lightfoot Waller to Early Landmarkism" (Th.M. thesis, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1963), 12-37.

in 1858, his opponents produced a letter from W. G. Cogar of Jessamine County that called Graves "a wild, thoughtless man" who once plotted to turn the Mount Freedom church into a "reform" or Campbellite congregation. Cogar apparently surmised all this from comments Graves made while boarding in Cogar's home for about eighteen months in the early 1840s. In response to these allegations, Graves published excerpts from a letter that Cogar wrote to him in which the former landlord testified that his lodger was "a gentleman of good moral character" and that he said nothing that would indicate a desire to convert Mount Freedom Baptist Church to Campbellism.[7] It is not clear why Cogar wrote two very different letters in a span of less than two weeks; indeed, the vindication of Graves in the second letter does not explain the serious charges that were leveled in the first one. Cogar might have had a faulty memory of events from several years prior, or perhaps one of the letters was a fake. At any rate, this later controversy fittingly revealed the extent to which worries about Campbellism gripped the minds of many Baptists on the Kentucky frontier during the time of Graves's residence there.

THE GRAVES-CAMPBELL DISPUTE DURING THE 1850s

In 1845 the newlywed J. R. Graves moved to Nashville, Tennessee, where he would spend almost seventeen years as an educator, preacher, editor, publisher, and primary founder of a new Baptist movement known as Landmarkism. The Landmark patriarch forcefully rejected baptisms performed by non-Baptists, spurned pulpit exchanges between Baptists and preachers of other denominations, restricted the Lord's Supper either to immersed Baptists or the members of the local congregation, repudiated the concept of the universal church, and embraced a successionist version of Baptist history. The reputation that he acquired as a religious controversialist between 1845 and 1862 prevailed for years in the minds of both his friends and enemies.

7 Graves, "Reaction of Injury," [2]. Both the Cogar epistle to Graves's foes (June 18, 1858) and the one to Graves (June 30, 1858) were cited in this *Tennessee Baptist* article. According to this piece, Editor Samuel Henderson of the *South Western Baptist* initially made the first Cogar letter public. Graves felt compelled to bring up the Cogar correspondence again in "The Charges of *South Western Baptist* Met by Mr. Henderson's Own Witnesses," *Tennessee Baptist,* September 4, 1858, [4].

Moreover, the ways in which he is remembered today have been largely molded by what he did, said, and wrote in the Tennessee capital.[8]

For Graves, the Nashville setting helped to crystallize what he brought to the city from prior experiences in Vermont and Kentucky. In the context of denominational pluralism, the Baptists of Nashville were an embattled species. Methodists, Presbyterians, and the followers of Alexander Campbell all seemed stronger and posed a threat to the still fragile Baptist identity. His roots in the Separate Baptist tradition suggested an ecclesiological path—Landmarkism—that might strengthen the Baptist cause and delineate its fundamental distinctives. In addition, Baptist clashes with Campbellites for control of local churches, which Graves undoubtedly heard about when he arrived in Nashville, surely reinforced the antagonism toward the Disciples movement that he had begun to cultivate in Kentucky. At the same time, his militant opposition to the followers of Campbell was no more pronounced than his antipathy toward Methodists, Roman Catholics, or Presbyterians. In fact, Graves's book, *Trilemma: All Human Churches without Baptism, or Death by Three Horns,* targeted both Pedobaptists and those who practiced believers' baptism but viewed it sacramentally. This contentious volume included a short section toward the end in which the Landmark patriarch aimed a volley of abbreviated remonstrations against Alexander Campbell and his supporters, even though they had not directly separated from papal Rome like the Presbyterians and/or did not practice infant baptism (like virtually all of Graves's other opponents).

The *Tennessee Baptist* editor's disapproval of Campbell and his "Christian Church" in *Trilemma* seemed to be connected mainly to the unhappy history of Baptist-Campbellite relations since the early nineteenth century. First, he asserted that Campbell himself was not scripturally baptized. Since a Baptist preacher, Matthias Luce, had administered immersion to Campbell in 1812, Graves must have been implying that the subject (i.e., Campbell) truly lacked biblical faith; indeed, Campbell later appeared to teach that regeneration by the Holy Spirit did not come prior to baptism. Second, Graves tagged the Restorationists as schismatics, likely due to his direct knowledge of Baptist churches that had been split by controversies over Campbellism in both Kentucky and Tennessee.[9] Nonetheless,

8 Patterson, *James Robinson Graves*, chapters 2, 3, and 6.

9 Graves, *Trilemma: All Human Churches without Baptism, or Death by Three Horns*, 2nd ed. (Memphis: Graves, Mahaffy & Co., 1881; repr., Memphis: J. R. Graves & Son, 1890), 190-97. The original edition was published in 1860 (Nashville: Graves, Marks, & Co.), but did not include Part II; thus the pages cited were written well after Graves left Nashville. On Campbell's baptism by Luce, see McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage*, 378.

the material in *Trilemma* represented only a small taste of the fervor that marked his unwavering campaign against this group. To the theologically untrained observer, Baptists looked like they shared some basic beliefs and practices with Campbellites. Nevertheless, Graves sought intently to disabuse his public audiences of reading too much into any superficial similarities.

While it would be a blatant exaggeration to posit that Landmarkism originated primarily as a reaction to Campbell's "reformation," the biographical, geographical, and ecclesiastical realities of Graves's career in the 1840s and 1850s ensured that Campbellism would receive a substantial share of attention when the pugnacious journalist sought to draw distinctions between Baptists and other denominations. Other than perhaps his battles with Methodists—who had outpaced Baptists in Nashville by the time that Graves arrived in 1845—his sense of urgency in religious warfare with Campbellites was unsurpassed. In presuming what Graves and fellow Landmarkers may have recognized in the middle of the nineteenth century, theologian Jeffrey Mask suggests that the Restorationist movement "seriously threatened not only Baptist identity, but Baptist survival in the South."[10] Although the manifest confidence that Graves normally displayed in polemical contexts may raise questions about Mask's analysis, the founder of Landmarkism knew that he faced a formidable foe. After all, Campbell's movement already had depleted Baptist ranks in some places very close to home. In addition, Graves's dispute with onetime ally John L. Waller in 1848 had largely centered on whether Campbellite immersions were valid.[11] Moreover—as noted above—about a decade after his argument with Waller, Graves found himself fending off charges that he had once dabbled with the

10 E. Jeffrey Mask, *A Liberty under God: Toward a Baptist Ecclesiology* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1997), 14. For an example of overplaying the Campbellite factor in explaining the rise of the Landmark movement, see the comments of Alan Lefever, director of the Texas Baptist Historical Collection, in Ken Camp, "Historians Debate Reasons for the Rise of Landmarkism in the 19th Century," *Baptist Standard,* January 12, 2009, 11. Lefever bluntly stated that "Landmarkism was a reaction to the Campbellite movement. . . . If Alexander Campbell had never come along, we'd never have had Landmarkism. There never would have been a need." Lefever appears to be reducing denominational rivalry on the frontier to Baptists versus Campbellites, ignoring the fact that Graves had much to say about other competing denominations. Cf. Joe Early Jr., "The Cotton Grove Resolutions," *Tennessee Baptist History* 7 (Fall 2005): 45, where he ranked Campbellites lower than Methodists and other Pedobaptists on Graves's list of enemies.

11 See Patterson, *James Robinson Graves*, 45-49.

suspect movement's ideas as a young man in Kentucky. Finally, he forged his unique understanding of Baptist distinctiveness and superiority in part by showing how far removed his denomination was in doctrine and practice from Campbellism.

In point of fact, Graves and Campbell agreed on very little except baptism by immersion, local church autonomy, and an emphasis on local churches having the primary responsibility for doing missions.[12] Furthermore, Graves did not push aggressively on the latter issue until the late 1850s. He also usually refrained from attacks on denominational agencies beyond the local church that were engaged in specialized ministries; for example, he supported associations and mission societies that worked with Native Americans.[13] Campbell, on the other hand, opposed whatever he could not find warrant for in the New Testament, which caused him to be linked—at least in the earlier phase of his career—to the "anti-mission" movement. For his part, Graves was more interested in protecting local church independence than in advancing the negative scripture principle (i.e., if it's not in the Bible, don't do it).

Despite the notable discontinuities between the thinking of Graves and Campbell, Christian church researcher Gregory Holt contends that Campbell palpably influenced Graves's ideas about restoring the primitive church of the first century and his editorial style.[14] Unfortunately, Holt's evidence is relatively scanty, including the curious Cogar letter concerning the Landmarker's alleged sympathy for Campbellism. Nevertheless, Holt cited the letter as attestation that "Graves owed a debt to the Restoration Movement for providing a framework for his own brand of restitutionism."[15] Furthermore, Holt seems confused about

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12 Cf. Douglas Weaver's remark in Camp, "Historians Debate Reasons for the Rise of Landmarkism," 11, where the Baylor historian called the Baptist-Church of Christ clash a "sibling rivalry," adding that "when someone is so much like you and you have so much in common, you tend to accentuate the differences." Weaver seems to understate some significant theological differences that Graves was quick to broach.

13 For example, see Graves, "Appeal for Indian Missions. No. II," *Baptist*, September 6, 1845, 39-40. The newspaper was later renamed the *Tennessee Baptist*.

14 Gregory S. Holt, "The Influence of Alexander Campbell on the Life and Work of J. R. Graves, the Founder of the Landmark Baptist Movement" (M.Div. thesis, Emmanuel School of Religion), 3 and 21.

15 Ibid., 21-23. Holt excerpted the Cogar letter from H. Leon McBeth, ed., *A Sourcebook for Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1990), 317, which omits the second Cogar letter that somewhat qualifies the first one.

the precise impact of the Separate Baptist tradition on Graves, as well as the possible Baptist sources for the Landmark patriarch's successionist view of Baptist history. Finally, his discussion of how Campbell's journalistic style affected Graves ignores the historical context. Many denominational editors in the mid-nineteenth century generously employed ridicule and biting sarcasm in their writing, especially when they quarreled with each other.[16] While Graves surely refined some of his ideas in reaction to Campbell and perhaps sought to exploit some of the Restorationist leader's positions for his own purposes, Holt ultimately failed to make a convincing case that the two editors had a student-master relationship.

Although Graves sparred with lesser figures in the Restorationist movement in the early 1850s, the most heated exchanges that he had with Campbell occurred from 1854 to 1858. This timing—along with his early volleys against the Methodists and other Pedobaptists—challenges Holt's notion that Campbellism was Graves's first targeted adversary.[17] The Graves-Campbell feud played out chiefly in their respective newspapers. Graves provided an additional forum for Campbell by reprinting some of the latter's columns from the *Millennial Harbinger* in the *Tennessee Baptist,* as well as in a published collection of relevant materials.[18] As the journalistic debate unfolded, it became quite obvious that the two editors did not care much for each other as gentlemen or theologians.

One of the more frivolous disputes that flared up between Graves and Campbell was whether the two men had personally met each other, with the former taking the affirmative and the latter denying it.[19] At that stage of his career, the Restorationist preacher was based in Bethany, Virginia—later to become West Virginia—yet he itinerated widely in surrounding states, including Tennessee. On one occasion, in fact, Graves exuberantly described an "unsuccessful" visit that Campbell had made to Nashville in

16 Holt, "The Influence of Alexander Campbell," 23-35 and 36-38.

17 Ibid., 40.

18 See Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed: A Series of Replies (to A. Campbell's Articles in the Millennial Harbinger)* (Nashville: Graves & Marks, 1855). In 1854 Campbell made an offer: "I challenge Mr. Graves to give me a hearing in his paper. I will give him line for line, and word for word in my pages." See Campbell, "A. Campbell's May 'Notice' of J. R. Graves. Number Three," *Tennessee Baptist*, June 10, 1854, [2]. Graves took him up on this.

19 Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed,* 3, 14, and 26.

1854: "Mr. C. has returned to Bethany convinced of the truth of our assertions, that his pseudo reformation is defunct in the South-West. It is the corruption of Christianity, the most specious form of infidelity of this age."[20] Graves's statement comes across as self-serving; it also falls short of establishing that the two combatants had opportunity to meet in that context since Graves had just returned to the Tennessee capital after a five-month absence. It may be that Graves had encountered Campbell in some other setting and that Campbell had simply forgotten about it.

Graves's invocation of unflattering language such as "infidelity" in reference to Campbell's ideology testified to the prominent place of colorful invective in their literary dispute. In various instances the Baptist editor spoke of his rival's lack of orthodoxy, feeble argumentation, "mad articles," labors "with the high priests of Antichrist," and "sophistical" reasoning that resulted in "inextricable contradictions and absurdities."[21] Campbell was fully capable of responding in kind, and on more than one occasion accused Graves of spewing venom, falsehood, and slander; he likewise leveled ad hominem attacks at his antagonist by characterizing him as "a distinguished braggart" and "an ecclesiastical knight errant."[22] In what might have been Campbell's most vicious attack on his Baptist counterpart, he essentially portrayed Graves as a vain and ineffective windbag: "In gasconade and blustering pretence this gentleman has few superiors; in political and guileful trickery, he has fewer equals; in sound relevant and candid argument, he has rarely an inferior. . . . The boastful and swaggering style of his exordium may have created some high expectations."[23] As readers scrambled for their copies of Webster's, they must have wondered what had happened to substantive dialogue based on real issues.

Despite the caustic rhetoric, the debate revealed Graves's abiding concern that Campbell professed dangerous

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20 Graves, "Homeward Bound and Homeward Found," *Tennessee Baptist*, February 10, 1855, [2].

21 See respectively Graves, "Mr. Campbell and Orthodoxy," *Tennessee Baptist*, April 8, 1854, [2]; Graves, "Reply to Mr. A. Campbell's May Notice, Number Three," and Graves, "Elder J. M. Hurt," *Tennessee Baptist*, June 10, 1854 [2]; Graves, "To Alexander Campbell. No. 4," *Tennessee Baptist*, July 15, 1854, [2]; and Graves, "Letter to Alexander Campbell—No. 7," *Tennessee Baptist*, September 9, 1854, [2].

22 Campbell, "A. Campbell's May 'Notice' of J. R. Graves," [2]; and Campbell in Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed*, 3-4.

23 Campbell, "Mr. Graves' Silence," *Tennessee Baptist*, March 17, 1855, [2]. This was reprinted from the *Millennial Harbinger*.

theological beliefs regarding repentance, faith, and salvation. For Graves, Campbell's deviations from biblical soteriology were far more acute than the personal side of their conflict. The Landmark editor did not hesitate to draw some doctrinal boundaries:

> We regard Campbellism as the most pernicious and deadly heresy ever propagated under the name of christianity [*sic*]. All its fiery darts are hurled against the faith of the gospel—its dagger is driven towards the very vitals of the Christian Religion. The proper agency of the Holy Spirit in regeneration is denied—the spirituality of religion assailed and made a mock of, and the ungodly sinner without repentance produced by godly sorrow—and without a prayer for the mercy of an offended God, is hurried to the water to seek a new birth, a cleansing by the blood of Christ and regeneration unto life in its embrace.[24]

Here Graves alluded to the commonly held notion among Baptists that Campbell's "reformation" essentially taught baptismal regeneration wherein immersion in water was viewed as a saving act that did not require deep conviction of sin or repentance, only a verbal profession of Jesus as the Christ. In his characteristic style, Graves groused that the Restorationist leader "makes the water of a brook or pond as essential as the death and blood of Christ."[25] All of these considerations, of course, stood behind his stern counsel that Baptist churches not accept the validity of Restorationist immersions.

For his part, Campbell took offense at how Graves depicted his theology of baptism. Indeed, he outright denied that he taught regeneration through the baptismal waters. He emphasized that baptism was for the remission of sins (Acts 2:38) and then suggested his version of the *ordo salutis*: "The original cause is *grace*. The meritorious cause is *blood*. The instrumental causes are *faith, repentance, baptism*, all expressed in the last act."[26] Nevertheless, Campbell's apologetic still seemed to minimize the role of the Holy

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24 Graves, "Mr. Campbell's Last Article for 1854," *Tennessee Baptist*, March 17, 1855, [2].

25 Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed,* 144-45. For a later, more systematic treatment of the issue, see Graves, *The Relation of Baptism to Salvation* (Memphis: Baptist Book House, 1881).

26 Campbell in Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed*, 9. Cf. pp. 188-91, where he called baptism "the consummating act of a preached and received gospel" and explicitly rejected baptismal regeneration.

Spirit before baptism. Graves correctly sensed that his editorial foe understood baptism as necessary for salvation, thus undercutting the gospel of redemption rooted in the finished work of Christ's death and resurrection. As Baptist theologian and historian Timothy George has discerned, nineteenth-century Baptists "rejected Campbell's watered-down doctrine of the Holy Spirit and his reductionist understanding of conversion."[27] In the final analysis, Baptists and Restorationists both disallowed infant baptism and practiced immersion; however, their soteriological doctrines—as well as their concepts of the nature and meaning of baptism—were widely divergent.

The intimation of baptismal regeneration in Restorationist theology also provided Graves with an opening for connecting the Campbellite movement to Roman Catholicism, even though it appeared to be a more difficult task than he faced with Pedobaptists. The new "reformation," in fact, did not really identify with the sixteenth-century Reformation, so Graves could not argue that the rise of Campbellism in the nineteenth century involved a break with Rome. Nonetheless, Graves inferred that by its embrace of baptismal regeneration, Restorationism "hopelessly delivers man into the hands of priests, to all intents and purposes, as rigorously does iron handed Popery."[28] Graves presupposed that an allegedly sacramental view of baptism required a priesthood, just as in Catholicism. Since Campbellite congregations set up structures similar to those in Baptist churches—and conveyed nothing close to a priestly or authoritarian conception of the ministry—Graves's effort to trace Campbell and his followers to Rome was certainly the weakest aspect of his campaign against them.

In the midst of their controversies, Campbell erred in assuming that Graves was a lone wolf who did not speak for most Baptists in the mid-nineteenth century.[29] At the same time, Baptists of many stripes agreed with most of Graves's criticisms of Campbell's movement. For example, in 1854 the Baptist General Association of Middle Tennessee and North Alabama passed a resolution vindicating the *Tennessee Baptist* editor and condemning the "current reformation" for "gross heresy"

27 Timothy George, "Southern Baptist Ghosts," *First Things*, May 1999, 20.

28 Graves, "To Alexander Campbell. No. 4," [2].

29 See Campbell in Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed,* 140.

on matters like baptism. Moreover, the association commended Graves as "an able and valiant defender and advocate of the faith of the gospel, and faithfully devoted to the interest of the Baptist denomination."[30] While it should be noted that this association had shown a marked sympathy for Landmarkism, non-Landmark Baptists also chimed in strongly against Campbellism. For instance, J. B. Jeter of Richmond, Virginia, wholly endorsed the *Tennessee Baptist* articles on Campbell.[31] In his jousting with Graves, Campbell seriously underestimated the depth of animosity that Southern Baptists felt toward his movement. Campbell's critics did not necessarily imitate Graves's often abrasive tactics, but they sensed that they were fighting the same war.

CONCLUSION

J. R. Graves clearly assigned a high grade to his crusade against Campbellism, immodestly calling it "the most laudable labor of our editorial career."[32] He evidently felt that he had stood his ground against the older journalist; indeed, his columns in the *Tennessee Baptist* communicated a degree of cockiness that he had Campbell on the ropes. The baptismal issue seemed to loom the largest in his anti-Campbellite polemic because it related both to basic questions of the gospel's meaning and to his Landmarkist principles.

Graves and Campbell shared certain things in common, including roots in Pedobaptist traditions, journalistic careers, ministries in a frontier context, oratorical skills, and similar communication strategies and styles. Both of them also forcefully defended believers' baptism by immersion and local church independence. Since Campbell's theology of baptism, however, clashed with historic Baptist beliefs, Graves sensed an urgency to mark the proper boundaries for his Baptist denomination, even if this meant an intense struggle with another boundary setter who moved in a markedly different direction.

30 Hailey, *J. R. Graves*, 29-30. Cf. Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed*, 128ff.

31 See Graves, *Campbell and Campbellism Exposed*, 214-16. See also J. B. Jeter, *Campbellism Examined* (New York: Sheldon, Lamport, & Blakeman, 1855).

32 Graves, "Mr. Campbell's Last Article for 1854," [2].

THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF HONORING SHAKESPEARE:

IN HONOR OF THE QUADRICENTENARY OF SHAKESPEARE'S DEATH

JIMMY H. DAVIS

The year of our Lord 2016 is the 400th anniversary of the death of William Shakespeare, who died on 23 April 1616. Burial records state that "Will Shakspeare gent" was interned at Church of the Holy Trinity, Stratford-upon-Avon on 25 April 1616. His epitaph carved into the grave's stone slab reads (modern translation):

> Good friend, for Jesus' sake forebear
> To dig the dust enclosed here
> Blessed be the man that spares these stones
> And cursed be he that moves my bones.[1]

In 2016, Shakespeare is being celebrated worldwide. For example, the Shakespeare's England 2016 organization involved visits to his birthplace, home, grave, and performances of his plays by the Royal Shakespeare Company.[2] The world did not wait until the 200th anniversary to begin honoring Shakespeare; within two years, a memorial had been erected at his gravesite.[3]

One worldwide way of honoring the bard is the Shakespeare Garden, which cultivates plants mentioned in Shakespeare's works.[4] The garden usually contains a bust of Shakespeare and signs near the plants that provide reference to the bard's works.

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1 Samuel Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* [Revised Ed.], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 306-07

2 Ibid. 306.

3 "Shakespeare 2016." *Shakespeare's England*. http://shakespeares-england.co.uk/shakespeare-2016

4 "Growing William Shakespeare's Garden." *Backyard Gardening Blog*, Oct. 16, 2014, http://www.gardeningblog.net/2014/10/16/growing-william-shakespeares-garden/.

Since Shakespeare's writings contain many references to horticulture, he probably was an expert gardener.[5] Some examples of Shakespeare's horticultural references include:

> Mine eyes smell Onions, I shall weep anon:
> Good Tom Drum, lend me a handkercher.
> *All's Well that Ends Well*, V(3) 365 [6]

> Not Poppy or Mandragora
> Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world
> Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep
> Which thou ownedst yesterday
> *Othello,* III, (3) 379[7]

> There's rosemary, that's for remembrance. Pray you, love, Remember. And there is pansies, that's for thoughts.
> *Hamlet* IV(5) 199[8]

> When I have plucked the Rose,
> I cannot give it vital growth again,
> It needs must wither. I'll smell it on the tree.
> *Othello*, V(2) 13

> Come my spade. There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners, ditches, and grave-makers; they
> Hold up Adam's profession.
> *Hamlet,* V(1) 30

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the British had a renewed interest in flower gardening, which resulted in

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5 "Lecture 37. Horticulture and Literature: Shakespeare." www.hort.purdue.edu/newcrop/Hort.306/text /lec37.pdf.

6 Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, Rebecca Niles, eds., *All's Well that Ends Well.* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.), accessed July 13, 2016, www.folgerdigitaltexts.org.

7 Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, Rebecca Niles, eds., *Othello*. (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.), accessed July 13, 2016, www.folgerdigitaltexts.org.

8 Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, Rebecca Niles, eds., *Hamlet*. (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.), accessed July 13, 2016, www.folgerdigitaltexts.org.

a desire to include the plants mentioned in Shakespeare's works in one's garden. An example is Paul Jerrad's *Flowers from Stratford-on-Avon,* which attempted to identify all Shakespeare's floral references. During the tricentennial anniversary year of 1916, Evanston, Illinois planted America's first Shakespeare Garden; New York City added one in Central Park the same year. Both gardens included a graft from a mulberry tree planted by Shakespeare in 1602 at his retirement home in New Place, Stratford.[9]

A major Shakespeare Garden was constructed at New Place in the 1920s. The design was based on a woodcut in Thomas Hill's *The Gardener's Labyrinth* (London, 1586). It is speculated that this was "a book Shakespeare must certainly have consulted when laying out his own garden."[10] When the Queen's Garden behind Kew Palace was laid out in 1969, this Hill woodcut was used.

Shakespeare Gardens are found in most of the United States as well as many countries, such as South Africa, Austria, and Germany. In Tennessee, both the University of the South and University of Tennessee at Chattanooga have Shakespeare Gardens.[11]

What are the implications of transplanting English plants to other countries? When plants are transported from one country to another, or between ecosystems within a country, the issue of non-native and/or invasive species arises. Non-native species are any "species that occurs outside its native range as a result of deliberate or accidental introduction by humans. Non-native species compete with native species for habitat and food and often take over specialized ecosystems that rare plants need to survive."[12] Invasive species are "non-native (or alien) to an ecosystem ... and whose introduction causes or is likely to cause economic harm or harm to human

9 Sadie Stein, "The Shakespeare Garden," *The Paris Review*, May 17, 2016, http://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2016/05/17/the-shakespeare-garden/.

10 Brent Elliott, "Historical Revivalism in the Twentieth Century: A Brief Introduction," *Garden History* 28.1 (Summer 2000): 17-31.

11 Leslie Lytle, *The Sewanee Mountain Messenger*. http://www.sewaneemessenger.com/resources/2015/3-27-15.pdf. Also referenced, "Shakespeare Garden Information." *University of Tennessee at Chattanooga*, http://www.utc.edu/about/buildings/shakespeare-garden.php.

12 "Non-native Species," *National Parks Service*, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/nature/non-native species.htm

life."[13] Many cultivated garden plants are non-native but not invasive.

As cited above, Shakespeare's horticultural references are found in our flower, herb, and vegetable gardens. The onion probably originated 5000 years ago in Central Asia; the Pilgrims brought onion with them on the Mayflower and found wild onion already growing in North America.[14] Cultivated roses are from China and today some 150 species are found in the Northern Hemisphere.[15] The poppy can be traced to ancient Mesopotamia.[16] Rosemary is mentioned as a medicinal herb by the Ancient Greek and Romans and today is found in most herb gardens.[17] Pansies originated in France sometime after 4th Century BC; their ancestor, the viola, can be traced to 4th Century BC Greece.[18] Finally, one should not leave out the iris, Tennessee's state flower. The history of the iris can be traced to Ancient Greece; today there are over 200 varieties of iris worldwide.[19]

As the above list reveals, most of our favorite flowers, vegetables, and herbs are non-native; planting a Shakespeare Garden does not impact the environment that much. These species are usually not invasive as they have been cultivated so much that they can barely survive without human help. Although Shakespeare Gardens do not harm natural environments, they can encourage mindless introduction of non-native species. This mentality has damaged countless ecosystems; as any Southerner knows not all non-native plants are benign. Kudzu was introduced into United States at the 1876 World's Fair. By the 1930s, Kudzu was promoted for erosion control. By growing a foot a day during summer, Kudzu not only controlled erosion, it almost swallowed

13 "What is an Invasive Species?" *National Invasive Species Information Center,* May 24, 2016, https://www.invasivespeciesinfo.gov/index.shtml.

14 "History of Onions." *The National Onion Association,* https://www.onions-usa.org/all-about-onions/history-of-onions.

15 "Our Rose Garden: The History of Roses," *University of Illinois Extension*, http://extension.illinois.edu/roses/history.cfm.

16 "Cannabis, Coca, & Poppy: Nature's Addictive Plants," *Drug Enforcement Administration*, https://www.deamuseum.org/ccp/opium/history.html.

17 "Rosemary," *Our Herb Garden*, http://www.ourherbgarden.com/herb-history/rosemary.html.

18 "Aggie Horticulture," T*exas A&M AgriLife Extension*, http://aggie-horticulture.tamu.edu/archives/parsons/flowers/pansies.html.

19 "History and Meaning of the Iris," *ProFlowers,* http://www.proflowers.com/blog/history-and-meaning-of-iris.

the South[20]. Similarly, Johnson Grass originated from the Mediterranean region and was introduced into the United States as forage. Not only is Johnson Grass poisonous during certain times of its growth cycle, it is a truly invasive species that is very difficult to remove.[21]

Another approach to honoring Shakespeare was to introduce European fauna, especially birds. European colonists missed their native species and introduced them wherever they went. Additionally, in the nineteenth century, it was popular for national societies to introduce foreign animals into one's country in the hope of providing new food sources. Two such societies were the French Societe Zoologique d'acclimation (1854) and the American Acclimation Society (1871). The New York pharmacist Eugene Schieffelin became chairman of the American society in 1877. He was an admirer of Shakespeare and resolved to introduce every bird mentioned in the Bard's writings. Some sixty species of birds are mentioned in Shakespeare's writings, including coughs, wrens, owls, nightingales, larks, and starlings.[22] The society's most successful introduction was the European starling, which is mentioned only once in Shakespeare's plays. When King Henry refuses to ransom his imprisoned brother in law, Mortimer, Hotspur states:

> Nay, I'll have a starling shall be taught to speak
>
> Nothing but "Mortimer," and give it him
>
> To keep his anger still in motion.
>
> *Henry* IV, Part 1, I(3) 232. [23]

The European starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*), native to Eurasia, has glossy black plumage with green and purple iridescence. They are a short-tailed, chunky bird about 19-22 cm long.

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20 Max Shores. "The Amazing Story of Kudzu," *Max Shores*, May 29, 2014, http://maxshores.com/the-amazing-story-of-kudzu/.

21 William S. Curran, Dwight D. Lingenfelter, "Johnsongrass and Shattercane Control: an Integrated Approach," *Penn State Extension*, http://extension.psu.edu/pests/weeds/weed-id/johnsongrass.

22 Jane O'Brien, "The Birds of Shakespeare Cause US Trouble," April 24, 2014, www.bbc.com/news/magazine-27055030.

23 Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, Rebecca Niles, eds., *Henry IV*, (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.), www.folgerdigitaltexts.org.

Their song is "a series of discordant, musical, squeaky, and rasping notes..."[24] Starlings are great vocal mimics of other birdcalls and can be taught to mimic human speech. Their habitat includes urban to rural, forest to open fields. A flock of starlings, or murmuration, can number into the millions.

The American Acclimation Society released 100 starlings into Central Park from 1890 to 1891. By the late 1940s, starlings had covered nearly all of U.S. and Canada. Today it is estimated that there are 200 million starlings in North America with all being descendants of the original 100 birds.[25]

The European starling is not protected by the Migratory Bird Treat Act and is considered a non-native, invasive species.[26] On a positive note, the starling's large numbers do control harmful pests, such as clover beetles, cutworms, Japanese beetles, and grasshoppers. On a negative note, the starling's large numbers can be an agricultural pest wiping out fruit crops and cleaning out grain fields. They are very aggressive with other cavity breeders, such as woodpeckers, bluebirds, and finches. The starlings push these birds out of their nests, destroying eggs and hatchlings. The roosting murmurations produce a lot of bird droppings, which harbor the fungus that causes the disease Histoplasmosis, an infection caused by breathing in spores of a fungus often found in bird and bat droppings.[27]

The unintended consequences of the action of the American Acclimation Society do not stop with the above list. In 1960, a murmuration of around 160,000 birds was nesting near Boston's Tobin Bridge, which is near Logan Airport. On October 4, 1960, near sunset, a Lockheed L-188 Electra took off from Boston's Logan Airport bound for Philadelphia. The noise of the plane caused the starlings to take flight. Between 10,000 and 20,000 starlings collided with the plane knocking out three of its four engines. The collision happened so quickly that the pilots did not have time to send out a distress signal as the plane plunged into Winthrop

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24 Alison Sheehey, "European Starling." *Nature Ali*, http://www.natureali.org/bird_articles/european_starling.htm.

25 "European Starling," *Chipper Woods Bird Observatory*, http://www.wbu.com/chipperwoods/photos/estarling.htm.

26 "All About Starlings," *Sialis.org,* http://www.sialis.org/starlingbio.html.

27 Sarah Zielinski, "The Invasive Species We Can Blame On Shakespeare," http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/the-invasive-species-we-can-blame-on-shakespeare-95506437/?no-ist.

Harbor. The death toll of 62 would have been much larger had not local residents sprang into action. They waded into the thick mud and found passengers trapped underwater by their seat belts.[28] The locals, forming a human chain, rescued the survivors. Today airports have active damage prevention measures to prevent bird strikes on aircraft. [29]

Today, it is hard to imagine that an organization, such as the American Acclimation Society, would implement the introduction of its favorite author's plants and animals into another country. The mindset of the citizens of the nineteenth century was indeed very different from that of today. No matter where they lived, many citizens of the nineteenth century wanted to surround themselves with the flora and fauna of their mother country or of their favorite author. The esthetic of today places a greater value on the flora and fauna of the local environment. Our twenty-twenty hindsight reveals the cost of introducing alien plants and animals. Though it is fitting to honor Shakespeare, maybe it is best to avoid the introduction of flora and fauna and stick with festivals. Whatever our actions, may they not disturb our environment as well as the Bard's bones.

28 Sean Braswell, "The Aviation Disaster Sparked by Shakespeare," http://www.ozy.com/flashback/the-aviation-disaster-sparked-by-shakespeare/69160.

29 Alfred Godin, "Birds at Airports," *Internet Center for Wildlife Damage Management*, http://icwdm.org/handbook/birds/birdAirport.asp.

EDGAR ALLAN POE AND THE PROBLEM WITH CHRISTIAN MOVIES

Presented at Baylor University of the Faith and Films Conference of the Institute for Faith and Culture on October 24, 2014.

HARRY LEE POE

Edgar Allan Poe does not normally appear in a list of the world's great movie critics and theorists, possibly because he died before the invention of the motion picture. The American academic literary establishment, beginning with Harvard University during Poe's lifetime, has tended to dismiss Poe as a mere sideline in American literature and as someone whose literary opinions had nothing to contribute to the broader culture. Nonetheless, Poe's art and his philosophy of narrative have dominated storytelling since the time of his death and have provided the philosophical foundation for the film narrative. For this reason, Poe has much to say about the problem with Christian movies.

In contrast to the prevailing literary temperament of his time, dominated as it was by the New England literary establishment, Poe believed that the objective of all art was to have an effect on its audience. The New England writers believed that the purpose of art was for the moral instruction of society. Novels, poems, and plays should instruct the public on right beliefs and attitudes. Poe believed that every form of literature had its strengths and its weaknesses in terms of what it could legitimately or successfully do. He believed sermons, essays, and lectures provided a vehicle for instruction and moral argument. A treatise on science or mathematics aims at truth, but Poe believed that art aims at beauty.[1] By beauty he did not mean prettiness. By beauty, he meant the quality that touches the affective dimension that we call the aesthetic.

Much of the successful literature of Poe's day, now lost for its utter lack of substance, succeeded not because of its lasting artistic merit, but because it represented the partisan sentiments of a particular group, which approved of

1 C. S. Lewis adopted the same view toward fiction and poetry that Poe advocated, though he arrived at his views independently of Poe. Ironically, Lewis arrived at almost identical views on poetry and literature as Poe while moving through a parallel course toward faith. Lewis also fell in love with a form of literature which Poe pioneered and was his second form of story after humor – science fiction – but Lewis never appears to have read any of Poe's science fiction.

books, stories, and poems that endorsed its position. Poe's critics called him immoral for his failure to include moral instruction at the close of his stories. For example, William Aspenwall Bradley argued that Poe was only interested in the mechanical aspect of art without any interest in its "moral or intellectual significance."[2] Bradley went on to say that Poe's aesthetic theories sprang from what he called "shallow spiritual soil."[3]

Poe's aesthetic theories about art developed over a period of years beginning with his preface to his *Poems* in 1831, in which he disagreed with the prevailing view of the period that poetry should instruct. Instead, Poe argued that art should bring pleasure. He wrote, "A poem, in my opinion, is opposed to a work of science by having for its *immediate* object, pleasure, not truth; to romance, by having for its object an *indefinite* instead of a *definite* pleasure."[4]

CREATING AN EFFECT

In his essay on "The Philosophy of Furniture," which appeared in the May 1840 issue of *Burton's Magazine,* which he edited, Poe applied his theory of the unity of effect to the decoration of a room. His examination of what comprised a well decorated room provided the framework for an extended consideration of how the various elements of any work of art work together and that beauty in art depends "upon the character of the general effect" of the whole.[5]

For the May 1842 issue of *Graham's Magazine* which he edited after its merger with *Burton's*, Poe wrote an extended review essay of Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* in which he elaborated his fundamental ideas about story telling. In this essay, he laid down the norms of the modern short story, which provided D. W. Griffith and other filmmakers of his generation with a foundation for film narrative. While generally praising Hawthorne, whom Poe regarded as one of the few great figures in American literature, Poe nonetheless

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2 William Aspenwall Bradley, "Edgar Allan Poe's Place in Literature," *The Book News Monthly*, 25,12 (1907): 790.

3 Ibid.

4 Edgar Allan Poe, *Poems: Reproduced from the Edition of 1831,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936): 28.

5 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Philosophy of Furniture," in *Poetry and Tales,* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984): 383.

faulted Hawthorne for his tendency to incorporate allegory, a form that Poe considered no longer appropriate for his era, as a tool in teaching moral lessons. Allegory tends to conceal rather than to reveal, except for the few people who may possess the secret code. Poe argued, "The deepest emotion aroused within us by the happiest allegory, *as* allegory, is a very, very imperfectly satisfied sense of the writer's ingenuity in overcoming a difficulty we should have preferred his not having attempted to overcome."[6] Poe stressed that allegory, in an age no longer accustomed to that medieval art form, "must always interfere with that unity of effect which, to the artist, is worth all the allegory in the world."[7]

Creating what he called a "unity of effect" lay at the heart of Poe's literary theory. At a time when Bulwer reigned as the greatest novelist of the day, Poe disparaged a view that preferred the novel because of its mass and the exertion required to produce it. Instead, he judged a work "by the object it fulfills, by the impression it makes."[8] The novel and the long poem ebb and flow in the extent to which they succeed in creating an impression on the reader. Although they may create many impressions in successive ways, they cannot sustain an effect for long. Poe realized that the growing complexity of urban life brought with it so many cares of the world that a person had difficulty attending to an extended literary work without the mind being drawn away by the distractions of life. Poe believed that the tale or poem that could be absorbed in one sitting had the greatest success of achieving the unity of effect that he so admired. He reasoned that the ideal length of a tale ran from half an hour to two hours of reading time.[9] For one hundred years, since it was adopted by D. W. Griffith, Poe's views on the length of a story have guided filmmakers in judging how long a movie should be.

Poe wrote that the day of the epic poem had passed, even though Longfellow would write a string of epic poems around patriotic national themes such as "Evangeline" and "The Song of Hiawatha." Poe expanded on this idea when he published "The Philosophy of Composition" in the April issue of *Graham's Magazine* in 1846 to explain how he went

6 Edgar Allan Poe, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," in *Essays and Reviews* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984), 582.

7 Ibid., 583.

8 Ibid., 584.

9 Ibid., 572.

about writing "The Raven." As a literary critic, Poe came to believe that most poets and story tellers lacked the self-awareness to understand how they came to write their stories and poems. In criticizing his own work, Poe labored at the self-conscious decision to create an effect "that should suit at once the popular and the critical taste."[10] Before embarking on a writing project, Poe insisted that the artist must first decide what effect he intends to create. Some effects are better achieved by poetry and others by prose. Women died in several of Poe's short stories, but the tone of sadness that he felt over the impending death of his wife and the effect that he wanted his audience to feel in union with him was best created in a poem rather than a story. In creating an effect, Poe expounded on the tools available to the poet. He proceeded through the mechanics of refrain, sound of words, rhythm and meter, length of lines, setting, narrative, and rhyme scheme in a straight forward and rational manner.

While Poe's views went largely ignored among writers, critics, and scholars in nineteenth century America, largely due to their devotion to "the muse" and the flash of intuition, the Europeans latched onto Poe's comprehension of art almost immediately. Charles Baudelaire translated Poe's fiction and "The Philosophy of Composition" into French in the 1850s which allowed Poe's ideas to travel across Europe. When he came to rendering Poe's concept of effect into French, Baudelaire used the French word *impression* which provided the new artistic revolution with the name of Impressionism. George Bernard Shaw once speculated on why Poe's critical theory was disregarded so widely in the United States when it met with such applause in Europe. Shaw understood the politics of the literary establishment, literary critics, literary scholars, and literary theory. He suggested that Poe was simply too good in an age of jealousy. He declared, "He was the greatest journalistic critic of his time … His poetry is so exquisitely refined that posterity will refuse to believe that it belongs to the same civilization as Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's lilies or the honest doggerel of Whittier … Poe's supremacy in this respect has cost him his reputation."[11]

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10 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Philosophy of Composition," in *Essays and Reviews* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984), 15.

11 "Teachers," *The Museum of Edgar Allan Poe*, 2014, accessed October 20, 2014. https://www.poemuseum.org/teachers-poes-life.php.

THE PLOT

When Poe discussed plot, he made statements that contradict the caricature of Poe. The stereotype of Poe lies so deeply entrenched in the mythology about him, that even major literary critics think uncritically about Poe. Allan Tate was one of the great literary scholars and critics of the twentieth century, yet in a famous essay on Poe, he remarked that "Everything in Poe is dead: the houses, the rooms, the furniture, to say nothing of nature and of human beings."[12] If called to account, Tate would probably have qualified his statement quickly by adding that when he said "everything," he meant the seven or eight of Poe's stories which dealt with horror. He would have insisted that he did not mean the seventy or more of Poe's stories and poems that dealt with humor, romance, science fiction, or mystery when he said "everything." The roughly 250 efforts by filmmakers to bring Poe to the screen have failed miserably, probably because they have fallen prey to the same seductive stereotype which ensnared Tate. Poe's concept of plot related directly to his concern for the unity of effect.

When Poe discussed the plot of "The Raven," he insisted upon a realistic and rational narrative. It is normal for a man to sit up late at night reading. It is normal for an animal to seek refuge from a winter storm, which is why squirrels get into our attics. The successful achievement of the desired effect depends upon suggestion and undercurrent rather than upon an overt and excessive attention to the aims of the artist. Poe stressed subtlety. The plot should lead to the conclusion without the need for the artist to explain the conclusion. In contrast to his approach, Poe derided the method of the Transcendentalists who made the theme the obvious upper-current of the plot, which Poe thought turned poetry into prose. The same error turns a story into a sermon or a movie into a documentary.

In an essay on the problems with American drama published in the *American Review* in 1845, Poe critiqued plays by Longfellow and N. P. Willis to demonstrate the delicate balance of plot. Every element of the plot should

12 Allen Tate, "Our Cousin, Mr. Poe," *Partisan Review*, 16,12 (1949): 1217.

advance the story in such a way as to achieve the desired effect. Nothing should be included that does not contribute toward the conclusion, yet the plot must contain all that is logically necessary to lead to the end. A sermonette in the middle of a story does not contribute to the plot; it detracts from it. The well-crafted story should have an effect on the audience that leaves the audience convinced of the moral without ever having been told what to think. The plot either demonstrates the point, or it fails. To provide the ultimate concrete example of what he meant, Poe turned to the universe and what science now refers to as the mutuality of adaptation. Poe declared:

> In the construction of *plot*, for example, in fictitious literature, we should aim at so arranging the points, or incidents, that we cannot see distinctly, in respect to any one of them, whether that one depends from any one other or upholds it. In this sense, of course, perfection of plot is unattainable *in fact*—because Man is the constructor. The plots of God are perfect. The Universe is a plot of God.[13]

Dorothy L. Sayers was deeply influenced by Poe in the writing of her detective stories, but she also borrowed this idea of God as playwright from Poe in the development of her own Christian apologetic found in *The Mind of the Maker* (1941).[14]

One filmmaker who fully understood Poe and his ideas of storytelling never attempted to adapt Poe to the screen, but all of his films reflect Poe's ideas about the unity of effect and the subtlety of plot. Alfred Hitchcock wrote in his 1961 essay "Why I Am Afraid of the Dark":

> Very likely it's because I was so taken with the Poe stories that I later made suspense films. I don't want to seem immodest, but I can't help comparing what I've tried to put in my films with what Edgar Allan Poe put in his novels: a completely unbelievable story told to the readers with such a spellbinding logic that you get the impression that the same thing could happen to you tomorrow.[15]

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13 Edgar A. Poe, "The American Drama," *The American Review,* 2,2 (1845): 121. Poe also included this insight in Eureka, his treatise on cosmology and God.

14 See Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Mind of the Maker* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1941).

15 Cited by Peter Wollen, "Compulsion," *Sight and Sound* 7, no.4 (1997): 17, and in Dana Brand, "Rear-View Mirror: Hitchcock, Poe, and the Flaneur in America," in Jonathan Freedman and Richard Millington, eds., *Hitchcock's America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 123. According to Google, this quotation is cited over 22,000 times in webpage remarks.

Hitchcock illustrates the ideal of Poe's approach in *Psycho* where a murder in the shower is implied, but not shown. Hitchcock had learned the importance of a story's ability to affect an audience through tapping into personal experience. He remarked, "It's because I liked Edgar Allan Poe's stories so much that I began to make suspense films."[16]

T. S. Eliot could not believe that anyone would go to so much trouble to write a poem as Poe described in "The Philosophy of Composition." Eliot concluded that the piece must have been a hoax played on a gullible public by Poe.[17] At the vanguard of a revolution in poetry, however, Eliot had discarded most of the tools at the poet's disposal as poetry turned in on itself and away from its audience. Poe never lost sight of the audience he wanted to affect. In the previous decade from Eliot, Maurice Revel had taken quite a different view of the creation of great art, standing in the tradition of the Impressionists as he did. He remarked that "The Philosophy of Composition" was "the finest treatise on composition, in my opinion, and the one which in any case had the greatest influence upon me was [Poe's] "Philosophy of Composition" … I am convinced that Poe indeed wrote his poem "The Raven" in the way that he indicated."[18] Like Baudelaire, the Impressionists, and Revel, filmmakers grasped what Poe meant; the creation of great art required a lot of hard work.

FILM'S APPROPRIATION OF POE

D. W. Griffith, the first great filmmaker, was a devotee of Poe. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916) is often called the first true motion picture for its incorporation by Griffith of the array of tools at the director's disposal, but *Intolerance* primarily received the credit because few could pay homage to *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) due to its overt racism. In fact, Griffith had developed the movie into its basic form a year earlier than *The Birth of a Nation* with *The Avenging Conscience* (1914) which combined five of Poe's stories and poems. *The Avenging Conscience* could never receive the

16 "Teachers," *The Museum of Edgar Allan Poe*, 2014, accessed October 20, 2014. https://www.poemuseum.org/teachers-poes-life.php.

17 T. S. Eliot, "From Poe to Valéry," in *The Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Eric W. Carlson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 211.

18 Michael Lanford, "Ravel and 'The Raven': The Realisation of an Inherited Aesthetic in Boléro," *Cambridge Quarterly* 40(3): 243-265.

recognition, however, that would go to *Intolerance* or even reluctantly to *The Birth of a Nation* because *The Avenging Conscience* falls within the category of horror which critics regarded as vulgar. Nonetheless, Griffith had transformed the expectations of the public by following Poe's theory of hard work. Poe's vision of the unity of effect remains the standard by which movies are ultimately judged today, though few realize it. From the time of Griffith, filmmakers have recognized the need to bring all the pieces together. As Kevin Hayes observed, "Poe's critical writings similarly affected the construction of film plots. Emphasizing the idea that all story elements should work toward a single, unified effect, early screenwriting manuals sound remarkably familiar to anyone who has read Poe's criticism."[19]

Typically, articles on Poe's relationship to cinema deal with cataloging a few of the 250 or so film adaptations of his works or with expounding film's indebtedness to Poe for all horror, detective, mystery, science fiction, and espionage movies. Few have recognized the debt to Poe for his critical theory about how to tell a story that transformed the movies from a side-show at the carnival to the greatest art form of the twentieth century. The breakthrough for film came with D. W. Griffith who realized that he had as wide a variety of tools at his disposal as the poet had. Between 1909 and 1914, Griffith began to exercise himself at achieving a unity of effect in the hundreds of short films he made during that period.

In 1909, Griffith filmed *Edgar Allen Poe* [sic], the first biographical film ever made, to commemorate the centennial of the birth of Poe. In 1909, Griffith also developed some significant tools for creating an effect with film: the fade-out, the fade-in, variations in lighting, the tracking shot, and the close-up.[20] Griffith also achieved a breakthrough in editing while producing the film. According to Peter Gutmann:

> The outstanding example of expressive editing from medium to long shots comes in *Edgar Allen Poe* (January 21 and 23). The poet has temporarily left his sick wife to try to sell some poems to a pitiless editor. Her death is shown in medium shot, after which the camera

19 Kevin J. Hayes, *Edgar Allan Poe* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 13.

20 Peter Gutmann, "Part 7: Fade-Outs, Lighting Effects, Tracking Shots and a Facial Close-Up," *D.W. Griffith and the Dawn of Film Art*, 2010, accessed October 18, 2014, http://www.classicalnotes.net/griffith/part7.html.

> respectfully retreats to a far shot of the room, perfectly reflecting the cold and empty stillness that will greet the poet upon his return.[21]

By the end of 1909, Griffith had also experimented not only with close-up and distance shots but also with changing the vantage point of the camera. In editing, Griffith also began to pace the length of time for shots to achieve an effect just as Poe had described how the pace of a poem creates an effect.[22] Between 1909 and 1914, Griffith perfected the art of creating Poe's unity of effect through the use of the cinematic tools available to the director. Peter Gutmann observed that Griffith's efforts in filming *A Corner in Wheat* (1909) "was the first movie to apply a panoply of film techniques to create emotional resonance well beyond narrative needs."[23] The creation of emotional resonance through the panoply of film techniques is Griffith's application of "The Philosophy of Composition" to films.

Ironically, Poe has rarely been successfully translated to film, in spite of more than 250 efforts by an international roll of directors. In contrast to Poe's view that plot depends upon the unstated, the undercurrent, and the implied in the creation of an effect, most filmmakers who have tried their hand at Poe proceed from the caricature of Poe. Excess and vulgarity abound. Nothing is left to the imagination, as with *The Raven* released in 2012. In the stories of Poe, who did not care for horror stories, the horror normally takes place off stage, unlike James Fennimore Cooper, who described the gory details in extravagant bloody terms. Poe left to his audience the task of making the associations and constructing the horror in their own minds. No one dies in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt." The murders had already taken place before the action begins. Likewise, no deaths occur in "The Pit and the Pendulum," "A Descent into the Maelström," or "The Cask of Amontillado." Instead, Poe leaves his readers to their own imaginations. With his two on-scene murders in "The Black Cat" and "The Tell-Tale Heart," Poe leaves us without any description of the blood and gore. Again, he leaves it to the

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21 Gutmann, "Part 8: Editing for Perspective," *D. W. Griffith and the Dawn of Film Art*, 2010, accessed October 18, 2014, http://www.classicalnotes.net/griffith/part8.html.

22 Gutmann, "D.W. Griffith's A Corner in Wheat," *D. W. Griffith and the Dawn of Film Art*, 2009, accessed October 18, 2014, http://www.classicalnotes.net/griffith/corner.html.

23 Ibid.

imaginations of his readers. Even in "Morella," the horror takes place off stage, in the minds of the readers as the result of suggestion, inference, and implication. One sentence will serve to illustrate how Poe worked on the feelings, memories, associations, fears, hopes—in short, the total range of human spiritual experience—to create an effect. In the first sentence of "The Fall of the House of Usher," Poe wrote:

> During the whole of the dull, dark, and soundless day in the autumn of the year, when the clouds hung oppressively low in the heavens, I had been passing alone, on horseback, through a singularly dreary tract of country; and at length found myself, as the shades of the evening drew on, within view of the melancholy House of Usher.[24]

Poe provides no physical description, but leaves to the reader the task of setting the scene out of the tools available to the imagination and thereby makes the reader a participant. This is the trick that Hitchcock understood about the tools available to the director when creating an effect in the audience.

WHAT CHRISTIAN FILMMAKERS CAN LEARN FROM POE

Much of what has come to be called Christian movies suffer from inattention to Poe's understanding of storytelling. The term "Christian film" has come to have a similar connotation to the term "World War II army training film." Somehow what many people call a Christian movie lacks the qualities that make a movie a success at the box office.

The "Christian film" probably first appeared to the public as an aspect of the ministry of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association through its World Wide Pictures division. From 1951 to 1965, World Wide Pictures produced documentaries focused on the Graham ministry, but in 1965, it produced *The Restless Ones* as a feature movie starring Kim Darby, who later starred with John Wayne in *True Grit* (1969). World Wide Pictures probably achieved its greatest success in producing

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24 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Fall of the House of Usher," in *The Selected Poetry and Prose of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by T. O. Mabbott (New York: The Modern Library, 1951), 115.

a film that could stand on its own in the marketplace in 1975 with *The Hiding Place* starring Julie Harris. The Graham movies were produced as an evangelism strategy with the view that people who watched the movie would come to faith as a result of the message of the movie. The Graham organization closed its Burbank studio in the late 1980s when it moved away from attempting to release films in theaters and redirected its efforts at a church-based audience.

The Christian film has attempted to do what the sermon, the lecture, and devotional literature are suited to do without taking advantage of what movies are able to do. The movies have attempted to do the work of evangelism instead of warmly disposing an unbelieving audience toward the Christian faith. Instead of creating an effect in the audience associated with conviction, the Christian movie has attempted to instruct the audience, thus failing as an art form according to Poe's theory. By this theory, the Christian community may hold the film in high regard because it upholds their faith, but the film fails to have an impact within the broad culture as a work of art to take seriously.

The IMDb (Internet Movie Database) webpage for *The Restless Ones* suggests part of the problem for Christian movies in a review posted by one of the visitors to the page: "Hilarious, totally campy Christian gem produced by the Rev. Billy Graham himself—I can't believe this isn't a classic. Like a tract committed to celluloid. The Wintons praying in the car has to be among cinema's most unintentionally hilarious scenes."[25] The evangelistic Christian movie tends to be produced for the approval of the Christian community rather than for the unbelieving community for whom the religious practices of faith have no meaning. In the Christian film, religious behavior is strewn as pearls before swine for an audience that has no basis for appreciating the mystery of holiness.

25 "Review of *The Restless Ones*," *IMDb*, accessed October 15, 2015, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0174163/.

I. HOWARD MARSHALL

AN EXAMPLE FOR THE ACADEMIC LIFE

"Remember your leaders, who spoke the word of God to you. Consider the outcome of their way of life and imitate their faith." (Heb 13:7, NIVUK)

RAY VAN NESTE

As we gathered for graduation last December, I received word that Howard Marshall, Emeritus Professor of New Testament Studies, University of Aberdeen, had passed away that morning, one month before his 82nd birthday.[1] He had been admitted to the hospital earlier that week and diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. In the words of the pastor who sent the news, "He has gone to be with his Lord whom he served so faithfully through many a long year." He was quite a man and will continue to have a great impact not only through his voluminous writings but also through the quiet, steady, humble, faithful way he lived and mentored. I am among many who give thanks to God for the privilege of knowing and studying with Howard. He will be dearly missed, even as his influence continues.

Many saw Howard Marshall as the "dean of New Testament evangelical interpretation," the heir of his mentor F. F. Bruce. With his prodigious writing—at least thirty-eight books (authored and edited) and over 120 essays and articles—Howard Marshall had a significant impact both on biblical scholarship and the church. In addition to his writing, he served widely in fellowships and societies that foster evangelical scholarship. He served as Chair of the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical and Theological Research (Chair of the New Testament Study Group prior to that), President of the British New Testament Society, Chair of the Fellowship of European Evangelical Theologians, President of the Scottish Evangelical Theological Society, Chair of the board of theological advisors for Paternoster,

1 Portions of this essay previously appeared in "I. Howard Marshall: An Appreciation," in *New Testament Theology in Light of the Church's Mission: Essays in Honor of I. Howard Marshall*, edited by Jon Laansma, Grant Osborne and Ray Van Neste (Paternoster/ Wipf & Stock, 2011).

and as editor (for nearly thirty years) of the *Evangelical Quarterly*, succeeding Bruce in this task. He taught New Testament at the University of Aberdeen beginning in 1964. Because of Howard,[2] Aberdeen was for decades a primary destination for postgraduate study for evangelical students from around the world. Among Howard's students are many of the leading evangelical New Testament scholars today as well as many lesser known people who play key roles in third world churches and schools.

Howard's words concerning F. F. Bruce can be aptly used of him as well, as we can say that Howard Marshall

> will obviously be remembered first of all for his highly distinguished academic career as a university teacher and a prolific writer who did more than anybody else in this century to develop and encourage conservative evangelical scholarship. Possessed of outstanding intellectual ability, a phenomenal memory, and encyclopaedic knowledge, a colossal capacity for work, and a limpid style, he produced a remarkable output of books and essays which will continue to be read for years to come, and he trained directly or indirectly many younger scholars now working in all parts of the world.[3]

Howard Marshall provides us with an encouraging example of a faithful, productive professor/scholar worthy of emulation. I will briefly consider his work in the realms of scholarship, mentoring and service, and church life.

SCHOLARSHIP

Howard produced first rate technical scholarship which gained the respect of scholars more critical than he, even when they disagreed. He helped launch a new commentary series focused on the Greek text,[4] contributed an early volume to the series,[5] edited a new edition of a standard

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2 In deference to Howard's clearly and regularly stated preference I will refer to him by his first name in this essay. I was particularly slow to accommodate this request when I arrived in Aberdeen because it is contrary to my common practice and upbringing. Early on we had a conversation something like this: "Please simply call me Howard." "Yes sir, Professor Marshall." Eventually, after about a year, when he began to refer to me as "Mr. Van Neste" I conceded. Since it took him some time to secure this practice, I will continue it here.

3 I. Howard Marshall, "Editorial: Professor F. F. Bruce," *EvQ* 62, no. 4 (Oct. 1990): 291.

4 I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner, *New International Greek Testament Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978–today).

5 I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke,* (New International Greek Testament Commentary) (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).

Greek language tool,[6] and wrote many more technical pieces. He also wrote for pastors and laypeople including writing frequently for Scripture Union,[7] producing Bible study materials for laypeople, and writing several commentaries for a popular audience as well as numerous articles. Howard was not among those who disparage popular writing as something beneath a true scholar. Rather, he stated, ". . . it seems to me that those of us who are Christians studying the Bible have a very strong responsibility towards the church to produce what will be helpful particularly to preachers, and also to the church generally."[8] Again he followed F. F. Bruce here. Writing in commendation of Bruce, Howard stated:

> Far too often the accusation is heard that the pulpit is fifty years behind the teacher's rostrum, and the pew even further out-of-date. Some of the blame for this situation undoubtedly rests on a scholarship which does not trouble to communicate with both pulpit and pew in a way that both can understand. . . to write at a popular level is not inconsistent with a truly scholarly approach, and it may be argued that one test of a person's scholarship is the ability to express arguments and conclusions in a manner that is generally intelligible.[9]

He once cited the words of David Hubbard as stating his own convictions: "We are not scholars who happen to be disciples, we are disciples who happen to be scholars."[10]

It is difficult for some younger scholars to comprehend the state of evangelical academic work forty or fifty years ago. Many of us have grown up accustomed to conservative evangelical seminaries and publishing houses as well as a steady stream of evangelical publications and well-established, prominent evangelical scholars. This, though, is a relatively recent phenomenon, a benefit bequeathed to us by those who have gone before us, including Howard. He was a key leader in demonstrating how faith and scholarship coincide by both defending biblical truths from critical attack and demonstrating the value of academic

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6 I. Howard Marshall, *Moulton & Geden: A Concordance to the Greek Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2002).

7 Popular adult Bible study material in the UK.

8 Carl Trueman, "Interview with Professor Howard Marshall," *Themelios* 26, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 49.

9 I. Howard Marshall, "Frederick Fyvie Bruce, 1910–1990," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 80 (1991): 245-60 [249].

10 Trueman, 48.

rigor to conservative believers. R. T. France, a longtime friend of Howard's, wrote, "Many of us have had cause to be grateful for his calm but assured defence in print of orthodox Christian positions which have been rejected by others."[11] In articles and books, Howard has helped believers articulate the biblical grounds for their faith, looking for unity but being clear about where dividing lines occur. His convictions are clear in this excerpt from an article supporting young Christians who encounter liberal pastors:

> . . . where criticism takes place on the basis of anti-supernaturalist presuppositions and the teaching of scripture is assessed in terms of what modern, unbelieving western man is prepared to accept, again the evangelical will have no truck with it. The kind of ecumenism which tries to assure us that really we all believe the same things will not cut much ice here with evangelicals, for they know that without a clear acceptance of the supreme authority of scripture the gospel which they treasure is liable to be tossed to and fro and carried about by every wind of human teaching.[12]

To say that Howard defended is not to say he was defensive. Howard's approach was always gracious and winsome, exemplifying the goal not so much of defeating an opponent as winning him to truth. I was with him at a meeting when he had a casual conversation with a scholar friend who had departed from the faith. As we walked away, Howard said quietly to me, "We must continue to pray that he return to the faith." This evangelistic impulse lay at the heart of who he was and what he did. His Christmas letter last year opened by telling about the small Bible study group he led and how a young man had recently come to faith in their study.

MENTORING AND SERVICE

Writing was only one facet of Howard's career, though it may be the most well-known facet. Another key aspect was mentoring and facilitating the work of others, particularly younger scholars. For example, he invested untold hours

11 R. T. France, "Profile: Howard Marshall," *Epworth Review* 29, no. 4 (Oct. 2002): 15-21 [16].

12 I. Howard Marshall, "The Young Christian and the 'Liberal' Pastor," *ExpTim* 95 (1984): 364-67 [367].

in his work with the Tyndale Fellowship, the British New Testament Society, and the Fellowship of European Evangelical Theologians, each of which he led at one time. R. T. France has commented on Howard's continued commitment to attendance at these fellowships even when others pulled back due to other commitments.[13] Many can attest to the encouragement gained from presenting papers in the presence of Howard and receiving helpful critique and advice. Tyndale Fellowship particularly has been a key catalyst to the growth of evangelical scholarship, and Howard's efforts and involvement played a key role.

Howard also helped greatly to further the dissemination of evangelical scholarship, not least in his work with Paternoster Press, an evangelical publishing house in the UK, where he was involved for at least forty years. He served as Chair of the board of theological advisors for Paternoster for at least ten years, serving in that way until his death. He was deeply involved in several of the monograph series of Paternoster, helping to make decisions on publications. Howard gave significant time and effort to promoting and defending Paternoster, helping to secure its integrity and success within the wider company of which Paternoster was a part. Robin Parry, formerly of Paternoster, commented on Howard's involvement saying:

> It was a lot of work and he was doing Paternoster work most weeks over the (almost) nine years that I was around. . . . For Howard supporting and working for Paternoster was never simply "something to do" or "an obligation." It has always been something he passionately believes in. That unwavering support has been personally very encouraging for me over the years. And Paternoster owes him a debt that it could never repay.[14]

I remember well talking with a Paternoster representative at a conference booth and mentioning that I was about to move to Aberdeen to study with Howard Marshall. The man's face lit up as he spoke of the crucial role Howard had already by that time played in the life of Paternoster. In appreciation of Howard, he gave me a free book! Many pastors and scholars have enhanced their libraries not only

13 France, 17.

14 Robin Parry, personal email correspondence, received July 22, 2010.

with books written by Howard Marshall but also with books that he helped bring to print and to make affordable.

Howard also maintained an amazing schedule of lecturing around the world. Though this list may not be comprehensive, he has lectured in Australia, Austria, Canada, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong, Kenya, the Netherlands, Norway, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Sweden, Taiwan, and numerous places in the United States.[15] This travel was an aspect of Howard's sense of mission as he took the fruits of his scholarship to "the ends of the earth," encouraging pastors and educators, supporting educational institutions, and helping to advance the kingdom.

One key aspect of Howard's work was supervising postgraduate students. Evangelical students from around the world were drawn to study with this man who embodied the combination of academic rigor with deep, evangelical faith. Aberdeen was for decades a prime destination for evangelical students due in large part to the work of Howard Marshall, with many postgraduate students coming to Aberdeen because of Howard even when they did not end up having him as their supervisor. The work which drew these students involved not only his published work but a lot of lesser recognized work including official administrative and informal recruiting work. As postgrads at Aberdeen, we used to joke that only the oil companies rivalled Howard Marshall for bringing the most internationals to Aberdeen.

Howard saw his work with postgraduates as an important aspect of his labors. He made it very clear that no one would study "under" him, but any were welcome to study "with" him (he corrected my use of prepositions early on!). Students commonly reported his gracious and willing investment in their work. In spite of his many other commitments, one always received prompt, thorough attention to work that was handed in. Howard had a legendary eye for detail, breadth of knowledge, and grasp of issues. He provided insightful critique and suggestions of broader literature, as well as suggestions for

15 France, "Profile: Howard Marshall," 16, is the source for most, but not all, of these locations.

style and clarity in writing, typically with wit. I remember him once noting a certain phrase of mine as a "dodgy Americanism." He would regularly note to students (those whom he was supervising as well as others) something he had seen or read which he thought might be useful for their work.

One friend of mine tells of Howard asking him one day in passing how his doctoral work was going. My friend mentioned that he was bogged down because he could not locate a certain German academic monograph. He had contacted various libraries including Oxford, Cambridge, and Tübingen, all in vain. Howard smiled. He said he owned a copy and would be happy to loan it. Reflecting on this event and the general helpfulness of Howard which it represents, my friend said, "He really cared for us. He loved us."

Visits in the Marshall home and his visits in our homes were a particular delight. He was a gracious host and warm guest. My wife was anxious about preparations for dinner on Howard's first visit to our place, but in the end she had a long after-dinner conversation with him about Christmas pudding recipes. We met Howard after the death of his dear wife, Joyce, and on our visits he would typically apologize for his cooking. However, we were amazed to find that he seemed to have mastered this skill as well.

Student life with Howard was animated by his humor, an aspect that those who know him only by his scholarly writings may not know. Howard had a ready wit. A favorite memory of mine is often seeing him in a gathering slightly hunched over with his wide grin and slightly shaking shoulders as he chuckled over a comment. During my time as a student he met with several of us as we worked on our German. This was not a class and thus involved no remuneration or lessening of responsibilities, but Howard willingly gave his time to help us. One day as we wrestled with a specific text, one of us noted a footnote referring to "U. Fries" and asked who that referred to. Howard without missing a beat said, "Must be a German chip shop." His breadth of knowledge and quickness of wit sometimes meant you had to keep up

or miss the point. I once went to ask Howard a question only to find a note on his door saying he was out. This was not terribly uncommon, but the note this time was different. It read, "Gon out. Back son." I went back to my study room puzzled by this obvious slip in spelling. I mentioned it to a couple of other students as we wondered and worried. When I went back later and found Howard in his office I said nothing of the note, not wanting to embarrass him. However, Howard asked, "Did you see my sign?" Tentatively, and more puzzled, I said I did. He asked if I "got" it and I had to confess I did not. That day was the anniversary of something associated with A. A. Milne's Winnie-the-Pooh, so Howard had intentionally used the language of Pooh's door sign in *The House at Pooh Corner*.[16] Instead of a spelling slip, we Ph.D. students had been stumped by our supervisor's astute allusion to classic children's literature.

CHURCH LIFE

Howard's own Christian faith and life in his church was at the root of all else he did. He served as a pastor in the Methodist Church and was for many years a faithful, active member of Crown Terrace Methodist Church in Aberdeen. Over the years he served in many capacities in his church including for many years teaching the Bible study for young boys. At his funeral in this church, it was a joy to hear his pastor and fellow members talk about how he blessed and encouraged them individually and as a congregation. People training as lay preachers told me how he, even shortly before he died, would drive them long distances to their preaching assignments and then give them feedback on their return journey. Some of these told me they were unaware that they had been receiving such training from a world-renowned professor. "We simply knew him as Howard," they said.

Howard's Christmas letters, sent faithfully each year, always contained updates on the church, typically with requests for prayer that they have vision for reaching others or for strength

16 A. A. Milne, *The House at Pooh Corner* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1928).

to fulfill this vision. The concern at root was always to be effective evangelistically. We normally would get together for a meal at the annual meetings of the Society for Biblical Literature and our conversations typically centered on the health of the churches in Aberdeen and kingdom advance in the area. Everywhere I went among the churches in Scotland, Howard was esteemed because of how he helped them understand the Bible through his writings and by his preaching in those churches. It is a key delight of mine, not only to have heard him lecture but to have heard him preach evangelistically. The gospel was not for him merely an interesting topic of investigation but the central truth from God which reconciles men to God and thus needs to be proclaimed to all people.

For Howard, such church involvement was nothing special but was simply part of Christian living. As France commented of Howard: "The son of a local preacher, and now also the father of one, it has never occurred to him that academic eminence and advanced critical skills could be in any conflict with loyal and active church membership."[17] Howard has encouraged by example and word this integration of church life and academic work. In an interview directed particularly at religious and theological students, Howard stated: "I think it is important to be in a good Christian fellowship to have support from it and to be occupied in Christian work of one kind or another, and if possible to try and relate your studies to your practical Christian work."[18]

Additionally, Howard's church involvement extended beyond his own local church. He was a frequent preacher in churches of various denominations in the area. Howard has encouraged others in this area suggesting that preaching on passages one is studying academically is "a good discipline for people engaged in academic study to keep them firmly rooted in the real world."[19] At least part of the fruitfulness and appeal of Howard's labors has come from this connection with the everyday life of the church. Howard was convinced that academic study is not meant to be confined to lecture halls but is to enrich the church, building disciples and gaining converts. It was a joy,

17 France, 15.

18 Trueman, 49.

19 I. Howard Marshall, "Preaching from the New Testament," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 9 (1991): 104-17 [108].

for example, to have a meeting with Howard during the week in which I received back a chapter with Greek accents in my footnotes corrected and then on Sunday hear him proclaim the gospel as a guest preacher in the Baptist church I attended.

Lastly, Howard's personal example of humble, faithful living has been an inspiration to many. Those who have worked with Howard commonly refer to the deep humility of the man. More than once in conversation I found myself amazed at his genuine lack of awareness of who he "is" in the eyes of others. To hear him express admiration of the abilities of others you would think he had none himself. Once in a conversation in our home in Bridge of Don, Howard lamented, "I have never been that good with languages." This was no coy, back-handed pursuit of a compliment. It was uttered in complete sincerity and even for a moment took me in. I believed him! Then, I recovered myself and began to ask him about his listening to lectures in German, how he read French items I could not understand, and his well-known acquaintance with Greek and Latin. All this was true. He just did not consider that as being very good with languages.

This was exemplified at Howard's retirement when he was asked to preach in the university chapel on the day of the retirement activities. Howard had continued to serve at the university but the rules required retirement from his regular post at age sixty-five, and thus he had already moved from his office to a smaller one. As he ascended the pulpit in the chapel at Old King's College, where years before John Wesley had preached on his visit to Aberdeen, I wondered what his text would be. Without fanfare, he declared his text and read John 3:25-30 which concludes with these words: "He must increase, but I must decrease." Howard lived that text and has now entered into the presence of the Master he sought to exalt.

BIOGRAPHIES

HAELIM ALLEN is an Assistant Professor of Art at Union University. She is a three-time alumna of the University of Maryland at College Park, where she received her M.F.A. in painting and sculpture. Her artwork represents very broad answers to complex questions of identity. In Art History, her research pertains to women artists and depiction of women in art from the various eras of visual work. She is married to husband Henry, and they have an eight and half-year-old son, Matthew.

CHRISTINE BAILEY, editor of *JUFF,* has served the Union English department since 2007. Before coming to Union, Bailey worked as a journalist, a marketing/PR writer, and an editor. She currently serves as Director of Composition Support and teaches creative writing courses in addition to world literature and composition sections. Her wide-ranging academic interests include composition and rhetoric, YA literature, creative writing, professional writing, editing, and publishing. Bailey has published four young adult novels and has scholarly work forthcoming on creative writing research and pedagogy within the composition classroom.

JASON CASTLES received his Ed.D. and B.S.B.A. from Union University and M.Ed. at the University of South Florida. Jason currently serves as the Assistant Dean of Students and Director of Student Leadership and Engagement. Additionally, Jason teaches several classes in the School of Education at the graduate level and chairs dissertation committees. His research interest is in intercultural competence development of college students.

JIMMY DAVIS is the Hammons Chair of Pre-Medical Students and University Professor of Chemistry at Union University. He serves as a Fellow of the American Scientific Affiliation. He is the co-author, with Hal Poe, of four science-faith books, with the most recent being, *God and the Cosmos: Divine Activity in Space, Time and History.*

TED KLUCK has played professional indoor football, coached high school football, trained as a professional wrestler, served as a missionary, and taught college writing courses. He currently lives in Jackson, Tennessee with his wife Kristin and sons Tristan and Maxim and teaches journalism at Union University. He is the author of twenty books and has written on numerous topics, from sports to international adoption, with his work appearing in *ESPN the Magazine, Christianity Today, The Washington Post,* and ESPN.com. He's a frequent speaker at conferences and events.

BETH MADISON has served the Union Continuing Studies and Biology departments for 15 years. She has taught at the college level for 22 years at five different universities. At Union, she teaches Biology 100, Physics 111, and various special topics courses in the sciences. Her favorite activities include reading, walking in the woods or on the beach, cooking, and spending time with family.

JAMES A. PATTERSON is University Professor of Christian Thought & Tradition and Associate Dean in the School of Theology & Missions at Union. A native of New Jersey, he has taught full time for almost 40 years in Christian higher education, and is in his 18th year at Union. He has written three books, as well as numerous chapters in books, articles, and book reviews. He currently serves as president of the Tennessee Baptist Historical Society. He anticipates retirement in August of 2017.

HARRY LEE POE holds the Charles Colson Chair of Faith and Culture at Union University in Jackson, Tennessee. Poe served for 10 years as president of the Poe Museum in Richmond. He has published two books on Poe and won the Edgar Award for *Edgar Allan Poe: An Illustrated Companion to His Tell-Tale Stories.*

BOBBY C. ROGERS' first book, *Paper Anniversary*, was awarded the Agnes Lynch Starrett Poetry Prize, the Lilly Fellows Program in Humanities and the Arts' Arlin G. Meyer Prize in Imaginative Writing, and was nominated for the Poets' Prize. In 2015, he received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and was named a Witter Bynner Fellow at the Library of Congress by Poet Laureate

Charles Wright. His poems have been included in several anthologies, most recently the *Knopf Everyman's Library Poems of the American South*. His prose publications range from the Denise Levertov entry in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and the Arts* to biographical essays collected in *From Fast Break to Line Break: Poets on the Art of Basketball and Afield: American Writers on Bird Dogs*. His most recent book, *Social History*, is just out from LSU Press in their *Southern Messenger Poets* Series.

PHILLIP RYAN is a faculty member in the Department of Language at Union University where he is lead faculty in both the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and Applied Linguistics programs. He is also an administrator for the University's Center for Intercultural Engagement, which provides support for inbound and outbound intercultural learning experiences. His current research interest is the interface between language teacher education and interdisciplinarity.

ROGER STANLEY teaches American literature and creative writing, with specialties in 20th century Southern prose and creative nonfiction respectively. A 2007 recipient of a National Endowment for the Humanities Institute grant to study Flannery O'Connor in her native Georgia, he is a peer evaluator for the Flannery O'Connor Review, vetting submissions regularly. He has published on O'Connor previously in *JUFF, Literature and Belief*, and elsewhere. Chapters of his manuscript-in-progress about the singer/songwriter Lucinda Williams have appeared in the journals *Popular I* and *Measure*. Stanley currently serves as head of the task team which will host the Southeast Regional Conference on Christianity and Literature on the UU campus in spring 2018.

RAY VAN NESTE is Professor of Biblical Studies and Director of the Ryan Center for Biblical Studies at Union. He studied with Howard Marshall at the University of Aberdeen from 1998 to 2002 and had the special privilege of speaking at Marshall's funeral this past January. He is the author or editor of eight books, including *Reformation 500: How the Greatest Revival Since Pentecost Continues to Shape the World Today*, co-edited with Michael Garrett and forthcoming from B&H Academic in March 2017. He and his wife, Tammie, are both Union grads, and they have six children.

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