National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

Canada

Immortalization of the Mythic Hero: Civil religion's solution to the problem of death.

David R. Powell
M.A.H.L./M.A.

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate Studies of Ottawa University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

© David. R. Powell, Ottawa, Canada, 1988.

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-46840-8

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Curriculum Studiorum

David R. Powell received a B.A. (Classics) from the University of Toronto 1958. He holds a Masters Degree in Hebrew Literature (1963, Hebrew Union College), and was ordained a Rabbi by that institution. In 1976, David Powell was granted an M.A. (Sociology) at Carleton University, Ottawa. In 1986, Hebrew Union College also awarded him the degree Doctor of Divinity (honoris causa).

Acknowledgement

The dissertation was prepared under the supervision and most helpful guidance of Professor Roger Lapointe, Department of Religious Studies, University of Ottawa.

Abstract

The immortalization of the mythic hero is studied within the context of the Sociology of Religion, particularly focusing on the function of religion in society.

Traditionally the sociology of religion has included an analysis of religious institutions and organizations and of the interplay among these religious institutions and the interactions among religion, the individual and society. Within this framework, questions asked were: Is religion integrative and can we reconcile this function with the divisive dimension of religion?

In this study, I go beyond the traditional bounds of the Sociology of Religion and explore the existence of religion outside of organized religious institutions. Specifically, civil religion is considered as an extra-church phenomenon, indicating a genuine religiosity separate from the organized church.

In this context, I also examine what I call the "death-nexus". When society has experienced the loss of a significant member, I argue that such a loss calls for a solution to the problem of coping with death. The traditional function of religion has been to provide such solutions. In the case of the death of certain prominent figures, civil religion's solution is that of mythic heroization. This is demonstrated by selected cases.

I have employed a qualitative approach using a typology to outline

the arguments of the thesis. chapter I discusses extra-church religion within a sociological framework. In chapter II, a critical examination of civil religion and how it is manifested by extra-church religiosity is presented.

The "death nexus" concept is developed in chapter III illustrating the centrality of death within civil religion. chapters IV examines the heroization of John F. Kennedy, and chapter V compares this with selected cases.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER

I. THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF EXTRA-CHURCH RELIGIOUN 8

A. Toward a Definition 9

B. Functionalism and Religion 14

C. Extra-Church Religion and the Relevance of the Sociology of Knowledge 14

D. Extra-Church Religion and the Implications of Differentiation 18

E. Religious Persistence and the Meaning of Secularization 20

II. CIVIL RELIGION: AN EXTRA-CHURCH PHENOMENON 27

A. The Nature and Meaning of Civil Religion 27

B. Contemporary Sociological Traditions 31

C. A Critique of Civil Religion 38

D. Towards The Development of a Typology 51

III. THE PROBLEM OF DEATH AND CIVIL RELIGION'S SOLUTION 63

A. The Socio-Cultural Context 63

B. The Judeo-Christian Solution 68

C. Civil Religion and the Solution to Death 75

D. The Heroic Solution and Civil Religion 80

IV. THE CASE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY: A Prototype

A. The Hero as Mortal 85

B. The Death Scenario: Emergence of Mythic Heroism 85

C. Transition from Grief to Mythology 97

D. The Early Legacy: Forming the Immortal Hero 105

E. Towards Permanent Immortalization of the Mythic Hero 109

V. VARIATION OF THE PROTOTYPE: Examination of Selected Cases 122

A. Terry Fox 122

B. Elvis Presley 130

C. Marilyn Monroe 137

D. James Dean 147

E. John Lennon

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 160

BIBLIOGRAPHY 165

INTRODUCTION

My initial interest in the immortalization of the mythic hero emerged from observations of official and public reaction to the death in November 1980 of Jules Léger, a former Governor General of Canada.

Eulogized "in terms reserved for a saint, Léger was referred to as a man "symbolizing for all Canadians the values of simplicity, strength of spirit and wisdom" (Montreal Gazette, November 25, 1980). The Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said "we know that when the tent we live in on earth is folded up, there is a house built by God - Jules Léger now lives there ". Archbishop Plourde referred to his life as "a sacrifice to duty" (MacLeans, December 8, 1980).

I was intrigued with the notion of a "death nexus". It was apparent that societal reactions to the death of significant public figures point to fascinating sociological issues meriting further exploration.

The field of "death and dying" which cross-cuts several disciplines (i.e. ethics, sociology, psychology and so on), attempts to deal with the problem of coping with death both on a personal and a collective level. Religion, traditionally, was presumed to have provided answers that give "meaning" to death, and therefore a solution to this problem. The sociology of religion, although not focusing on such "meaning", is concerned with cultural attitudes and behaviour associated with death. The works of Phillipe Ariès (1962;1981), Jacques Choron(1963), Arnold Toynbee (1968) and others listed in

the bibliography testify to such concerns and interests.

We all grieve and mourn the loss of a dear one. The need to find some solution to death-related problems is crucial for survivors. The options available may vary from secular humanism to the teachings of traditional religion.

Nations also experience apparent grief and a collective need to cope - to find some meaning in the loss of a significant public figure. The basic question underlying this study is whether there is a societal or national response to death which indicates, at least implicitly, a religious dimension. Does a nation have a religious solution to the problem of coping with death?

One is struck by this possibility in the example of Jules Léger. Such expressions as "symbolizing simplicity, strength ... spirit and wisdom ... a house built by God ... sacrifice, duty," describe a cultural hero of extraordinary importance to a nation, possibly immortalized by state and church. There is an implication that Léger stood for values, transcending the Canadian nation.

Although the origin of this dissertation was within a Canadian context, the primary research was based on the United States. A focus on American society allowed for a comparison and speculation involving Canadian society.

My theoretical framework lies within the parameters of the sociology of religion and this discipline's interest in the function of religion within

human society. Contemporary sociology of religion has centered on the contribution of religion to the maintenance of society. This emphasis is relevant to my dissertation. I attempt to argue that the death of a "significant figure", a "cultural hero", is frequently shattering for a nation or at least for many of its members. Reconstruction following the death is vital. Here, I delineate a role for religion: the task of reconstructing - through finding meaning in death.

There are other factors, some peculiar to North America or partially shared with other cultures. For example, I perceive the following as relevant to this discussion:

1) Functional alternatives to traditional religion, i.e., secular ideologies and beliefs which seem to attract a "sense of awe" bordering on sacredness.

2) New or other "locations" for religiosity, such as extra-church religion, as an example of "invisible religion," Thomas Luckmann's (1967) term, suggesting that the sacred may also exist outside of "churchlike" religiosity. It could be explicit or implied but is no less powerful than "churchlike" religion.

This dissertation, to a large extent, seeks to test the validity of locating an extra-church form of religion.

One view attempting to explain a dimension of the American religious experience is Robert Bellah's notion of "Civil religion" (1967). This is examined critically in the thesis. I argue that "Civil religion" is a manifestation of extra-church religion. In this context, I also develop the notion of a "death-nexus".

Civil religion posits a vision concerning the mythic structure of the American nation. As I shall develop further in the dissertation, Bellah perceived civil religion as

> the subordination of the nation to ethical principles that transcend it and in terms of which it should be judged ... every nation and every people come to see some form of religious self-understanding .... (1967:3)

The tendency in research of religious attitudes and behaviour seems to emphasize the institutional aspects. Attention has been focused on the role of the formal religious believer, for example a member of a specific institution that one may call a church or sect. This orientation has produced invaluable material, such as Glock and Stark's classic work (1965), Religion and Society in Tension. This is an important analysis of the dimension of belief, the class composition of Church affiliation, and the relationship among religious groups.

My orientation involves a modest attempt to strengthen the framework of cultural sociology within religious studies. I suggest that attention to an overly neglected role of religious belief outside the structure of formalized religious institutions is in order; such an interest is very much the pre-occupation of this dissertation.

In terms of methodology, my research strategy involves an analytical approach. As employed here it is essentially qualitative, utilizing a functional interpretation, which is illustrated by means of a typology.

My efforts to refine a methodological framework for sociological

explanations were stimulated by the work of Gail Gehrig's 1981 American Civil Religion - An Assessment. The author perceived general categories or types of civil religion, not only within Bellah's thesis but also within those of other scholars of civil religion who have followed Bellah and gone beyond him. Gehrig (1981: 23-34) listed the following possibilities.

1. Robert Bellah

   a. General Civil Religion
      - provides a general moral basis

   b. Special Civil Religion
      - provides specific national symbols of divine transcendence

2. Richard Fenn

   a. Personal Civil Religion
      - provides for timeless identity to individual

   b. Societal Civil Religion
      - provides socio-historical identity motivating corporate actions

3. John A. Coleman

   Integrative Civil Religion
   - Civil Religion performs an integrating function for religion in American society
   - it may displace organized religion as a primary institutional source of societal cohesion

The typology which I develop in this dissertation, although indebted as well to Bellah and others, also attempts to demonstrate a necessity to go "beyond Bellah". The model is delineated in Chapter II.

As an instrument, the typological model presents the reader with categories to comprehend arguments not previously articulated as a central thrust for civil religion. This concept of religion, the thesis argues, is a

theory illustrating how society generates a form of religion. Then I suggest that the deaths of certain cultural heroes requires a solution, which will provide meaning for a nation's citizenry. Civil religion addresses the problem of such deaths by means of immortalizing those heroes who symbolize for the citizenry values transcending time and place.

The sources for my data were primarily the written media, e.g. newspapers, journals and periodicals in the popular press. I was influenced by Warner (1961) who suggested in his comments about mass communication that:

> ... societies require a common core of basic understanding known and used by everyone or their complex and diverse symbol systems will not stand ... They need general symbol systems that everyone not only knows but feels. (1961: 43-44)

The sources which I utilized I view as an appropriate "symbol system" conveyor.

A comment about the case study is in order. I have employed selected cases illustrative of my theme. The prototype is John F. Kennedy, utilized to demonstrate certain theoretical perspectives. Other selected instances, variations of the prototype, display related modalities. These are James Dean, John Lennon, Elvis Presley, Marylin Monroe and Terry Fox.

The latter provides an opportunity to study a Canadian case and examine conditions for a civil religion in Canada. The appropriateness of the study of a civil religion in American society has been established. I shall return to this issue in Chapter II, where in a critical discussion of civil religion, I consider the possible utility of the concept in the context of

Canadian society.

In this thesis, I place the existence of extra-church religion within an established sociological perspective (Chapter I). Then in Chapter II, I critically analyze the civil religion hypothesis as it exemplifies a form of extra-church religiosity. Typologies are also formulated within this chapter. In Chapter III, I develop the "death-nexus", an idea illustrating the centrality of death within civil religion especially in relation to the previously unacknowledged concept of mythic heroization. This chapter is the heart of my thesis. Chapters IV and V become applications of the mythic henroization through an examination of a prototype followed by other selected examples. A summary and conclusions asserting to the correctness of my hypothesis are also included.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF EXTRA-CHURCH RELIGION

As indicated in the introduction, I am attempting to demonstrate that there is a "religious location" outside of traditional religious institutions.

Thomas Luckmann provides a clue.

> ... that society is held together by widely shared sets of meanings which at the higher level, transcend individual experience and interludes of time and space so as to comprise ultimate value systems. (1967:12)

I therefore posit that an effort to locate religion in our society must include the delineation of shared sets of meaning as alluded to by Luckmann above.

The preoccupation of the sociology of religion, immediately after World War I, has been with the sociography of church-like religion. The question arises however, evident in discussions by sociologists of religion especially since the 1960's (Luckmann 1967; Berger 1969; Bellah 1964, 1967, 1970a) whether church-like religion fully explains or reflects all the manifestations of religion in North American society. Can religiosity be found only within the church? Are there alternatives to explore, genuine manifestations of religiosity outside of the "church-like" institutional network?

It is of significance to note that even prior to the theoretical development of Luckmann (1967) and Bellah (1967), there is empirical evidence

pointing to an extra-church phenomenon (Warner 1953; Herberg 1955).

It is necessary at this stage to define such terms as "religion", "religiosity", etc. "Extra-church religion" faces a problem unique to its concept. Those who may be participants in extra-church religion may not even articulate a religious stance or even perceive themselves as being involved in a religious experience - at least not in the traditional sense. "Church-like" religions posseses a tradition of specified beliefs and rites adhered to by the committed religious believers. We are hard pressed to discover such a tradition in an "extra-church" religion. So, we must strive to operationalize the concept to find components common to both "church-like" and "extra-church" religion.

TOWARD A DEFINITION

There are a number of useful ideas dealing with the nature of religion (Berger 1968, Williams 1969, Luckmann 1967). They range in scope from Williams' (1968) emphasis on transcendence and supernatural referents to Berger's (1969) and Luckmann's (1967) transcendant naturalistic perspectives. The notion of functional alternatives to organized religion must be considered, not only alternatives expressing the values and goals of institutional church but also secular alternatives which are capable of performing some of religion's traditional functions. Such alternatives are Humanism, Communism, Nationalism. Then there are the whole set of pseudo-religions alluded to by Luckmann (such as psychoanalysis, art, and so forth).

Religion has a variety of meanings for many scholars and for ordinary people. However clearly we strive for a definition, it will be selective, perhaps risking exclusion of other understandings. To find a working definition appropriate to this thesis, we must then run such a risk.

There are a number of perspectives from which one can derive a helpful working definition. In the 19th century, particularly as part of the "primitive materials" tradition, it was common to engage in a reductionism of religion. Reductionism was related to the 19th century theory of evolution. This evolutionary approach was based on an understanding of religion by comprehending its origins. There were assumptions that the religion of modern societies could best be understood by studying the religions of technologically less developed societies (Demerath and Hammond 1969). Although contemporary theories of religion owe a debt to insights derived from the primitive materials tradition, the reductionist mode has a more significant albeit questionable implication. It has been interpreted as background to a final stage in religious evolution, namely the positive stage, whereby traditional religious assumptions are replaced by factual knowledge and scientific modes of understanding (Crysdale and Wheatcroft 1976: 14).

One can identify several forms to this evolutionary-reductionist perspective. Tylor (1896/1950) defines religion as "belief in spiritual beings" and considers that religion evolved from animism through successive stages until mankind attained the capacity to construct more rational explanations. This position pointed to the role of an "agent" controlling natural awe

inspiring events i.e., the notion of gods, their purposes and desires. In this same tradition Sir James Frazer (1890/1922) conceptualized three stages of religion's development - magic, religion and science. As Yinger pointed out (1970: 72), Frazer considered magic and religion inadequate to deal with the human condition because of inherent faulty logic and insufficient empirical study. Freud (1913/61) dismissed religion as a repressive illusion with no meaningful future. He preferred a future better characterized by a time of moral freedom, that millennium of ultimate emotional maturity. To this list of reductionists we may add Karl Marx (1888/1984) who referred to religion as "the opiate of the people" and prophesied its demise along with the capitalist system which had created and utilized religion for its own support.

As insights and contributions toward a contemporary understanding of religion and society, Marx's interpretations are significant to an analysis of religion and social stratification. Freud's theory of the unconscious has permitted us to understand the psychology of religion by profoundly exploring the roots of human personality.

However, for our purposes, I consider the evolutionary-reductionist approach to be rather unproductive. It does appear to be what Berger (1971: 127) calls "an assassination through definition". By this he meant the characterization of religion as a "disease of languages," or Tylor's notion of an "imperfect philosophy," and Marx's reference to a "false consciousness." I therefore argue against the idea of religion being a "false consciousness," but rather believe that it displays a reality of its own. This is best presented by attempting to formulate a definition that is appropriate to our socio-cultural

context.

In general, religion has been considered by theorists as either substantively or functionally defined (Yinger, 1957: 6, Berger 1967: 176). Substantive definitions define what religion is; functional definitions define what religion does - its function in the social system. It also appears possible to have a definition which is both substantive and functional. Berger offers an example of a substantive definition when he describes "religion as the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos (canopy) is established" (Berger 1967: 26). The category of the sacred is the essence of religion. Yinger provides a clear example of a functional definition. "Religion then can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with ... ultimate problems of human life" (Yinger 1957: 9). Durkheim's classic definition is substantive/functional: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim 1915/1947). The essence of the sacred is substantive and is combined here with a functional element - i.e., "unite into one single moral community."

The definition of religion employed by Robert Bellah (1964) influenced by Durkheim (1915/1947) and Tillich (1956) is most helpful for our purposes. Tillich described religion as that which man considers to be of "ultimate concern... Religion transcends the realm of ordinary experience in power and meaning" (1956:33). Bellah comprehends religion as a "set of symbolic forms and acts that relate man to the ultimate conditions of his

existence" (1964: 364). His interpretation is reminiscent of Durkheim since it implies a sacred dimension to society which permeates man. It is a realm of the ultimate, which man strives to discover, through an act of "being and becoming" (Bellah 1970b, 1974; Tillich 1956). This realm has a reality of its own. Man's symbolic acts (i.e., religious beliefs and practices) are human projections, but directed toward this reality.

This notion of ultimacy and religious realism (the antithesis of reductionism) is crucial to our perspective within this study. Thus the treatment of civil religion and the manifest reactions to deaths of significant public figures accept the idea of a religious realm, or what Bellah (1970b) terms symbolic realism. As Bellah points out:

> This is not to say that every religious symbol is equally valid any more than every scientific theory is equally valid. But it does mean that since religious symbolization and religious experiences are inherent in the structure of human existence all reductionism must be abandoned. Symbolic realism is the only adequate basis for the social scientific study of religion. (1970b: 92-93)

In summary, I suggest that Bellah's perspective is the most useful. It is a functional definition with a concern for the substantive, which is essentially an involvement with that realm of the sacred identified with ultimacy. One cannot however leave a discussion of definitions without clarifying functionalism and religion.

Functionalism and Religion

Functionalism has been widely used in analyzing religion. Parsons (1949) developed a synthesized theory stating that religion is essential for the integration and maintenance of social systems. Having analyzed Durkheim and Weber, Parsons concluded that "social action is shaped by normative ends which cannot be understood simply in rational terms". (1949:730) What Parsons tells us is the need to widen the functional analytical scheme and not to allow only for assumptions about meaning for human beings which are reducible to the positivist idioms of social science. O'Dea (1966:14-18) implies that among other functions, religion handles authentic human concerns:

1. By invoking a realm beyond this life, religion provides support, consolation and reconciliation.
2. It offers a transcendent relationship through cult and ceremonies, providing emotional grounds for security and identity.
3. Religion sacralizes the norms and values of established society, its goals and its hierarchies of authority. It also provides means by which guilt may be expiated and it aids in transforming norms and means of social control.
4. It provides an external standard of reference by which established norms and institutions may be examined critically and amended; it has a prophetic and reformative function.
5. Religion supports individuals as they move through the life cycle, defining their generational roles, helping them internalize changing values, consoling them in times of disappointment, and offering them hope as life matures.

O'Dea's perspective broadens Bellah's definition by positing an efficacy to religion in a concrete way.

It is valuable at this point to consider some salient factors important in developing a case for the existence of non-church religion,specifically civil religion which is the subject of Chapter II. There are three related theoretical considerations: firstly, an argument derived from the sociology of knowledge; secondly, implications of social change for religion with specific reference to the concept of differentiation; and, lastly a discussion of the persistence of religion in contemporary society. The latter issue is related to the theme of secularization.

Extra Church Religion and the Relevance of the Sociology of Knowledge

My basic premise is that non-church or extra-church religion is also religiously "real". I use this term "real" in the important sense of the "openness and multiplicity" of reality developed by the social philosopher Alfred Schutz (1962), and subsequently expounded upon by Talcott Parsons (1951a), Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1963). Generally their discussion has involved an attack on tendencies directed toward the liquidation of religious phenomenona, outside defined religious institutions. As they observe

> ... crucial legitimations are to be found outside institutionally specialized religion ... there is no reason to fixate on the traditional religious institutions (1963: 417-420)

The sociology of knowledge is relevant to our better understanding of this religious phenomenon. This understanding need not be restricted to the activity of sociologists involved in the problem of ideology, or its relationship to social strata and their conflicts. In essence, it is an interest in the history of ideas. This is an important area delineated by scholars such as Karl Mannheim (1940), Robert Merton (1968), Werner Stark (1967). I share Berger and Luckmann's (1966) broader definition, which conceives the sociology of knowledge as being properly concerned with the whole area of the relationship of social structure and the total "life world" of people.

Parsons speaks of the "frequent situational conditions that arise and are necessary for a complex system to function."(1949:63). He argues throughout his work, Theories of Society (1951b), that the ultimate nature of reality is not reducible to closely defined empirical realities. Bellah, commenting on Parson's perspective writes

> ... that Parsons has kept alive the openness to the 'mystery of being' which the earlier great generation of social scientists had somewhat grudgingly come to recognize (1970a:11)

To return to Berger and Luckmann, they state that

> ... sociology must be concerned with everything which already on the common sense level is taken as social reality, even if it does not fit into the official definition of what the institutions of society are (1963:418)

Alfred Schutz noted that there are a wide variety of human phenomena socially legitimated but not institutionalized in the narrow sense of the term. He pointed out that

> ... the universe of an individual is fundamentally legitimated by the fact that it is there, confronting the individual from the beginning, as self-evident external reality which exercises unremitting constraint upon his individual expressions and actions - this universe as a coherent configuration requires reiterated and explicitly formulated legitimation - early socialization partially accomplishes this - however never totally successful. (1962:214)

According to Schutz, there are a variety of 'worlds': "the world of dreams, the world of art, the world of science, the world of religion." (ibid: 218). Schutz is giving us a powerful argument for the idea of openness and multiplicity of the human spirit - a relevant fundamental notion for the comprehension of the phenomenon of religion.

We may speak of legitimating formulas which must be reiterated during the ongoing life of a person, especially in the great issues of his life. The individual's "world- taken-for-granted" (a reference to Schutz) must be continually legitimated. Normally, legitimation will occur in specific institutional forms (i.e. religion within the institutionalized 'church). Yet as Berger and Luckmann suggest "one must be careful not to confuse knowledge (e.g. the meaning configuration of the universe) with formal institutions of legitimation" (1963:421). This theoretical distinction is especially important in attempts to comprehend religion in our society, be it church-like, extra -church, explicit, implicit, visible or invisible. I move to a second related aspect of our argument: the impact of differentiation.

Extra-church Religion and the Implications of Differentiation

Parsons defines differentiation.

> ... process by which units in a social system divide into two or more parts functionally different from the original structure... In the general action system, differentiation may occur within systems or between major system levels. (1971:26)

Durkheim (1915/1947) and Weber (1922/1963) implicitly addressed the issue of differentiation in their analyses of industrialization's impact upon religion.

Durkheim proposed an evolutionary model to explain changes associated with industrial development. His essential hypothesis is well known. It refers to a transition from mechanical to organic solidarity. Viewed in terms of the historic development of religion, it is a transition from a "common collective conscience," a representation of a homogeneous society, to one that is more heterogeneous and differentiated. A more complex, highly organized society does not necessarily assume the disappearance of the moral conscience; however, in modern complex societies, religious organization is divided and pluralistic. No single "church" dominates nor is it able to claim the allegiance of all members of such a society.

Max Weber's perspective on social change is linked to the process of modernization and the increasing use of rational bases for human actions. Weber's (1922/1963) study of the "Protestant Ethic" within the framework of modern Capitalism displays an interest in the changing function of religion,

particularly in connection with rationalization. Weber anticipated the loss of the sacred character within society due to this increased rational explanation of reality. The sphere of the secular is enlarged. There is greater application of efficiency to human needs and concerns.

What does the insight of social differentiation offer to our concerns? It is highly instructive in the sense that in a pluralistic society, in which differentiation is a constant aspect of social change, religion must be defined other than in ecclesiastical terms. Luckmann's analysis (1967) notes that the sociology of religion frequently has assumed that church and religion are identical. He stresses that the effects of modernization on religion must not obscure the fact that new religious meaning systems are being developed. (1967:83) He predicts the development of multiple sacred and secular meaning systems for the individual. In other words there are choices available from amongst the multiple meaning systems. It is conceivable that forms of extra-church religion reflect such choices.

An issue which must be addressed is the persistence of religion. If we assume that religion is also located outside of the traditional religious structures, what then is our evidence? How do we distinguish religion from non-religion? Are there critieria to determine these categories? We suggest that an approach to these issues involves a reconsideration of the nature of secularization.

Religious Persistence and the Meaning of Secularization

> The sociology of religion can only profit from well conceived efforts to probe for the presence of religion even in what appears to be most unlikely places. (Schneider 1970:90)

Schneider cautions against constructing a pro-religious ideology, still it is legitimate to say that there are varied possibilities to locate "religion".

One could suggest that religion is located in the presence of sacralization. It is absent in the face of desacralization. In my initial definition, I indicated that religion is found in the ultimate realm - the Sacred.

There are cues that the Sacred at various times and in many locations dominates man and his habitat. We can delineate the Sacred. Durkheim (1915/1947) actually characterized all of human experience into two polarities - the Sacred and the Profane. The Profane is the realm of ordinary, routine experience. Durkheim stated that the "Sacred is superior to the Profane... it involves a recognition of, or a belief in a power or force ...". (1915/1947:52-53) The Sacred, Durkheim tells us, is set apart from the Profane. In other words this superior power or force transcends the Profane.

Robert Nisbet (1970) adds to our understanding of sacredness by suggesting, reminiscent of Durkheim, that man is in "quest of a 'religious

community". This notion of the sacred/religious community is basic to our sociological perspective on man and his society. Nisbet writes,

> ...merely look at the oldest and most powerful of religions. In them we find the fundamental elements of man's existence on earth-birth, growing up, marriage, old age, death, and, yes even the food we eat and the clothing we wear - given the special kind of sanctification that is the clue to the sacred. The sacred itself arises from the prolonged sense of the communal, of instinctual organic relationship with others. To be together in worship, Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor tells us, is man's chief craving. (1970:16-17)

Rudolph Otto (1950) in his work "The Idea of the Holy" notes other relevant characteristics of the sacred. He observed that in the three languages strategic to the transmission of the western religious tradition, the terms kadosh (Hebrew), agios (Greek), and sanctus or sacer (Latin) refer to the "real innermost core" of all religion, a "pre-eminently living force". As discussed above, I view the process of sacralization as central to locating religion; it is in that confrontation with the sacred at a variety of places in time, continuous, or transient, that religious acts emerge.

The term desacralization prods us to examine the idea of secularization, a generally accepted term for the antithesis of the sacred. There are a variety of ways in which secularization has been described, all with implications for church-like and/or extra-church religion.

1. There is the "decline of religion" school of Glock and Stark: (1965) employing a doctrinal version of the "decline" theory. They refer to the significant numbers of denominational churches' members who either deny or are doubtful about many elements of their church's creed. Other studies have measured the decline of religion by the decrease in clerical

prestige, the number of marriages before clergymen, the amount of prayer or church attendance (Lynd and Lynd 1929; Lemert 1975; Wilson 1961)

2. An over-interest in this world - the tendency to become over involved with and like the world, is characteristic, of both church and extra-church. An example of the former is its increasing conformity to the world about it. Erick Goode (1967c) refers to a secular style within churches: "Religious bodies have become recipients of worldly influences". And he notes that many churches have become just another

> competing volunteer organization with an almost infinite variety of functions: social athletic, drama clubs, bazaars, picnics - the "basketballization" of religion (ibid:268)

Will Herberg (1955) spoke to extra-church religiosity. This form of a cultural religion (not to be confused with civil religion) is a secular alternative in which former traditional religious beliefs have been transported into the secular humanistic value system of society. One is a Christian or one is a Jew. It does not matter. All ethical Judeo-Christian values are now part of the "American Way". It is the "democratic way" to belong.

3. Secularization becomes a disengagement of society from religion. One non-Western example is provided by Donald E. Smith's (1970) India as a Secular State, where he demonstrates the state's attitude of neutrality toward both individual and group religious beliefs and practices. Peter Berger's (1967) notion of the loss of a "sacred canopy", that is an absence of an "over-arching" sacred meaning system for society, is another illustration. There is the Berger and Luckmann's (1967) theory of privatization which argues religious institutions have lost social control

and collective influence, abdicating to the private, selective decisions of individuals. These examples are applicable to an analysis of church-like and extra-church religions.

An important question arising from the above is whether or not, as implied, society should be viewed in terms of a sacred-secular polarity? In addition, if we identify desacralization with secularization, can we with validity speak of religious phenomena in our contemporary society? Is the process of sacralization real?

The rejection of a sacred-secular polarity is in order. Do we envisage a society totally bereft of any evident sacralizations, one, for all intensive purposes, devoid of the sacred? Shiner (1968) presents a critique of polarity. He states that there are at least three disadvantages to a polar concept of the sacred - secular typology. First, such polarization tends to deceive us into taking a particular one-sided perspective of a presumed sacred/secular society. Shiner is concerned that decisions about the presence of religiosity are derived from a narrow interpretation of differentiation, i.e., the contrast in power of an increasing state and diminishing church. A blanket applicability of this kind of "spiritual - temporal" polarity to social differentiation can distort or even falsify the data.

Secondly Shiner points out the misleading conclusion that "an increase of activity in the so-called secular sphere must mean a corresponding decline in the religious area... There is considerable evidence that both aspects of society rise to high levels of intensity." (1968:209)

Finally, Shiner underscores an observation pertinent to this perspective. The secular-religious polarity

> ...compounds the deception in the idea that religion is an entity of some kind... for if one does not begin by defining religion or the religious in terms of institutionalized, behavioral traits, there will be no need to find a polar opposite. (ibid:211-212)

Shiner emphasizes what I have been attempting to develop: that religion, both substantially and functionally, involves the sacred dimension concerning the whole man in society. That sacred dimension may be within the institutional framework but may also be just as authentically placed without, as an extra-church or non-church form of religion. The loss, the absence of the sacred dimension, manifesting desacralization, is perhaps preferable to a sacred-secular polarization.

Rather than exhibiting a polarity, perhaps society is on a continuum. As Shiner suggests, both the sacred and secular display high and low points of intensity. Even at times they are bound up together with one emerging more dominant than the other. If one assumes a case for the persistence of religion one must consider with difficulty an either/or societal polarization.

An effort to explore the impact of modernization upon religion is found in studies and discussions by Bibby (1979, 1983, 1985). He examined the relationship between modern industrialization and religiosity in a Canadian setting. His general observations are important to our present discussion. Bibby explored the condition of religion in Canada. Through an examination of

individual involvement within organized religion. Secularization is pervasive in Canada. While Canadians appear to raise questions about ultimacy, and continue to affiliate with churches (although numbers are down somewhat), there is "a participation decline". Bibby notes that with a backdrop of accelerated industrialization...churches are failing to replenish losses (of adherents), through immigration, birth and proseletysm...the pervasiveness of Judaic - Christianity in Canada may well belong to history..." (1979:114-115).

Glock and Stark (1965, 1974), who also examined the variable of affiliation and involvement in the United States, observed that traditional religions in that country are numerically down (with the exception of fundamentalist, orthodox movements) while revealing a low incidence of participation/involvement with rites, practices and beliefs. Given the decline of church-oriented religion, Bibby (1983) also attempted to test Luckmann's thesis (1967), namely that religion does not disappear, but rather takes on new forms, allowing people to develop new alternate meaning systems. Bibby was unable to identify any "invisible thread" associated with a coherent view or meaning system providing a functional equivalent to church religion. "In Canada and elsewhere, then people who give up conventional religion cannot be assumed to adopt alternate systems of meaning. Indeed the evidence is strong in the opposite direction, if they are not visibly religious, the likelihood is not high that they are informed by any system of meaning at all" (1983:294-295).

Bibby is to be credited for demonstrating empirically the "decline of religion" amongst members of denominational churches. There is disengagement from commitment to creed and practice on the part of adherents, thus pointing

to a widening of the distance between affiliation and participation. The process of differentiation within a modernized industrialized society appears to have weakened church-like religiosity.

Bibby's (1983) study is important because it does attempt to probe Luckmanmn's (1967) thesis that there is an "invisible thread" connecting people to meaning systems in spite of minimal participation or involvement with rites practices or beliefs. Bibby (1983) demonstrated that it is a misleading assumption to conclude that people who "give up" on conventional religion (although not necessarily disaffiliating) readily adopt alternate systems of meaning. Bibby has made a major contribution to exposing the paradox between affiliation and involvement. The former remains high (about 90%), while the latter is much lower (1979).

His writings are not convincing, however, of a real understanding of the complexity of secularization. To conclude that if "people are not visibly religious, the likelihood is not high that they are informed by any system of meaning at all" (1985:294-295), appears to be highly overstated and not fully explored within Canadian studies. It is premature to accept a view articulated by Bryan Wilson (1966) and implicit in Bibby's studies that we are "in the death throes of doomed religion" (Wilson 1966:47).

There is a need to be flexible and open to all pertinent evidence that locates religion in "unconventional" or "new" areas. My focus will centre on the extra-church aspect of religion. In the next Chapter, I examine civil religion as such an alternative structural arrangement.

CHAPTER II

CIVIL RELIGION: AN EXTRA-CHURCH PHENOMENON

Civil religion exemplifies a type of extra-church religion. It is a religious phenomenon not intrinsically bound up with church-like, denominational structures. Civil religion emerges as distinct from the institutional Church, even when it is associated with the Church or even somewhat dependent on the institutional Church. It was argued previously that in terms of viewing religion in a sociological perspective, there are alternative structural arrangements to traditional religion. Civil religion is such an alternative.

This chapter has two main thrusts: firstly, to examine the nature and meaning of civil religion; secondly, to show how it operates.

The Nature and Meaning of Civil Religion

To comprehend the civil religion concept it is appropriate that we consider relevant intellectual traditions and link these to contemporary sociological thought.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau; Alexis de Tocqueville; Emile Durkheim

The term civil religion is located within an older tradition of political and social thought. The concept is derived from Rousseau's The Social Contract (1893/1913). In the broadest sense Rousseau conceived civil

religion as a concern with the legitimacy of "good citizenship". There is a sacralization of social life, and a legitimacy of rule and power. Political leadership's mandate is derived from theological beliefs; rules of law came from God (1893/1913: 121). This is reminiscent of the notion of a divine right of kings, or the archetypal monarchical and prophetic relationship in ancient Hebrew religion. Civil religion is a matter of civil virtue, sacralizing and legitimating society. An omnipotent Deity hovers over state and citizenry.

> The existence of the Deity – the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishments of the wicked, the sanctity of the social contract and of the laws; these are the positive dogmas. As for the negative dogmas, I limit them to one only, that is intolerance of intolernance. (1893/1913:124-125)

Alexis de Tocqueville's idea of a "republican religion" (1835/1966) has influenced America's religious history. He developed a case study of American society during the 1830s. Differing from Rousseau's advocacy of state-sponsored natural religion, de Tocqueville's republican religion implied a separation of church and state. This notwithstanding, he observed within the United States an intermingling of religious and societal values, of religious belief and democratic freedom. He developed a concept of republican "folk" religion, in which revealed moral laws influence social attitudes and practices and vice-versa. (1835/1966:304) Thus de Tocqueville's perspective provides an outlook on civil religion tied to democratic values, as opposed to the monarchical or aristocratic values. He believed that "the spirit of man, left to follow its bent, will regulate political society and the City of God in uniform fashion; it will seek to harmonize earth with heavens." (1835/1966:310)

Emile Durkheim, perceived religion as an integrating force for society. There is, he proposed, a set of common representations ends necessary for a social system to remain viable. Statements in The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (1915/1947) indicate how these common representations came about. He notes that "rites are means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically." (1915/47:32) Or, "society compels a loyalty akin to worship" (ibid:33). "There is an experience sufficiently real to be defined as the sacred and to which a believer responds" and "The God people worship is the society that nurtures them," (ibid:35-37).

The social fact of "unity" is a prime focus for Durkheim. He sees religion as an expression of societal integration, not as an independent element. As Durkheim notes, "Men who feel themselves united partially by bonds of blood, but still more by a community of interest and tradition, assemble and become conscious of their moral unity - they are led to represent this unity" (ibid:111). A link therefore is made here between religion and society, not in the sense of religion producing the cohesive society, but rather that the element of cohesion has a religious dimension. Talcott Parsons (1966:52) later summed the distinction so well, "...not that religion is a social phenomenon, but that society is a religious phenomenon".

We find then in Durkheim's writings a religion that is "civil" through and through. Note this question he raised as a case in point: "what essential difference is there between an assembly of Christians celebrating the principal dates of the life of Christ... and a reunion of citizenry

commemorating some great event in the national life?" (1915/1947:225)

This sketch of viewpoints bring together several perspectives relevant to the civil religion concept. Rousseau seemed to consider civil religion as natural, i.e., rational, and therefore as the minimal consensus among citizens. Durkheim, in contrast, viewed religion as the core of society itself, and emerging from the very idea of society. de Tocqueville was closer to the pragmatism of Rousseau, in his perceptions of the role of religious ideas (in the American case), crucial to the making of a democratic society. Certainly, however, de Tocqueville is akin to Durkheim, in the sense that his concept of a "Republican religion" is linked to, and even based on, the moral and religious traditions of society.

Regardless of the divergence in their approaches, Rousseau, de Tocqueville, Durkheim have suggested that civil religion does refer to the authentic presence of a religious dimension in society - or, the 'polis'. It is 'civil' in the sense that it arises from within the society, perhaps associated with the Church, even sharing a religious heritage, yet capable of maintaining its independence. It is religious because elements of Transcendence and Ultimacy play such a significant part. Thus this statement:

> The idea of Civil Religion names the link between an allegiance and protection; relationships associated with territory, birth and law, and, that order in the universe experienced as an ultimate binding together and expressed through a people's symbols and stances about their origins and destiny, about incorporation and reciprocation, about protection and allegiance, meaning design and celebration; in short, the religious experience. (Neal, 1976: 100)

Contemporary Sociological Traditions

The focus, flurry of interest, controversy and ongoing debate concerning civil religion was provoked by Robert Bellah's statements in his Daedalus article (1967). I shall review his observations below, however it is important to note that there are sociological and historical antecedents to Bellah. This survey of the antecedents brings us to what Richey and Jones (1974) have labelled "The Civil Religion Debate". It is important for our own purpose to clarify several issues in this debate since this will allow us to substantiate the formation of a typology which will conclude this chapter.

There were other scholars during the past three decades who offered a variety of perspectives on the indication of civil religion within the context of American religious life.

Sidney Mead (1967), an historian, developed the position that civil religion reflects a "religion of the Republic". In its best expression it is worthy of commitment and support. Mead discovered analogues between the roles of the nation and the roles exercised by the Church in the European past. Beliefs in popular sovereignty and representative government, committment to God and laws of providence, immortality and final judgement are the fundamentals of the religion of the Republic. For Mead there is "a universality in the spiritual core of the republic...it unifies and transcends the separate sects and ethnic groups" (1967:267). Civil religion may therefore be, in Mead's term of reference, the transcendent universal religion of the nation.

Mead's clear statements appear to be augmented by those of Winthrop Hudson (1970), Robert Michaelson (1970), and Leo Marx (1974). Utilizing historical information, Hudson (1970) concludes that the American colonists were solidified around common political and religious traditions. The fusion of English Puritanism and a commitment to the value of liberty became the basis for American civil religion according to Hudson.

Michaelson strikes a similar tone when he writes "America's civil religion is compounded of the two great religious movements that molded America... the Puritan way secularized; and the Revivalist way secularized" (1970:32).

Leo Marx's contribution to this discussion is his view that civil religion be designated as the democratic faith. The humane values and ideals of equality, freedom and justice without a necessary dependence on a transcendent deity, or a spiritualized nationalism represent to Marx a civil religion at its best found in the American experience. [1974:242]

A classic presentation on religion in American society is Will Herberg's work Protestant, Catholic, Jew (1955). He suggested that America's religious history was organized around a reciprocal relationship between religion and ethnicity. Herberg believed that Protestantism, once unitive and normative for American society, had "succumbed finally to religious pluralism and that the denominations which had served to sustain ethnic boundaries had lost that role to the three major religious traditions." (1955:76) Furthermore, undergirding American society and shaping Protestantism, Catholicism and

Judaism, is another religious ethos: the "American Way of Life".

> 'The American Way' is dynamic, optimistic, pragmatic, individualistic...and pluralistic...Culturally 'The American Way' exhibits an intense faith in education, significantly coupled with a disparagement of culture in the aesthetic sense and characteristically an extraordinary high moral valuation of sanitation... (Herberg 1955:148)
>
> Not deism but secularized Protestantism, Judaism and Catholicism which celebrate democracy, the Constitution, national unity, free enterprise, social egalitarianism, all become the religionization of the national life and national culture. (1955:160)

We could speak of civil religion in Herberg's terms as a folk religion, since he intended to see the common religion of Americans as emerging out of the life of the 'folk'. He examined the life, ideas, values, ceremonies and loyalties of the people. Herberg writes, "it is a civic religion in the strictest sense of the term, for in it national life is apotheosized, national values are religionized, national heroes are divinized, national history is experienced as a redemptive history" (1955:21).

W. Lloyd Warner in a series of penetrating discussions (1953, 1961, 1965) offered an early study of civil religion without direct reference to the concept. The religious form Warner observed functioning in American life is also that of a "folk religion". Richey and Jones viewed folk religion as an expression of "the ethos and history of the society" (1974:15). Andrew Greeley perceived it as a societal religion "of comfort and reassurance". (1972a:173)

In his account of the religion of "Yankee City", Warner (1961) describes the great "religious" feast days - Memorial Day and the fourth of

July. These commemorate the significant religious mythos around which the American nation is organized. There is the myth of liberation and freedom, recalling the Biblical Exodus with George Washington as a Moses. Another myth is embodied in the civil war, reflecting the Christian religious themes of suffering, death and resurrection. In this case Abraham Lincoln emerges as a Christ figure. Warner (1953) offers a unifying symbolic interpretation of the transcendant meaning of American society. Washington, Lincoln are presented as the Saints of America's civil religion (a point not stated by Warner but certainly implied). His description of Memorial day observances with saints, and shrines are powerful indicators of civil religion.

> The Memorial Day ceremonies and subsidiary rites...are rituals which are a sacred symbol system, which functions periodically to integrate the whole community, with its conflicting symbols and its opposing autonomous churches and associations...Memorial Day is a 'cult of the dead' which organizes and integrates the various faiths, ethnic and class groups into a sacred unity. (1953:214)

Warner characterizes the principal Memorial Day speaker at the ceremony: 'No character, except the carpenter of Nazareth, has ever been honored the way Washington and Lincoln have been in New England. Virtue, freedom from sin, and righteousness were qualities possessed by Washington and Lincoln and, in possessing these qualities, both were true Americans' (1953:220). Washington and Lincoln are, in this context, elevated beyond the ordinary, transcending the common man.

American civil religion is seen as 'folk religion' in Warner's (1961) further analysis of Memorial Day celebrations in a 1930s Massachusetts community. Here he expands his thesis that Memorial Day and the

accompanying rituals provide a religious function noted above by Greeley (1972a). Memorial Day and its sacrificial themes provide, by means of ritual, a unifying function of comfort and consolation.

Through these civil religious observances which Warner describes, there is an acting out of key functions for religion in society. In the Durkheimian sense these civil religious rituals are socially integrating. They also reinforce identity, particulary confronting the dysfunctional aspect of Death. It is a response to Weber's suggestion that "discrepancies of meaning," require a religious interpretation. (1922/1963, Parson's introduction (xlvii-lii) It is not far-fetched to propose that the institutions of "cults of the dead" which Warner associated with Washington and Lincoln could be a model for marking the deaths of John F. Kennedy and other national hero figures representing a variety of societal interests - politics, arts, athletics, and so forth.

Robert Bellah

Robert Bellah's Daedalus article in 1967 caused a stir within academic circles. As Phillip Hammond commented,

> ... it was not that Bellah invented anything or even expressed much that was new, but he did suggest a systematic method for observing the rhetoric of American civil religion...He (Bellah) did take seriously that a civil religion might be vibrant without being "inauthentic". And he did suggest an interpretation of American history wherein civil religion plays a significant role. (1976:170-171)

In 1967 the term "civil religion" was applied by Robert Bellah to the

type of religion which he observed in America. The religion was not associated with any specific church but characterized the behaviour of civic leaders on solemn occasions, such as inaugurations and national holidays. The manifested behaviour, Bellah felt, was quite capable of binding people in solidarity, with a compelling force beyond that of simple patriotism. Bellah called it "religious" because he believed it was associated more with the transcendent dimension of human experience than with the specific functions of governance and citizenship. He defined civil religion therefore "as the subordination of the national ideal to ethical, moral principles that transcend it and in terms of which it should be judged" (1967:2). He added that he is "convinced that every nation and every people came to some form of religious self-understanding whether the critics like it or not" (1967:8).

Bellah did not mean by American civil religion, "The American Way of Life". Civil religion, Bellah stressed, is a legitimate religious system, as real and factual as other indicators of religion in society. He wrote in a later article: "civil religion at its best is a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendant religious reality as seen in, or one could almost say as revealed through, the experience of the American people" (Bellah 1975:122). "There are sacred dimensions to the beliefs, values and symbols (i.e., liberty, justice, charity, virtue) which reveal what reality is and how we should act in relation to it" (1975:153).

There are biblical archetypes which inform civil religion in America, such as the Exodus, Chosen People, Promised Land, New Jerusalem, Sacrificial Death and Rebirth. Bellah claimed that American society "is concerned with

America being a society as perfectly in accord with God's will as men can make it and a light to all nations" (1967:24).

Civil religion, as developed by Bellah, can mean those sets of beliefs and rituals related to the past, present and future of a people which are understood in some transcendent fashion. Bellah appears to be outlining a model of societal religion. The precedent, as he notes, is clear. The Old Testament is an account of the civil religion of the nation of Israel. Similarly, America since the time of the Pilgrims has been conceived as "God's new Israel". America, Bellah comments, "gave rise to Sidney Mead's wonderfully ironic comment that Americans were God's almost chosen people" (1967:83).

How do we utilize the models of civil religion formulated by Warner and Bellah? John F. Wilson (1974:127-124) noted that both models include many of the same sources of data. Warner's "folk religion", looks to the daily life behaviour of the public as its major source of data. It is the explicit theological element which sets Bellah's civil religion apart. Richey and Jones (1974:15-16) conclude that the transcendent quality of Bellah's civil religion is divinely motivated, with reference to a transcendant God. Warner's trappings for an authentic societal religion are present, yet Bellah's is explicitly "a new civil religion of the world" (1967:18).

In terms of roles normally associated with a religious system, i.e. integration and legitimation, both models perform these functions. There are differing emphases. Bellah seems to provide a more refined statement about

the nature of societal religion than Warner. The latter's thesis is a position on societal religion focusing on a national "cult of the dead". This cultic dimension is worthy of greater exploration. The cultic and societal dimensions of civil religion developed by Warner and Bellah are major parts of an analytical scheme developed below. In Bellah's study of civil religion, the American Constitution provided him with data. As Bellah outlines in The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (1975), the Constitution can be perceived as a covenant binding God and the American people. A careful study of the Constitution, Bellah (1975: 33-34), observed will reveal a document reflecting the religious beliefs of a citizenry who were guided by a Divine Presence.

The theological thrust which Bellah inserted into his conceptualization of civil religion appears to be a distinguishing characteristic of civil religion in American society. Here there is an understanding of the nature and meaning of religion, quite compatible with my analysis developed in Chapter I. Civil religion as an expression of extra-church societal religion reflects what Sidney Mead observed as "an America which has placed its faith in a God of 'will and purpose', which means among other things, that there is "order and ultimate meaning in the universe... which may be discerned by the faithful" (1967:363).

A Critique of Civil Religion

A most serious critique of civil religion centers around this statement by Robert Bellah:

> While some have argued that Christianity is the national faith, and others that church and synagogue celebrate only the generalized religion of "The American Way of Life", few have realized that there actually exists alongside of and rather clearly differentiated from the churches an elaborate and well institutionalized civil religion in America. This article argues not only that there is such a thing, but also that this religion - or perhaps better, this religious dimension -has its own seriousness and integrity and requires the same care in understanding that any other religion does. (1967:1)

The specific claim "there actually exists along side of and rather clearly differentiated from the churches an elaborate and well institutionalized civil religion in America" has engendered a current of debate. The reality of a civil religion has been called into question. Critics have argued whether or not a civil religion can be seen to have existed in the past. John Wilson asks: "is there religious coherence in the civil realm from Puritan days to the present?" (1979:223). The question concerns the usage of the concept "religion" or "religious dimension" particularly in respect to Bellah's model of civil religion.

There is unequivocal support for Bellah's thesis. Greeley (1972b) has no difficulty concluding that civil religion is authentic. He agrees with Bellah that the symbols of American civil religion reveal that American society has a religious dimension represented by the celebration of sacred places and sacred days, a view identifiable with both Bellah and Warner. Greeley shares the impatience of Bellah:

> ...those who write off national ceremonials, such as the inauguration of the president, as being 'only a ritual'. What people say on solemn occasions need not be taken at face value, but is often indicative of deep-seated values and commitments that are not made explicit in the course of everyday life... (Greeley 1972a:46-47)

Phillip E. Hammond (1968) argues that civil religion is germane to specific institutions in the social structure, i.e. churches and comparable organizations. John Wilson (1974), in contrast to his later critique in (1979), shared Bellah's view that there is a "religious dimension" in American public life having "its own seriousness and integrity and which requires the same care and understanding that any other religion does." (1974:12) Perceiving the school as a socializing institution, Wilson (1974:13) suggested it is a locale for "civil religious training". He writes:

> ...I hold this model (Bellah's) of civil religion in high regard. Analytically it is clearly superior to that of civil religion as a virtually disembodied faith option (a reference here to Herberg's model). and it manages to incorporate and build upon the real strengths of the ceremonial-symbolic model (i.e. Warner's) while restructuring it at the critical point of differentiating the symbolic support for civic order and meaning from the more extensive fabric of symbols and meaning which it seems to be. It is eminently serviceable for the historian. (1974: 130-131)

Herberg, implicitly at least, did uphold Bellah's idea of the religionization of American life, providing a religiously pluralistic society with an overarching unity, (1955, 1974), a kind of "Sacred Canopy" to utilize Peter Berger's terminology. Initially in Protestant-Catholic-Jew Herberg was skeptical about the prospects or integrity of civil religion (although not using the phrase, preferring civic religion), equated as he noted with "The American Way of Life" (1955).

There are the detractors - the less than exuberant, who have dissented from Bellah. John F. Wilson (1979) implies that it is inappropriate to

utilize the term "religion" because there is not an institutionalized civil religion to which one can point with any assurance. He acknowledges that there are aspects of civil religion in American presidential addresses, ritual observances of American holidays (i.e., Memorial Day) and some social institutions. "The presidential addresses, as an example, however, do not seem to provide evidence that a highly structured religion centers in the public realm. Nor do the Thanksgiving Day materials seem to be evidence for a ritualistic kind of religion." (1979: 65-66)

Wilson indicates difficulties with efforts to comprehend the nature and meaning of civil religion:

> The topic proved to be at once highly suggestive and exasperatingly elusive when on the one hand, I attempted to use to advantage the range and power of civil religion as a construction to organize historical materials, it either dissolved or appeared to be wholly artificial. When on the other hand, the concept was refined, resolved or was reduced to essentials, it seemed to verge on the trivial. (1979: vii)

Wilson has rejected one of Bellah's pivotal claims, "that there actually exists, alongside and rather clearly differentiated from the churches, an elaborate and well-institutionalized civil religion in America." (Bellah 1967:15)

Wilson (1974:90-121) calls attention to method. He examines several dimensions which he feels justify his doubt of a "well institutionalized civil religion". These are 1) linguistic formulations, that is credal pronouncements by American Presidents; 2) a consistent ritualized behaviour in the collective life of the democratic American republic; 3) identifiable sets of "meanings"

which the American nation through time has held in common; 4) the existence of institutions since religion must be institutionalized, structured to survive. Institutions are necessary to support a civil religious cult.

Wilson concludes in each case that the claim to a well institutionalized public religion (the euphemism for civil religion) is not justified. One discerns in Wilson's dissenting opinion a clearly drawn analogy between overt explicitly religious institutions indicative of denominational religion and the attributes he seeks for a legitimate civil religion. Civil religion as an "institution" in American life must be equated, in his terms, with the institutional churches or synagogues.

Wilson has not rejected Bellah's position that there is a "religious dimension" to American public life. As noted above, he appreciated the utility of civil religion even as a "continuous cultural presence in American life...through the kind of patterning or structuring of life in the schools (and other institutions) stressing American morals and values" (1974:130). Analytically Wilson perceives examples of civil religion, as manifested in presidential inaugurations, ritualized commemoration of sacred holidays, and "statements of reassurance" at times of national crisis (i.e. Lincoln's Gettysburgh address) "as a virtually disembodied faith option" (1974: 131).

Wilson is not alone in cataloguing the deficiencies of civil religion as an essence of the American experience. The historian Henry Bowden (1975) questions the validity of "themes, persons and holidays, words and acts of the founding fathers, particularly the first four presidents, shaping the form

and tone of civil religion as it has been maintained ever since...does not present a compelling case for the existence of a civil religion in America." (1975: 497-498) Bowden's main arguments (ibid: 501-502) are twofold: "the civil religion model is only applicable in retrospect, there being no probability of making reliable predictions; and civil religion arose out of a need to provide institutional religion with an adversary because of the perceived decline of religion in contemporary Western life." This is the episodic mode inferring the emergence of civil religion under certain historic needs or circumstances.

Martin Marty's (1974) discomfort with Bellah is associated with a perception of the nation as an object of adoration and glorification. Civil religion, in Marty's understanding, reveals "a tendency towards idolatry in which Americans express their faith equated to politics, as a matter of ultimate concern" (ibid:40). He also qualifies civil religion by setting limits on its unitive and normative qualities. He calls attention to groups, throughout American history, not wholly receptive to American civil religion - ethnics, black women, specific sects and to some extent, the major religious denominations themselves. He calls these groups "hold-outs" which he insists are common reactions to civil religion (1974:142).

Marty in his work, A Nation of Behavers (1976), has criticized the term "civil religion" as an overstated analytical theoretical construct:

> ...it appears (civil religion) only in books, articles or reports of theological, sociological, historical and social critics. Once or twice politicians have used it in the public sector where it has not yet grasped the imagination. The term would inspire only bemusement and puzzlement in the neighbourhood tavern, St.Boniface Parish, or a meeting of the American Legion. They are talking about the mass

> of people. Almost no empirical studies of the people's involvement with civil religion exists. The discussions have to do with intellectual, theological and political themes and methods of study and almost never with behavioural observations... (1976:183-184).

In a statement about religion and American society, Marie Augusta Neal (1976) cautions about an interpretation of the religious history of America which "tells us that God is brooding over a society with rejection of people who are black, with political indifference, with unawareness of the sufferings of the poor,. and with almost total absorption in one's own interests...there is the danger of a collective "faith connection" giving energy to act against whole groups of people whom they define as the enemy." (1976: 109-110).

In a critique of Wilson's Public Religion in American Culture, Albert J. Raboteau (1982) points to "the central fact of the nation's history as a paradox, the persistence of slavery in the midst of freedom." (1982:193) Contrary to Bellah's definition, he sees America not as a "New Israel" but another "Egypt". There is a need to examine civil religion from the point of view of groups "alienated from the national mythology." It is imperative to know, to be aware of "The history of dissent from the dominant ethos." (ibid: 225-226).

There are statements, however, supporting the consistent faith of civil religion within the development of American nationhood. The penetrating analysis of G.K. Chesterton (1930/1954) is not to be taken lightly: "America is the only nation in the world that is founded on a creed. That creed is set forth with dogmatic and even theological lucidity in the Declaration of Independence; it clearly names the Creator as the ultimate authority from

whom these equal rights are derived." (1930,1954:188) Can one look only skeptically upon the words of a New England Puritan who in requesting "to send out" clergymen wrote back home. "The Israelites prosperity decayed when their prophets were wanting, for where the ark of God is, there is peace and tranquility." (ibid:196) One must pay some attention to Mead who observed the fact (in a comment about the American Revolution) "that Americans' choice to assimilate their history to the exodus, the archetypal story of our civilization, lifted the events of a bob-tailed rebellion to the level of cosmic mythology." (1967:264)

Mead (1967) described the 18th century as an era of spiritual awakening or revivalism; a time when the civil religion 'faith' was far from insignificant. He noted that Jonathan Edwards the great American theologian, suggested that the effectiveness of the Great Awakening could be determined by observing its results. That is "the visible fruit that is to be expected of a pouring out of the Spirit of God on a country - America was blessed, because America was to be the vessel of redemption." (Mead, 1967:270)

The discussion above points to a debate around an assumption that civil religion "is a genuine vehicle of national religious self-understanding". Bellah's "evidence" is the founding document of the American nation. As he noted:

> It is to the abstract faith of the Declaration of Independence and the - Gettysburg Address those abstract propositions to which we are dedicated, that is the heart and soul of the civil religion. (Bellah 1975:153)

Bellah has tried to argue that the essence of American civil religion is a biblical heritage expressed in a high destiny of a chosen people. Americans became a "new Israel". Again in Biblical language, America is perceived as the promised land. As noted in the preceeding discussion, critics are aware of the corruption of the ideals of civil religion. Bellah's in his newer work, The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial (1975), reveals his own anguish over the corruption of civil religion. Although the importance of American civil religion is reaffirmed, he writes "of an America in a time of deep crisis: an ignoring of victims of poverty; the insensitive power of mega corporations; wasteful consumption patterns; the increasing arrogance of American foreign policy." (1975:68)

Not unrelated to the problematic issue of corruption is the possible criticism that civil religion is purely ideological. Its "sacred power" could function essentially to legitimate the social order (i.e., the American Way of Life). Recalling Martin Marty's concerns mentioned previously in this chapter, civil religion can become a form of idolatry with a nation practicing selfworship.

In a stinging indictment of the civil religion thesis and its author, Michael Hughey (1983) suggests that Bellah had an ulterior motive for writing and publishing Civil Religion in America (1967). Since the United States at the time was undergoing a crisis domestically and in foreign affairs, academic intellectuals (Bellah as an example) had shown considerable concern with developing a positive ideology for the society (1983:169). Hughey's perception of civil religion is that of an ideological construction reflecting traditional

secularized Protestant values.

America," Hughey comments, "...despite the dreams and efforts of Puritan divines would not be home for the City of God. Indeed, by only the third generation, the Holy Commonwealth of the Puritans was fast becoming an abandoned dream" (1983:88).

Hughey insightfully points out that "despite their fading religious content and the decreasing fervor of their sectarian carriers, neither the economic nor the social virtues of Protestantism were in danger of disappearing. The Church...would no longer be primarily responsible for the continued survival of its original values. Rather it is decisive that the civic ideology of Protestantism was adopted by the emerging bourgeois middle classes, especially by the independent farmers and small business stratum..." (1983:86).

Viewed in retrospect, the claimants for the presence of an authentic, genuine civil religion articulated by Bellah and others are to be viewed as the evoking of a deep response "to an increasingly romanticized version of the nation's past" (1983:170). As an example of such romanticism, the Memorial Day parade described by W.L. Warner (196:1974), a focus for the development of this dissertation, is considered by Hughey as "a civic celebration, appropriated by local business groups, to shore up their own dominance in accordance with their own needs and interests..." (1983:108).

Does one rest a case on an assumption that civil religion is pure

ideology? Hughey's analysis is important for our understanding of a difficult complex concept. One cannot ignore a social fact: the experience and vested interests of dominant social groups are related to dominant values and the construction of a social, moral order.

The admission that civil religion could be corrupted and deteriorate into ideological pretence must be acknowledged. Bellah (1975) was not unaware of the difficulty. An accurate reading of Bellah, however, points to other motives and interpretations underlying the civil religion thesis. Bellah wrote in a time of national disarray, as Hughey indicated, however one could argue that civil religion was presented as an ideal. Civil religion is actually more utopian than ideological, providing norms to remind citizenry of the "subordination of the nation to ethical principles that transcend it and in terms of which it should be judged" (Bellah 1970a:168). It is a visionary view of society.

Darrol Bryant's (1974) suggestion fulfills significant functions beyond the purely ideological: "...an intentional horizon projecting an image of national destiny; an integrating myth permitting all sections of the nation to be equally members of society even when the nation perpetuates diverse traditions; and as a public court protecting social conditions" (1974:44-5). One could therefore take a point of view that civil religion becomes ideological when the ideal collapses. Thus in Bellah's perspective, it is a corrupted civil religion which promotes national self-aggrandizement and idolatry. The ideal of civil religion sanctifies national purposes when it evokes functions such as those described by Bryant.

A statement is in order about civil religion within a Canadian context; particularly in light of arguments put forth by Bellah (1980) that the civil religious phenomenon is essentially an American experience. Bellah discussed the idea of a variety of civil religions (namely, its potential for development in countries other than the United States). He concluded that the Canadian experience may not be conducive for the development of a differentiated civil religion. (1980:32)

His view is compatible with classic discussions concerning American and Canadian differences (Clark, 1976; Lipset, 1963,1964; Clifford, 1983; Despland, 1977). In sum, Bellah (1980) points to the absence of a revolution in Canada; the British tie, particularly Canada's involvement with Britain's symbols of civil religion; the bilingual, bicultural divisions. All of these factors were perceived by Bellah as mitigating against the development of a Canadian civil religion. Canada, in Bellah's view, has not displayed any overriding national purposes. The question is whether or not Bellah overstates his position. Canada, I suggest, examplified by Terry Fox (an example of one case study in Chapter V) may be at least minimally a fertile ground for a civil religion newly emerging. It is consequential, if it could be demonstrated, that Americans and Canadians share similar cultural heroes - an issue for this dissertation.

Roger O'Toole's (1982) comments are applicable to Bellah's perspective and I suggest to other sociologists interested in Canadian religion: "scholars have shown such reluctance in considering the possible utility of the

concept 'civil religion' in the context of their own country. During the last two decades, Canadians have witnessed unprecedented governmental efforts to engender 'national unity' on the basis of supposedly emotive national symbols. At the same time, numerous diagnosticians of 'Canadian Identity' have shared the public limelight with the advocates of various brands of 'Canadian nationalism', while in academia a growing stress has been placed upon 'Canadian Studies', and 'Canadian Content', particularly in the fields of literature, the arts, history and the social sciences. Skepticism regarding the likely existence of a Canadian civil religion is no excuse for neglecting to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the concept of civil religion in Canadian contexts..." "...given the significant influence of religion upon Canadian politics, a civil religion may exist, though few realize the fact, in this country..." (O'Toole 1982:195-196).

Implied within O'Toole's insights (not unrelated to Bellah's (1967) discussion) is a necessity to broaden the framework of the sociology of religion. Luckmann's (1967) proposal for an inclusive definition of religion locating the phenomenon within and without the "Church", continues to be relevant. The conceptual categories to follow are designed to examine empirically the assumptions of Bellah and others. The task: to uncover civil religious behaviour as exemplified by societal death. Ensuing Chapters discuss the impact upon society of the death of cultural heroes.

Towards the Development of a Typology

There are four possibilities: state sponsored (Bellah), church sponsored (beyond Bellah), national civil cultic (beyond Bellah), and marginal civil cultic (beyond Bellah). The concept of structural differentiation, as discussed previously, helps us to understand the appropriateness of these typologies. John Coleman (1970) has suggested as well that the theory of structural differentiation is applicable to American civil religion, a perspective consistent with interpretations of modern religious symbol systems. Civil religion's functions, Coleman points out, can be carried out by formal religious or political institutions (1970:70).

Although church-sponsored and state-sponsored both appear to be "societal" religions, they are distinctive, a consequence of a differentiated civil religion system. Bellah's (1967) conception, a state-sponsored type, is essentially invisible and implicit. We can refer as well to a church-sponsored civil religion which is explicit and visible. Differentiated further, I suggest that other types are possible: such as cult-like civil religion.

Church Sponsored Civil Religion (Beyond Bellah)

The funerals of political leaders, inaugurations of presidents, openings of legislatures, parliaments and so on, all become occasions for formal religious institutions to participate and legitimize events through the invocation of their symbols representing highly institutionalized religious systems. The

religious institutions sacralize civic life. Here civil religion is more visible and explicit than the manifestations of the phenomenon indicated by Bellah and even Warner. This type of civil religion is an extra-church event in which the institutional church "steps outside" its boundaries to bring sacredness to the society by providing a framework for sacred societal symbols. In a classic study, but not using the term "civil religion", Shils and Young described the phenomenon in The Meaning of the Coronation (1953).

In their preamble the authors observe that,

> ... life in a community is not only necessary to man, for the genetic development of his human qualities. Society is necessary to man as an object of his higher evaluation and attachments, and without it man's human qualities could not find expression...the sacredness of society is at bottom. The sacredness of its moral rules, which itself derives from the presumed relationship between these rules in their deepest significance and the faces and agents which men regard as having the power to influence their destiny for better or for worse. (1953:66)

Shils and Young argue that in associating with "symbols of morality" individuals reinforce efforts to keep a society's moral law uppermost. Thus,

> ...contact with them in their most sacred form - as principles, or when symbolized in ritual activities...renews their potency and makes the individual feel that he is in "good relations" with the sacred, as well as safe from his own base tendencies...The coronation is exactly this kind of ceremonial, society reaffirms the moral values which constitute it as a society and renews its devotion to those values by an act of communion. (1953:67-68)

The article details the series of affirmations which are made. In

essence this is a review of a societal sacred ritual supported by an established religious tradition, including the following elements:

The Recognition

This is the presentation of the Queen or King by the Archbishop to the assembly of the people in Westminster Abbey. We are witnessing homage and service to the "great power".

The Oath

The Queen is asked to "solemnly swear and promise" to govern by acknowledging the moral standards of the laws she upholds and "to do her utmost to maintain the laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel."

Presenting the Holy Bible

The Bible, Shils and Young remind us, is a "sacred object which contains in writing the fundamental moral teachings of the Christian society...it is also the royal law."

The Anointing

The Queen having been transformed from a mere human being is anointed by the Archbishop with consecrated oil which sanctifies her in her supreme office. Most important she is now part of the sacred line traced back through the centuries of sanctified monarchs.

The Benediction

The Queen finally comes under God's rule through the Archbishop's benediction as he says: "The Lord give you faithful Parliaments and quiet realms, sure defence against all enemies, fruitful lands and a prosperous industry, wise counsellors and upright magistrates, leaders of integrity in learning and labour; a devout, learned, and useful clergy; honest, peaceable and dutiful citizens."

This model of civil religion serves to recognize similar occasions within differing contexts.

The Emergence of Cult-like Civil Religion (Beyond Bellah)

At first glance it may appear that the notion of cult-like behaviour is an extraordinary, perhaps inappropriate concept to associate with civil religion. On the contrary, we wish to demonstrate that it is another variety of a civil religious response, and most useful to consider in connection with the theme of death developed in Chapter III.

It is helpful to recall certain features of cult-like religion. Bryan Wilson (1966) shows that some people "in the face of secularization need to commit themselves to supernaturalistic belief systems, creating "spiritual communities" serving as plausibility structures for these hard pressed belief systems. Cult groups as "new religious movements" frequently act as support groups which people may find attractive and sustaining for their daily life activities...set in the context of religious teaching and religious counsel" (1966:135-136).

O'Dea (1966:39-40) summarizes additional features related to the religious phenomenon we call a cult. He sees it is an "acting out" of feelings, attitudes, and relationships. The feelings, attitudes, and relationships, so acted out, have no other end than themselves. They are acts of expression. Quoting George Herbert Mead, O'Dea notes that "the cult has a mysterious value which is attached to it that we cannot fully rationalize" (Ibid:38). The relationships acted out in the cult are first of all relationships with sacred objects. This religious experience is not simply a philosophical or intellectual experience but involves feelings and acts. The cultic behaviour is not just a matter of assertions of faith, it involves a rich and complex activity in which the cult member's whole being is concerned. There is a "constant reiteration of sentiments" consisting of myths and rituals manifested in speech, gesture, song and sacrifice.

Thus the cultic act is a social act in which members re-enact a relationship to the sacred object and through this "object" to the beyond. In so doing, they reinforce the cult group's solidarity and reaffirm its values. Within the cult, relationships of fellowship, and of leaders and followers are acted out, reasserted and strengthened. For the individual, it incorporates him into the group which provides him with emotional support, and by the re-enactment of the "religious experience relates him to the source of strength and comfort." (ibid:40-42)

Recalling Warner's (1965;1974) description of the annual ceremonies associated with Memorial Day in the United States, these events seemed to

have the power to integrate the community (i.e., the country) regardless of competing religious traditions and symbols, and in spite of autonomously functioning churches. Although Memorial Day celebrations apparently displayed components of "church-sponsored" civil religion it is intriguing to consider other possibilities. One such possibility is that of a "national cult-like" civil religion, with its "sacred symbol system." The Memorial Day observances (i.e., the parade, graveside eulogies, cenotaph rededications, and moments of silent tribute to the fallen - all become re-enactments of sacred commitments. In short we have the foundation of a national "Cult of the Dead."

This regularly occurring civil religious rite has become part of the sacred "life-cycle" of the Nation. As Warner pointed out, the Memorial Day rite is truly a "cult of the dead." Warner's analysis provides (although he did not conceptualize it as such) a model for cultic civil religion. This model is applicable to situations beyond Memorial Day (or Remembrance Day in Canada), such as John F. Kennedy's funeral and the erection of the eternal flame in Arlington cemetery and the death of Terry Fox and consequent national memorials. These ideas will be explored later in the case-studies.

Aside from providing an overall focus for formulating a model of cultic-civil religion, there are other elements within a "cult of the dead" typology helpful to an understanding of the nature of cultic civil religion. Here I refer to what one may loosely call religious leadership, more specifically the "myth" of leadership, perhaps even of "heroic" leadership.

Andrew Greeley (1972a) pinpointed a capacity for "great" leaders to

appear "transparent." Their lives reveal a commitment to the values and goals of society. The members of society can "see" in their leader a personification of what the society aspires to be. As described earlier in this chapter, Memorial Day recalled the ideal virtues of America's "great men", Washington and Lincoln. The celebrations from year to year reaffirm a symbolical identification of citizens with the ultimate values of American society. (1972a: 101-104)

The "mortal" leadership of a Washington, Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, or a Terry Fox in Canada, enables us to observe qualities "quite special" in the sense of representing what Greeley describes as "humanly significant leadership...including intuition, insight and vision and indispensable elements" (ibid: 229-230). Significant leaders express themselves in a "drama of action and responsibility...expressing themselves in parables and visions whose meanings are hidden to outsiders, but translucent to those who have eyes to see...modes of discourse which can probe depths of personal being inaccessible to objective and managerial discourse...it is an attempt to reconstruct an element from the earlier ages of Man...(when) leaders were made by art to appear more than human: divine or semi-divine personages." (ibid 229-231)

The above analysis is instructive. It explains the role of the "leader" in the formation and persistence of a cult. Yet it goes beyond, to make the leader "appear as more than human". This directs us to ponder the role of myth making and particularly the making of the mythic hero in cultic phenomena, exemplified by the life and death of "significant" persons.

The theme of death is an important component of cultic civil religion. I hypothesize that the survival of "significant persons" means not the survival of the person, but of the myth. As macabre as it sounds, the survival of the myth means the death of the person.

The Emergence of National Cultic Civil Religion (Beyond Bellah)

National cultic civil religion, as I demonstrated earlier, is a variant of Bellah's civil religion typology. Bellah (1967), described a transcendent religion of the nation. He defined civil religion as an institutionalized collection of beliefs and values of the American nation. These beliefs and values symbolizing liberty, justice, charity and other virtues are sacred because "they have revealed what reality is and how we should act in relation to it." (Bellah 1975:153)

Bellah (1967), illustrated his thesis by examining such representative symbols as the American Constitution or Presidential Inaugural addresses. His perspective is also applicable to certain kinds of cultic religious behaviour. Washington and Lincoln, (foci for Warner's Memorial Day observances), reflect a sacred symbol system alluded to by Bellah.

The mythic hero idea develops from this. The remembrance of "spiritual" national leaders, this "cult of the dead," allows for a theological interpretation of the American heritage. "Abraham Lincoln, can claim, if anyone can, to be the spiritual centre of American history. He was not only

an astute statesman who saved the nation in the moment of its greatest trial, but also a leader whose religious understanding and convictions possessed a richness and depth that set him apart from all other leaders, political or religious of his time" (Harland, 1973:284). One could argue with conviction that the religious beliefs towards which a nation aspires, symbolized by its national leaders, cannot be understood separate from the process of myth making which helped make these figures who they are.

The Emergence of a Marginal Cultic Civil Religion (Beyond Bellah)

The cult-like behaviour of admirers associated with a John F. Kennedy or Elvis Presley is somewhat comparable, including transcendent value symbolism, mythic heroism (particulary with regard to a dimension of a "cult of the dead"). On the other hand, cultic-civil religious behaviour related to Elvis Presley and similar figures calls for a somewhat different analysis than that applied to national cultic heroes such as John F. Kennedy.

One could argue that John F. Kennedy symbolizes a more general societal civil religion, whereas Elvis Presley represents a personal cultic manifestation in the sense of indicating a commitment to particular values associated with the symbolic life and death of Presley. A Presley-like figure provokes a marginal civil religion in the sense that cult-like behaviour is more marginal in form, somewhat removed from the possibility of the unifying power of a national value system. The two types (national and personal/marginal cultic civil religions) are not mutually exclusive. It is argued that personal/marginal cultic civil religion is in itself a special form of civil religion. It

is intriguing to look for a possible overlapping.

Summary

Extra-church religion, a phenomenon emerging alongside of or in spite of church-like religion was exemplified by civil religion.

To understand the meaning of civil religion, its "intellectual" roots were examined. These roots are in the ideals of Rousseau, de Toqueville and Durkheim who propose a moral base to society and to the relationship between citizenry and governance. Warner's studies of Memorial Day celebrations were seen to be antecedents of the contemporary civil religion experience in North America. From this, I developed the notion of the "cult of the dead", revolving around Washington and Lincoln, prototypes of the mythic-hero in American life.

Bellah's contribution was two-fold. He gave a theological dimension to societal religion, and pictured America as a "New Israel" embodying the biblical "God revealed", relating this to moral values of justice, mercy, virtue and so forth. Bellah also operationalized the civil religion concept through a formal scientific study of the phenomenon. A key critic, John Wilson, claimed that civil religion is not really a religion in the traditional historic sense and paradoxically underscored the value of Bellah's thesis. I discussed the possibility of ideological pretence relating this to a work by Michael Hughey. The issue of Canada as a "fertile ground" for civil religion was also discussed.

The major categories of civil religion (beyond Bellah) and characteristics are outlined below.

Church Sponsored

- extra church: religious institutions "step outside" to sacralize and to support society, to participate in the extra church realm.
- integrative for society
- high on societal meaning and cohesion
- explicit
- highly visible

Cultic National

- extra church: exists alongside of religious institutions, indicating that society is infrinsically religious. It points to societal values allowing citizenry to recall societal values with which they identify.
- cohesive; generally central to society
- integrative for society
- high in societal meaning
- essentially implicit, i.e., in spite of denials of religiosity, there is implied religiosity.

Cultic Marginal (Sectarian as compared to Cultic National, but having the same rationale)

- extra church: exists alongside of religious institutions; reflects like-groupings of personal value systems; strong personal symbolic identification with values of a personality.

- generally marginal to society
- partially integrative
- lower on overall societal meaning
- high on personal meaning
- implicit, i.e., in spite of denials of religiosity there is implied religiosity.

The "death" theme, so central to our thesis, must be clarified further: to consider a heroic solution to the problem of death. Such related issues will be a focus of our next chapter, which should then enable us to determine the final appropriateness of the typology.

CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF DEATH AND CIVIL RELIGION'S "SOLUTION

Within this chapter, the centrality of death in the context of civil religion is explored.

The tasks are to understand the socio-cultural context of death and its impact on society, and then to identify the solutions utilized to deal with the consequences of death. In functional terms, religion provides a "solution" to death, regardless of the credo, faith or rites invoked.

The Socio-Cultural Context

Sociology and cultural anthropology promote the view that death carries a form of threat to society. Death, as a social fact, is an aspect of a larger issue: the need to come to terms with frequently uncontrollable and often unpredictable accidents, strains, tragedies, and stresses inherent in the human condition. There is a request to "protect members of society from the terror of chaos and meaninglessness" (Berger, 1967:22). Talcott Parsons (1948) pointed out that human beings cannot just "take it" since there is a human need for experiences to "make sense". Max Weber (1922/1963) in his Sociology of Religion attempted to demonstrate that problems concerning the discrepancy between normal human interests and expectations in any situation and what actually happens, generate a cognitive need for understanding. (1922/1963: Chapter 9)

Death is "a fundamental aspect of the human condition...one which has critical meaning for humans" (Parsons 1963:135). There is the observation that a "strategic legitimizing function of symbolic universes...is the location of death...the interpretation of death within the permanent reality of social existence is therefore of the greatest importance for any institutional order." (Berger and Luckmann 1966:101)

The tone was set by Durkheim who concluded that "the group cannot remain indifferent to death...to allow indifference to the blow which has fallen upon and diminished it would be equivalent to proclaiming that it does not hold the place in their hearts which is due it; it would be denying itself. A family which allows one of its members to die without being wept for shows by that very fact that it lacks moral unity and cohesion: it abdicates; it renounces its existence." (1915/1947: 399–400)

There is an apparent need for members of a society (i.e., a group, a family, or a nation) to somehow overcome the anxiety provoked by the presence of death in their midst. Attitudes and accompanying social behaviour are indicators of such efforts. Hopefully, society has constructed "a predictable framework for its members in staving off the nightmare of meaninglesness and anomie" (Berger 1967:22).

People's attitudes toward death in various historic and cultural contexts symbolize dimensions of grief and bereavement. This notion which carries with it psychological, medical and sociological elements is in itself a

subject for analyses and discussions. I do not ignore the phenomenon, but simply limit the scope of this present analysis. For my purposes, I view grief and bereavement as a response to the sense of loss. It is a loss involving a disruption for members of society, and it is threatening indeed to a societal "meaning system." Through death associated rituals people demonstrate a form of social reaction, a means of coping.

A brief examination of primitive, preliterate societies will illustrate this perspective. Malinowski (1954) showed how Trobriand Island natives required an orientation to supernatural entities which resulted in the achievement of practical, empirical goals such as a good crop or a large catch of fish. He calls attention, however, to the fact that there are situations in which no practical goal can be pursued, such as the case of death. The Trobriands are aware that nothing can be done, in the sense that no ritual observance will bring the deceased back to life. The impact, however, of loss is severe and is felt by all who survive. As well, there is a need for readjustment in order that the community return to normalcy. Malinowski has shown that the death of another exposes one to a variety of reactions, some of which could lead to action detrimental to the social group. Dances, incantations and spells helped by providing people with opportunities to dramatize their anxieties. Religious magic invokes the possibility of "making sense." For the Trobriand Islanders, practical scientific techniques alone cannot guarantee "sense" (1954:18-34).

That which is so basic to primitive man, to demonstrate his concerns about death, has with variations been part of societal behaviour from ancient

to modern times (Toynbee 1968; Ariès 1981) Archeological evidence seems to show that death rituals were practiced by Neanderthal Man, expressing grief at the loss of a community member. Whether one speaks of a "Tame Death" or an "Invisible Death", examples cited by Phillippe Aries who conceptualized a range of possibilities from open natural acceptance to repression, man has had to deal with the social fact of death. (1981:602-606)

Societal responses to death appear to reflect various cultural patterns and social conditions. The reaction of a child may be quite different from that of an aged individual. The reactions of a tightly knit group to the death of a member may be contrasted to those of a loosely knit group. An appropriate insight for our case study is the observation "that societal reactions to the death of an individual extensively involved in the working of the society (e.g., significant public persons) may be quite different from those reactions associated with other individuals not engaged in roles important to the functionary system" (Vernon, 1972:63-64).

Patterns of reactions will be indicative of more than the social fact of death. They are also reflective of a particular social location. Whatever the patterns developed, they harmonize the death phenomenon and death related behaviour with other social factors, a harmonization with the configuration of beliefs, values and norms related to other aspects of society.

A death of a man and/or woman in a primitive group, consisting of a limited number of persons, is of great importance to that society. Death in a primitive society is more than the removal of a member. It threatens the

cohesion and solidarity of the group upon which the organization and perhaps the whole culture is dependent. The death of a prominent public leader in our society is a vivid reminder of the terror of our own death. If one so mighty as John F. Kennedy can be brought down, how vulnerable are we all! The very fragility of a society is even more apparent. Those who wept and mourned, wept for themselves as much, or perhaps even more so, than for a slain Kennedy. Mass grief and mourning, that need to cope with the impact of death, is a collective experience which inextricably binds the loss of an individual to loss felt by the community.

Mechanisms and resources are required to repair the broken or torn social fabric. Religion has a role in a stress situation, such as death. In the sociological sense, religion through traditional beliefs and rituals helps adherents to cope. Building upon Parsons, O'Dea (1954) noted that death is an illustration of a "condition of uncertainty or contingency...man's capacity to control these conditions is limited; alone he is powerless to overcome death." Religion provides needed support, comfort and reconciliation. In terms of the "problem of death" religion comes to help to reintegrate the bereaved person with his group. The sociological weds the theological. Man is not alone, as religion advocates; his God, beliefs and traditions become the focus for a reintegration.

Among the Nomus people, who live in Big Mark Archipelago, the spirits of those who have just died are thought to be actively present in the villages of the living, where they act as "moral policemen", keepers of the villages mores (Nottingham 1954:31). There are traditions among the Chinese

who believed that their dead ancestors continue to exist as sacred beings thriving on the care and respect rendered to them by a long line of descendants. This belief maintains a vital element which binds their society, namely veneration of elders and the consequent strengthening of the greater family (ibid:31).

Traditional Western religions, such as normative Judaism and Christianity, provide "solutions" differing in their contexts, yet similar in theme: the denial of spiritual destruction and the hope of immortality. This element of the immortal does not nullify death, but for the religious believer it helps in "making sense" of the problem of death. These religious "solutions" are a "church-like" response to death.

The Judeo-Christian Solution

This is a shared tradition, yet there is a "parting of the ways" emphasizing different orientations. Participation in the religious system is directed by the religious institution as the holder of the tradition (i.e., the church or synagogue). A "solution" to death assumes a commitment to the "faith". A major feature of these religious traditions is a concern with the supernatural dimension, in contrast to a humanistic or philosophical position.

Vernon (1972: 55-56) characterizes a religious interpretation as follows:

1. Endorsement in one form or another of some type of afterlife or

existence which continues beyond the physical or temporal aspects of life.

2. Rejection of the belief in the finality of death.

3. Concern with the temporal aspects of death coupled with and related to concerns with the spiritual aspects. Behaviour may be directed toward a living audience, but also toward a supernatural audience.

4. The future-oriented concerns of man extend beyond the grave.

Within Judaism the notion of immortality, although a central belief, does provoke ambivalence. Judaism is not a monolithic tradition. There is one tradition, for example, which links the immortality of the deceased to descendants. They immortalize the spirit of a dead one through memory. Old Testament teaching stressed that the memory of the righteous one is for a blessing.

Reconciliation to the fact of death is aided by putting "treasure"- material and spiritual - into the hands of descendants. God's promise to Abraham (Genesis:14,22) is a statement about immortality through progeny: " I will make of thee a great nation - I will multiply thy seeds as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the shore". The act of "living on" through the future generations, and the idea of putting obligations upon offspring to revere the deceased, are dominant themes associated with immortality in Hebrew thought. Thus, we read of Abraham's blessing of his sons (Genesis 27), and Joseph's bones are carried by his sons to Palestine for burial (Genesis, 50).

A belief in the resurrection of the dead is also part of Jewish

tradition, although not prominent until the 2nd century B.C. (Harlow 1973). Man can survive destruction, since as the Old Testament teaches, God "breathed a spirit into man's body"; his soul is eternal because God is eternal. Historic Judaism's doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the belief in bodily resurrection underscore, for the believing Jew, that death is not the end. Upon death, the body returns to the earth (dust to dust); the soul returns to God who gave it. While details on the fate of the soul are speculative, Judaism suggests that the soul "lives on" and "is at rest under the protection of the Almighty". (Harlow 1973: 161-163)

In terms of a solution, therefore, Judaism enables persons to be reconciled to death by combining a "this-worldly" and an "other-worldly" orientation. The "meaning" attached to death for the Jewish faithful is tied to the meaning of life. If life is absurd then death has no real meaning. If life has significance, and Judaism teaches that it has, then traditional Jews take comfort that death is a return to the Creator. The foundations of the next life are to be laid in this life...the next world will reward the efforts made here.

Jewish statements of faith relating to immortality set the stage for emerging Christianity. The Book of Daniel (mid-2nd century B.C.) and themes in the apocalyptic literature of the inter-testamental period point to the possibility of eternal life for the individual. A new faith bound up with Jesus' death and resurrection provides a foundation for the Christian hope to "conquer death".

Hans Kung (1979) writes that Christians do not merely say: "since there is a universal resurrection of the dead this one person in particular must have been raised up. They also say since this one person (Jesus) lives, and has such a unique significance for all; all those who live, who trustingly commit themselves to him...to all who share the lot of Jesus there is offered a share in God's victory over death. Jesus is the first fruits of the dead, the first born from the dead" (Kung 1979: 157).

For the believing Christian a "solution" to death is then available to those who share in the community of faith. Death opens up a totally new relationship. As Jesus entered into a wholly different imperishable heavenly life, and as Jesus did not die into nothingness, so too may man. Man has moved into the "ultimate reality". Death is a transition to God's "hiddenness". In death a new and eternal future is offered to man - within God's imperishable dimensions.

In short, Christianity's "solution" is a "resurrection faith". Resurrection implies that the believer entrusts everything to God the Creator, even the conquest of death. The end is a new beginning. To those who face death take comfort! One who begins his creed with faith in God the Redeemer can be content to end the creed with faith in eternal life. The Creator who calls things from nothingness into being can also call men from death into life" (ibid:114).

Variances in creed, ritual or denominational emphasis exist but the general Christian response to the meaning of death involves a "solution"

derived from a life conforming to the life and death of Christ. It is an encounter anticipated throughout life by faith and sacraments. One has died in the Lord. This experience of death gives promise to the dawn of perfect fulfillment (ibid:116).

For many, therefore, coping with death involves a religious dimension, evidenced by the solution to death so explicit in Jewish-Christian teachings. This normative religious solution applicable to so many religious adherents attempts to rescue persons from the potential destructive force of death. One could agree that "the religious definition of death usually implies the immortality promised to man wherein he is assured that, despite the physical changes which accompany death, the experience of death is not the end or the final experience for the individual" (Yinger 1957:138).

There are those who face death and do not necessarily depend upon traditional religion. One can, as did others in man's ancient past, face death rather philosophically. Is this a non-religious solution? It is indicative of such, at least in the sense that attitudes and behaviours are not necessarily derived from traditional denominational religions, i.e., from the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Some forms of contemporary "death-related" behaviour may be contrary to, or even offensive to traditional religious teachings, as described above. Humanistic movements, speaking of "rational death" ranging from a philosophic celebration of the deceased to the promotion of "rational" suicide illustrate such possibility. A death of "the other" can be mourned deeply, or

accepted in tranquility, as an inevitability within the natural cycle. Philosophic attitudes about death also have a tradition.

The admittance of alternative "solutions" to death reveals a polarization in Western thought. Thus there is the interpretation of death as a natural fact accepting man as organic matter and incorporating the idea of death as the "telos" of life (Marcuse 1964; Choron 1963). On the one hand the attitude to death is a skeptic acceptance of the inevitable; on the other, we observe, particularly in Judeo Christian thought, an idealistic glorification of death as that which gives "meaning" to life, even a precondition for the "true" life!

I do not conclude that a philosophical approach indicates an absence of interest in the question of death. Traditional philosophic discussions about death recognize the human species as the only one which knows it will die. This knowledge is attained through experience. True, arguments have been put forth that other species reveal an instinctual awareness of impending death. The literature focuses on a consensus that only man has a clear awareness of death and that man alone regards death as a "concern" (Choron 1963)

One may cite philosophical examples relevant to contemporary concerns about death. Epicurus and his followers perceived death as a perfectly painless loss of consciousness, no more to be feared than falling asleep. The soul is merely a special organization of material atoms; it cannot survive physical destruction. "Death, Epicurus said, is 'nothing to us...it does not concern either the living or the dead, since for the former it is not, and

the latter are no more." (Letter to Menaeceres)

Hedonism is another approach. The most obvious way of reconciling oneself to death is to make sure of enjoying life! Toynbee (1968) in discussing man's concern with death recounts an Egyptian folk-tale in which the Pharaoh of the period developed a custom where a miniature wooden model of a mummy is exhibited at a feast to remind revellers of the grim face of death even as they were trying to put it out of their minds.

Stoicism offers a complicated view of death. One "overcomes" death by thinking of it in the "proper" manner. One knows that one is part of nature, and one must reconcile oneself to one's allotted role. Life is compared to a banquet from which it is our obligation to retire graciously at the appointed time, or life is compared to a role in a play whose limits ought to satisfy us, just as they satisfy the author. There is a Platonic view that death involves a learning process and that there is a kind of providential order to nature.

The philosophic solution appears to demystify death. One may wish to explore the proposition that the place of death in civil religion is a point between the mystery theme of Judeo-Christianity and a demystification implied by certain philosophic stances. Civil religion mediates between the traditional religion and total humanism. Is it possible that civil religion, as an alternative solution, reflects the desire for religious innovation in society? If so, such innovation is uniquely applicable to the problem of death in society, particularly the death of significant public figures.

Civil Religion and the Solution to Death

Bellah's (1964:350) comprehension of symbolic forms and acts that relate man to the ultimate conditions of his existence supports my attempt to link civil religion with societal death. Applying Bellah's concept of symbolic religious realism (as discussed in Chapter I), I am able to formulate a case study. I suggest there are truly "significant others" which are hero-like in the public eye. Their special significance emerges after their death. It is in the nature of the ceremonies celebrating their death that the impacts of these significant persons are revealed. Such ceremonies which consist of a variety of rituals and behaviour associated with the death of these hero-like personalities become sacred symbols for society. In an analysis of the contemporary funeral, Fulton (1976:10) argues that this ceremony relates man to his God, "it reestablishes a link between individuals and the sacred". Funerals and other public rituals and rites associated with the death of cultural heroes provoke an intriguing possibility for comprehending civil religion's response to death, namely the heroic solution.

A case for the Heroic Solution

There is literature (Lifton 1979a; Erikson 1975) which examines a spiritual religious dimension associated with the death of great men or women in history. This material underscores the symbolic immortality, regarded as a

corollary to the knowledge of death. It reflects a "compelling universal quest for a continuous symbolic relationship between our finite individuality and what has gone before, what will come after". (Lifton 1979b:7) These symbolizing continuities (or transcending elements) do go on despite discontinuities associated with death. Placed in a broad societal context this form of transcendence connects members of society to a "hero-founder" exemplified by Buddha, Moses, Christ and Mohammed.

Understanding the quest for the hero-founder, that figure who is perceived as one encompassing various mixtures of spirituality and ultimate values, is an important insight for development of the "Heroic Solution". A capacity for uniqueness attributed to the hero strengthens the perception of followers that the hero is capable also of divesting death from annihilation. The hero is the one who vanquished death.

To understand this proposition we must examine the mythology of heroism, and the potency of the mythic hero. Some words are in order about Myth and Man. One could argue that man's increased rational skills have removed the need for mythology in his interpretations, including his religious interpretations. Conditioned to a science-oriented frame of thought, moderns find it difficult to assign symbolic reality to mythology or to even cope with myths. It is obvious, however, that religious traditions are bound up with myth. There are bizarre tales about the strange gods and goddesses of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, within the history of religion records for example, specifically creation myths. Thus, the Babylonian Marduk, creating order out of chaos, won the world as a prize in a competition with other gods.

There is the Hebrew/Christian creation mythology - the world ex nihilo. Adam, the first man was also created. The myth of the Garden of Eden shows that evil befalls man through his own failings. God triumphs because of his own power of goodness. In Christian thought, Jesus the Christ completes this mythic religious episode. Jesus the historic man becomes (after his death) the Christ - an archetype for the mythic hero of religious tradition.

It is suggested that tradition and the need for myth appear to influence behaviour and thought of contemporary man. Granted, there is diversity of human experience reflecting different social and geographical circumstances. However, "elementary ideas", to utilize Durkheim's phrase, include sentiments associated with myths, a phenomenon apparently common to most human societies.

It is not my task to fully analyze the nature of myth, yet some attempt at definition and meaning is helpful to my theme. Among possible definitions, there is a description of myth as "a complex of stories - some no doubt fact, and some fantasy - which for various reasons human beings regard as demonstrations of the inner meaning of the universe and of human life" (Eliade: 1963:2). The meaning is divined rather than defined, implicit rather than explicit, suggested rather than stated...as pointing to the definite manner in which the world is available for man. "The word and content of myth are revelations of power" (Ibid: 10-12).

"Myth", as Eliade proposes, "is the relating of a sacred history - the revealing of a mystery... the persons of myth are not human beings; they are

gods or cultural heroes, and for this reason their geste constitutes mysteries, man could not know their acts if they were not revealed to him. The myth is the story of what took place...the recital of what the gods or semi-divine beings did at the beginning of time...and it speaks only of realities, of what really happened" (ibid:95-96). The myths reflected in tales and stories are symbolically celebrated by society. Myth-laden tales surrounding the life and death of Lincoln, Kennedy or Terry Fox are analogous to stories and traditions about Greek/Egyptian demi-gods, Jesus, or other semi-divine cultural heroes of the past.

To truly create a meaningful world, Ernest Becker (1973) has suggested, "man must overcome the anxiety of death by creating a fiction of cultural heroes." They become "vehicles for immortality" (1973: 140). This identification Becker observed "can explain too, how we can rush to name airports, stadiums, streets after our dead heroes. It is as though we want to declare that he will be immortalized physically in the society in spite of his physical death. When the leader dies for example it is a stark reminder to us "of terror of our own death." (ibid: 153) Becker's insights are reminiscent of an archaic concept of "le double."

"Le double" involves "belief in personal survival in the form of a spectre (phantom)...through which an individual expresses his tendency to maintain his integrity beyond decomposition" (Morin, 1970:113-114 translated from the French). The author suggests that the concept of the double is not foreign to either Greco-Roman mythology or Judeo-Christian belief. It may be bound up with the idea of "the soul" among the church fathers. The double is

possibly the nucleus of all archaic representations relating to the dead.

Following the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1945, words were written which exemplify the above: "he rose from the grave, and like many a dead leader, was enshrined in an accomplished past - removed from mortal uncertainties" (Orlansky 1947:239).

Heroization and the Problem of Death

We must understand certain distinctions within the concept, "heroization". Perhaps there is a merging of the "saint" and "hero". In essence we are speaking of two distinctive types; therefore, "to attribute heroism to a saint or saintliness to a hero and speak of a "saintly hero" is effective rhetoric but a paradox...the business of the saint and the business of the hero are so far removed from one another that each may be defined in terms of opposition to the other because heroes are celebrated as by nature self-assertive, where saints are self effacing..." (Morin, 1970:116-117). The saint shares some common features with the soldier (as war hero) such as the sacrificing of self for a cause - God or country. The death of a saint or soldier-hero is vanquished. Such a person is seen to have been "saved by God", a theological interpretation.

What of mythical heroism? To return to the idea of a cultural hero, these are not necessarily saints or soldier-heroes. Such a one is set aside by the characteristic of forceful individualism. This does not invalidate his symbolic worth to society. Cultural heroes are basically individuals who

pursue, selfishly, their own will to live. Their deaths are not sacrificial at all, but really a matter of betrayal by some element within society.

An interesting dynamic seems to be set in motion with the death of cultural heroes, namely a mythical immortalization. The case of Gilles Villeneuve, the deceased, renowned, Canadian car racer makes this point.

A study about the significance of Villeneuve's death, described him as neither saint nor soldier. Rather he takes on "l'allure d'un héro culturel"- the appearance of a cultural hero through the quite normal and quite elementary operation of developing his individuality. Through such individuals humanity continues to surpass the limits imposed on it by the species. (Lapointe 1975:180)

The Heroic Solution and Civil Religion

An implicit mythology was already contained in Bellah's (1967) usage of Biblical archetypes: Exodus, Chosen People, Sacrifice, Death and Rebirth.

Bellah speaks of a "time of trial", the Civil War, of tragedy, death, and suffering. Out of death and sacrifice emerges birth. The mythic hero is embodied in the symbol of Abraham Lincoln. With the Civil War a new theme of death, sacrifice and rebirth enters civil religion. It is symbolized by the life and death of Lincoln. Nowhere is it stated more vividly then in his Gettysburgh address: a part of the "Lincolnian New Testament", recalling the

"civil scriptures" by the constant use of birth images and references to "these honored dead" (1967: 10-11).

Although not explicitly making a link between the fallen hero and death and its place in civil religion, Bellah certainly recognized the theme. He wrote: "the Gettysburgh National Cemetery, which Lincoln's famous address served to dedicate, has been overshadowed only by Arlington National Cemetery. It has subsequently become the most hallowed monument of the civil religion - receiving the dead of each succeeding American war. It is the site of the one important new symbol to come out of the World War, the tomb of the unknown soldier; more recently if has become the sight of the tomb of another martyred president with its symbolic eternal flame." (Bellah: 1967:11) An argument for the heroic solution to death as an element of a civil religion "tradition" arises from Bellah's additional observation that "...a major event for the whole community involves a rededication to the martyred dead...to the spirit of the sacrifice, and to the American vision..." (ibid:11).

W. Lloyd Warner (1963) in his accounts of Yankee City religion described the great religious feast days - Memorial Day and Fourth of July. These classic studies reveal the celebrative elements of civil religion. The heroic solution illustrated in Warner's studies is redefined in Bellah's description of a manifested civil religion. Citizens' involvement with sacred places, and sacred days immortalize past heroes and their events; these become stories identified with their lives. The myth takes over. Other factors such as the inequities and injustices of war, the human failings of Lincoln are omitted or become irrelevant in the pursuit of myth making.

Warner introduced another important function of civil religion: the promotion of a cult of the dead. Memorial Day, for example, is such a cult "which organizes and integrates the various faiths, national and class groups into a sacred unity" (ibid:1963:8).

As Warner observed about Memorial Day in "Yankee City", cemeteries are themselves collective representations which reflect and express many of a country's basic beliefs and values about what kind of society it is...where each fits into the world of the living and the spiritual society of the dead. Whenever the living think about the deaths of others they necessarily express some of their own concerns about extinction. The cemetery provides enduring visible symbols which help them to contemplate man's fate" (1963: 18-19]). Phillippe Ariès observed that the national cemetery teaches that "death is not only destruction...there is a sense of historical continuity." (1981: 531-532)

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated the impact of death on society by recognizing a variety of socio-cultural contexts. There are mechanisms and solutions utilized by people to cope with death in their collective lives. Solutions to the problem of death are found in traditions mirroring religious as well as certain philosophic stances, particularly attitudes implying an affinity for rational humanism. Traditional denominational religions, essentially church-like (e.g. Judaism, Christianity) centre on a solution involving the hope of

personal survival.

The religious solution does not assume that present action in this world solely determines the meaning associated with life and death. Concerns for justice, injustice and suffering take on special meaning in a life after death. In short, striving for immortality becomes the underlying theme for the religious solution. This is very explicit within the church-like denominational religions discussed in this chapter.

Civil religion represents an alternative religious form which is extra church in nature. It is implicit as well as explicit and tends to have an invisible as well as a visible religious dimension. Civil religion's response to the problem of death is unique, the heroic-solution. It is an authentic mythical, imaginary, religious solution. The hero of the myth, represented in the material image of a person, becomes a sacred image after his death. Thus the biography of a dead hero is a mix of sacred images.

The striving for immortality, a central component of the religious solution, is no less powerful within civil religion's heroic solution. Immortalization is a declaration by believers that significant persons have a permanency in spite of their physical death.

I suggest that the concept of "heroization" in the context of the "typology" described earlier in the chapter is a controlling category for the thesis.

Saints and soldier-heroes are found at Arlington National Cemetery. They are immortalized, as W.L. Warner notes in his description of Memorial Day rites. They are remembered for their sacrifice. Lincoln and Kennedy could possibly be remembered as 'soldier-heroes'. More likely they fit another model.

Kennedy and a Terry Fox, as we would demonstrate in the following chapters, are more likely cultural-heroes. Death is overcome because they have been immortalized mythologically. So too with cult figures as an Elvis Presley, John Lennon, Marilyn Monroe and James Dean.

Again in terms of our developed typologies they can receive a) national cultic immortalization: Kennedy, Fox; b) marginal cultic: Presley and such. Overlapping is also a possibility.

CHAPTER IV

THE CASE OF JOHN F. KENNEDY: A PROTOTYPE

The making of a mythic hero begins at the hour of his death. Imagination allows the hero to be idealized and this marks an unfolding of the heroic solution to death. We move from the profane into the sacred; the death event becomes a spiritual occasion for society.

The death event extends beyond immediate happening. The first responses to the death event are stepping stones toward immortalization. Persons continue to "act" after death, apparently bringing permanent benefits to society. However legendary or mythical the phenomenon may be, there is evidence that a process of symbolic immortalization of a few cultural heroes has occurred. These "bigger than life" individuals (bigger since their demise) provide a solution to death by somehow "getting the better of death" - at least in the public imagination. In short: their presence is still among us.

John F. Kennedy: The Hero as Mortal

On November 23rd, 1963, riding with his wife in an open car through Dallas, Texas, John F. Kennedy was assassinated. His death and its aftermath, particulary the wave of grief which overcame the American nation, if not most of the world, gave rise to the idea of a Kennedy presidency as "Camelot". Such a romantic notion in itself appears to have contributed to the myth of heroization.

Who was this Kennedy? An attempt to briefly assess elements of the man in life should allow us to find clues of the emerging hero. It is Kennedy's individuality, the "true" person (as much as we can perceive of it) which provides the background for his idealization after his death.

Kennedy was motivated by an interest in public service, a sense of duty following the death of his brother Joseph (the one initially selected for greatness by his father Joseph Kennedy Sr.). Notwithstanding these facts, "J.F.K." was very much an ego centred person, driven by an ambition outstripping any altruistic motives. How useful to observe this profane Kennedy! Any sketch of the man in life includes the myth of Camelot, but also a person "who dances with the devil". He is neither saint nor sinner. To see Kennedy, as did Tom Wicker of the New York Times, means to observe "Kennedy without Tears". (New York Times, March 15, 1971)

The "profane Kennedy" is a necessary background for the unfolding sacred event of his death. On the one hand "it is as if he had never called businessmen sons of bitches, sent troops to 'Ole Miss,' the refugees to the Bay of Pigs, or kicked the budget sky high". (Sorensen 1965:280-28) Yet, John F. Kennedy, as we shall document later, took his place as a true hero. He was "Prince Jack", but still a human, fallible man - a mortal with mortal's limitations. He appealed to the public imagination during his life. The factuality of John F. Kennedy should not be minimized in providing unique features for a hero magnified in importance after his death. One biographer and close aide, Ted Sorensen, wrote "that as with every president he must endure a gap between what he would like and what is possible," (ibid:340).

The public imagination created a mythic hero with a neglect of mortal limitations. Still, "J.F.K." apparently achieved much of what he aspired to. In his life he was exceptional, yet fallible - not a "superman". A biographical sketch will hopefully capture an essence of this hero as a mortal.

"Family" background was certainly a factor in shaping the life attitudes and behaviour of John F. Kennedy. Personal ambition was built on the groundwork of a dynasty. Kennedy for all his charm and eloquence was a straightforward political animal, circulating among an extended family of New England "Ward Heelers". Joseph Kennedy's ambition was about to be realized. As Gore Vidal (1983) observed, "Joe Kennedy seemed at last fulfilled...from obscurity to great wealth and prominence - Joseph Kennedy would have his eldest surviving son go the full distance and become president" (1983:212).

There was vigor and intensity in J.F.K's upbringing. Parental insistence on self-improvement, competition and victory, became legendary in itself. "We don't want any losers around here," the father would tell the children (Kennedy 1974:43). Parental pressure for intellectual development molded the young Kennedy according to Rose Kennedy in an authorized biography. The Kennedy children were instructed by the patriarch that "their duty lay in public service" (1974:52).

One can appreciate public attraction to Kennedy, a product of the "American dream". John Kennedy once told a journalist: "I grew up in a very strict house...and one where there were no free riders...and everyone was

expected to do, give their very best...a constant striving for self-improvement". This "pursuit of excellence" theme must have caught the public's imagination. Kennedy possessed what Senator Eugene McCarthy called, "the perfect political mentality - that of a football coach, combining will to win with the belief that the game is important" (New York Times, Nov. 26, 1960). In his work, Profiles in Courage (1956), Kennedy heaped praise on those leaders who exhibited an ability to do things well and to do them with precision. Kennedy believed in his own rhetoric. He returned to the theme of excellence at his own inauguration as president: "...ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

One incident in his life fueled the mythology surrounding Kennedy's heroism. On August 2, 1943, Lieutenant Kennedy commanded a PT boat in the South Pacific which was destroyed by a Japanese destroyer. Kennedy and his crew were plunged into the waters, aflame with burning gasoline. Kennedy is portrayed in the media as a courageous hero, towing one of the crew to safety by gripping the end of his life jacket belt in his teeth. (Time, July 23, 1957). The near demi-god emerges; a legend forms.

This was truly a man of action, a living hero. He was also a vulnerable human being. Kennedy suffered the anguished pain of a chronic back injury spending months in a naval hospital. Twice he was close to death and offered the last rites. The mystique of a Kennedy, a mortal who could "beat the odds", contributes to the Kennedy myth of one who can vanquish death.

Biographical data portray a talented individual who is also capable of the unexceptional. The data are forgotten, manipulated, yet retain an aspect of factuality. In 1946 Kennedy was elected to the United States Congress. Regardless of ambition, his performance has been noted as "lack lustre" (Sorensen 1965:83) both in the House and the Senate. He is identified with only one major legislative achievement, the overhaul of the electoral college. He apparently took a consistent liberal line on social and economic issues. His record is quite unimpressive however, in terms of stemming the witch hunt of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, who was a close family friend. The prejudices of his constituents led him to remain aloof from anti-McCarthyism. Generally speaking, John F. Kennedy did not earn the reputation of a major Senate figure.

John F. Kennedy was wealthy, utilizing family power and influence. He was driven by political ambition, biding his time until "the next move up the greasy pole" (Vidal 1983:182). He capitalized on certain capacities: charm, wit, and the ability to personify aspirations and values within the American heritage. He appealed to the fantasies of a receptive public. His rhetoric and personal charisma set a tone for heroization. Kennedy's pronouncements in life became enduring symbols of national values after his death.

John F. Kennedy's rhetoric symbolized ultimate individualism and self-actualization. This life-giving quality remains a benefit to society. "We stand today on the edge of a new frontier... it demands invention, innovation, imagination, decision" (nomination acceptance speech, New York Times-January 23, 1960). His conception of the presidency contained in a speech

delivered in January 1960 (New York Times, January 23) is noteworthy: "...the revolutionary sixties demand that the president place himself in the very thick of the fight...that he exercise the fullest powers of his office...all that are specified...some that are not...and that he reopen the channels of communication between the world of thought and the seat of power."

An assessment of the Kennedy presidential record points to minimal legislative achievement, even certain disasters. All items which one could call "errors" are overlooked during the post death heroization. The data are a mix of heroic stuff and human limitations. The living Kennedy was far from heroic. One wonders to what extent Kennedy's idealism was an illusion.

There appear to be contradicting opinions. As one journalist puts it: "each side builds a strong case. There seems a quote to back any case, an error in every triumph, and an excuse for every error. Contradictions abound". (Wicker. New York Times, March 15, 1971). Wicker supports a view that Kennedy was a "rigid, embattled, cold warrior, bold, reckless" (Ibid). His years of presidential power were in fact a succession of crises - dangerous ones at that: the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba - a total fiasco; the Cuban missile crisis; the dispatching of 16,000 American troops to Vietnam initiating a decade of American involvement in Southeast Asia; the first president to alarm his country about a "missile gap" and ordering a massive nuclear buildup, the creation of the elite Green Beret, little evidence of any civil rights legislation." (ibid)

A complicated yet dubious record of the living president enhances

the mythical hero of death. Whatever the assessment, it becomes all the more fascinating due to the brevity of his tenure: "a thousand days".

We cannot ignore obvious accomplishments. Kennedy's advisors such as John Kenneth Galbraith and Theodore Sorensen view even his cold war tactics as "acts of courage; it was a necessary strategy to have coexistence with the Soviets or, no existence at all (Sorensen 1965:294). There were some legislative successes such as the founding of the Alliance for Progress and the Peace Corps, aid to education, tax reductions and medicare.

Kennedy's commitment to social change became a high point of his presidency. Time Magazine (November 14, 1983) quotes Kennedy in the spring of 1963, facing over 2,000 civil rights demonstrations in more than 300 cities: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue - as old as the scriptures and as clear as the American constitution". Kennedy was determined to advance the civil rights cause. Again the paradox: Kennedy dies before a civil rights bill could become law. Lacking a working majority in congress, he was unable to be as effective as his successor, President Johnson, who used Kennedy's legacy to get a Civil Rights Act through congress.

I suggest that the point is not a matter of accomplishments, deficits, various Kennedy camps or whatever. The flaws and errors of his mortal life make him all the more interesting, Kennedy appeared committed to authentic self-hood. The public imagination "took over" placing him within a new perspective. The process of myth making enlarged an heroic image after his death.

Whatever his limitations, and regardless of his manifested profane life (e.g., a more than rumoured White House sexual affair) he had style, and an appeal to excellence, both personally and for the nation. Robert Bellah (1967), justifiably perceived Kennedy as a symbol of civil religion in America. A report of Kennedy's Nov. 2nd, 1963 press conference makes the point. When Kennedy was asked about his position on prayers in the schools he responded, "What we must remember is that we remain a nation under God...what we need more of is prayer at home, and in our churches, synagogues; most of all more prayer with our children." (New York Times, November 3, 1963)

The central thesis of this dissertation is that significant societal figures possessed special qualities recognized in their mortal lives and which in themselves were a benefit to society. Of course it is intriguing how the myth ultimately becomes more powerful than the individual. There simply had to be some fundamental appealing features in the factual life of the person to fire the myth. These special qualities stimulate the public imagination to prodigious myth making.

Let us explore the death scenario. Reactions to John F. Kennedy's death transformed national grief and mourning into a civil religious experience. As the mythic hero begins to take shape, the foundation is laid for a "national cult". In religious terms we move now from the Profane into the Sacred.

The Death Scenario: Emergence of Mythic Heroism

"After November 22nd, 1963, the record (of J.F. Kennedy) simply went blank, an anguished and fascinating process of canonization ensued...Americans felt Kennedy's death in a deeply personal way, they, and he, were swept into a third dimension, the mythic. The ancient Greeks thought that gods and goddesses came down and walked among them and befriended them or betrayed them. The drama 20 years ago...turned Kennedy into a kind of American god." (Time, November 14, 1983)

It is important to understand the mythology surrounding John F. Kennedy following his assassination in 1963, twenty years prior to the Time Magazine quotation above. The myth, making process includes more than what he was within the framework of a national imagination, what he did or didn't do, notwithstanding the importance of biographical data. The main sources (as indicated in the Introduction) are the media, emerging like a multitude of "participant observers" in some enormous sociological field experiment.

The death of a President in office is not unique. Kennedy was not the first to be assassinated. There had been McKinley in 1901, Garfield in 1881 and Abraham Lincoln of course - in 1865. Lincoln and Roosevelt (the latter succumbing to natural death in 1945) provoked a similar outpouring of grief stricken reactions to those which followed the tragic murder of Kennedy in 1963 (Johannsen, 1947).

Social science techniques were utilized to measure the profound nature of the public grief and mourning. One survey asked 1300 respondents

about their feelings only several days after J.F.Kennedy's death (Greenberg, 1964). The data are important since they represent an attempt to illustrate the impact of the death upon people. They provide a message: John F. Kennedy was a most significant individual. His loss was felt deeply. As we noted previously, this loss and societal grief sets the stage for mythology. There was a need for a "solution" to the problem of Kennedy's death. The movement from grief to a canonization of John F. Kennedy represents that solution - the mythic hero vanquishes death.

People commented that "they could not recall any other times in their lives" when they had such distraught feelings" (Matheus 1963:74). Many referred to feelings which were similar to the loss of someone close to them. Although probably none of those interviewed had ever met Kennedy, it was found that his death invoked feelings of emptiness and a total lack of purpose (Vernon 1972: 137-139). Some considered the event as traumatic as their memory of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. One observer noted "news of the death of President Roosevelt caused deep grief, mass anxiety...but the death of Roosevelt had not been as completely unexpected as that of Kennedy.: (ibid:146)

"John Kennedy was the epitome of youth, health and vigour...he was a life and immortality symbol. Destruction of that symbol by violence was all the more shocking. John Kennedy was jerked away from health, a young family, from leadership, by a senseless act of violence" (Greenberg 1964). This commentary is intriguing. Indications of mythology had already begun. J.F. Kennedy was not in good health, yet the implications are there, that he should

not have died, that death cheated him of life.

The role of the media as myth makers began from the moment Kennedy was killed. For all practical purposes, there appeared to be no other news story during the four days following the assassination. The suggestion has been made "that one is dealing here with a society truly responding to crisis. Reporters, photographers and journalists, carried the American people (and the world) through numerous phases, reporting on the significance of Kennedy's death for the reading, viewing public. First came the time when that news had to be told. Then the period when society staggered under the blow, struggling to restore equilibrium - Shock! Shock! Shock! The period of societal reintegration, the government closing ranks, the people overcoming their shock, the expiation of grief and a "return to stability" (Mailer 1968:205-206).

Death, as I discussed in Chapter IV represents a breaking point of meaning. The reactions of mass grief address themselves not only to a crisis of meaning but to the need to repair the broken social network - that gap in the social structure, which is a consequence of death. So too, in the case of a public leader, like John F. Kennedy. Comments from citizens make the point. "Well when I first heard, my husband ran back in and he said, 'You know Mary' - he was on his way to work - he says 'You know the President has been shot'. I said 'Oh turn the television on, quick, quick.' We turned the television on quick and ...I felt terrible, just awful, so I said to myself, well he'll be all right. I know he'll be all right. And then a few minutes later, here it comes...he's dead. Well then I just went all to pieces and said, 'Well

he will not die in vain...and I cried, that's how bad I felt" (New York Daily News November 24, 1963).

The spiritual dimension was obvious in those early reactions. "Everyone is so upset about the shock of his death...he was such a wonderful man...regardless of his religion...only that he was a good man...after all there is just only one God..." (Time, December 8, 1963).

Grief reactions permeated press comments in the United States and beyond. One should note as well the mythologizing process that begins to emerge in these "early stage" reactions during November and December 1963. We note these initial press comments: "The assassination of J.F. Kennedy is enough to shake the foundations of the world." (Times of London November 26, 1963). "J.F.K. was martyred, cut down, by one of his own - this Prince of Peace. In peace or war John F. Kennedy never flinched from duty" (Vancouver Province, November 27, 1983).

The Montreal Gazette (November 26, 1983) captured the sacred element of Kennedy's death: "J.F.K. died, but for him there will be an immortality that no other could ever achieve...a name that will live forever, in the honour of mankind, consecrated by his own blood... It is true to say that under his guidance the world has come closer to sanity". "The world today mourns a leader who pursued an ancient goal: the brotherhood of man" (Ottawa Citizen, November 25, 1983). There was a strikingly poignant comment in the Globe and Mail November25, 1963. "Oh God...hear the cry and the prayers and the tears now rising from a nation crushed...deliver us all from the power of

our enemies and send speeding peace to all our borders."

The grief reactions, recorded by the Amerian media are quite profound. They tell of a nation in mourning. These selected statements reflect such societal grief.

> America wept tonight, not alone for its dead young president but for itself. The grief was speaking of a feeling that the worst in the nation had prevailed over the best (New York Times, November23, 1963).
>
> A thousand people gathered along Pennsylvania Ave. are drawn irresistibly to wait for what they did not know. (New York Times, November 24, 1963).
>
> ...strangers stopped, each other on the street. My God! My God! Did you hear?...it must have been a mistake. What will happen to us all now? (Los Angeles Times, November 23, 1963)
>
> From the poor to the boot black, from executive to laborer, the general response mixed deep loss and indignation. (Philadelphia Enquirer, November 24, 1963)
>
> We are all in mourning. We grieve. We are in a state of shock from this blow. Hundreds and millions here and beyond our borders mourn the loss of a President who gave the world ideals of peace and freedom. (Detroit Free Press, November 24, 1963)

Transition from Grief to Mythology

The period between November 22nd and 25th, 1963, the time between his death and his burial, has simply been termed "the four days". American society, perhaps much of the world, set aside the routine of their lives to dwell on the formality of national grief and mourning. The death of the president was a civil religious experience which resulted in the making of a

mythic hero. He became a sacred symbol. Eulogizing by the "Churches" became an opportunity for these institutions to "step outside" of their framework and sacralize societal involvement with the death of its "secular hero".

The media did more than play a role in portraying those "sacred days". It initiated and perpetuated a mythology surrounding the sanctity of the memory of John F. Kennedy. Those who were aware of President Kennedy's last official words - the conclusion of the speech he was to have delivered in Dallas, Texas November 22nd, 1963, could only have been inspired by the sense of sacredness in their content.

"We in this country in this generation, are - by destiny rather than choice - the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility - that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of peace on earth, good will toward men that must always be our goal - and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength for as was written long ago: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (New York Times, November 28, 1963)

One could label this excerpt as "pure Robert Bellah" illustrating par excellence the ultimate in civil religiosity as detailed by Bellah in his (1967) Daedalus article and discussed previously in the dissertation.

The spirit of the undelivered speech of J.F.Kennedy dominated the

eulogies of churchmen. Their participation in the death scenario during "the four days" was not unnoticed by the press.

> The nation's churches filled up spontaneously and with special scheduled services. Millions filed solemnly into their houses of worship yesterday to pay homage to the dead president. (New York Times, November 25, 1963)

> Congregants prayed first for his life in those minutes following the shooting, not yet knowing he was dead. Then they prayed for his soul. 20,000 stood about St. Patrick's Cathedral. (Washington Post, November 25, 1963)

From the pastor of Zion Baptist Church in Atlanta Georgia came these thoughts:

> We've lost a great president who knew how to unite all people of this nation around the standard of real democracy. There is something sick in our society. God help us to cure before it destroys us all. (The Christian Century, December 9, 1963)

Then there was the prayer offered by the United States Senate Chaplain:

> Our father we pray that Thy will be done. We do affirm that God lives and the Government of Washington still stands. God save the States and everyone here for whatever awaits the great role she has been called upon to fill in this time of destiny. (New York Times, November 24, 1963)

The minister of Timothy Eaton Church, Toronto, Canada, offered this eulogy:

> Mr. Kennedy stood on the threshold of new frontiers. Like Moses, he never saw the Promised Land on earth. The highest system of value and order has been destroyed. (Globe and Mail, November 25,

1963)

And from an Episcopalian Church in Boston:

> John F. Kennedy has fallen as a martyr in the service of humanity. His dreams for human and racial equality must live beyond him. It is a time for us all to have a strengthening of our faith, for the memory of this man of faith and inspiration. (Christian Science Monitor, November 25, 1963)

National Mourning and the State Funeral November 23-25 1963

A reading of several journals (e.g., National Affairs, December 9, 1963; American Heritage, December 1963; Christian Century, December 4, 1963; The Commonwealth, December 1963; New York Times, November 26, 1963) has furnished material for a ritual pattern reminiscent of Skils and Young's The meaning of the coronation. (as described in Chapter II).

The societal ritual climaxing in the funeral of John F. Kennedy emphasized the centrality of death to civil religion. This ritual outlined below illustrates graphically the heroic solution to repair the "broken network".

The Prescribed Routine

There is a funeral expert, in this case, Paul C. Miller, a former lieutenant colonel. He was summoned to the White House and he brought with him an official manual: State, Official and Special Military Funeral Policies and Plans. This lays out in stark prose the essentials of the ritual: the drummers and military marching units; the caisson and its six stolid gray horses; the

riderless horse; the sorrowful dirges. The wishes and tastes of Jacqueline Kennedy were also reflected in the order of things. Her role in designing the ritual, although not altering the basic pattern, added to the sacred drama. She provided hand written instructions for the funeral card at St. Patrick's Cathedral. These few words were on the card: "Dear God please take care of your servant John Fitzgerald Kennedy". She chose the Navy hymn "Eternal Father, strong to save" and she decided upon the ritual of an eternal light at her husband's grave.

The Vigil

For approximately 48 hours, a quarter of a million people filed through the rotunda of the Capital Building where John Kennedy lay in state. A military honour guard and two priests kept watch. President Kennedy's body lay in a flag-draped coffin. He was "cradled" in the same catafalque that surrounded the body of Abraham Lincoln nearly one hundred years earlier. There was as well a continuous procession of international dignitaries, such as Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Prime Minister of England; Charles de Gaulle, President of France; Haille Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia; and many more of similar stature.

The Funeral and Burial

Writing in American Heritage Magazine, Bruce Catton, Senior Editor, spoke of John Kennedy's "last departure": ...at one o'clock on the day of the funeral Jacqueline Kennedy appeared to watch her husband's last departure,

Caroline and John Jr. in light blue coats stood on either side of her as the coffin was placed in position by the pallbearers...nothing etched itself so sharply on the minds of all who watched in the rotunda and on television, as the moment when Jacqueline Kennedy bowed by the bier and kissed the flag,...a moment not easily forgotten in the annals of four days of national tragedy" (December 1963:70-72).

The New York Times (November 25, 1963) recorded the most telling comment by Jacqueline Kennedy: "He (John Kennedy) belongs to the country..." This was an expression of her wish to have the President laid to rest in the National Cemetery at Arlington rather than the family plot at Massachusetts. The Miami Herald (November 26, 1963) echoed the same sentiments: "he (Kennedy) belonged to the world". As an editorial in the Los Angeles Times (November 26, 1963) pointed out, "there was a strong link between this national spiritual episode and people's traditional faith; as the noonday bells tolled and the requiem mass would soon begin, countless Americans across the land - how many no one will ever know - had also gone in silence to their own churches and synagogues simply to pray."

The final preparation for the funeral and burial revealed the unfolding of a momentous civil religious drama which combined its own unique observances and ritual with church-like tradition.

National Affairs (Dec 9, 1963:30-33) captured the essence of it all:

> The thudding of the drums was a counterpoint to the solemn splendour of the day. Nine men from the five armed services who

> had borne the President into the Capital carried him down the long steps for his last journey. The Navy band struck up for his departure the presidential song, "Hail to the Chief" and also, the stately Navy Hymn "Eternal Father, Strong to Save"...this was the long final ride as the carriage moved along to Arlington Virginia the beat merged with the tolling bells from St. John's Episcopal Church."

There was a stop at St. Matthews Roman Catholic Cathedral for a requiem mass celebrated by Richard Cardinal Cushing of Boston. As well, the Rev. Philip Hannan, auxiliary Bishop of Washington, delivered a eulogy. The New York Times (November 26, 1963) reported the event:

> In a clear almost unaffected voice Bishop Hannan spoke of Biblical passages in Mr. Kennedy's speeches, including an excerpt from one of the last addresses he ever made, in Houston the previous Thursday night: "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see vision, and where there is no vision the people shall perish."

Bringing traditional faith to honour a nation's President, Cardinal Cushing concluded the mass with these words: "O God, who alone art ever merciful and sparing of punishment, humbly we pray thee in behalf of the soul of thy servant, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, whom thou has commanded to go forth today from this world."

The New York Times (November 26, 1963) headlined the interment of Kennedy as follows:

LAID TO REST, A HERO'S BURIAL. A MILLION IN WASHINGTON SEE CORTEGE ROLL ON TO GRAVE IN ARLINGTON

One account of the burial referred to Arlington Cemetery as a "haven for heroes" (American Heritage Magazine, December, 1963). As a writer noted: "Anyone who has served with honour in America's forces is entitled to burial at Arlington. John Kennedy joined some 120,000 veterans who lie there on the slope facing the capital city and the Lincoln Memorial. There are the famous and obscure alike under the long lines of headstones" (Matheus, 1963:79).

Reporting the gravesite service, the New York Times (November 26, 1963) entered this report.

> More than an hour after it had left the church, the caisson arrived at the gravesite. On a nearby slope, masses of flowers were arranged. The metal coffin railings gleamed with polish. Beyond the river the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials, the soaring stone of the Washington Monument could be plainly seen.
> For the gravesite services, Cardinal Cushing spoke the familiar words (I am the Resurrection and the Life...)
> His harsh voice rang plainly across the hillside and the watching crowds and the thousands of graves as he intoned: "O Lord we implore thee to grant this mercy to thy dead servant that he who held fast to thy will by his intentions, may not receive punishment in return for his deeds; so that, as the true faith united him with the throng of the faithful on earth, thy mercy may unite him with company of the body of angels in Heaven."
> Three cannons, firing by turns, boomed 21 times in stillness. Three riflemen fired three sharp volleys into the arching sky. An army bugler sounded the clear melancholy lament of Taps across the cemetery.
>
> The flag was removed from the coffin, folded up with a whip like precision by the body bearers, passed to Mrs. Kennedy. She and her husband's brother lit the eternal flame. Cardinal Cushing cast holy water upon the exposed coffin. At 3:34 pm the coffin was lowered into the earth. The short life, the long day, was done forever.

With the funeral rites completed, the President was dead and buried. A mythology began which created more of a Kennedy impact in death

than was felt in life. John F. Kennedy occupied the Presidency for 1000 days. For over 20 years, however, he has remained in the national consciousness (perhaps international), immortalized. The myth making strengthened the heroic image and became part of the John F. Kennedy legacy. This legacy of heroism, despite the critics of Kennedy, continued a tradition which allowed a nation's dead heroes, particularly significant public leaders to become key symbols for society. The death scenario, I submit, illustrates the centrality of death to civil religion. In fact, the implicit, less visible aspect of civil religion, grew in power, nurtured by the public imagination. As Time Magazine (November 14, 1963) phrased it: "In the end American appreciation of Kennedy may come to be not political but aesthetic, and vaguely religious." It is this "vaguely religious" (the implicit or invisible) which now occupies our interest.

The Early Legacy: Forming the Immortal Hero

It appears, from some reflections contained in comments about Kennedy soon after his death, that he seemed to leave a legacy calling for a certain "attitude". It was an attitude concerning purpose and meaning. The press recalled statements suggesting that people look now to the future. The media proposed an imaginative idea, that John F. Kennedy would want all to be a "certain kind" of citizen. As Bruce Catton put it, "when the army bugler sent the haunting notes of Taps across that grave in Arlington Cemetery, he sounded a long goodbye and a commitment to eternal rest for John F. Kennedy; for all the rest of us, that was the trumpet of dawn itself" (American Heritage Magazine, December 1963).

Various statements echoe Catton's words. The spiritual tones are clear. There is, as well, an implicit rededication to the moral vision contained in Kennedy's inaugural address which influenced Bellah's rediscovery of civil religion (Daedalus, Spring 1967).

> The President of the United States is chosen to embody the ideals of our people, the faith we have in our institutions and our belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This is probably the single hope in the tragedy for it may be that only the shock of this ordeal can help the nation recover a clearer vision of how a free and civilized people must live. The rights of the person as our founding fathers insisted came not from the state but from their creator, and nobody has a right to take them away. (New York Times, December 20, 1963)
>
> J.F.K. dies for a belief. It was the belief in those human rights to which this nation has always been committed. In death as in life, the words and spirit of this our most newly martyred President will lead the nation ever closer to its "highest aspirations". (Miami Herald, December 10, 1963)
>
> An instinctive feeling of human brotherhood ...prompted the importance he gave to one of the most controversial of his unfinished tasks - the bill for civil rights. By the great majority of Americans, we think he was sincerely admired and loved. (New York World-Telegram and Sun, November 30, 1963)
>
> The loss is shared by all, and it must lead to a sharing of the hard tasks ahead. If the death of president Kennedy engenders bitterness among the people he served, we shall betray his sacrifice. If it brings new resolve to merit the challenge together, John F. Kennedy must rest content. (Washington Star, December 5, 1963)

The Association with Abraham Lincoln

There are several references linking Kennedy to Lincoln. Mircea Eliade (1960:32-33) discussed the mythic transformation of the lives of historical personages after their deaths. As we noted previously, there is a strong relationship between mortal lives and mythic models. We recall, as

well, how to the ancient Greeks, gods and goddesses came down and walked among them (cf. the concept of "le double"). Generally, especially with regard to Kennedy and Lincoln, Americans felt swept into this mythic dimension. Kennedy became identified with the spirit of Lincoln. Somehow both 'walked' among their people. Kennedy and Lincoln were each transformed by the myth-making media (printed word and picture) into a kind of demi-gods.

David Copps (1972:336) alluded to the possibility of a "tragic drama in American history". There is, as he suggests, dramatic evidence of significant changes in the religious consciousness of the American populace "...an optimism of a nation persuaded that it is embarked on divinely appointed tasks but a tragic awareness that, after all, human enterprises may bear little relation to God's purposes." Speaking of Lincoln, Copps refers to "the tragic awareness that, whether the President lives or dies, the hand of God moves on." This notion of "the hand of God" moving on, irrespective of a discontinuity between divine purpose and human enterprise, is implicit in the association made between the assassination of Kennedy and Lincoln.

Apocalypse and After

> What will now happen to this grief-born spirit when a chastened nation turns again to the business President Kennedy had been pressing us to complete? We do not know but we do not believe that the spiritual experience emerging from this crisis is transitory. It is our duty to complete in 1963 what another martyred President - Abraham Lincoln began in 1863 with the Emancipation Proclamation and a fitting act of national repentance. (The Christian Century, December 4, 1963)

The statement above refers to the enactment of civil rights legislation for which President Kennedy had asked Congress, but which they did not grant. The comparison to Lincoln, the embodiment of a "mythic model" is a dominant

theme.

> Will the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 arouse the same emotions, grief and national resolve as with Abraham Lincoln a century ago? (Globe and Mail, December 14, 1963)

> Now he is gone. Although he did not have the opportunity of attaining the glory of Lincoln before an assassin shot him down there was the added similarity that he was the greatest ally of the downtrodden people of his country since the days of the great Emancipation. Now we must be allowed to see this purpose even more clearly and to be inspired by it. (Toronto Star, December 3, 1963)

> There is a remarkable similarity between President John F. Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln. Both Kennedy and Lincoln were liberals. Both were irrevocably committed to the cause of racial liberty: Kennedy to civil rights, Lincoln to human rights. Both were fully absorbed in grim yet forceful struggles to attain peace and both men died before the great causes of their careers were resolved.
> Both presidents were shot in the back and the brain. Kennedy has been succeeded by his vice-president, Lyndon Johnson; Lincoln was succeeded by his vice-president, Andrew Johnson.
> One can be certain that history will continue to draw parallels between the lives of these two great and revered leaders of their country.
> When Kennedy avowed the right of human liberty he drew upon Lincoln's example. When he sought the Presidency he identified with the courage of free men and of Lincoln in particular. Unhappily for the whole world the coincidence of career did not end there. (Commonwealth, December 13, 1963)

A spiritual legacy emanating from Kennedy's assassination continues through the years. Somehow he still "walks among us." The aura of this national cult hovers over the nation. As the years go on attempts are made to separate man and myth. It seems that the impact of the myth is so profound that efforts to distinguish the mythological from reality are far from successful. It is also noteworthy, as reflected in some 1983 references, that there is a continuing preoccupation with the mythic dimension of John F. Kennedy's

legacy. Although the media do not acknowledge it, they too have contributed to this "spiritual experience" - to this national cult.

Towards Permanent Immortalization of the Mythic Hero

On November 23, 1963, the newly installed President Lyndon Johnson declared a national day of mourning (New York Times, November 23, 1963). The death of such a significant figure as a President and particulary John F. Kennedy called for a reaffirmation of some basic national beliefs. Kennedy in death was a symbol of national values. In his proclamation, President Johnson "speaks of a loss that cannot be weighed, requiring God's watchfulness over our land..." (New York Times, November 23, 1963).

It is interesting to note the behaviour patterns following the death of a President. They tend to challenge the notion that we are witnessing a manifested and overwhelming secularization of society. The "religious language" of official proclamations seems to reaffirm once more Bellah's insights into the "power" of civil religion. The death of a significant leader brings about social transformation from the profane to the sacred.

Upon the death of President Harrison, his successor Tyler moved to make May 14, 1881 "a day of fasting and prayer". Upon the death of Lincoln, Andrew Johnson asked for "a special period for again humbling ourselves before Almighty God, in order that the bereavement should be sanctified by the nation." September 26, 1841, was declared a day of "sorrowful submission to the will of Almighty God" following the death of President Garfield.

Theodor Roosevelt spoke of a need for "submission to the will of Almighty god on the death of McKinley" (Wilson 1979:63-64).

I argue that the permanent immortalization of Kennedy reflects a sacred dimension. Given all the later reassessments, reappraisals and critiques, he remains immortalized not only in concrete ways (i.e., bridges, airports, building and such) but with a sense of awe that re-emerges again and again. It is justifiable to speak of a "permanent immortalization", when one discovers that this sense of awe increases in intensity over the decades.

The Dictionary of American Biography (1972) lists the following number of publications about John F. Kennedy: Kennedy's early life leading to his nomination for the Presidency (26), Kennedy's war experience (12), memoirs by White House associates (11), on his foreign policy in general (18), on Vietnam (11), domestic policies (15) and general assessments of his political career (28). As recently as the fall of 1985, books about Kennedy have appeared with such titles as One Shining Moment, Kennedy - A Hero for our Time, and The Kennedy Dynasty.

Aside from these lasting items testifying to his permanent legacies there are structures and institutions memorializing Kennedy. Amongst these are Kennedy Airport, Cape Kennedy, Kennedy Centre for the Performing Arts and the Kennedy Library and Archives. Of course there is the "Eternal Flame" at his graveside. The New York Times, (November 24, 1966) wrote that "thousands of pilgrims continue to flock around the Eternal Flame at Arlington." The Atlantic Advocate, (May 1965) speaks of that "holy light that

shineth in our darkness." One popular journal in the United States contained an article referring to "special services by the United States Senate Chaplain in a special tribute to John F. Kennedy's memory recalling his burial and the establishment of the eternal flame" (Newsweek, November 27, 1966).

After 1963 - The Media and the Creation of a Sacred Sense of Awe----

Immortalization:

> John F. Kennedy was a youth in the counsels of the great...In the local battles he would have gradually brought the big battalions over to his side. The time was almost ripe for such a change, and he stood, radical though he was, comfortingly for the old solid virtues. The United States has lost one of its most distinguished sons. Even now, when the first grief is over people in the United States are considering everything, from foreign policy to town planning, as a potential memorial to Kennedy. We all assume that the true memorial must be the greater fulfillment of the American dream. We will talk of what he brought about, in death and life, not just what he was.
>
> (Editorial, Saturday Night
> January, 1964)

> The heart of the Kennedy legend is what might have been ... all this is apparent in the faces of the people who came to his grave daily on the Arlington Hill.
>
> ... always we came back to the same point: The tragedy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy was greater than the accomplishment, but in the end the tragedy enhances the accomplishment and revives the hope...
>
> (New York Times, November 15, 1964)

> One cannot help but compare the tenor of the devotion of Eisenhower's friends with the loyalty of Kennedy's worshippers. The common denominator for "Ike" centered on his love for the country and value to America. Eisenhower for the 1950's was what America needed. A reincarnation of George Washington, he was the father of his postwar country. Eisenhower presided over an institution, Kennedy, in his very brief reign, was the Institution.
>
> (United States Information Service, December 1964)

A symbol of societal values:

> Kennedy's death had the effect of updating the democratic ideal so far as it is able to be embodied in a single person.
>
> ... and Kennedy seemed to have suddenly brought us up to date, the embodiment of what it is we think we are. I think Lincoln represented hard work, seriousness of purpose, pleasantness, wit, kindliness, determination - a variety of goals that may even be the goals that are Uncle Sam's. We have changed a little bit - a good bit - but Kennedy represented a new kind of hero - a real joie de vivre - projecting a view of how life ought to be...
>
> (Newsweek, June 18, 1964)

The Mythic Hero:
1967 - 1973

> It is worth noting that Jeanne d'Arc was betrayed by the French on November 21, 1430. The martyrdom of heroic figures nearly always occurred in the waning days of autumn. The end of summer terrified men. Winter lay ahead, and the fear of starvation. What was needed was a powerful emissary, an ally in the skies. And so, over the ages, a "solution" evolved. They would sacrifice their most cherished possessions, their prince. It would be agony but it would also be a sign of contrition, and after the execution their mighty friend would ascend into heaven, to temper the wrath of the almighty and ensure a green and abundant spring.
>
> In the twentieth century that legend is vestigial. Yet no one familiar with world religions can doubt its viability, and the nature of its magical power must be understood if one is to grasp what happened to the memory of John Kennedy after his burial.
>
> ... the spectacular murder of Abraham Lincoln was the first sacrifice ... and the martyrdom of John Kennedy was the second.
>
> ... That man was destroyed on the evening of April 14, 1865. The Kennedy we knew in life vanished forever on November 22, 1963. That Lincoln and Kennedy shared an abiding faith in a government of laws thus becomes an irrelevant detail ... what the folk hero was and what he believed are submerged by the demands of those who follow him. In myth he becomes what they want him to have been, and any one who belittles this transformation has an imperfect understanding of truth.
>
> (Look, December, 1967.)

Concrete Symbols of Immortalization:

People have found the events of those days in November 1963 too busy, too sudden, too overwhelming ... all the same, people couldn't stop attempting to incorporate it in their lives. The most obvious approach was to name something after the President.

Mrs. Kennedy had asked Johnson to rechristen Cape Canaveral, Cape Kennedy. He immediately complied. New York's mayor Wagner renamed Idlewild, Congress changed the National Cultural Center to the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Treasury has minted fifty million Kennedy half-dollars.

In every part of the country committees and councils have voted to honour the President by altering local maps. Even Canada has its Mount Kennedy. England set aside three acres of the historic meadow at Runnymede, where the Magna Carta was signed, as a Kennedy Shrine. On May 14, 1965, Queen Elizabeth presided at the ceremony dedicating the tract to the President "whom in death my people still mourn and whom in life they loved.

(Globe and Mail, November 24, 1967)

An Immortal Image:

The funeral bell that tolled for John F. Kennedy certainly has tolled for us all; we saw in John Kennedy an ideal, an image of all our hopes.

(Globe and Mail, November 24, 1967)

The mystery of strange coincidences:

There is a bizarre element. During the winter of 1963-64 several people who had played peripheral roles in the events of the previous novemt · died unexpectedly or fell victims to strange violence. Warren Reynolds, a used-car lot employee who had witnessed Lee Oswald's flight, was himself shot in the same Dallas lot on the evening of January 23. The general who had welcomed Kennedy to San Antonio in behalf of the Air Force, the waiter who had served his last breakfast in Fort Worth, and the advertising director of the Dallas News all dropped dead. They had been in excellent health. Two years later Earlene Roberts, Lee Harvey Oswald's landlady, died of a stroke, and Bill Whaley a driver for Kennedy was killed in a traffic accident.

(Time Magazine, November 24, 1967)

The Mystique of John F. Kennedy:

> And then there was Kennedy, the edge of the mystery ... He had a dozen faces you know. The quality was reminiscent of someone like Brando whose expression rarely changes, but whose appearance seems to shift. Kennedy's most characteristic quality was the remote and private air of a man who has traversed some lonely terrain of experience, of loss and gain, of nearness of death which left him isolated from the mass of others.
>
> (Esquire, June 1968)

Powerful Legend:

> Yet today Kennedy dead has definitely more force than Kennedy living. Though his administration was not a success he himself has become a world touchstone of political excellence. Part of this phenomenon is attributable to the races' need for heroes, even in deflationary times.
>
> (Gore Vidal: June 1968)

A National Cult Develops, as does
Church Sponsored Civil Religion:

> Boston's Richard Cardinal Cushing prepared a sermon for a special mass that said: "He became the voice of mankind to interpret the issues of the day and to help lead our generation to higher levels to achieve humanity's hopes, and peace on earth. We thank God, however that we had him, even for less than three years ...
>
> (Newsweek, November 27, 1968)

> Lou Harris, Kennedy's pollster in 1960, reported on a national survey indicating that 53% of the people miss Kennedy more than a year ago ...
>
> (Time Magazine, December 2, 1969)

> President Kennedy seemed the very symbol of the vitality and the substance that is the essence of life itself. He made us proud to be Americans ... He is gone. We still mourn him.
>
> (Miami Herald, November 23, 1970)

> Tomorrow and tomorrow we shall miss him. And so we shall never know how different the world might have been had fate permitted this blazing talent to live out, labour longer at man's unfinished

agenda for peace and progress for all.

(Look, November, 1970)

Immortalization of the mythic hero:

So more he is a legend when he would have preferred to be a man.

(New York Times, November 23, 1973.)

He became a legend and symbol for the masses all over the world. In the homes of the poor, in America, Canada and elsewhere, his picture hangs on walls along with those of Jesus Christ, Martin Luther King and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

(Globe and Mail, November 23, 1973)

Clues to Kennedy's mystique may be found elsewhere; his youth, the power of the Kennedy family. By themselves however, they seem inadequate, mere substitutes for explanations. Jack Kennedy, the first American president born in the twentieth century, may, alas, have appeared in the messianic role that fulfilled profound needs within both the industrialized and relatively primitive parts of the world. Some connections must have been made. Without that 'special' quality his physical attraction and sophistication alone could hardly have turned heart ...

(Esquire, June, 1973)

President Nixon urges Americans, in his Thanksgiving Day Proclamation, to reflect on President Kennedy's contribution to the values precious to American life; on this occasion of the 10th anniversary of his death...

(New York Times, November 22, 1973)

In purely statistical terms there is little to mark the achievements of John Kennedy. One must note that despite this John Kennedy is enshrined in the nation's memory ...

(Washington Post, November 22, 1973)

In Dallas today 500 persons gather for the rededication of the Kennedy Memorial involving music and prayer to eulogize President Kennedy on the day of the 10th anniversary of his assassination ...

(New York Times, November 22, 1973)

> Assuming the existence of civil religion in the United States, a President is unique, being the "Pontific Maximus". A religion needs its saints and martyrs. The death of John Kennedy reinforced these needs. He was cut off at the height of youth and the golden moment of promise. His death reinforced that mystical age in our history personified in Kennedy's youth, charm and manliness.

(New Republic, November17, 1973)

The quotations presented above certainly seem to indicate the media preoccupation with its search for meaning of the death of John Kennedy. It appears to reflect intensified mythologizing following the assassination; obviously an event which is "haunting the American soul" (Harpers, October 23, 1983). Two decades later there is no lessening of intensity.

The existence of a national cult:

> ... the closely linked mysteries of Kennedy's death and his "unfulfilled" presidency supported each other and served the same purpose. They helped, for a time at least, to sustain the country's illusions about itself, which had been nested to a remarkable degree in the person of the murdered president. Kennedy stood for everything liberals wanted to believe about themselves. He stood for National Greatness, imperial destiny and new cultural and political maturity ... Seeking to explain their loss liberals glorified Kennedy in retrospect as a modern King Arthur, done in by the pressures and resentments of lesser mortals. The social mythology of the assassination made Kennedy's death a tragic but entirely fitting end to a life that elevated him above ordinary men.

(Harpers: October, 23, 1983)

> The nationwide telephone polls conducted by Newsweek showed that three-quarters of the 1 032 adults questioned consider Kennedy's presidency "good to great"... Those polled named Kennedy more often than any other president when asked who they wished governed the United States today... The poll found that Americans most closely identify Kennedy's tenure in office with a concern for working people, an effort to end racial injustice, an active role by the

government in solving problems and an inspiration to young people.

(United Press International, November 23, 1983)

> Is it possible now, at a remove of 20 years, to detach Kennedy's presidency from the magic and to judge it with the cold rationality that Kennedy tried to bring to bear upon his world? Or is the myth, the sense of hope and the lift he gave thereby, a central accomplishment of his presidency? W. B. Yeats wrote, "How can we know the dancer from the dance?"
>
> (Time Magazine, November 14, 1983)

The sense of a national religious cult:

> The Day that changed the World. Ask anyone where he was, what he was doing when he heard president Kennedy was assassinated, and he'll certainly be able to tell you.... That day, followed by the Saturday lying in state, the Sunday murder of the alleged assassin, and the Monday pomp and splendour of the state funeral transfixed us all, and left us with as many personal stories of that national legend as there are Americans who were old enough to be aware of what was happening.
>
> (Ladies Home Journal, November 14, 1983)

The heroic solution to the problem of death:

> More than we knew, John F. Kennedy's death had affected us. His office conferred on him the status of a national patriarch, but his full head of hair, impish small children and glamorous young wife made him also seem a brother, a son, a contemporary. Most Americans mourned, mended and eventually resumed their routines, but for some the President's death was a turning point ...
>
> (Ladies Homes Journal, November 19, 1983)
>
> J. F. K. was not perfect. History will certainly weigh his defects in the balance. But he believed passionately in America.... in the need for justice at home and peace in the world. The world perceived this, which is why grief ran around the planet when he died. His legacy like his life remains unfulfilled. His hope abides ... The supreme reality of our time is our indivisibility as children of God and our common vulnerability on this planet.
>
> (Ladies Home Journal, November 1983:170-171)

A second mini-series on the Kennedy family will go into production

this fall for CBS. "Kennedy", a seven hour dramatization of the presidential years and personal life of John F. Kennedy, will be telecast on NBC on three nights - the final night is the 20th anniversary of the assassination of the late president.

(Ottawa Citizen, September 23, 1983)

Twenty years ago a sniper's bullet ended the brief presidency of John F. Kennedy and transformed him overnight into a legend. Here is how a good friend and distinguished writer remembers the man and the family that captured a nation's imagination.

(Introduction to "One Brief Shining Moment-Remembering Kennedy" McCalls, November 1983)

A hero in spite of errors; he was no saint:
life and death are intertwined:

J. F. K. had been decorated for heroism in World War II and his courage was unquestioned. Twice he faced down the Russians, over Berlin in 1961 and during the Cuban Missile Crisis a year later. But his foreign policy was what he called his "strategy of peace". In pursuit of it, he carried on a secret correspondence with Nikita Khrushchev, set up a hot line between Moscow and Washington, negotiated the test-ban treaty ... he founded the Alliance for Progress. His great failure, of course was Vietnam. In Kennedy's last year, 45 American military advisers were killed. After his assassination, more than 57 000 died in Vietnam, most of them conscripts.

(Christian Century, November 11, 1983)

Kennedy is immortalized, the "Heroic Solution":

... The phenomenon was too deep... for in the 1980's, despite criticism of his policies, wild rumours that he was a satyr, and the absurd charge that he ordered Castro murdered - his place in the hearts of his countrymen remains secure.... The long years of grief had to be endured. Yet the time has come to exorcise that heartbreaking weekend when each of us died a little. The President's death was a tragedy, but his life had been a triumph, and so it should be remembered.

(McCalls, November 14, 1983)

In spite of fallibilities ... the myth persists:

Before Kennedy's Presidency, his record as a public servant was

> undistinguished. During his fourteen years on Capitol Hill he originated no important legislation ... It has been demonstrated beyond doubt that his book Profiles in Courage was ghost-written... Joseph Kennedy secured a key 1952 endorsement of his son's senate candidacy with a $500 000 loan to the Boston Post ... he focused in foreign affairs on Soviet-American tensions ... in the days of Kennedy we erred perhaps on the side of idealism and overconfidence, but how much we have erred on the other side since.
>
> (The New Republic, November 21, 1983)

The immortalization of J. F. Kennedy - the perpetuation of the national cult:

> Never has a president been able to use television to his advantage like John F. Kennedy. Americans will again see why tonight when ABC airs the first in a line of Kennedy documentaries scheduled for this month. Among other upcoming programs timed to mark the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Kennedy, is NBC's The Funeral of John Kennedy: A Remembrance a three-hour special featuring film footage of the three days of funeral observances ...
>
> (Ottawa Citizen, November 11, 1983)

Mythologizing of the hero:

> ABC News head Pamela Hill said her network's upcoming special on John F. Kennedy is a serious, analytical look at his presidency, the likes of which has not yet been done on television ... Roosevelt was president for 12 years and changed the nature of American society. Kennedy was in office less than four years and he is as much mythologized.
>
> (New York Times, October 14, 1983)

A national/international cultic symbol of values:

> Kennedy captured the Canadian spirit on November 22, 1963. The day John Kennedy died, then prime minister Lester Pearson delivered a eulogy viewed on television by millions ... "And now the trumpet summons us again ... not as a call to battle, though embattled we are. But a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out ... a struggle against the common enemies of man-tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself." These words were the measure of that man. Mr. Pearson concluded, for him that burden has now been lifted, but for us that trumpet still sounds.
>
> (Globe and Mail, November 22, 1983)

The immortalization of the mythic hero:
Church sponsored civil religion:

> Americans urged to honor JFK with peace bid. The appeal came from Archbishop James Hickey of Washington to a gathering at Holy Trinity Church. He said, "believers must seek to prevent the massive even total destruction of human life and culture that a nuclear war would bring".
>
> (Washington Post, November 23, 1983.)

The mythologizing of the hero:

> ... particularly in a world far more dangerous than the one from which John Kennedy departed 20 years ago is the question of what there was in this man that produced such universal hope and provoked such an outpouring of grief when he died... I am painfully aware that 1 000 days is a lamentably short period in which to prove your real worth in the most powerful office in the world. But in those 1 000 days, I submit he had already laid the groundwork for a world very much better than the one we live in today ...
>
> (Macleans, November 28, 1983)

The national cultic symbol:

> America loved this President: His special charisma first blossomed on the campaign trail. He brought new life to an obscure word in the American political lexicon: charisma. The photographs on the following pages are part of the enduring legacy.
>
> (People, November 28, 1983)

Looking back on the significance of John F. Kennedy as a prototype case study, one can observe that Kennedy "the hero" cumulated and synthesized the key modalities as developed in previous chapters. What kinds of heroization has society perpetuated?

A Church sponsored civil religion was exhibited in the fact that religious institutions and clergy of all faiths memorialized and eulogized Kennedy as a symbol of American nationhood. It follows, in light of this

analysis that Bishop Cushing's funeral oration made John F. Kennedy into a "saint", who had been betrayed by enemies.

National institutions and feelings of patriotism made him into a war hero (i.e., a soldier fallen sacrificially). He was buried with the nation's heroes (in Arlington Cemetery). Pilgrims pass by the "Eternal Flame", reminiscent of another symbol of national value, the Lincoln Memorial.

There was, and continues to be, an outpouring of basic, raw hero worship. This is evident by the flow of journal articles, documentaries, controversial works about John F. Kennedy, all of which reveal such rawness from the moment of death. This has made him into a cultural hero proper. This immortalization brought something vital to humanity, the vanquishing of his death.

CHAPTER V

VARIATION OF THE PROTOTYPE: EXAMINATION OF SELECTED CASES

Robert Lifton has suggested that a "death imagery" comes to take the shape of annihilation, the threat of extinction of mortal men ... an inherent death anxiety ... as a result religious symbolism becomes more sought after" (1979b:11-12). Heroization is a resolution of the anxiety flowing from "death imagery". John F. Kennedy and other examples represent symbolic immortality nurtured in the public imagination but no less real to the believers, bringing about what Lifton terms a "connection" with the meaning of life.

The idea of a "Marathon of Hope" perpetuated beyond Terry Fox's mortal life, or the belief that "Elvis is gone, but not silenced - Long Live the King" or the simple assertion that "Marilyn Monroe still lives", are evidence that a "broken connection" is under "repair". Let us pursue this notion further by examining the symbolic immortality surrounding other personages.

Terry Fox

Like John F. Kennedy, Terry Fox became a focus for a cultic national civil religious phenomenon and as well illustrates a church- sponsored civil religion. Terry Fox was a cultural hero with national dimensions. Both Fox and Kennedy are surrounded with the aura of sacrifice and a sense of martyrdom associated with their deaths. They were hailed as mortals

possessing heroic virtues in life. Each manifested human failings and blemishes. The distance of death removed the blemishes. All negatives are transmitted at death into overwhelming positives by the creation of legends.

Terry Fox, while alive, tried to be true to his own inclinations. His words, extracted from a Toronto radio station interview, are revealing:

> a lot of people might feel pity, because I've got one leg or because of the way I run, but it's true when I say you could take my real leg away and I'd probably be even stronger that I am now.
>
> ... and when you are doing your best, and becoming normal, and you're getting close to normal you really feel happy with yourself.

The bare facts of his life formed the legend. In his brief life time, Terry seemed to elevate and inspire by his personal commitment in spite of his disability.

The formation of the legend developed between April and September of the same year. The media publicized its theme: A Marathon of Hope. Terry Fox a one-legged cancer-stricken amputee set out to run from St. Johns, Newfoundland, dipping his foot into the frigid Atlantic Ocean on April 12, 1980 and on to Thunder Bay, where he was stopped by a reactivated cancer on September 2nd, 1980.

Terry Fox managed to catch the imagination of a nation and he became a national cultural hero. Canadians were touched, moved by his presence. The Toronto Star (June 11, 1980) reported: "near Madoc Ontario, a woman with a six year old boy approached Terry". 'My son has cancer' she

said, 'Terry you're running for my little boy.'" Terry Fox's appeal struck a mystical note. He became a religious figure, perhaps even capable of rendering miracles.

The overwhelming response to an obvious charisma was evident, particularly as he moved through Ontario.

> ... at the Scarborough Town Hall, a tiny cancer victim gave Terry a donation bringing him to tears ...
>
> (Toronto Star, June 30, 1980)

> ... watching the phenomenon that morning was overwhelming. In the middle of traffic, cars would crawl to a stop, the occupants holding out money. Others would just stop in any lane and beckon for a volunteer to take bills. The 2 1/2 mile run down University Avenue and the wild applause drove Terry hard. He rounded the corner and into Nathan Phillips Square, where more than 10 000 people greeted him ...
>
> (Globe and Mail, June 30, 1980)

There was a distinct difference between Terry Fox and John F. Kennedy. Fox was attempting to get the better of death, by beating his cancer. Death was vanquished for Kennedy only by the immortalization process after his death. This was true for Fox as well, however he was coping with the threat of death. There was the making of a saint.

This was not Fox's intent but a creation of the public:

> ... others might have been content to yield to their infirmity but not Terry Fox.
>
> (Halifax Chronicle-Herald, September 4, 1980)

> ... people heard his message: a disability didn't have to be a

handicap.

(Scrivener, 1983:13)

In addition to the elevation to sainthood, there was an implicit belief in the magic of a miracle. This was apparent in the media and articulated by Terry Fox himself.

> all along I've said I would never give up, I'd always do my best. I remember saying that when I gave that talk to all those people, that I either was going to make it or not make it ... I believe however that God planned what has happened. There was a reason for what happened in Thunder Bay. Right now I'm going to fight as hard as I can to beat cancer. I may come back from this and finish running across Canada. It will be the greatest come back I ever made.
>
> (Ibid, 1983:167-168)

Yet this was a mortal, subject to human failings and errors. The public imagination, however, projected on him its wish for a national hero. As in the case of Kennedy, there were factors in his life which became the ingredients of the myth enlarging his heroic image after death.

Leslie Scrivener, as a biographer of Fox, noted those factors evident prior to the terminal stage of his illness:

> Terry was a good all round reliable basketball player, good enough to share the "Athlete of the Year Award" in grade twelve ...
>
> (Scrivener 1983:20)

> The competitive spirit in sports was also transferred to academic work.
>
> (ibid: 21)

> He was one of the guys, going to basketball parties, having drinks

with his buddies and even getting roaring drunk ...

(ibid 167)

Terry did not perceive himself as a saint but a person striving for self-authenticity. He summed up an attitude:

> The whole thing was such a romantic adventure and all of it was happening to me. People began calling me a hero but as far as I was concerned I was just simple old Terry Fox. It was like Dorothy in the Wizard of Oz, going through this great big adventure, going places she had never been and seeing things she had never seen before and things happening that had never happened ... I got satisfaction out of doing things that were difficult. It was an incredible feeling. The pain was there, but the pain didn't matter ...
>
> (Vancouver Sun, February 14, 1981)

Terry did not conquer death. On June 28, 1981, he died. The cancer could not be stopped by rational means (i.e., power of medicine and treatment). In spite of Terry Fox's perseverance and faith, the superhuman run did not block the inevitability of a terminal illness.

Did he vanquish death in the eyes of others? In life Terry Fox produced the possibility of such a feat. He raised 23 million dollars for cancer research. He became, even before his death, a national symbol; his cross-country run was a sign of hope.

The chord was already struck several months prior to his death, when Terry Fox was presented with the Order of Canada by the then Governor-General, Ed Schreyer. At the investiture, the Governor-General used these words:

> Brave souls that took the perilous trail and felt the vision could not fade.

After death Terry Fox became an even more powerful symbol. This was a religious transformation in itself without the traditional religious solution of a miracle. Terry, a cultural hero in life, became the object of mythological heroism in death. As a national symbol of hope, a civil religious solution to death emerged: immortalization of the hero providing the means to vanquish death.

However private a funeral the Fox family wished for their son, this was not to be. Hero worship was manifest in expressions of national grief, mourning and honouring of a "fallen one".

> ... at his funeral four RCMP-honour guard officers saluted the coffin of Terry Fox and a Canadian flag which was flown at half-mast over the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa was draped in front of the coffin. The flag was later presented to Betty Fox, Terry's mother.
>
> (Toronto Star, July 3, 1981)

> ... opposition leader Joe Clark reminded the House of Commons that yesterday morning Terry Fox lost one battle, but his life was a victory, a victory of hope, of courage, of example.
>
> (Globe and Mail, June 30, 1981)

The outpouring of feelings of grief reflected not only his elevation to the extraordinary but basic feelings of hero worship.

> There was a death in the family Sunday, and Canada mourns.
>
> (Montreal Gazette, June 29, 1981)

> He died surrounded by love, the love of his family, all of whom were with him and the love and prayers of the entire nation ...
>
> (Vancouver Sun, June 29, 1981)

> I can only offer tears and praise for Terry Fox ... each time I watched the look of pain on Terry's face I saw the agony on Christ's face as he made his journey to Calvary.
>
> (Winnipeg Free Press, June 29, 1981)

Civil religion was manifested in the memorial tributes and religious services held for Terry Fox. Reports referred to special memorial services across the nation. A report in the Ottawa Citizen, (June 30, 1981), noted:

> an interfaith service, one of dozens scheduled on Parliament Hill, to coincide with private funeral services to be held at Trinity United Church near Point Coquitlam B.C.

Terry Fox was eulogized as a national loss. Eulogizing affirmed his symbolism as a national hero. He was spoken of

> ... as one who fills us lesser mortals with pride, to be a member of the species with the inspiration to reach greater heights with a sense of the indomitability of the human spirit.
>
> (Governor-General E. Schreyer, Vancouver Sun, June 29, 1981)

Evidence continues to mount. Terry Fox's immortalization is taking on a permanency and growing in its mythic proportions. The symbolism of immortality that death has been vanquished by his run, pervades the national consciousness. There are pages of descriptive testimony to his impact on the "soul of a nation" written in the years following his death in June 1981. To select a few:

THEY WON'T FORGET

> Terry Fox inspired millions and two years after his gallant trek they honour his memory.
>
> ... words like courage, determination and dignity seem to come naturally when people talk about Terry Fox ... for many of the people organizing or running the local Terry Fox events, the home grown hero is a personal inspiration. "I feel like he's a brother to me" ..."he's made us all feel good about ourselves". "He was just a person but he brought out the heroic in us ..."
>
> (Toronto Star, August 25, 1983)

A park for Terry Fox was dedicated in British Columbia, as well as a Mount Terry Fox in the same province (Globe and Mail, June 15, 1983). His legend spawns a movie (Ottawa Citizen, May 27, 1983). The Terry Fox Canadian Youth Center was opened in Vancouver (October 29, 1983) with the words, "Terry Fox continues to bring us together". There are the Terry Fox Scholarship Foundation and the Institute; the latter brings young people together from around Canada. A statue to his memory stands in the middle of the nation's Capital, near the Houses of Parliament.

As recently as the summer of 1985 the inspiration of Fox was evident in the success of a similar one-legged cancer victim, - Steve Fonyo. He did a "hop-skip-and-jump" across Canada from St. John's to the Pacific Ocean, Victoria B.C.. A headline in the Ottawa Citizen, May 30, 1985, is reminiscent of the legend of Terry Fox.

STEVE MAKES IT

Run of Courage Captures the Heart

Cultic Marginal

The central theme of mythic-heroism as a "solution" to the problem of death is also found in personalities marginal to the main society: cult figures. In the same way that Kennedy and Fox were immortalized in the public eye as heroic beings, so too were Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, James Dean and John Lennon. They were recipients of marginal recognition, although not without a general social impact.

Elvis Presley

> What attracts so many to a Little Richard, to Jerry Lee Lewis, to Elvis Presley ... is that these men tend to see themselves as symbolic Americans ... I think their music is an attempt to live up to that role ... Elvis Presley dramatized a sense of what it is to be an American; what it means, what it's worth, what the stakes of life in America might be ...
>
> (Rolling Stones Magazine, March 1976)

The quotation is not an isolated observation about Elvis Presley. Biographical data concur with the fact that Presley's roots were in a certain part of America. His family was a poor, white lower working class. It is not an exaggeration to view Presley as a representative of a disenfranchized class including both whites and blacks. This aspect of his factual life becomes part of the mythology strengthened by his achievements in life and buttressed after

his death.

The humble origins of Elvis Presley have an impact on his place in America, a point not lost by writers, both the popular and the scholarly. Part of the myth links Presley to Lincoln as bound up in

> The mystery of democracy ... as Lincoln. Elvis tells us that the richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances where they are least expected ... Elvis's stay is classically American.
>
> (Rolling Stones Magazine, March 6, 1976)

Elvis, during his lifetime, became a legend. A biographer spoke of

> .. a real glow passing back and forth between Elvis and his audience, as he shares a bit of what it means to transcend the world of weakness, failure, worry, age and fear; shows what it means for a boy who sprung from the poor to be godly...
>
> (Marcus 1976:147)

Elvis Presley as "part of America", a symbol of American values and tradition, is not lost on commentators who helped to etch the Presley mystique during the performer's lifetime. This was the Elvis whose first singing experience was as a choir boy in the local Church of the Assembly of God and who sang at local and statewide revival meetings. "A black sound inside a white boy" (Gregory and Gregory, 1982:104). One editorial in 1966 perceived Elvis as:

> embodying what is good about this country: a love of roots and a respect for the past, ... a capacity to blend racial harmony, demonstrating a profound affinity with the nuances of black culture combined with an equally profound understanding of his own white southern culture ...
>
> (Atlanta Constitution, September 14, 1966)

Elvis Presley was an American success story testifying to the America myth that a poor boy can "make it". By 1956, Presley accounted for half of the revenue of the RCA Victor Records company. As the legend formed, Presley "luxuriated in a popularity seldom equalled in American entertainment" (New York Times, August 27, 1970).

"Elvis, The King, like the heroes of an earlier age of Gods and Heroes, was a mix, however, of the good and the bad. The facts of his life were an accumulation of contradictory attributes. A primordial attachment by the public sustained their loyalties and worship of him throughout the period of his unstable life." (Gregory and Gregory, 1982: 213).

An "Elvis community" inspired devotion for 25 years and started well in advance of his death. A study of the Presley phenomenon suggests that he had managed early to provide

> a transcendental figure for millions of people ... his was an archetypal appeal to the collective unconscious. One cannot say specifically what drew them to him. They simply knew that they were powerfully attracted and knowing it is a tribute for most of them - more than a world wide community - a world wide communism ...
>
> (Southern Quarterly, University of Mississippi, 1980:1-8)

It was a paradox. On the one hand, there was a life reflecting a religious background, steeped in the Pentecostal tradition and on the other hand, there was decadence. He set off shock waves of hysteria, particularly among teenage girls. He offended the Catholic Church which viewed his

movements on stage as "down right obscene ..." (American Time, January 11, 1956). His was an image which promoted specific tenets: patriotism (President Nixon had invited him to the White House, making him an honourable narcotics agent); family and friendships. Somehow he gained an almost unheard of mass acceptance and respectability from society while living in the midst of self defined morality. He has been portrayed as

> a real American rebel, establishing himself as a man of faith while publicly living as a moral law to himself ...
>
> (Brock, 1980:96-97)

The latter years of Elvis Presley were dominated by paranoia and depression with an addiction to disorienting drugs.

In an article prior to his death titled "The Other Side of Elvis" (Vancouver Sun, August 17, 1977), a former body guard related tales of Presley's drug habits, so severe that

> he had to take pills to get up in the morning to go to the bathroom, to stop going to the bathroom, to perform, to go to sleep and to stay awake.

Elvis, the Las Vegas super star, married, had a child, was divorced and ended his life in a condition termed by Time Magazine (August 29, 1977) "as a victim of personal burn out."

In spite of all the mortal deficiencies, he was viewed as super human, a mortal transcending mortality. A C.T.V. interview (October 1982), five years after his death, perhaps sums up well the attitude of the "King worshippers." The devotee was asked how she could be loyal to a "guy so

obviously a drug bum and addict." The reply was instructive: "Even more so like Jesus, he must have suffered so!"

Richard Harrington, a reporter with the Washington Post (January 3, 1985), looked back on the paradox of Elvis's career and made a most fitting comment:

> Even before his death in 1977, Elvis Presley had become an enigma wrapped in myth, a ghost floating through the American dream. In his career, he was both an actor and pathetic parody, as potent a metaphor as he was a singer. He was at once larger than life and smaller than art, a victim of his sudden fame and the unprecedented expanse of his own myth.

Upon the death of Elvis Presley, on August 16, 1977, the Globe and Mail referred to him as an "artifact of supreme importance." The New York Times in an editorial saw

> ... Elvis as the embodiment, the figure, if not the cause behind the last 20 years transformation of American pop culture.
>
> (August 17, 1977)

Rolling Stones Magazine recognized the primordial dimension of Presley's presence:

> Elvis Presley may very well have epitomized all that is worst and much that is splendid about American culture, he was a self made King. For the last decade Presley was nothing short of America's populist King. Emerson may have dreamed of an American sun king, a fantasy of the artistic soul, but Elvis embodied that dream in epic style flinging his movements with a vulgar but magnificent sweep that defied even the largest expectations.
>
> (October 15, 1977)

Presley's death only magnified the legend. Immortalization of the man was

embellished by the media through its reporting of the various reactions to the death of this cultural hero. Cultic figure he may have been, but for a moment in time he was praised as a sacred object belonging to the Nation. On August 17, 1977, the White House issued a Presidential announcement:

> Elvis Presley's death deprives our country of a part of itself. He was unique and irreplaceable. His following was immense and he was a symbol to people the world over, of the vitality, rebelliousness, and good humour of his country.

A review of editorial comments and reporting over the years since 1977 reveals the impact that Presley continues to have on peoples lives. The sense of loss exemplified in initial reactions remains. One journalist has described Elvis Presley as the

> challenge of trying to climb a glacier while you fight for a foothold, chiselling fact out of legend. You look for a place to jab in a piton, but you need to choose your path to the real Elvis carefully.
>
> (Washington Post, August 20, 1977)

> There are a number of themes intertwining the hero who never forgot his roots, the symbol of the disenfranchised poor blacks and whites. Then there is the interpretation of his excesses as a symbol of rebellion of ordinary people against all forms of restraint. A biographer suggests that Presley showed it was possible not just to be somebody, but to do it "The American Way - to be somebody and to have a good time doing it".
>
> (Gregory and Gregory, 1980:284-285)

There remains as well a touch of the messianic in recollections of Elvis Presley. The "King is Dead, Long Live the King." Elvis is perceived as a religious figure, American hero, and an American martyr. Mystery permeates all comment on the significance of his death. Locked away in the cultural memory, Elvis Presley remains a "protector of the faithful", for those who

cherish his memory. For some, actually a multitude, he is forever present. A sign put up during a Graceland (the Presley Mansion) pilgrimage, a regular event on the anniversary of his death, addresses itself to messianic possibilities:

"When Elvis returns, will you be ready?"

On August 17, 1983, in a report in the New York Times titled, "Anniversary of Death Draws Presley Faithful," it was indicated that 12 000, from as far away as Tokyo, Japan, filed through the Graceland Mansion, in Memphis Tennessee, paying silent homage at the gravesides of Presley and his mother.

Homage has been the theme of press commentary these past years. The following selections illustrate this point:

> ... his death is a sadness for all .. he will remain forever young in the memory of his devoted following.
>
> (Atlanta Journal, August 17, 1977)

> ... it doesn't matter that Elvis' career was blemished, his contribution is there to be heard again and again. It's one of those rare cases where the legend is actually matched by the deed. As a cultural presence he has no peer.
>
> (The Record, August 18, 1977)

> ... although Elvis is gone we know one year later that he has not really vacated his throne. He was supreme. We are glad that not even the grave can silence such uniqueness.
>
> (Detroit Free Press, August 20, 1978)

> ...Elvis Presley remains a phenomenon. It is almost beyond human capacities to speculate on the how and why of his genesis. Like all

> mythic figures, Elvis apparently mirrored and reflected many elements having a quality extending beyond the merely rational ...
>
> (Washington Star, August 18, 1983)

> Thousands still come to Graceland Mansion, because they simply love Elvis. They come at a rate of 3 000 persons a day. They want an ideal Elvis. There is no talk about narcotics. They just want to walk on the same floors, touch the walls he touched. There is a powerful hold, some have actually moved to Memphis to be near the legend.
>
> (People, June 7, 1983)

The week after the death of Elvis Presley, the Arts editor of the New York Times August 24, 1977, made the following statement:

> Like perhaps half the people I met on that Wednesday, they invested some part of their lives in Elvis Presley, and his sudden death hit them with a sense of shock and loss utterly incomprehensible to certain groups. But if you can imagine Rudolph Valentino, Marilyn Monroe, James Dean, and Judy Garland combined into one corporate super-tragic-star, you will at least get some idea of his hold on those to whom he belonged.

Elvis Presley was a tragic hero yet always a sacred object - an "artifact of supreme importance." Marilyn Monroe, belongs to the same genre. I now examine the significance of an individual remembered as "the Goddess".

Marilyn Monroe

There are elements common to both Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe. Both were creations of myths which began in their lifetimes. They were persons from deprived backgrounds "who made it". Another theme of commonality relates to the religious imagery of "suffering servants", a dimen-

sion powerfully expanded after their deaths, involving martyrdom and sacrifice. The life/death connection implies a loss for those members of society who perceived these cultural heroes as the embodiment of society's values. As well, there is the sense of the tragic hero.

Marilyn Monroe, likened to a goddess, has been made immortal. Reflections about her form a cultural icon, a sacred picture. We remain intrigued by a sense of mystery. One is hard pressed to distinguish the factuality of her mortal life from her immortal presence. In a way, this confusion is inextricably bound up in writings which contribute to the mythologizing and the legend.

An observation in Life (November 4, 1966) four years after Marilyn Monroe's death, and pertinent to this discussion, was that "There is the myth and behind the myth - Norma Jean." Such a person existed; biographies tell of Norma Jean Baker born in 1926. Her early beginnings included a series of tragedies starting with her illegitimate birth to a mentally disturbed mother. She suffered physical assault and attempted rape, both as a child and as an adolescent.

A telling statement speaks of a person who throughout her life was "living on the edge of a volcano, only to fall over that edge at the end." (Hutchinson 1982:350). Personal pain and tragedy stalked her. She spent much of her early life in foster homes and orphanages. She suffered three broken marriages and several unhappy love affairs. Marilyn Monroe in the end was the

> distraught victim of her own existence both in fame and failure, treated by endless psychiatrists, needing pills to sleep, drinking more than she should ...
>
> (New York Times, September 11, 1982)

Whether due to marketing of a "sex symbol image" or the influence of well placed power brokers in the film industry, Marilyn Monroe achieved the status of a unique superstar. The image which apparently ignited "a million fantasies" was as much due to the presentation of a self-revealing extraordinary talent and personal charisma.

Comments prior to her death contributed perhaps to the mythology, yet reveal aspects of her human greatness. As we have noted previously, a mythic hero (heroine) must have the attributes to justify heroic status. Thus, we read the following:

> ... there is a conviction that Marilyn Monroe is a life force in a way not granted the rest of us ...
>
> (Globe and Mail, October 11, 1957)

> ... whether one sees her (Marilyn Monroe) as a voluptuous sex symbol or the girl next door, she skillfully portrays herself as the perfect actress.
>
> (Look, June 14, 1960)

> ... the dream of her talent which Marilyn has nurtured is not a mirage.
>
> (Times Magazine, Feg 12, 1959)

> ... hopefully there will be an opportunity to see her as we should- one of the really great actresses of the stage ...
>
> (Life, April 17, 1960)

> God gave her everything. The first day a photographer took a picture of her she was a genius. Remember, when you work with her there is a chance that you see her differently from the way outsiders do.
>
> (Esquire, May 13, 1959)

Marilyn Monroe was presented as the ultimate "blond bombshell" frequently a "dumb one" at that, exuding unrestrained sexuality. This factor was undoubtedly a dimension of her mortal presence.

> ...love goddess theme should not be underestimated as an ingredient making for immortalization. During a recent anniversary of Marilyn Monroe's death a journalist made this observation, "... 20 years a legend - Marilyn Monroe, a goddess of love - dead for two decades, but her legend survives and grows ...
>
> (Washington Post, August 17, 1982)

Marilyn Monroe was a paradox, who in spite of fame died alone and in despair. The most popular and beloved "glamour girl" in the 70 year history of movies, was a super star who died at 36 of an overdose of sedatives, alone, nude, and grasping a telephone in her Brentwood California home (Time August 13, 1962). The Christian Century wrote:

> ... the death of Miss Monroe is a consequence of the distortion of moral standards of thousands of young Americans and beyond them the corruption of youth over the world. Her death is a moral blot on the name of America among the world's people.
>
> (August 15, 1962)

Such an evaluation is admissible. But our interest turns as well to other interpretations. Marilyn Monroe's death was an occasion of grief for fans, and others not quite so devoted, yet moved by the gap, the tear in the

social fabric which resulted from her sudden death. Here is one person recalling his reaction: "... as I heard the news Marilyn dead, I gasped, it was almost like the time when John Kennedy was assassinated..." (Rolling Stones Magazine, January 14, 1967). There was then a need to provide some solution to the problem created by her death. It had to be vanquished.

The discussion to follow, derived from commentary about Marilyn Monroe's death, speaks to a "solution", in spite of the fact that she literally destroyed herself and was destroyed by other forces, Marilyn Monroe still lives in the cultural memory, mythologized as an heroic figure symbolizing an immortal presence.

The element of mystery which to this day surrounds Marilyn Monroe's death contributes as well to the mythology. First, the suggestion that she died suffering, a tormented anguished soul, was expressed in editorials.

> ... on that Saturday night, August 5, 1962, nobody was around when Marilyn most needed them.
>
> (New York Times, August 11, 1982)

> ... looking back now we must conclude that her death was inevitable. Marilyn was a study in vulnerability. This was a life of pain. She was Norma Jean, unloved, abandoned. She sought out drugs, alcohol, seeking desperately to suppress terror and the fear of being alone.
>
> (Toronto Star, August 10, 1982)

The death event embellishes the mystique. An article in Esquire, 20 years later, perpetuates the fascination,

> ... all that Marilyn wanted to do was end her suffering not her life"
> .. for us, the motives surrounding Marilyn Monroe's apparent suicide

> fade in importance before the all encompassing reality of the act itself. Marilyn Monroe terminated her life, but this is no surprise, for some years now the world had been prepared for just some tragic outcome to one of the extraordinary careers of our time ...
>
> (August 18, 1982)

Her death takes on intrigue over the years. Unverified tales link her to the Kennedys, America's "royal family". The mystique grows with the death of John F. Kennedy occurring approximately a year after Marilyn Monroe's demise. The press has caught the public fancy for mystery. There are hints of love affairs with the late President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert Kennedy. The suggestions went beyond love affairs, implying involvement in her death (Time Magazine, January 17, 1977).

Marilyn Monroe has been immortalized but not in concrete edifices, bridges or monuments, nor by means of mountains named in her memory. Her graveside does not attract pilgrimages. There is not the overt expression comparable to the thousands converging on Elvis Presley's Graceland or the eternal flame near John F. Kennedy's grave. There is only a daily gift of roses, from a mysterious admirer (rumoured to be her former husband Joe Dimaggio), placed on her tombstone.

However she does remain a cultic marginal phenomenon. An "aura", a creation of the public imagination, and more specifically the media, continues to surround the legend in mystical and even spiritual terms. Symbolically one now speaks of the immortal presence of Marilyn Monroe; not Norma Jean the mortal.

Hers was a premature death enclosed in a life of suffering in spite of obvious achievement. Attempts to explain some meaning "for it all" sustain those for whom her death was a crisis. There is a multiplicity of meanings; in spite of varying interpretations, one observes that Marilyn Monroe has been enshrined in the collective memory as a sacred object.

In a reflective article (Esquire, July 16, 1982), Diane Trilling considers that Marilyn Monroe" has a hold on our culture because she symbolizes one who was truly "set apart from us in embodiment of life energy." For many, therefore, Trilling observes that,

> ... a response to her death remains a catastrophe: there was less in life, there was less of life, because she had ceased to exist. In her loss life itself had been injured.

An exaggeration? Perhaps this is so. Trilling was not alone. A 1972 comment reveals a similar sentiment, which was shared by Norman Mailer, a staff writer for an influential magazine.

> I was not sure who I was seeing when I first viewed Marilyn Monroe on the screen, but a light had gone on where everything had been gray: There was all at once an illumination, a glow of something beyond the ordinarily human.
>
> (Rolling Stones Magazine, November 16, 1972)

The marketed image, which certainly has determined part of the Monroe legend, is that of a "sex goddess." The sexual fantasy cannot be underestimated. Sexuality as a life force is central to the psyche of individuals and is also a cultural focus.

There is the suggestion that Marilyn Monroe struck a chord

sounding a call for sexual liberation. This was a new societal theme emerging in the 60's. A mystique permeates the sexual goddess imagery. A "journalist fan" sensed that she obviously had more than just physical beauty.

> ... she had a "luminous quality" - a combination of lustfulness, radiance, yearning, an innocence - which set her apart and yet made everyone wish to be part of it, to share in the child-like naivete which was at once so shy and yet so vibrant...
>
> (Harpers, November 8, 1972)

> ... Marilyn Monroe seemed to be a product of magic. She was an outcome of childhood punishment and deprivation - illegitimate birth, an insane mother, rape. Yet she is remembered as one "who was greatly touched by power, a power of biology allowing for the fruition of extraordinary talent"...
>
> (Hutchinson 1982: 283)

Marilyn Monroe was a goddess with enormous power which could be described as explosive and with primitive force. At the same time, commerts have indicated that she was the personification of innocence. The mystery surrounding Marilyn, accounting for her aura, is that of a presence with primordial origins capable of residing in the realm of the gods, yet apparently vulnerable - an innocent, the sacrificed one who suffered.

She symbolizes another aspect. Marilyn Monroe has also been portrayed as a representation of the "American way of life". It could be said that for some the mythologizing of Marilyn Monroe preserves something sacred to American culture. She too (like Presley) has become, these past 20 years, a "sacred artifact." In fact Marilyn Monroe came to be regarded as uniquely American,

> ...more representative of the country itself than any of her Hollywood peers. She was willful and created her own success...
>
> (Hutchinson:1952:290)

She was also spoken of as

> .. just not another goddess, she was one of the first flower children, crossing over from America's conscience ridden past into today's more open society - a true flower child ...
>
> (McCalls, January 6, 1981)

Marilyn Monroe has been linked to James Dean's 1950's world as

> ... a woman who did not cave in to cynicism and apathy but like James Dean gave a Lost Generation a certain poetic gaiety, one who becomes vigorous, intent, indefatigable ... occupied with a simple question: how are we to live?
>
> (Harpers, November 9, 1972)

Biographers have noted that Marilyn Monroe remains a person of significance to both women and men. This observation is interesting in light of the overriding imagery of a sexual bombshell existing only to please males, whether in reality or fantasy. Is this a figure offensive to feminist movements which have been part of cultural and social change? Commentary suggests the contrary.

> Lee Strasberg her friend, teacher and founder of the Actor's Studio, spoke of her during the funeral eulogy "as a person who in her own lifetime created a myth of what a poor girl from a deprived background could attain. For the entire world she became a symbol of the eternal feminine" ...
>
> (New York Times, August 8, 1962)

> ... the Marilyn Monroe story however was one of personal achievement in overcoming of odds, in spite of the sadness in her life - without doubt the public did not have the opportunity to see

> her in terms of what she would have become - without a doubt she could have been one of the really great personages of the stage ...

This complicated individual was a vanguard of the sexual revolution. Women have held her in special esteem for her honesty and openness inspiring a whole generation. Sexual prowess was no longer a male possession. She was "the inspiration for all women however, to feel at ease and unashamed about sex ..." (Trilling 1974:216).

The idealization of Marilyn Monroe by women is a theme repeated in several sources. A writer on this theme states

> that back in the early seventies when the woman's movement started consciousness raising, and doing research, and trying to look at our culture from this new perspective one thing we talked about a great deal was different idealized images of women. Marilyn was always a very sympathetic figure for us.
>
> (Hutchinson 1982: 306)

Another writer comments that Marilyn Monroe, the superstar, was a woman of extraordinary capacities who taught females the nature of survival.

> Women are challenged to be survivors. Marilyn was a survivor .. she had a life feeling trapped, terrified. Yet she was resonant, in spite of misery and exploitation. This was a person who had a powerful inner reality ...
>
> (Rolling Stones Magazine, February 14, 1978)

In life Marilyn Monroe was envisioned as a mythic personality. The eulogies and testaments following her death in 1962, and still mentioned 20 years later, have only intensified her presence. As a goddess or queen of the screen she remains in the memories and affections of fans. A telling comment sums it up well:

> Like the goddesses of mythology, Marilyn's fans have made her immortal. Her death was not the end. We can go on seeing her. That is our privilege and our pleasure. She was a woman who all her life had been living on the edge of a volcano, only to fall over the edge at the end. That she managed to climb up there though, in the first place, says something about her - and the human spirit. Marilyn Monroe lives!
>
> (New York Times, June 13, 1982)

James Dean

The New Yorker (August 16, 1969) carried an interview with the founder and president of America's most enduring James Dean fan club. This interview reflects a "raw hero worship" which has apparently persisted since his death, 12 years earlier.

> "If you're thinking that James Dean is forgotten" said the club president, "you're absolutely wrong. He's not. And with me and the others, he'll never be forgotten; I always tell people that James Dean will be alive until I die."

The James Dean myth, comparable to others I have described, has survived. Witness a New York Times comment in August 5, 1977:

> The mythology of James Dean will probably last as long as our culture has any use for the Icarian archetype, the innocent youth who dies a tragic death before he can fail either himself or us. In certain territories of the world he's immortal, Jimmy Dean.

The words "myth" and "immortal" are instructive. There are links binding the immortalization of James Dean and John Lennon whom I shall discuss in greater detail. James Dean of course has been dead for more than 25 years. The substantiation of the immortalization of this individual appears valid. John

Lennon's death however was more recent. I suggest that evidence to date points to an emerging immortalization of John Lennon. However, both share themes central to this dissertation. They are retained within a cultural memory and have become symbols of meaning. They are mythologized by the public. They had a life/death impact which was disrupting to certain segments of society and so needing "repair".

Biographical sketches of James Dean speak of a short life. This fact in itself adds an ingredient of mystery, a necessary component for creating a myth. One biographer notes for example that people

> ...frequently steal James Dean material photographs and articles; reviews have disappeared from Lincoln Center's Library of the Performing Arts, from the Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art, from the Library of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. This writer has experienced great difficulty in obtaining books about James Dean and Marilyn Monroe. They are reported "lost or stolen"...
>
> (Herndon 1974: 203)

James Dean died at the age of 26, his career was short but explosive. It was a mix of personal pain and personal achievement. As in the case of Marilyn Monroe, Dean experienced childhood deprivation. Orphaned very early in life, he was to acknowledge in later life the deep hurt and rejection he felt at his most vulnerable age (Thomas 1957: 39-40). He is spoken of as

> expressing in teenage years a deep seated rebelliousness by engaging in chronic rule-breaking, scuffling, and terrorizing people with his motor bike.
>
> (Ibid, 1957: 41)

Another biographer comments that his

> ..face - delicate and somewhat androgynous. It was particularly expressive of intense states of personal conflict ...
>
> (Halton, 1984:63)

This is a picture of a life of a suffering rebel, fuelling the myth which framed his sudden death, that of pain and sacrifice.

James Dean has been portrayed as an enigmatic personality who in his very short career "established a cultism among his people that persisted for two decades after his death." (Ibid: 133) It seems that the two films of major impact in which he starred East of Eden (1955) and Rebel Without a Cause (1959) became a life event which created a "mythic role of the dissatisfied hero-victim." (Ibid: 149-150)

He acted out his hero-victim image during his last years. Success seemed to bring Dean little happiness. Living "on the edge" (an element of mystique), James Dean indulged his enthusiasm for auto racing. He was killed while driving to a sports car meet in Salina, California.. The death scenario and the reactions to it were symbolic of the significance of James Dean and these all contributed to the immortalization of this mythic figure. There is a "double" for James Dean who still walks in the shadow of the mortal. The immediate reactions to the death event speak for themselves. They reveal a sense of loss and an emerging immortalization.

DELIRIUM OVER DEAD STAR

> ... movie goers in morbid craze for the late James Dean insist that he still lives, they send him more fan mail than any other actor

gets and they plead for souvenirs.

(Life, September 24, 1955)

At the time of his death James Dean had been seen in only one major movie, East of Eden and had completed two more, Rebel Without a Cause and Giant. But there were already auguries of the cult that was to build up around him ...

(Time Magazine, September 8, 1955)

Don't say He's dead! cry millions of fans.

(Silver Screen, October 10, 1955)

By the time Rebel Without a Cause opened, the real Jimmy was gone; all that was left was the celluloid image of James Dean to illuminate and possess us with his powerful spirit ...

(New York Times, December 23, 1955)

The initial reaction to Jimmy's death - cults that spread throughout the world. The disbelief in his accident and letters to his dead body, the incorporation of his image in a thousand look alikes - is less a manifestation of hysteria than a profound response to a psychic reality. If his spirit remained so omnipresent, how could Jimmy be dead?

(Toronto Daily Star, September 30, 1955)

Almost 20 years after his death, James Dean is still an element of American culture. He remains a cult figure. A writer in Rolling Stones Magazine observes that

... the pieces of his body have been absorbed by his followers and his message taken into our bloodstream. Like Osiris, Egyptian god of fertility and regeneration, the seed of James Dean is at the root of the culture of the sixties and seventies.

(January 18, 1974)

James Dean, as a symbol of protest, dominates our memory of him.

He has been idolized to the point of rendering him immortal. A provocative article (Esquire, June 16, 1983) captures these points:

> James Dean was a wistful, reticent youth, looking over the abyss separating him from older people with a level, saddened eye, living intensely in alternate explosions of tenderness and violence; eager for love and a sense of purpose in a generation that was groping toward faith out of an intellectual despair and moral chaos; Dean refused to lose himself.
>
> (Esquire, June 13, 1983)

James Dean became an imagined "saviour". In 1982, the film Come Back to the 5 and Dime Jimmy Dean, Jimmy Dean was released. It centers on the reunion of a James Dean fan club on the twentieth anniversary of his death. The "5 and Dime" is a town that is close to the site where parts of the movie, Giant, were filmed in 1955. In addition to the obvious nostalgia, the film focuses on the spirit of James Dean which enters into and influences the lives of cult faithfuls. A reviewer in New Yorker (November 15, 1982) describes the drama as "an encounter with a Christ figure, who has returned..."

It is however the representation of James Dean as a "symbol of the search for spiritual values" which seems to be most profound. It is a search for sacredness. The cultic feature is manifested in the expression of a religiosity, which perhaps is bizarre or even deviant, but certainly outside mainstream traditional institutionalized religion. Comments from various sources reveal the importance of James Dean as a social phenomenon. The urge to immortalize Dean was really an expressed need of his devotees. Implicitly at least, such needs were insinuated by the media. Dean epitomized non-conformity, the true individualist.

> The short violent life of James Dean exerts a strong attraction on this generation, because he went his own uncompromising way, listening to his own inner voice, an uncompromising way, finding whatever he could find to celebrate, ...
>
> (Look, April 13, 1959)

> James Dean moved fast, lived hard, died young but he was a fine symbol of a needed restless rebellion.
>
> (New Yorker, June 4, 1960)

However bizarre, it is fascinating that the cult of James Dean symbolizes to the faithful the "meaning of America". It is no mere coincidence that James Dean, Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe entered the consciousness of society almost simultaneously.

Robert Bellah (1974) spoke of the "trivialization of civil Religion". He mourned the loss of classic values inherent in American civilization. His despair over Vietnam and Watergate was preceded already by despair of social violence and was climaxed by the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King.

The James Dean phenomenon although growing out of the 50's was not unrelated to Bellah's anguish. The affluence of immediate post World War II had begun to produce a reactive subculture.

The phenomenon has been perceived as:

> this adolescent rejection of a repressive conspiracy of conformity ... youth, who wanted to assert independence to create a new vision where language is song, work is play, fantasy is reality, a childlike wish for a Utopia of freedom. (After Dark, February 11, 1976)

James Dean was a cult figure who become for some a symbol of defiance and hope. For some, traditional religious institutions had not succeeded in helping them find meaning to life. There is a strong suggestion that cult figures of "pop art" such as Dean and Presley, especially in the 50's and 60's, inspire such meaning. The impact of their influences remain, transposed beyond reality into the realm of the mythic.

James Dean is thus remembered:

> ... James Dean expressed a changing state of mind not even completely understood by his audience, but intuitively embraced. In the degenerate labyrinth of the 50's, there seemed to be no exits, no other vehicle for unleashing pent-up energies. The seeds germinated until the next generation could make the magic transparent and find its way out.
>
> (Rolling Stone Magazine, August 18, 1982)

John Lennon

John Lennon emerged in the 60's. He was a member of The Beatles, a musical group which created an aura and a style of defiance not far removed from that of James Dean. John Lennon was assassinated on December 8, 1980. He was already a folk hero. The development of his immortalization after his death occurred in a manner similar to those discussed above and as illustrated below.

> I loved John Lennon. It was a pure love because I didn't know him. I loved him because he was a lovely human being. He loved this world and wanted it to survive. There has to be someone like that for us - several people like that, if we're lucky. Without them, we're a bunch of reflexes with no soul, our hands reaching for the

sky.

(Mademoiselle, June 8, 1981)

The common themes running throughout reactions of grief to Lennon's sudden death were disbelief and a sense of great loss, not only for individuals but also for society. One senses, from various media reports, that the killing of John Lennon was a sign that America, perhaps even the world, had lost something of itself. John Lennon had been for many a cultural hero in his mortal state. The New York Times music critic, March 19, 1979, wrote that

> John Lennon has taken on a shape somewhat larger than life. He is a person who has shown his or her fellow human beings a very special kind of commitment and concern. A person of high character - especially brave or sensitive or compassionate ...

Hero worship was evident in grief expressed at his death. There was a need for collective mourning and the paying of respect and honour to his memory. The days following December 8th, 1980 witnessed scenes testifying to the solidifying impact Lennon's death had on people. John Lennon became an object of sanctity, obviously set apart from the ordinary. The Vancouver Sun, December 10, 1980 commented that "with his death, the very order of the universe has been challenged, threatened, overwhelmed." It is also interesting to note that there was more than a pure "cultic/marginal" response, since the honour and respect paid to him was of national scope.

> We have our heroes and we have our martyrs - an all too familiar and also growing list: President John F. Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Robert F. Kennedy and now John Lennon.

(Newsweek, January 16, 1981)

Lennon was added into the chain of fallen martyrs, now part of the "cult of the dead."

There were official statements made by legislative bodies, both in Canada and in the United States.

> John Lennon was unusually gifted, and his gifts made him a transcending influence on the global culture of our era. Today, throughout the world, many thousands mourn his sudden and tragic departure from the human scene. Mr. Speaker, John Lennon is dead, but his thoughts and ideals, and his unique expression of them, live on.
>
> (Hansard (Legislative Assembly of Ontario), December 10, 1980)

> In past centuries, certain individuals of high character were unashamedly, explicitly worshipped. They were gods or, to put it more intellectually, their lives were regarded as aspects of divinity. And even in this more cynical age, even for those of us who are religious skeptics, the veneration persists. Whatever a nation's political ideology, heroes are there, they reflect our continuing need to locate in a few chosen individuals, some concrete expression of transcendence - of our capacity to excel morally, spiritually. John Lennon was such a hero.
>
> (Congressional Record, December 10, 1980)

It was the "gathering of the people" however which demonstrated the spontaneous heroization developing during the events associated with his death. Coverage within the Canadian/American Press described such gatherings.

> Beatles Music Rocks Hill as 5000 Honour Lennon
>
> (Headline, Ottawa Citizen, December 13, 1980)

Carrying banners, candles and posters thousands of fans came

> together in front of the Peace Tower yesterday, to honour the slain musician, swaying and singing along ... singing Give Peace A Chance they clapped and held their hands high with fingers spread in the peace symbol ... a banner was displayed with the words Lennon Lives Forever.
>
> (Globe and Mail, December 13, 1980)

> New York witnessed at least 150 000 loyal fans, including pilgrimages from London, Paris, Berlin, Los Angeles and Montreal all came to mourn and attend a 10 minute silent vigil in Central Park in honour of Lennon ...
>
> (New York Times, December 13, 1980)

The mystique of John Lennon, far from subsiding, has, on the contrary, expanded. Indicating pure hero worship is this report from the Chicago Tribune

> ... on Monday night the world fell apart when a 25 year-old Hawaiian named Mark Chapman fired four bullets into Lennon's chest ...
>
> (December 10, 1980)

Grief and mourning gave way to preservation of the memory. John Lennon a legend in life, was transformed into a mythic figure with transcendent and impressive powers.

A connection was made between John Lennon and John F. Kennedy. As the New York Times wrote:

> ... the effect was like President Kennedy, only it affected even more people. Kennedy and Lennon symbolized something bigger than themselves ... They both gave people something to believe in ...
>
> (December 15, 1981)

The continued immortalization of John Lennon since December, 1980, is exhibited in the following extracts.

Lennon shines on like the moon and the stars.

(MacLeans, December 22, 1981)

No wonder we take the assassination of a hero like John Lennon so personally ... it's as if, with this death, the very order of the universe has been challenged, threatened, overwhelmed.

(Mademoiselle, June 31 1981)

The murder of John Lennon can only make sense looking back, if we realize that he was fighting against the idea that human life was cheap. Perhaps his assassination denies that hope, but his optimism is our legacy.

(Rolling Stones Magazine, January 18, 1982)

Leaders from 31 countries have donated trees and stones for Strawberry Fields, a triangular island in New York's Central Park that honors the memory of former Beatle John Lennon.

(New York Times, March 28, 1982)

Winnipeg's contemporary dancers are to present a world premiere Wednesday of a specially commissioned dance work on the musical life of John Lennon. The company said the choreography evokes the essence of John Lennon whose life and music has touched the hearts and minds of an entire generation and whose inspiration so deeply affected the spirit of our time.

(Winnipeg Free Press, November 11, 1982)

Canada will give a maple tree to plant in a memorial garden for John Lennon in New York's Central Park.

(Globe and Mail, December 9, 1982)

John reached out to the hearts and minds of a whole generation to ask for a sense of reason in an increasingly unreasonable world, Prime Minister Trudeau said in a message to his wife, Ono.

(Globe and Mail, December 9, 1982)

> If the Jews had a Christ the Christians had John Lennon and the Beatles ... I'm proud to have belonged to the sixties.

(New York Magazine, August 22, 1982)

> This is the third anniversary of John Lennon's death. He was the eyes, ears and voice of a generation. The sixties marched to his tune. He continues to be missed by the world.

(Toronto Star, December 11, 1983)

These brief quotations concerning John Lennon's death, illustrate another cultic marginal figure, yet more importantly demonstrate the presence of civil religion in North America.

The case studies may be perceived as sacred legitimations of society. The national cultic and marginal cultic categories are not rigid. Both Kennedy and Fox appear to be national cultic. Ostensibly the other cases seem to be marginal cultic. Yet there is overlapping in all cases (with the possible exception of James Dean) in the sense that Presley, Monroe and Lennon (even though he was British) have been alluded to as "national artifacts" or symbols of America.

Related modalities associated with the Kennedy study were also probed in the chapter. It was noted that the Church legitimized Terry Fox as a sacred symbol. Both the nation and the churches portray him as a saint. Although not a war hero like Kennedy, Fox became immortalized in death as a symbol of national hope and a representation of determined individuality. Another interesting dimension has appeared within the notions of suffering and

betrayal.

Betrayal as a theme (by some kind of Judas) is part of all the scenarios. Kennedy and Lennon were assassinated - life ended abruptly and prematurely. Presley and Monroe were killed by drugs, perhaps betrayed by friends and doctors. Dean was killed by a motorbike, misled perhaps by fans, and Terry Fox was cheated of life, killed by cancer.

This chapter has tried to validate the proposition that the death of a cultural hero is of vast importance to a significant group of citizens or to the nation as a whole. People need to find some meaning for the deaths of their heros who transcend their mortal presence. The solution to vanquish death is by mythologizing and immortalizing the hero.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I demonstrated that religion in North American society can be located not only within the organized church, but also without. In short, there is an extra-church religiosity.

Civil religion was presented as a model of extra-church religion, providing functions for the maintenance of society. One such function relates to death. It was shown that the death of significant public figures is resolved by mythic heroization.

In Chapter I, starting from a theoretical orientation within the contemporary field of the sociology of religion, I have shown that there is a distinguishable extra-religiosity. Substantive and functional definitions of religion were developed and, using those definitions, it was shown that religion and Church are not necessarily synonymous. Important indicators of extra-church religion were characterized as being explicit, yet frequently implicit and invisible.

In Chapter II, civil religion was revealed to exemplify the presence of an extra-church religiosity. This was based on Bellah's argument that there is a transcendental societal religion, indicting a commitment to Ultimacy.

Warner's idea of a "cult of the dead," taken from his study of such celebrations as Memorial Day, was used to forge the notion of a "death nexus". The point is made that death, although not explicitly acknowledged in any

prior discussion about civil religion, is certainly an implicit central theme. It was proposed that the death of a cultural hero calls for a grand solution, the creation of mythic heroism. A typology was developed to test his theory against other case studies, utilizing categories of civil religion, based on Bellah and going beyond Bellah. These were

1. State sponsored (Bellah)
2. Church sponsored (beyond Bellah)
3. Cultic National (Bellah and beyond Bellah)
4. Cultic marginal (beyond Bellah)

Chapter III related the "death nexus" to the impact of death on individuals and groups. The death-event, ordinarily thought to be restricted to the domain of church and clergy, was shown to have become a subject for civil recognition. This pointed to a need for a nation to think about itself in relationship to the life and death of its heroes.

Taking clues from Warner and Bellah, I demonstrated that Americans have consistently been preoccupied with a cult of the dead. In fact, in addition to celebrating the death of particular heroes, ceremonies have been established to maintain their memories and immortalize them. Not unlike patterns developed by the ancients, modern mythologizing is also a main ingredient of this process. Thus the connection was made between the loss of significant cultural heroes and civil religion: mythic heroization. Chapters II and III dealt as well with the possibiilty of Canada as a fertile ground for a civil religion.

In chapters IV and V the case studies, that is both the prototype, John F. Kennedy, and other selected examples were developed within the framework of mythic heroization and its place in civic religion, thus validating those concepts.

The completed typology, begun in Chapter II, and upon which this thesis is based, is summarized below:

I. STATE SPONSORED (Bellah)

*invisible religion
*implicit
(e.g. John F. Kennedy, Terry Fox).

extra church exists "alongside of" religious institutions

Evidence: * official messages and eulogies (symbols of societal values)
* state-sponsored memorial services
* state funerals
* official representation at funerals
* high level of mythic-heroization

II CHURCH SPONSORED (beyond Bellah)

* visible
* explicit
* extra-church
* religious institution "step outside" to sacralize
(e.g. John F. Kennedy, Terry Fox)

Evidence: * Clergy of all faiths memorialized cultural heroes as value symbols of nationhood; heroes portrayed as sacred symbols
* high level of mythic-heroization

III CULTIC NATIONAL (Bellah and beyond Bellah)

* invisible religion
* implicit
* extra-church
* (e.g. Kennedy, Fox)

Evidence: * hero symbolized as a national institution/embodiment of national feelings and values
* pilgrimages to Arlington Cemetery, the Eternal Flame (Kennedy)
* outpouring of hero worship (high level of mythic heroization)
* permanent memorials (edifices, libraries, foundations, articles, films, and books: Kennedy and Fox)

IV CULTIC MARGINAL (beyond Bellah)

* extra church - exists "alongside of" religious institutions
* invisible
* implicit, i.e., in spite of denials of religiosity there is implied religiosity

Evidence: * pilgrimages, persistence of fan clubs of deceased heroes (i.e. "cults of the dead")
* articulated outpourings of hero worship reflected in articles, books, films etc, etc.
* embodiment as "cultural artifacts"
* high level of mythic heroization

Note: Possible overlapping with cultic national (e.g. Presley, Lennon, Monroe)

(Sectarian as compared to cultic national although a similar rationale)
e.g. Elvis Presley, James Dean, John Lennon, Marilyn Monroe

In conclusion, it is suggested that societal reactions to the deaths of significant public figures should be included in any study or discussion of issues in the field of "death and dying".

Another area to pursue is the possibility that Canada is a fertile ground for an emerging civil religion, suggested by the case of Terry Fox. Despite the fact that Bellah viewed Canada as differing ideologically and historically and therefore mitigating against the emergence of a Canadian civil religion, a common reaction to shared cultural heroes suggests the opposite.

The categories cultic/marginal are most intriguing. It is interesting that Presley, Monroe and Lennon have spawned death cult followings, yet they are also considered to be national, "cultural artifacts", and are referred to by political leaders as "symbols of the nation". This poses a question not easily answered: Just what are a nation's values and where are they located? The apparently marginal values become national, and are integrated into the general culture.

Only a few selected cases were studied. There are many others which could further validate the thesis. In the United States, there are the examples of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, to name two, and in Canada: Jules Léger, the starting point for this dissertation, Lester Pearson, John Diefenbaker, Howie Morenz and Gilles Villeneuve to name just a few. In any year, premature death by assassination or other means, with the loss of "cultural heroes", will continue to happen and will no doubt elicit responses not too different from those elucidated in the case studies.

There is an additional facet. It concerns the concept of symbolic realism, which is central to Robert Bellah's understanding of religiosity, and relevant to this dissertation. The life and immortalization of cultural heroes appears to be an example of the way in which society utilizes symbols to define meaning and recreate social life. Such adventures into the sociology of religion should continue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ariès, Phillippe

1962 Western Attitudes Toward Death
Baltimore: John Hopkins Press

1981 The Hour of Our Death
New York: Alfred Knopf. (Trans.)

Battin, Margaret

1982 "The Concept of Rational Suicide".
In Margaret Battin, Margaret, ed., Ethical Issues in Suicide.
Englewood New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Becker, Ernst

1973 The Denial Of Death. New York, The Free Press

Bellah, Robert N.

1964 "Religious Evolution". American Sociological Review 29:358-374

1967 "Civil Religion in America". Daedalus 96:1-21

1970a Beyond Belief.
New York: Harper and Row.

1970b "Christianity and Symbolic Realism".
Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 25:89-114

1974 "American Civil Religion in the 1970's".
In Russell B. Richey and G. Jones, eds., pp. 255-272
American Civil Religion. New York: Harper and Row.

1975 The Broken Covenant: American Civil Religion in Times of Trial. New York: Seabury.

Bellah, Robert N. and Phillip E. Hammond

1980 Varieties of Civil Religion.
San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Berger, Peter

1967 The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion. Garden City: Doubleday.

1968 "The Problem of Multiple Realities". In Maurice Natanson, ed., Phenomenology and Social Reality: Essays in Memory of Alfred Schutz, 213ff. The Hague: Nijhoff.

1971 "Some second thoughts on substantive versus functional definitions of religion". Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 13:2, pp. 127-133

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann

1963 "Sociology of Religion and Sociology of knowledge". Sociology and Social Research 47:4, 417-427.

1966 The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City: Doubleday.

Bibby, Reginald W.

1979 The State of Collective Religiosity in Canada: An Empirical Analysis". Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 16:105-116.

1983 "Searching for An Invisible Thread: Meaning Systems in Contemporary Canada". Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 22:101-119.

1985 "Religious Encasement in Canada". Social Compass XXXII: 2-13.

Bowden, Henry W.

1975 "A Historian's Response to American Civil Religion", Journal of Church and State 17:495-505.

Brock, Van K.

1980 Images of Elvis, The South and America. Jackson: University of Miss.

Bryant, Darrol M.

1974 "Beyond Messianism: Toward a New 'American' Civil Religion". The Ecumenist, 11, May-June, pp. 44-51.

Catton, Bruce

1963 American Heritage Magazine. December: 64-7.

Chesterton, G.K.

1930/1954 All I Survey. New York: Freeport Books.

Choron, Jacques

1963 Death and Western Thought. New York: Harper and Row.

Crysdale, Stewart and Lea Weatcroft, eds.

1976 Religion in Canadian Society. Toronto: MacMillan Co.

Clark S. D.

1976 Canadian Society in Historical Perspective. Toronto: McGraw Hill.

Clifford, N.K.

1973 "His Dominion: a vision in crisis". Studies in Religion II:4, 315-339

Coleman, John A.

1970 "Civil Religion". Sociological Analysis 31:67-77.

Coleman, Ray

1984 John Lennon, London: Mcdonald and Co.

Copps, David

1972 "American History as a Tragic Drama." The Journal of Religion. 52:300-339

Demerath, N.J. and Philiip E. Hammond

1969 Religion in Social Context. New York: Random House.

Despland, Michel

1977 "Religion and the Quest for National Identity" in Peter Slater ed., Religion and Culture in Canada, pp. 526-544. Toronto: University Press.

Durkheim, Emile

1915/1947 The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. Translated by J.W. Swain, Glencoe III: The Free Press.

Eliade, Mircea

1960 Myths, Dreams and Mysteries. New York: Harper and Row.

Erickson, E.

1975 Life History and the Historical Moment. New York: Norton and Co.

Fawcett, Anthony

1976 John Lennon: One day at a time. New York: Grove Press.

Fenn Richard K.

1970 "The process of secularization: a post Parsonian view." Study of Religion 9:117-136.

1972 "Toward a new sociology of religion". Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 1:16-32.

1976 "Bellah and the new orthodoxy". Sociological Analysis 37:160-166.

Frazer, James

1890/1922 The Golden Bough. New York: MacMillan

Fiefel, Herman (ed.)

1965 The Meaning of Death. Toronto: McGraw Hill

Freud, Sigmund

1913/1961 Totem and Taboo. Translated by A. Brill. New York: Vintage.

Fulton, Robert

1976 Death and Identity. Bowie Md: Charles Press.

Gagnon, Claude-Marie

1985 "Le Héros Populaire et la Mort", La Religion et La Mort, Raymond Lemieux et Réginald Richard (eds.), Québec:Université Laval.

Gehrig, Gail

1981 "American Civil Religion: An assessment of society for the scientific study of religion: Monograph Series, Number 3.

Glock, Charles and Rodney Stark

1965 Religion and Society in Tension. Chicago: Rand McNally.

1974 American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment. Los Angeles: University of California.

Goode, Erick

1967 "Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 6:69-77.

Goode, William

1951 Religion Among the Primitives. New York: Free Press.

Greeley, Andrew

1972a Unsecular Man: The persistence of Religion. Schocken Books: New York.

1972b The Denominational Society. New York: Shocken Books.

Greenberg, Bradley S.

1964 "Diffusion of News of the Kennedy Assassination". Public Opinion Quarterly 28: 227-31.

Gregory, Neal and Janice

1982 When Elvis Died. Washington: Washington Square Press.

Halton, Donald

1984 The Mutant King: James Dean, New York: S.T. Martins Press.

Hammond, Phillip E.

1968 "Religion and the Informing of Culture". Journal for Scientific Study of Religion.

1976 "The Civil Religion Proposal". Church History 45:549-561.

Harland, Gordon

1973 "The American religious heritage and the tragic dimension". Studies in Religion 114:237-287.

Harlow, Jules (ed.)

1973 The Bond of Life: Judaism, Death and Mourning. New York: Rabbinical Assembly.

Herberg, Will

1955 Protestant, Catholic, Jew: Garden City: Doubleday.

1974 "American Civil Religion: what it is and whence it comes". In Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (eds), American Civil Religion pp. 76-87. New York: Harper and Row.

Herndon, Venable

1974 James Dean: A Short Life. New York: Doubleday.

Hudson, Winthrop

1970 Nationalism and Religion in America. New York: Harper and Row.

Hughey, Michael W.

1983 Civil Religion and Moral Order: Theoretical and Historical Dimensions. West Port Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Hutchinson, Robert

1977 "Religion, Morality and Law in Modern Society". In Peter Slater (ed.) Religion and Culture in Canada. Toronto: University Press.

Hutchons, Leonard

1982 Screen Goddesses. Toronto: Joyce.

Johannsen D.E.

1947 "Reactions to the Death of President Roosevelt". Journal of Social Psychology, 6:236-66.

Kennedy, John F

1956 Profiles in Courage. New York: Simon and Shuster.

Kennedy, Rose

1974 Times to remember. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Kiesekamp, Bunkard

1973 "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case For a National Case in Canada 1875-1900." Studies in Religion II 4 (1973) 289-302.

Kirk, G.S

1977 The Nature of Greek Myths. Penguin Books: N.Y.

Kung, Hans

19797 On Being a Christian. New York: Doubleday.

Lapointe, Roger

1980 L'Héroïzation de Gilles Villeneuve". La Religion et La Mort. Raymond Lemieux et Réginald Richard (eds.) 6:177-187, Québec: Université Laval.

Lemert Charles C.

1975 "Defining Non-Church Religion," Review of Religious Research 16:3, Spring 1973.

Lewis, Lloyd

1929 Myths after Lincoln. New York: Harcourt Brace.

Lifton, Robert L.

1979a Six Lives - Six Deaths. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

1979b The Broken Connection. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Lipset, Seymour M.

1963 The First New Nation. New York: Basic Books.

1964 "Canada and the United States: A comparative View". CRSA, pp. 173-185.

Luckmann, Thomas

1967 The Invisible Religion: The Transformation of Symbols in Industrial Society. New York: MacMillan.

Lynd, Robert S. and Helen M.Lynd

1929 A study in American Culture. New York: Harcourt.

Mailer, Norman

1968 "Enter Prince Jack." Esquire. June 1968, pp. 204-210.

Malinowski, Bronislav

1954 Magic Science and Religion. Glencoe: Free Press.

Mannheim, Karl

1940 Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction. London:

Marcuse, Herbert

1964 One Dimensional Man. Boston: Beacon Press

Marcus, Gail

1976 Mystery Train. New York: E.P. Dutton.

Marty, Martin E.

1959 The New Shape of American Religion. New York: Harper and Row.

1974 "Two Kinds of Civil Religion". In Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (eds.), American Civil Religion, pp. 139-157 New York: Harper and Row.

1976 A Nation of Behavers. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Marx, Karl

1888/1964 On Religion. New York: Schocken.

Mary, Leo

1974 "The Uncivil Response of American Writers to Civil Religion in America". pp. 222-51 In Richey and Jones (eds.), American Civil Religion. New York: Harper and Row.

Matheus, J.

1963 Four Dark Days in History. Carmel: Carmel Publications.

McKenna Marian C.

1969 "The Melting Pot: Comparative Observations in the United States and Canada". Sociology and Social Research Vol 53, 443-446.

Mead, Sidney

1967 The Nation with the Soul of a Church. Church History, 36:262-283.

Means, Richard L.

1970 "Methodology for the Sociology of Religion: An Historical and Theoretical Overview". Sociological Analysis 31:4, 180-196.

Merton, Robert

1968 Social Theory and Social Structure. Toronto: Collier Macmillan.

Michaelson, Robert

1970 Piety in the Public Schools. New York: MacMillan.

Morin, Edgar

1970 L'Homme et la Mort. Paris: Editions du Seuil.

Neal, Marie Augusta

1976 "Civil religion, Theology and Politics in America". In Thomas M. McFodden (ed), America in Theological Perspective. New York: Seabury Press.

Nisbet, Robert

1970 The Social Bond. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Nottingham, Elizabeth

1954 Religion and Society. New York: Random House.

O'Dea, Thomas

1966 The Sociology of Religion. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

O'Toole, Roger

1982 "Some Good Purpose: Notes on Religion and Political Culture in Canada". Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion 6:178-213.

Orlansky, Harold

1947 "Reactions to the death of President Roosevelt". The Journal of Social Psychology, 2:235-266.

Otto, Rudolph

1950 The Idea of the Holy. Translated by J.W. Harvey. London: Oxford.

Parsons, Talcott

1949 Essays in Sociological Theory. New York: The Free Press.

1963 "Death in American Society". American Behavioural Scientist. May: 106-139.

1951a The Structure of Social Action, Vols I and II, New York: Free Press.

1951b Theories of Society. New York: Free Press.

1966 Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

1971 The System Societies. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Porter, John

1966 The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Raboteau, Albert J.

1982 "The Voluntary Establishment of Religion." In Elwyn Smith (ed.), The Religion of the Republic. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Rahner, Karl (ed.)

1968 Encyclopedia of theology: "A concise Sacramentum Mundi" 329-335. Burns and Oates: London.

Richey, Russell E. and Donald G. Jones eds.

1974 American Civil Religion. New York: Harper and Row.

Romalis, C.

1972 "A Man of His Time and Place: a Selective Appraisal of Lipset's Comparative Sociology". In A. Effrat, Perspective in Political Sociology. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merril.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques

1883/1913 The Social Contract and Discourses. Translated by G.D. Cote, London: London: Dent and Sons.

Schneider, Louis

1970 Sociological Approach To Religion. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Schutz, Alfred

1962 Collected Papers, The Problems of Social Reality. The Hague: Mantinue Nijhoff.

Scimecca, Joseph A.

1979 "Cultural Hero Systems and Religious Beliefs: The Ideal Real Social Science of Ernest Becker". Review of Religious Research 21: 62-70.

Scrivener, Leslie

1983 Terry Fox: His Story. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Shils, Edward and Michael Young

1953 "The Meaning of the Coronation". Sociological Review 1:63-91.

Shiner, Larry

1968 The Concept of Secularization in Empirical Research. Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 8:207-213.

Shneidman, Edwin

1984 Death: Current Perspectives. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Smith, Donald E.

1970 India as a Secular State. Princeton University.

Sorensen, Theodore C.

1965 Kennedy. New York: Harper and Row.

Stark, Werner

1967 The Sociology of Religion. London: Routledge.

Stauffer, Robert

1973 "Civil Religion, Technocracy, and the Private Sphere." Journal for the Scientific Study Religion, 12:415-425.

Thomas, Michael C. and Charles C. Flippen

1972 "American Civil Religion: An empirical study". Social Forces 51:218-225.

Thomas, Tracy

1957 James Dean. New York: Popular Library

Tillich, Paul

1956 Dynamics of Faith. New York: Harper and Row.

Tocquevile Alexis de

1835/1966 Democracy in america. Translated by Henry Reeves, 1966 New York: Knopf.

Toynbee, Arnold (ed.)

1968 Man's Concern with Death. Hodden and Slaughter: London.

Trilling, Diane

1974 "Mosaic of Marilyn". Esquire: 214-222.

Tylor, E.B.

1896/1950 Primitive Culture. New York: Harper and Row.

Vallée, F.G.

1955 "Burial and Mourning Customs in a Hebridean Community". The Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute 95:Parts I and II, 119-130

Vernon, Glenn M.

1972 Sociology of Death. New York: McGraw Hill.

Vidal, Gore

1968 "Dynastic Ambitions." Esquire, June 1983, 210 ff.

Warner, W. Lloyd and J.O. Journ

1947 "The Managers of Men Were Gods". In the Social System of the Modern Factory. New Haven: Yale Press.

1953 Structure of American Life. New Haven: Yale University Press.

1961 The Family of God: A Symbolic Study of Christian Life in America. New Haven: Yale University Press.

1963 American Life. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

1965 American Life: Dream and Reality. New York: Harper and Row.

1974 "An American Sacred Ceremony". In Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones eds., American Civil Religion, pp. 89-111. New York: Harper and Row.

Weber, Max

1919/1949 The Methodology of the Social Sciences. Translated by E.A. Shils and H.A. Finch, Glencoe: Free Press.

1922/1963 The Sociology of Religion. Translated by C. Frishoff, Boston Beacon Press.

Wicker, Tom

1971 "Kennedy without tears". New York Times Review of Books, March 15, 1971, 201-209.

William, Paul J.

1969 What Americans Believe and How they Worship. New York: Harper and Row.

Wilson, Bryan

1961 Sects and Society. Berkely University of California Press.

1966 Religion in Sociological Perspective. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, John

1974 "A historical approach to civil religion". In Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones eds., 115-137. American Civil Religion. New York: Harper and Row.

1979 Public Religion in American Culture. Philadelphia: University Press.

Yinger, Milton

1957 Religion, Society and the Individual. New York: MacMillan.

1970 Sociology Looks at Religion. New York: Macmillan.