



Miami University Class of 1969 Alumni Association, Protest Moratorium 1969

Onward Echoes the Story

The Study of Religion amid Miami's Narratives of Justice & Change

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Students and supporters gather in the center of campus for an anti-hate rally on the campus of Miami University Oxford, Ohio Aug. 30, 2017. *Sam Greene/The Enquirer*

Introduction:

Since the protests and civil rights actions following the death of George Floyd in 2020, what started as a charismatic, organized dissent against structures of iniquity, injustice, and oppression, have become, in a sense, a part of the bureaucracy of the very institutions once resisted. Changes are evident across from a global to a local scale. Consider U.S. corporations. In January of 2021, Apple committed to a \$100 million pledge to challenge systematic racism, including a new “first-of-its-kind global innovation and learning hub for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and Apple Developer Academy intended to support coding and tech education for students in Detroit; and finally venture capital funding for Black and Brown entrepreneurs.” (apple press release).¹ The pages of the *Washington Post* reported that “McDonald’s declared Floyd and other slain Black Americans one of us.” (*Washington Post* August 2021).² Universities became partners in this effort. On Miami’s campus, the creation of a new administrative position – the Vice President of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DE&I) – as well as financial commitments to new scholarship opportunities, staff, diversity efforts in greek organizations, new MU curriculum requirements, guest speaker series, and faculty training, all emerged from national and local protest mobilizations. As a student, I found myself stepping back and reflecting – all part of an attempt to understand how Miami prepared me to understand this moment, but, given the energy of the protests, I also question why I felt so surprised by this massive social mobilization. What dawned on me is that these changes were not unique. In fact, it felt more like déjà-vu than a cultural revolution or awakening.

I questioned how these conversations differed from ones that had been discussed in the classroom surrounding the Civil Rights movement and opposition to Vietnam. Had Miami not made similar policy changes and statements before, committing to the very same ideals? How did Miami, as an institution, absorb those changes into its governing and administrative structures? Distraught with the endless parallels, I was left questioning the idea of “progress” – both across the nation and across campus. A paradox emerged: if Miami had been successful at answering the demands of civil rights activists and social reformers before, then why were we having these conversations again? Was Miami making the same mistakes, again which led us to this present moment? An initial glance to the University Library was disconcerting. In a 1977 report of the Committees to Review the Status of Women and Racial/Ethnic Minorities at Miami University, Heanon Wilkins and Mary Sohngen wrote of issues that echoed the demands of protestors on campus today. They concluded, “it may well be, with respect to Blacks particularly, that they have gone beyond anger, and are now in the process of giving up on Miami..nothing really changes.” (10). Such sentiments echoed the words of students today: “,” [Sinait] Sarfino said, “The results will always be the same.”³ *Miami Student*, January 13, 2021

¹ See: “Apple Press Release January 13, 2021

<https://www.apple.com/newsroom/2021/01/apple-launches-major-new-racial-equity-and-justice-initiative-projects-to-challenge-systemic-racism-advance-racial-equity-nationwide/>

² See: Tracy Jan, Jena McGregor and Meghan Hoye, “Corporate America’s \$50 Billion Promise”, *Washington Post*, August 23, 2021

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/interactive/2021/george-floyd-corporate-america-racial-justice/>

³ See: Justeen Jackson, “Black student GroupMe hacked: Racist imagery sent to more than 500 students,” *Miami Student*, January 13, 2021

Turning to my coursework in Political Science and Comparative Religion, I was reminded of the work of Charles H. Long, whose work on Africana and African-American history of religions spoke to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. His discussion in 1968 has an uncanny resemblance to today's responses to the "Global War on Terror," to the Black Lives Matter protests of Summer 2020, and to the insurrection at the U.S. Capitol in 2021:

"The **political parties are ineffective or in disarray**; there is a rising tide of fascism; cities are being burned; **students feel and are expressing the general unrest**, and the war in Vietnam drags on." It was the study of religion, Long argued, that would help uncover a story of American long untold -- one that had been lost amid other academic priorities. "One must **account for the misunderstandings and misinterpretations** [of interpreting these events]," Long said, "only by going through these can we arrive at meanings that are substantive." He continued, noting that the work of scholars is to "tell a story of America that is both true and authentic ... a *true story* of the American peoples that **moves beyond concealment and invisibilities**"⁴

Taking into consideration Long's advice in the Summer of 2021, as part of a USS Summer Scholars Program with Dr. Nathan French (Comparative Religion), I examined primary source materials from the Miami University Archives. This work explored both the "official" narrative of Miami's history – one penned over the years by Alfred Upham, Curtis Ellison, and others – and the narratives of that history left undiscussed, but discoverable within Miami's archives. My research led to many diverse trails – from urban and national issues, to the rural small town of Middletown Ohio, to a University in crisis. Despite these settings seeming quite dissimilar, the consistent parallels which I drew from each scene were kept consistent through my theoretical framework drawn from the approaches of Charles Long and Max Weber. I invite my reader to explore these parallels on how movements become institutionalized in society and echoing conversations of police reform and civil liberties because they are of the utmost relevance today.

KhAOS in Middletown: A university lawsuit and the United Citizens Council

The first project objective was to explore the context out of which civil rights and Vietnam War protesting emerged. We sought an institutional perspective. I chose to start with the Board of Trustee meeting minutes from 1964. I was fortunate to access these virtually over the summer through the Miami University Special Digital Special Collections. I choose this time period as a starting point to observe any changes made following the Civil Rights Act of the same year. Working my way up through the years, I stumbled on a very interesting discussion in October of 1970 that involved a man known as Adrian Jestice. The year prior, he opened a lawsuit the year prior against the University for discriminatory employment practices.⁵ After doing a little more digging in birth records, I found Adrian was a White middle-aged male living in Middletown, Ohio – whose family, the MidPointe Library records suggested, had worked at Armco Steel since at least the 1910s.⁶ I was confused. Why would a White man sue Miami in

⁴ Charles H. Long, "The Black Reality: Toward a Theology of Freedom," *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Colorado: Davies Group, 1986 [1968]), p. 147, 167

⁵ See: Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, October 24 1970, Board of Trustees Records. Miami University Archives. Oxford, Ohio

⁶ Armco Steel was the epicenter of life in Middletown Ohio. The company had its own housing, education centers, and social events. Jestice's father Roy Jestice worked at Armco the same time they began recruiting Black workers during the Great Migration. The two races were split within the company benefits included above. Ibid: Armco Bulletin, June 1929, Armco Babies. MidPoint Library Digital Archives. Middletown, Ohio

the late 1960s, claiming discrimination before the Ohio Civil Rights Commission? The answer resided in digital archives of the *KAOS* newspaper, the student-led effort at Miami University's campus in Middletown.⁷ The positions in question were for a new Office of Black Student Affairs and a Director of an Economic Opportunity Program in the Office of Minority Affairs.

The purpose of the new positions addressed the "genuine concern of the Board of Trustees of Miami University relative to the disproportionate number of White students and White faculty members as against the number of Black students and faculty and concerning a need to develop a segment of Miami's curriculum having particular relevance to Black minority students" (BOT October 24, 1970). There it was in plain detail. The administration, responding faculty and student protests advocating for civil rights-driven reforms, obviously angered Justice, who was part of a subnational group called the United Citizen Council of "Amerika". The UCC was formed in Cleveland Ohio from the Conservative Citizens Council. The council had its own newspaper that formed in the wake of the Civil Rights Act. In a sense, the movement was an attempt to put a "nicer facade" on the organizing efforts of white-supremacist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, promising a new "rationalization" and "scientifically" bound conclusions for White superiority. It is currently unknown whether the group existed in the Oxford or Middletown student body. However, it was very much alive in Middletown high schools, and middle schools as documented by *KAOS* Student Newspaper Issue October 6 1970. In fact in a historical account recalling the years from 1960-1970 there was a report of the reemergence of the KKK by Anne Weikel community leader and active in the Middletown church ministry.⁸

One of the most interesting *KAOS* issues was in 1967 Op Ed of police practices and training towards minorities. Tensions between the police authority and Black citizens increased greatly after the Housing Ordinance of 1966. The act provided state funding for infrastructure in Black neighborhoods altering the urban and civil development of the small town and strained race relations. At times, Miami University and Middletown's story would intersect with MU professors such as Sherman Jackson as guest speakers at a Black History Week assembly. During the assembly fighting broke out between students wearing white t-shirts. This was a common occurrence of the school and prompted their longtime principal to retire after threats had been made to his family. Over time after understanding the Middletown "unseen" narrative we grasped the role the Black Churches played in civil action, most notably Rev. Holland, who was present along with several family members, were arrested during the school riot. This led me to question the role that student religious groups play on the Oxford scene.

The Middletown aspect of the project validates theorists like Max Weber:

"Charismatic authority must out of necessity move in one of three directions: toward **dissolution, toward traditional authority, or toward rational-legal authority**. Charisma thus incorporates this dilemma: **to survive** it must change, but in changing it must give up its definitive, essentially charismatic qualities."⁹

In an attempt to survive in a world post the Civil Rights movement, new groups were changed and formed under new identities such as the United Citizens Council and the BSAA. Both

⁷ See: "Bias Charge Involves Dr. Bennett" *KAOS*, October 6, 1970, 1 Digital Access. Documented in sources.

⁸ Mary Anne Weikel, "History of the Churches of Middletown 1791-1991." Middletown Area Bicentennial 1991, 60. Miami University Middletown Library, Middletown, Ohio. Documented in Sources

⁹ As Weber writes, charismatic authority "cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both." The third alternative of dissolution is logically implicit. See his *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, p. 364. Cf: Weber, Max. 1946. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press.

groups assume a position of “traditional authority.” Simultaneously Miami created new positions and offices exactly in the wake of demands made by the BSAA. It is my understanding that both of these groups and the University developed what Weber would describe as “rational-legal authorities”. He authorities were institutionalized out of at times chaotic- charismatic movement of Civil Rights.

A War Between The Voices of Dissent & Reason: a new generation born of the New Left and Civil Rights

I continued the same research theoretical approach with Middletown to determine what was being routinized from the national movements on the Oxford Miami campus. As Long suggested, and as I’ve learned as a Comparative Religion major, our work in the humanities is to go behind the headlines, to uncover that which is unseen and disguised. This process entails bearing in mind the surrounding context of students and faculty while discerning the moods and incentives of the time. Through studying ads and Op-Eds in the *Miami Student*, I solidified my general understanding of the Oxford campus environment and discovered a New Left Movement that had taken root. This study was furthered while traveling to Oxford this past summer and later this fall, to access the Havighurst Archive unscanned documents. The first box in the archives I examined was the *Student Unrest*. It was this collection of primary sources that provided me with an understanding of the current “campus in crisis” intersection with an inflamed nation.

Like Middletown, The University was internally split between two charismatic groups known as: “Voices of Reason,” having many members serve in WWII, and the “Voices of Dissent.” The Voices of Dissent began 1964 sponsored by multiple student organizations including Student Senate, Panhellenic Assn, YMCA/YWCA, and surprisingly the University. Recorded from a later issue of the *Miami Student* clarifying the intention of organization, was a “series to feature persons nationally identified with various extremes of a current issue.¹⁰ Civil rights and economics were the first topics, followed by the ‘student revolt’ and Black Power.” Some of the panelists included, Dr. Roland and Dr. Delaittre professors of religion, and Dr. Stone of history and Dr. Walter Havighurst. The Voices of Dissent had been created to vocalize many different opinions via “dissent” from the norms by engaging in conversation generating reform. Just prior to the *Miami Student* issue stated above, the Voices of Dissent proposed a Gentle Revolution.¹¹

This proposal was framed/’seen’ by the soon to be Voices of Reason as a “radical reform”.¹² However, many of the demands were in line with the national New University Conference occurring across campuses nationwide. The first of the proposals was Freshman Year Seminars. This idea was that Freshman coming to Miami require a “re-orientation” and should be further exposed with a Liberal Arts Degree. “They should be required to study evenly distributed humanities, social sciences, and physical or biological sciences”. Other proposals included independent studies, work studies, honors studies, a university book store, and a new system of governance. There is also a statement of support of the BSAA and a request to

¹⁰ Ibid., Unknown Date Author, “Voices of Dissent Series Slated”, *Miami Student* Documented in sources

¹¹ Gentle Revolution proposed by students and faculty on university reform. Cf: Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University, Ohio. Student Life. General Student Unrest and Protest Movement Materials. Folder 14: New University Conference. Miami Chapter. Documented in sources. <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/80/rec/21>

¹² “Declaration of Voices of Reason”, Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University, Ohio Digitally accessed, <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/121/rec/3> Documented in sources.

create a program for 'high-risk minority students' within the Office for Black Student Affairs. Additionally, there should be "special efforts to attract and retain black professors and students enrolling proportionally to 15% Black citizens in Ohio." While maintaining my original question of how national movements are felt and later bureaucratized within Miami, I noted that many of the issues raised in the "Gentle Revolution" have made the journey from being "radicalized" to rationalized. This is characteristic of the current implementations under different titles from the recent DEI committees, UNV 101 course, Miami Plan courses, Independent Studies etc. I also noted concluding the pamphlet was the proposition to remove the R.O.T.C. Almost exactly one year prior to the occupancy of Rowan Hall.

It was in February of 1969, shortly after a student walk-out that the University finally addressed a few suggestions from the Gentle Revolution and the BSAA by hiring Sherman Jackson as a professor of Black history and Kenneth McDowell for the Office of Black Student Affairs.¹³ It was these positions that Justice on behalf of UCC sued for in the following fall semester. Over the prior summer, the Dayton chapter of the United Citizens Council formed the "Christian Militia" and the Chicago Trial 7 had begun. These are merely two examples of what students were bringing with them walking onto campus that fall. Although the topics of VOD remained consistent throughout the series, it was at this point, those that associated themselves with the group dramatically changed. On September 26th a published list of supporters for the Voices of Reason surfaced including... Walter Havinghurst. The issue was titled "University In The Time Of Crisis: Declaration of Voices of Reason".¹⁴ Their first priority was to maintain "firm control of the University by legally constituted authorities". Considering the tension between the groups, I observed the split evidential in people like Havinghurst that had originated with Voices of Dissent but then gradually disassociated to preserve their way of life. Weber helps me to theorize this by explaining why they had to dissociate themselves. He says, "Charisma thus incorporates this dilemma: to survive it must change".¹⁵ VOR exemplifies this change in the "Survival Kit" in a time when "the university is being threatened" in order to survive out of a charismatic movement of the New Left.¹⁶

"Information NOT Counseling:" religious intersections with a pamphlet revolution

Throughout this project, Dr. French and I questioned continuously what made this a "comparative religion" project. While our methodology and theory, drawn from Long, rested within the framework of history of religions and phenomenology, to a new reader that would not immediately be apparent. We turned our attention to the role of churches in civil society in Middletown, Oxford, and on Miami's campus. We also started researching for any possible role of Miami's Department of Comparative Religion, founded 1927, and its faculty.

Our search did not take long. Aware of the church's role in Middletown and several prominent religious figures in civil leadership positions, we soon found evidence of Comparative Religion's involvement in the "Gentle Revolution." This was confirmed by Peter Williams, an

¹³ Later known as Office of Minority Affairs

¹⁴ "Voices of Reason Speak Up to Rebut 'Gentle Revolution'", *The Miami Student*, October 21, 1969, 5. Cf: <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/111/rec/28> Documented in sources.

¹⁵ Cf: Weber, Max. 1946. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶ See: The University and the New Revolutionaries: A Survival Kit for Students, Faculty, and Administrators, Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives, Faculty, Miami University. Warren, Harris, Folder 3: Protest Organizations, <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/174/rec/1> Documented in sources.

emeritus faculty in Comparative Religion, whose unpublished history of the Department, entitled *Sojourners* confirmed the roles of Roy Ward and Roland Delaitre in the New University Conference and Gentle Revolution.

Turning to Miami's student religious groups, I discovered the presence of YMCA/YWCA activities on campus, as well as something called the United Christian Ministries, whose letterhead address placed it within the Old Manse, still standing on the corner of High and Talawanda today.¹⁷ The United Campus Ministries arrived after the 1967 merger with the original inhabitant of the Old Manse, the Westminster Foundation. By 1973, after the events described below, the University purchased the Old Manse and housed within it the Department of Comparative Religion.

A letter, written by the Rev. Watler "Bud" Zimmer of the UCM, hoped to clarify to the UCM Board and community of Oxford ministers that resources of the UCM had been misappropriated.¹⁸ They had been charged with the responsibility of printing a vulgar pamphlet known as the "Mothers of Apostle Review." What could a pamphlet, published on a basement mimeograph in the middle of the night, have contained that elicited a community-wide response?

We turned to the archivists. Fortunately, Alia Wegner had just scanned such a document quite recently. This unraveled what we called the "pamphlet revolution." Unfortunately we cannot speak to the circulation size of the pamphlet on campus, but we found that it elicited quite a stir. Given the moment, a headline of, "THE WEATHERMAN FACTION OF SDS HAS ANNOUNCED THEIR PLANS TO BLOW UP THE ROTC BUILDING ON THE NIGHT OF THE FOURTEENTH NO KIDDING . . . WARNING . . . STAY CLEAR OF THE ROTC BUILDING TUESDAY NIGHT . . . BRICKS WILL BE FLYING REVOLUTION NOW!" is admittedly attention-grabbing.¹⁹ Published on 10/15/69, the *Miami Student* soon covered the *MAR*, the reporter noted that there was neither a formal SDS chapter on campus nor an active Weatherman group – although principal founder of the group Bernadine Dohrn had attended Miami.²⁰

The authors of this pamphlet remained anonymous, however they owed their mimeographing work to the equipment housed within the "Draft Counseling Center" of the United Campus Ministries Building'. Finally, we had a sense of Zimmer's concern. In his letter, he emphasized that UCM considered itself a "Draft Information Center" and not a provider of strategies for how to dodge the draft. This makes sense, because Zimmer's son, Timothy W.L. Zimmer – a student at Miami – worked in the Center at that time following a stint in federal prison for draft evasion.²¹ We can only speculate on the concern both Zimmers would have had about any implication they were engaged in anti-draft activity.

We never were able to determine if the pamphlet was printed in the UCM building today known as "The Old Manse" or not. We uncovered that UCM's role in social demonstrations occurred alongside the Draft Information Center. Rev. Walter "Bud" Zimmer of UCM offered a

¹⁷ The "Old Manse," once known as the "Coffee Mill House," due to its distinctive shape, was built by Samuel Robert Mollyneaux in 1852. Mollyneaux was a merchant and an immigrant to the U.S. from Ireland, arriving in 1815. For further, see Ophia D. Smith, *Old Houses of Oxford and the People who Lived in them* (Oxford, OH: Miami University Press, 1976), pp. 169-173.

¹⁸ Donald L. Judson, Walter W. Zimmer, and David D. McDaniels, "Parson To Person United Campus Ministry" *Presby News Supplement*, June 18, 1970, digital scan, Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/69/rec/7>

¹⁹ Unknown [Front Cover Image], *Mother Apostle Review* 1, October 9, 1969, digital scan .p.8. Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University, Ohio

²⁰ See: Caroline Annfey "A Tri-Delta Reply and Then Some", *The Miami Student*, January 23, 1976 digital scan, Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University, <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/student/id/2295/rec/2>

²¹ Timothy W.L. Zimmer was sentenced to three years in the Federal Youth Center, Ashland, Kentucky in 1967 while a student at Earlham College and later enrolled in Miami. He wrote of his experiences in his *Letters of a C.O. from Prison* (Valley Forge, TN: Judson Press, 1969)

memorial service at Miami, part of the national Vietnam Moratorium outlined in the Mother of Apostle Review. Equally, the “New University Conference,” of which Roy Ward (REL) and Roland Delattre (REL) were part, received mention in the *MAR*.

Both professors later appeared, along with other familiar NUC names, in another circular. The *Mandala*, a publication featuring essays and poetry by Miami University faculty and students, also took syndicated material from the nationally known Liberation News Service, a New Left publication (also syndicated in *KAOS*).²² Most of *Mandala*'s articles echoed issues students were facing nationally, new sexual boundaries, feminist movements, the Black Panthers, and of course Vietnam war updates and resistance.²³ What I learned was that ultimately students were wrestling with the norms and authorities that they had been raised on in their societies as well as the institutional authorities. In other words, Miami was not isolated from outside discourses just as it is not isolated today.

By studying the tension between races we uncovered other tensions between the Old Guard and the New Left which existed among students and faculty alike. This is important for several reasons. As we understand the context and pretext surrounding the occupancy of Rowan Hall via the official Miami narrative of Walter Havighurst, Alfred Upham, Curtis Ellison, and others, memory is only concerning the Vietnam War. After examining many sources provided by the careful preservation and organization of the Walter Havighurst Special Collections University Archive & Preservation center, we argue that Vietnam is not the full story. We discovered religious institutions had a bigger role than we realized in the social movement. Additionally the issue of race was always present. I return to the quote from Charles Long: “One must account for the misunderstandings and misinterpretations [of interpreting these events],” Long said, “only by going through these can we arrive at meanings that are substantive.” He continued, noting that the work of scholars is to “tell a story of America that is both true and authentic ... a *true story* of the American peoples that moves beyond concealment and invisibilities”.²⁴

Moving Forward:

Today this project is especially important because as students we need to understand we are all not merely transplants on this campus. We come from backgrounds of influence, rural and urban. Western, southern, northern. We come from different political and socio-economic biases. Coming together in a university we are merged in a sort of melting pot of exposures. We must know how to relate to one another keeping the current national conversation in mind. This could not have been more evident than in the years 1968-1970 on Miami's Campus. As for the present day, if we want to make true changes in our institution that shapes us into the individuals we grow to be in society, then we must further examine past changes surrounding the same issues to ensure our renewed commitments to breaking barriers in diversity, equity,

²² Ibid: was a New Left, anti-war underground press news service which distributed news bulletins and photographs to dozens of subscribing underground, alternative and radical newspapers from 1967 to 1981. It was founded in the summer of 1967 by Ray Mungo and Marshall Bloom after they were separated from the United States Student Press Association and its College Press Service. PBS History of Liberation News Service Cf: <https://www.pbs.org/show/under-ground-story-liberation-news-service/>

²³ *Mandala* was an underground newspaper published by Miami University students in 1970. The paper primarily featured articles critical of the university administration and included updates from local activist groups such as the Student Mobilization Committee and the Institute for Studies in Nonviolence. See: Unknown [Front Cover Image], *Mandala* 1, January 26, 1970, digital scan, Walter Havighurst Special Collections and University Archives at Miami University, Ohio <https://digital.lib.miamioh.edu/digital/collection/activism/id/15/rec/8> Documented in sources.

²⁴ Charles H. Long, “The Black Reality: Toward a Theology of Freedom,” *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Colorado: Davies Group, 1986 [1968]), p. 147, 167

and inclusion. We discerned that the intentions behind DE&I existed all along. Has the motivation changed?

Moving forward in this project narrative. I want to consider more in comparison with current activity utilizing Civil rights and liberties with the Pew Center data. I also want to examine how the role of religious groups today has evolved in civil discourse? Today civil society is mainly secular. 50 years ago clearly from this project it was not the case. Finally, I leave with one last quote from Charles Long for my ongoing research focusing on the current BLM movement:

“The visibility of the Blacks in American cultural experience at this time constitutes a **mythology of memory – a cultural and religious attempt to rehearse as a total cultural reality the primordial depth and intention of American culture... **The depth is often hidden (concealed), but when it manifests itself in response to an evocation** of exhaustion on the ordinary levels of cultural experience. **It appears synonymous with a cultural crisis.**” (151)²⁵**

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²⁵ Charles H. Long, “The Black Reality: Toward a Theology of Freedom,” *Significations: Signs, Symbols, and Images in the Interpretation of Religion* (Colorado: Davies Group, 1986 [1968]), p.151