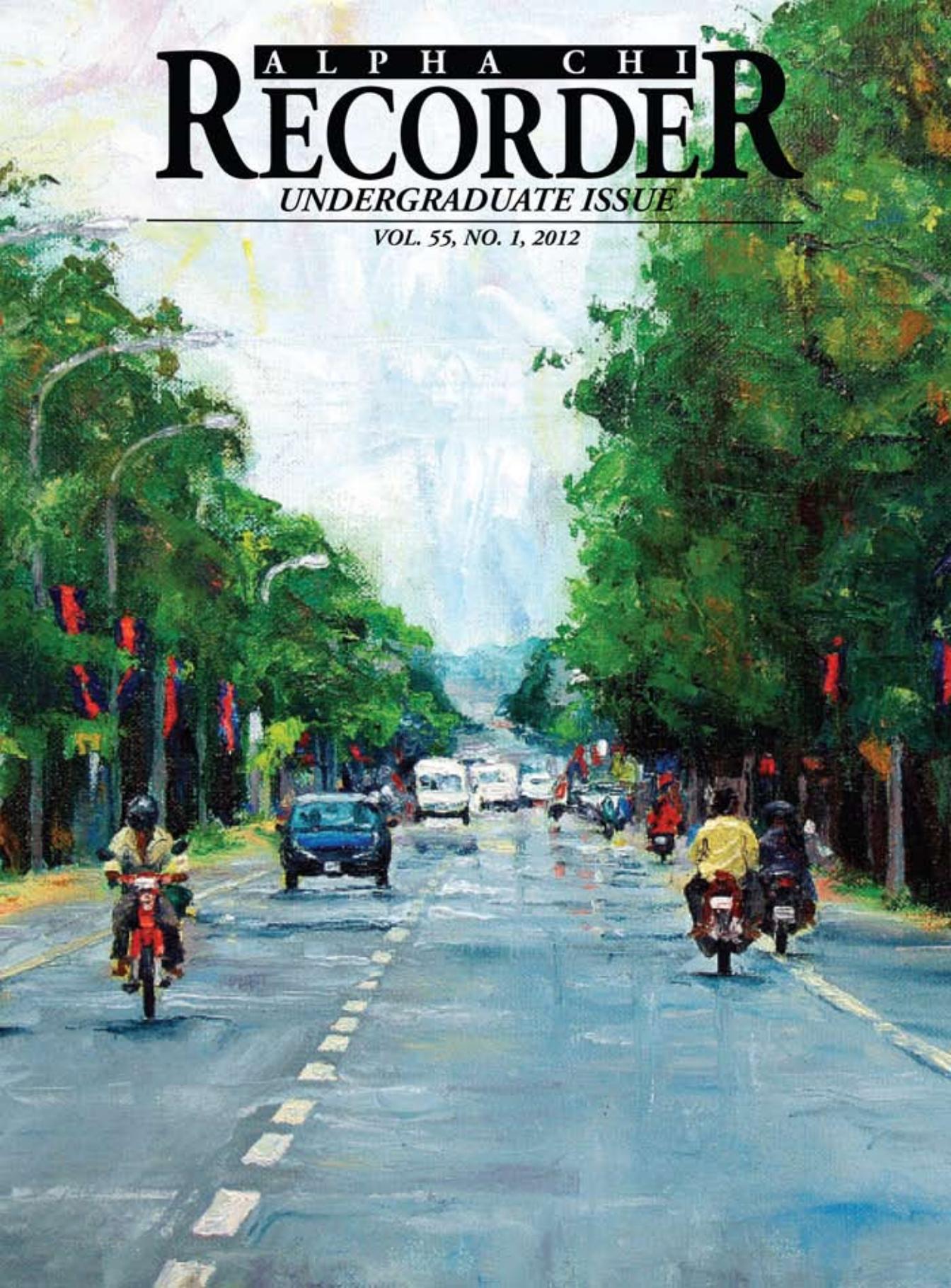


ALPHA CHI RECORDER

UNDERGRADUATE ISSUE

VOL. 55, NO. 1, 2012



Published three times a year at Searcy, Arkansas: an Undergraduate Issue, a Proceedings Issue (online only), and an Alumni Issue.

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Publishing in the *Recorder*

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(ISSN 0893-889X)

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Vol. 55, No. 1 Undergraduate Issue Spring 2012

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Grace College

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Winona Lake, Indiana

“Banners of Siem Reap, Cambodia” is a street scene in oil on canvas, 20”x16”, from 2010. It was part of an exhibit that garnered the visual art prize at the 2011 national convention in San Diego. See the other pieces on pages 44-47.

Denmark, Happiness, and the Rawlsian Conception of Social Justice

By **EMILY MOORE**

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Emily Moore is an Edwin W. Gaston Scholar for 2011-12.

For centuries, philosophers have debated the proper role of government in the lives of its citizens. Some have argued that the happiest, freest, and most just societies are the ones whose government steps in the least. Others have argued that government intervention is necessary because, where government does not intervene, the strong are free to take advantage of the weak. One theorist who favors the extensive use of government to adjust for natural inequalities is John Rawls. Rawls argues that his difference principle—wherein the prospects of the least advantaged are maximized—is critical to the creation of a just society.

While Rawls does not directly address happiness as the number one goal of government, he does acknowledge that in his system, happiness should follow social justice. To Rawls, happiness is achieved when a person is “in the way of a successful execution (more or less) of a rational plan of life drawn up under (more or less) favorable conditions, and he is reasonably confident that his intentions can be carried through” (480). Therefore, in Rawls’ society, wherein the prospects of the least well-off are maximized, the least advantaged have fair and equal opportunity to achieve their rational life plans. The pursuit of such plans, supported by an adequate level of primary goods, makes for what Rawls describes as objective happiness. If happiness hinges most directly on the least advantaged in a society,

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then helping those most in need should indicate societal wellbeing.

Philosophers as far back as Plato have implied that justice and happiness go together in a society. Political philosopher Adam Smith once argued that one element of happiness is the feeling of a clear conscience, which may be interpreted as a form of personal justice. If justice on a personal level contributes to individual happiness, then surely it should do so on the state level as well. If that is the case, and if we also accept that Rawls' conception of justice is the most correct, the society that most closely resembles Rawls' ideal state must also be the happiest. Does adhering to the difference principle necessarily make a nation happy?

This paper explores the question by looking at the nation of Denmark, whose citizens, by the Gallup World Poll ("University of Leicester") and Adrian White's happiness rankings cited in the 2010 Legatum Prosperity Index, are regarded as the happiest. The study will show that the question of happiness is not simple. Indeed, while the economic prospects and advancement opportunities of the least advantaged may be one aspect of a nation's happiness, it is certainly not the only factor.

One aspect that makes this determination of happiness so difficult is that happiness itself is defined differently depending on the context. For example, research has revealed a dichotomy between daily happiness and overall life satisfaction. In the Gallup World Poll, Denmark ranked the happiest for overall life satisfaction because more Danes are considered "thriving" than citizens in any other nation. On the other hand, Denmark falls to twelfth when looking at daily happiness. In terms of daily happiness, the distribution is widely spread between rich and poor countries from all over the world. However, some perceivable trends do emerge when looking into the top five countries for life satisfaction. The top five nations in the Gallup Poll, ranked by percentage thriving, are Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands. All of these nations are relatively less populated, wealthy Scandinavian countries, and all except Finland are constitutional monarchies with parliamentary-style democracies. They all have thriving and generous welfare systems. However, neither the size of the state nor the system of government must be the sole contributor. After all, the United Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy and it ranks 17, while Iceland, which is home to only 300,000 citizens, ranks 23rd in the poll (Levy). Therefore, happiness must have both universal traits that apply to all nations (such as income and wealth) as well as subjective characteristics that are more influential in some places than others. The theory that there are objective measures of happiness is espoused by many political theorists, including Rawls himself (Rawls 481; see also Radcliffe). Additionally, many others argue that while there are objective measures of happiness, cultural factors also play a role (Radcliffe 949-50). In this paper I conclude that Denmark is the most Rawlsian society existing today, that this level of justice correlates to a measure of happiness, but that other cultural factors also contribute to high levels of subjective wellbeing in Denmark.

Principles and Institutions of Justice According to Rawls

In order to truly determine how closely Denmark measures up to Rawls' conception of justice, we must first take a look at the principles of justice he espouses. The most distinctly Rawlsian aspect of justice is known as the difference principle. Rawls contends that if citizens did not know any morally arbitrary characteristics about themselves—if they

were under a veil of ignorance—they would ultimately select a principle of justice in which the situation of the least well-off would be maximized. Rawls' theory of justice employs two main principles. First, each individual in a Rawlsian society receives an equal right to all basic political liberties. The second principle is stated thus: "Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: (a) to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle, and (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (266).

This second notion offers the essence of the difference principle. It also raises a question about another Rawls concept—equality of opportunity. Theorists conceive of liberty and opportunity differently. Classical liberals argue that equality of opportunity is defined by careers that are open to talents so that each individual has the legal right to achieve an office or position as much as any other person of equal skill, ability, and motivation. Rawls contends that this system remains unjust, that the initial position is arbitrary from a moral perspective, and therefore that government must act to ensure equality of opportunity (63).

Another consideration Rawls raises is different types of liberty. Negative liberties, which classical liberals emphasize, are those liberties that are "freedoms from." That is, freedom from (usually) government intervention in a particular area might be an example of negative liberty. On the other hand, he argues, there are also positive liberties. According to Rawls and other liberal thinkers, how can an individual truly exercise his liberties if he does not have the means to do so? How can an individual be happy and carry out his rational life plan if he has no wealth? In this way, Rawls suggests that the worth of political liberty (in his first principle) may be undermined by situations in which some individuals, perhaps the very wealthy, are better able to exercise their freedoms than others. According to Rawls, the worth of political liberties must not be undermined by arbitrary characteristics.

Danish Income Distribution, Inequality, Welfare, and Employment

Denmark is a small and culturally homogenous home to around 5.5 million people ("Denmark"). Though Denmark did not escape the recent financial crisis, the tiny European nation has maintained a low unemployment level of 4.3 percent ("Denmark"). It is also a wealthy country, boasting a per capita income of approximately \$36,000 in 2008 ("Denmark"), but the Danes emphasize their social programs and report being quite satisfied, on the whole, with what the government is doing to alleviate socioeconomic inequalities (Hendrick 2). On the other hand, the Danes also have freer markets than most of their European counterparts, ranking eighth (the United States is ninth) on the 2010 Index of Economic Freedom and first on the Legatum Index for "Entrepreneurship and Opportunity" ("Index").

A quintessential element of Rawls' theory of justice is the way income is distributed in a nation. In fact, the distribution of primary goods is an important indicator of the justice of a society. Because the Rawlsian concept of justice requires maximizing the prospects of the least advantaged, thus maximizing opportunities and happiness for all, the proportion of after-tax income of society's lowest quintile is an important indicator. The Gini index, a mathematical measurement of inequality with a scale of 1-100 (where one is the least unequal), rates Denmark a 23—the lowest inequality rating of any of the 34 member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD Factbook). A 2010 study of income distribution by quintile reported that in Denmark, the bottom quintile's share of

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income was 9.9 percent, the second quintile 15, the third quintile 19.1, the fourth quintile 23.1, and the top quintile 32.9 (Mahler et al. 35). These figures indicate that in Denmark the distribution of income—after taxes are paid and government benefits are supplied—is highly egalitarian. The bottom 20 percent of individuals receive around 10 percent of the country’s income after taxes and transfers while the top 20 percent of individuals receive only about 33 percent—a relatively low figure among developed nations. According to Rawls’ second principle, any economic or social inequality that exists within a nation should be offset by policies that maximize the prospects of the least advantaged. Therefore, both the Gini index of inequality and the distribution of income by percentage share are valuable indicators for how closely Rawls’ society is met. While it is difficult to determine from these indicators an exact level of wellbeing for the less advantaged, the Gini coefficient and income distribution in Denmark offer promising signs.

Redistributive Effects of Taxation

Denmark’s high degree of equality is largely achieved through taxation and transfers. Though Denmark has recently seen some income tax cuts, the tax burden in 2008 amounted to 48.3 percent of the GDP, or \$97.6 billion (“The Tax Burden”). Tax rates begin at 45 percent and rise to 56 percent (“United States Citizen Services”). An examination of income distribution by quintile prior to taxes and transfers, compared to the figures on after-tax-and-transfers income discussed above, demonstrates the effect of taxes on inequality. The table below, created from data in the 2010 Luxembourg Income Study (Mahler et al. 35), provides the comparison.

Income is shared much more evenly as a result of tax and benefits policies, with the largest adjustments occurring in the lowest and highest quintiles.

	<i>Before Taxes and Transfers</i>	<i>After Taxes and Transfers</i>
Bottom Quintile	1.1	9.9
Second Quintile	10.6	15.0
Third Quintile	19.9	19.1
Fourth Quintile	26.7	23.1
Top Quintile	42.1	32.9

Health Care and Education

As may be evidenced by post-tax income distribution, the Danes spend a significant portion of their gross domestic product on social programs aimed especially at equalizing opportunity. In 2007 Denmark spent 30.8 percent of its GDP on gross

public social expenditure. Even after adjusting for taxation on these benefits (benefits in the form of direct transfers are taxed in Denmark), the Danes exceed the OECD average of 20.2 percent (OECD Social Expenditure Data). The major expenditures are for health care and education, two categories considered vital in achieving equality of opportunity for citizens.

The Danish government expends a significant portion of revenues on a nationalized health care system. All health care spending in Denmark in 2007 made up 9.7 percent of the country’s gross domestic product, a figure above the OECD average of 9 percent (OECD Health Data). Fully 84.5 percent of the health care spending in Denmark comes from public funding (OECD Health Data). Per capita health care spending is also high at \$3,540 for

2007. Although this per capita level is much higher than in many other Nordic countries, the quality of Denmark's health care system is ranked lower than those of its Scandinavian neighbors. In the World Health Organization's 2000 ranking of health care systems, the most recent such list, Denmark rated 34 out of 191, behind every other Scandinavian country. In fact, Denmark fell behind much of Europe and barely outperformed the United States, which ranked 37 ("The World Health Report 2000").

Another important aspect of equalizing opportunity is funding for education. After completing their primary and lower secondary schooling at the age of 15 or 16, students move into either vocational education or upper secondary education, a preparation for college. All public and most private universities are free of charge in Denmark for those who qualify ("Higher Education"). Means-tested room and board subsidies are available. Vocational schools are also state funded. Rawls would approve of the Danish system of division between vocational schools and higher education as long as students had a reasonable degree of choice in the matter. Specified training allows each student to actively pursue his life plan. And in Denmark, even private schools rely substantially on state funding; students in such schools have 80-85 percent of their costs covered ("Education in a Knowledge Society").

Overall, Denmark's plan is similar to what a Rawlsian conception of education might be. Regardless of their financial background, students have a fairly equal opportunity. One problematic area from a Rawlsian viewpoint is that the Folkeskole (the public primary and lower secondary schools) are funded by the municipalities ("Education") rather than primarily by the national government, although such schools do receive some national funds in the form of block grants (Patrinos). As in the similar local system in the United States, municipalities differ in their capacity for funding education. Moreover, poorer districts are forced to compete with some well-funded private institutions. On the other hand, Danish education is standardized (though the system allows municipalities freedom to set much of their own standards and curriculum after meeting state guidelines) ("School Choice in Denmark"). Still, Rawls would note that the Danish system does not perfectly allow for fair equality of opportunity because poor students may still slip through the cracks, receiving a lesser education than wealthier students.

How Does Denmark Compare With Other Nations?

State commitment to equality of health care and education may not provide an answer, however, to what makes Denmark the happiest nation on earth. Other countries outspend Denmark in terms of GDP. Table 2 details social spending in four nations: Denmark, Sweden, France, and the United States. In terms of gross public social expenditure, both Sweden and France outdo Denmark. The difference becomes wider still when taxes and other factors are taken into consideration. In the European countries, compared to the United States, private sources provide small shares of social expenditure; indeed, private social expenditure in the United States is more than three times as high as in France and seven times higher than in Denmark in terms of percentage of GDP. Furthermore, in net total social expenditure, which includes tax credits and both public and private spending, the U.S. spends proportionally more on social programs than Denmark and a similar amount as Sweden. France exceeds them all, with 32.7 percent of its GDP devoted to social spending. (Data in the table comes from studies by OECD and articles by Fishback and Levy.)

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Table 2. Various Measures of Social Spending in Denmark, Sweden, France, and the United States

Type of Social Spending	Denmark	Sweden	France	United States
Gross Public (percent of GDP)	30.8	32.1	32.8	17.4
Net Public (%)	23.9	26	29.9	18.9
Net Voluntary Private (%)	1.4	1.8	2.8	10.1
Net Total Social Expenditure (%)	25.3	27.8	32.7	27.5
Net Public and Private Per Capita	\$5,800	\$6,700	NA	\$6,700
Rank in Gallup World Poll	1	4	44	14

It is true that the Gini coefficient of all of these countries is lowest in Denmark and that the tiny Scandinavian nation has a smaller population than both France and the United States, but in terms of per capita spending, Denmark's remains low. Further confounding the situation, if spending on transfer payments, or even the education system and medical care, truly maximized the situation of the least advantaged and made them happier, a country like France should rank higher. France has a Gini coefficient of only 28 (OECD Factbook), its nationalized health care ranks first in the world ("The World Health Report 2000"), and the French spend significantly on their education system, so it would seem that France should rank higher than the United States in Gallup's findings. Indeed, while Denmark boasts a thriving rate of 82 percent in the Gallup poll, in France only 34 percent regard themselves as thriving and six percent as suffering. And daily experience in France rates only a 7.0 on the ten-point scale—0.3 less than in the United States and nearly a full point below Denmark's 7.9.

Further confounding matters is the aforementioned differentiation between daily happiness and life satisfaction. The country that ranked the highest in daily experience in the Gallup World Poll was Panama, rating 8.4, and yet only 58 percent in Panama describe themselves as thriving. Even more telling is the rank of Mali, which rated daily experience at 8.0—higher than in Denmark, France, and the United States. Yet Mali ranks 141 out of 155 for overall life satisfaction because only five percent of the population say they are thriving, 77 percent struggling, and a full 18 percent suffering (Levy). While increasing the incomes of the least advantaged does seem to increase their overall subjective wellbeing, there must be more to happiness than money. Surely there must be other factors that help explain Denmark's happiness.

Denmark and Happiness Research

It is important to look at what social science research has to say about happiness and how this compares to Rawls' conception of justice (and happiness). Unfortunately, there is no strong consensus about what makes people happy. Although a nation can increase the overall wellbeing of its citizens by improving the incomes and opportunities of less advantaged individuals, happiness, as even Rawls points out, is not measured solely by income or wealth.

For example, the factors of health and stress level affect a person's daily experiences

and overall life satisfaction as well. Though the Danish health care system is not outstanding in comparison with those of other European nations, the Danes are relatively healthy. They are avid cyclists and maintain healthy weights. Furthermore, Danes enjoy six weeks of paid vacation annually and 52 weeks of fully or mostly paid maternity and paternity leave (“What Can”). The workweek in Denmark is a steady 37 hours, and the Danes enjoy flexibility in their hours. Often, because employees must simply reach an average of hours over several weeks, they can complete their work when they please (Ballebye and Nielsen). Moreover, the Danes do not feel a strong pressure to work overtime. The wage for even low-skilled workers is quite high, amounting to about \$16 per hour. Of course, it should be noted that Denmark has a relatively high cost of living (“United States Citizen Services”). Even further, while it is easy to get fired in Denmark, it is also relatively easy to get rehired, and even if a potential employee is out of work, unemployment benefits last for two years (until recently the benefits lasted four years) (Alderman).

Despite these advantages, some observers attribute happiness in Denmark to the Danes’ low expectations. Danes consistently rate their expectations for the coming year to be very low and are pleasantly surprised when things turn out better than they had expected (“What Can”). One Danish citizen explained about her country that many Danes are taught to be proud and to avoid complaining and are, therefore, more likely to say they are happier than they really are (“What Can”). On the other hand, Rawls would attribute Danish happiness to the ability of all citizens to pursue their rational life plans without fearing poverty, unemployment, or disease. Essentially, Rawls would say that Denmark offers an extensive package of primary goods that allows all individuals to pursue and achieve their life goals, and that this societal commitment makes the Danes happy.

Conclusion

The reason for peculiar findings on happiness, such as those in France and Mali mentioned above, may be explained a little differently. As has been stated, universal factors—such as health, work-life balance, education, and, yes, income and wealth—certainly contribute to happiness. Denmark tends to rank at least reasonably well in all of these areas and in many ways is the society closest to instantiating Rawlsian justice. Clearly, there is some type of correlation between Rawlsian justice and happiness as it exists in Denmark. On the other hand, Denmark does fall short of Rawls’ ideal in some ways. Also, there are many important cultural factors that might contribute to happiness. If Danes, for example, are taught to cherish their welfare state (as they do), then they will be happy to see it flourish. Moreover, many aspects of unhappiness are also instantiated in the culture. Consider the contrast between the United States and Denmark with regard to trust in government. For many decades Americans have had low trust in government, while the Danes’ trust in their own government is quite high (Hendrick). One study indicates that self-esteem, while always regarded as a factor affecting happiness, is especially important to Americans (Hendrick). This suggests that perhaps independence through employment is a larger contributor to happiness in the U.S. than in nations with greater social welfare systems.

While Rawls is correct that the maximization of the prospects of the lowest economic members of society can increase a nation’s subjective wellbeing, governments must also look at the makeup of their societies in determining what will make their people happy.

Aspects such as income, health, and leisure do factor into happiness, but happiness is more than a simple package of primary goods; it is also a perception of one's own status in the world.

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Benjy, Caddy, and Freud: Identity in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*

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Josh Looney presented this prize-winning paper at the 2010 super-regional convention.

In William Faulkner's novel *The Sound and the Fury*, Benjy Compson, a mentally retarded thirty-three-year-old, is a babe in the deepest sense of the word. From a Freudian standpoint, Benjy is driven by the id. Almost all of Benjy's family and his servant caregivers recognize this, referring to him as a baby. But there is one important exception. Through Benjy's muddled narration one character rises above his garble: his sister Caddy. Benjy's id-driven state of mind seems to rise to a level of consciousness when he is around Caddy, the only person he remembers treating him as an actual human being. She is the focus of Benjy's narrative, the character who brings a semblance of order to Benjy's soul. She possesses the power to bring Benjy out of his id stage.

Benjy relates to the world through pure sensual experience, much the way an infant takes in the world. Being a creature almost purely of appetite and possessing what L. Moffit Cecil calls a "phenomenally acute memory" (35) for recalling sensual details, Benjy reacts to the world without complexity of mind or judgment, with "responses...purely instinctive, never rational" (43). Note the way he narrates being fed by Versh: "Versh's hand came with the spoon, into the bowl...[and then] the spoon came up to my mouth" (Faulkner 25). Fixing on items entering his mouth, Benjy sounds similar to a child in Freud's oral stage of development, under the control of id before the development of ego or superego.

Even though Benjy is young in this memory, he cannot differentiate between reality and past memories, and he narrates from stream-of-consciousness. At thirty-three, not so much remembering this spoon feeding as reliving it, his mind is still that of that small child. Even in the present, Benjy watches his hand “trying to go to [his] mouth” (59). He does not show any psychodynamic development towards ego or superego. As Jacqui Griffiths says, he is the “forever-infantile retarded character,” trapped forever in the id stage regardless of his age (163; see also Bleikasten 64).

Furthermore, because Benjy is incapable of speech, his sole source of communication remains that of an infant wailing to have his appetite fulfilled. Benjy’s only communication is crying, screaming, bellowing—epitomizing the novel’s title, pure furious sound. Like an infant, Benjy lacks any sense of self; he projects sound away from himself, not even

Many characters in Benjy’s
narration treat him as a
permanent babe with no hope
of transcending the id.

realizing he has a self to be communicated with. He responds to people in his environment purely out of desire or discomfort—“speech” operating only on id appetite. Unlike his brother Jason, who communicates to himself what he wants through his superego mindset, and his brother Quentin, who wrestles with his ego and superego through inner

dialogue, Benjy possesses no conscious self but rather screams out his desires like an infant. As Cecil asserts, “Benjy’s ‘speech’ show[s] clearly...[that] his senses are active and keen, but he has no power to form conscious judgments about his own person” (43).

But more than mental retardation contributes to Benjy’s constant id-driven state. His family and caregivers, through constant reinforcement of his infantilism, also serve to limit his development. Many characters in Benjy’s narration treat him as a permanent babe with no hope of transcending the id. For example, in one of Benjy’s memories, when he is about six years old, Mrs. Compson refers to him as “my poor baby” (8); even when he is seventeen or eighteen, she continues to call him “the baby” (9). One of Benjy’s caretakers, a boy named Luster, calls him a “crybaby” (12). Indeed, Luster constantly points out Benjy’s infantile state, exclaiming, “Ain’t you something, thirty-three years old, [blubbing] that way” (3). Benjy is kept a child by the majority of his family; he is not allowed to grow up.

The old family retainer Dilsey comments on this when questioning how Mrs. Compson refers to fully grown Benjy as “the baby”: “Dilsey went up the steps. ‘You calling that thing a baby.’ she said. ... ‘A man big as T.P.’” (9). Dilsey is not ignorant of Benjy’s retardation, but she recognizes the way Mrs. Compson categorizes Benjy, not allowing him to grow up. Note also that Dilsey uses the word “thing,” implicitly criticizing how his mother diminishes Benjy to an object, something lacking self, rather than recognizing this big “man.”

Another example of the diminishing or prohibiting of Benjy’s psychodynamic development into an ego is his treatment by his brother Jason. Cecil notes that Jason

“contemptuous[ly] refer[s] to Benjy as the ‘Great American Gelding’” (34). Jason sees Benjy as a freakish animal, something that could be “rent[ed]...out to a sideshow” (Faulkner 196), refusing to see a person and complaining that he cannot “come home one time without finding Ben...hanging on the gate like a bear...[in a] cage” (252-53). Jason’s having Benjy castrated after he grabs hold of a neighbor girl is perhaps the ultimate symbol of inhibition. It must be noted in the incident that while Benjy looks for his sister and, from a Freudian standpoint, pursues pleasure, on the most basic level he attempts communication with the Burgess girls—attempting actual speech, an act of self, of a character with identity. No less than six times does Benjy claim that he was “trying to say,” or trying to communicate, with the girls (52-53). This desire to communicate goes beyond the crying and wailing of the id stage. Benjy seems on the cusp of developing a self. In fact, in this episode he distances himself from his normal “speech” of moaning by iterating four times that he “wasn’t crying”—at least not until he is rebuffed from communicating with the girls (52-53). In a sense he is punished for attempting to communicate; Jason, through castrating Benjy, tells him to “shut up!” (320) with terrible finality.

The most important exception to the environmental inhibition of Benjy’s development is his sister. Caddy rebels against her family; she gives Benjy the assurance that he is a person, a human soul, beyond a mere force composed of infantile appetites. She tells him he is “not a poor baby” (9), deliberately contradicting Mrs. Compson, and she insists on using his name, as Linda Wagner says, “lovingly...with no distinction” (51). Caddy tries to give Benjy identity, to push his development beyond the mere force of id he represents to his family.

Caddy also tries to push Benjy’s development in other ways. Lawrence Thompson emphasizes, for example, how Caddy teaches Benjy about his environment and influences his sensual intake, asserting that “tenderly, solicitously, Caddy has discovered ways of appealing to Ben’s limited responses” (214). He adds that instead of shoving a pacifying flower into Benjy’s hands as Luster does in order to quiet him, Caddy uses items from his environment like “the fire, the red-yellow cushion, [and] the smooth satin slipper...to provide him with values which are positive to him because they are somehow sustaining” (214). She does not belittle Benjy for playing with simple objects the way that Luster does. Instead, she teaches Benjy about his environment, trying to aid his development by teaching him “the pleasure of multiplying [objects] through their reflections in [a] mirror,... heighten[ing] his awareness” (Thompson 214). By doing so, Caddy treats Benjy as if he is a person with potential to develop an ego, instead of treating him like a squalling babe frozen in time.

Furthermore, Caddy tries to communicate with Benjy using speech, the tool of the self. Several other characters in the novel simply respond to Benjy’s cries without communicating with him. Luster hushes him by building a fire, not by trying to find out why he is crying (61). Mrs. Compson does not talk to Benjy, but asks others to “give him [things]” in order to have her peace and quiet (41). Caddy, however, speaks compassionately to Benjy, talking to him about Christmas time and Santa Claus. According to Wagner, “Caddy’s chief importance for Benjy...is that of creator and conveyor of language, ... translat[ing]—correctly—his non-verbal communication into meaningful language for the rest of the family, and for himself” (50). While Wagner overlooks other important roles Caddy bears toward Benjy, she correctly identifies her as a creator of language for Benjy. For example, Caddy interprets

Benjy's rejection of perfume as fear of her leaving because it masks her scent, and she creates a sort of communication for him by giving the bottle to Dilsey as a present from Benjy (Faulkner 42-43). Benjy does not actually mean what Caddy transforms his actions to mean; he is still in the id stage, and his reaction to the perfume is an "unreasoning reaction" of an infant with no ego (Thompson 215). However, the importance of this creation lies in the encouragement Caddy gives to Benjy's development. As Wagner says, "Caddy [does] attempt[t] to reach Benjy and to give him the means of reaching others" (50).

Benjy senses how Caddy tries to push his psychodynamic development; he responds to Caddy in his narrative in a way that rises above his basic id stream-of-consciousness. Repeatedly in his narration he connects Caddy with the scent of trees, pairing her with a scent he enjoys. He reacts to the images and sensual intakes he enjoys with peace and calm because, as Cecil says, they "see[m] to represent the warmth and security Caddy's affection inspires in him" (39). He finds stability with objects that remind him of Caddy; to quiet him, other characters give him objects he connects with her, such as Caddy's slipper (Faulkner 60). Benjy also takes special pains in describing Caddy's appearance, unusual against the colorless, featureless (or rather, non-existent) descriptions of other characters, as if Caddy were more real, more vibrant to him than everyone else. In one memory he notes how Caddy took "her dress off...[and] then she didn't have on anything but her bodice and drawers" (18). He also describes her attire on her wedding day, with "flowers in her hair and a long veil like shining wind" (39). In addition, his most intense attempts to communicate are with Caddy. Caddy interprets Benjy's crying about the smell of her perfume: "You were trying to tell Caddy.... You wanted to, but you couldn't" (42). In his relationship with Caddy, Benjy begins to rise above the senseless drive of unconscious desire, and the reader recognizes his potential for further psychodynamic development.

It is no wonder that Caddy means so much to Benjy, for she is the mother in Benjy's displaced Oedipal complex, Benjy having suffered "the maternal rejection" of Mrs. Compson (Tebbetts 78). Thompson notes that instead of wallowing in self-pity like Mrs. Compson, "Caddy, motivated by her compassion for her younger brother, has eagerly given Ben the kind of motherly attention previously denied to him because of his own mother's inadequacies" (213). She steps in to fill the void Caroline Compson leaves. She has more control over Benjy than Mrs. Compson, his actual biological mother, for she can calm him when Caroline cannot (64). Also, "unlike Mrs. Compson, the ironic mother of the novel, [Caddy] never reproves him" (Wagner 50). When Mrs. Compson, realizing her son's mental retardation, changes his name from that of her brother Maurice to Benjamin, she effectively removes Benjy from her side of the family. Caddy, however, turns the biblical name into an endearment, suggesting that the love she bears for Benjy goes beyond that of a sister; Caddy becomes Benjy's mother figure. Andre Bleikasten agrees, arguing that if were not for Caddy, Benjy "would never have escaped from autistic isolation" (63), and supporting the idea that Caddy brings out Benjy's potential to develop further psychodynamically.

The sexual undertones of Benjy's narrative of Caddy confirm his Oedipal fixation on her. Although critics debate the exact nature of Benjy's sexual interest in Caddy (see Matthews, Griffiths, Cecil, Bleikasten), such interest is impossible to ignore in the text of the novel. Benjy clearly exhibits distress over Caddy's suitors and unconsciously senses that she is somehow changing in a way that risks his losing her. And of course other characters recognize the danger of a childlike Benjy in the body of a sexually mature male; Jason has

him castrated, and, as George R. Stewart and Joseph M. Backus note, “Dilsey deems it dangerous for Caddy to share the same bed with [Benjy] as she has been” (451).

The development of an Oedipal complex, albeit displaced on his older sister, shows Benjy’s potential for transcending his id stage, for in the Freudian sense the Oedipal stage is the central defining stage for the development of personality. This is just one more example of Caddy’s role as a catalyst for her younger brother; because of her, he has the possibility of change. The Oedipal stage is one of three whose characteristics Benjy exhibits—the others being the previously discussed oral stage and, as John T. Matthews has noted, the anal retentive stage, indicated by his “accumulated...hoard of special mementos [such as]...flowers [and] one of Caddy’s old slippers” (43). Evidence of these stages, all of which have something to do with his sister, suggest that Caddy is the catalyst that can help Benjy develop beyond the id.

Of course, Benjy has more than an Oedipal relationship with Caddy. In his mind, Caddy is his only true parent. She is symbolically given the reins of paternal authority in Benjy’s narrative when their father tells the four Compson siblings to “all mind Caddy” (Faulkner 24). Benjy closes his narration with a memory that reiterates

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the transference of paternal authority when Mr. Compson asks Caddy “to take good care of [Benjy]” (75). Although Gary Storhoff argues against this interpretation of Mr. Compson, it cannot be denied that Benjy turns not to his father for confirmation of his self (if he even really has a true “self” in the Freudian sense) but to Caddy, who in his mind possesses the father’s authority now and forevermore.

Caddy, therefore, also has some control in representing the superego to Benjy. Her dominant Freudian role is certainly that of the mother, but she is also capable of balancing Benjy’s id drive—causing his Oedipal fixation on her—with the role of the superego with the transference of authority from the father. She clearly exerts authority over Benjy in this narration; note how many times she tells him to hush and Benjy obeys. Thus, Caddy possesses incredible power with regards to Benjy’s development, coming to represent balance for Benjy as a sort of universal parental figure. She tells him she is the only figure he needs, reassuring him that he is not just a baby, for “[he has] got [his] Caddy” (Faulkner 9).

Nowhere is Caddy’s importance to Benjy clearer than in the structure of his narrative. The entire narrative is built around her, the peaceful center in his whirling chaos of time; as Sanford Pinsker says, she “represents a stable condition” for him (117). Stacy Burton adds that although Caddy is technically an absent character in the present time of Benjy’s narrative, her “striking prominence in [Benjy’s] section is less an unexplained absence than a richly

remembered presence” (212). Indeed, her presence is the whole focus; without Caddy’s presence, Benjy’s narrative would be essentially meaningless, a jumble of sensory data from an id-based individual. Carolyn Porter agrees, stating that while “confusion at the opening of *The Sound and the Fury* derives from the uncertain meaning of the word ‘caddy,’... learn[ing] its literal reference in the present, and eventually its symbolic reference to the past...[allows] the [narrative] to [take] on both clarity and significance” (234). Without Caddy at the core of whatever limited faculties Benjy possesses, his narrative would be nothing at all.

Yet, in the end, Caddy deserts Benjy. She never returns to him, breaking her promise to him to “not...run away” (Faulkner 19). Like her other siblings and her daughter Quentin,

Dilsey could be the catalyst that Benjy needs for development, for she truly sees Benjy as a person and also has the ability to enforce the superego.

Caddy abandons childlike Benjy to the cruelties of Jason. However, this is not the worst that Caddy does to Benjy; Warwick Wadlington asserts that because his entire life is focused on the sister who gave him love, and because of his chaotic sense of time, Benjy must experience “the same evil repeated through time...a single agony of loss [of Caddy]

recur[ring] daily” (418). In losing Caddy, Benjy eternally wants to satisfy his longing for his sister—his longing for true order and balance in his hellish world of ever-shifting reality—and never finds it. Instead, he is lost, haunted by memories of the stability she offered him. The reader is haunted by the lost potential she offered for Benjy’s psychodynamic development.

Indeed, the whole of Benjy’s life changes once she leaves. His existence is formed around a void. If his narrative is nothing without Caddy—if any sort of dim consciousness that Benjy possesses exists because of the attention Caddy gives him—then Benjy is nothing without Caddy. According to Bleikasten, while Caddy sets herself up as Benjy’s loving caregiver initially, because of her “desertion and all its fateful effects, she can...be seen...as...the main cause of Benjy’s present misery” (63).

Thus, Caddy leaves Benjy in a worse state than if she had never taken parental charge of him at all. Again, note the basis on which she tells him that he is more than a mere force: “You’re not a poor baby. Are you. Are you. You’ve got your Caddy. Haven’t you got your Caddy” (Faulkner 9). Caddy *herself* is the condition of Benjy’s being. Caddy—possessing godlike power over Benjy’s development because she is the ultimate focus in his life, representing sex, sensual intake, communication, mother, father, and love—shuts him out permanently by leaving. In the end, she becomes the ultimate handicap for Benjy, the worst of all the Compson family. She dooms him to the id stage and leaves him with the emptiness of his unfulfilled potential. Benjy may be unable to understand the ramifications

for his development once Caddy is gone, but, as Thompson says, because “Caddy herself has become for Ben a kind of mirror of all . . . positive values, framed in love,” he is subjected to a life without those values (214).

Why, then, does Caddy leave? Although there is no simple answer (see Matthews, Gwin, Zeitlin), the best explanation with regard to Benjy seems to be that he needs too much from Caddy. How can this young girl, struggling to live among a family with impotent powers, bear the weight of the mother *and* the father that Benjy expects her to be? How can she deal with the ordinary matters of growing up when Benjy looks to her for everything? Her distress when Benjy tugs at her dress after her sexual encounter shows she recognizes this, as she covers her mouth with her hand in shock (68). This brave little girl, who climbs up the pear tree “defiantly to look at death” (Matthews 92), is too immature, too human, to have all that responsibility placed upon her.

Finally, one of the great tragedies resulting from Caddy and Benjy’s relationship is that Caddy, through her parental care of Benjy, prevents him from recognizing the true mother figure in his life—Dilsey. Tragically, Caddy supplants Dilsey as she supplants Mrs. Compson in Benjy’s affections. This time, however, Caddy supplants an effective “surrogate mother” (Chabrier 228). For it is Dilsey, the woman who “raised all of [the Compsons]” (Faulkner 31), who truly cares for Benjy the way a mature mother should. She is the person who buys a cake for Benjy on his thirty-third birthday (60). She tells him that he is a “big boy” instead of a baby, reinforcing Benjy much the same way that Caddy does (44). Dilsey could be the catalyst that Benjy needs for development, for she truly sees Benjy as a person and also has the ability to enforce the superego, taking him to church—a creation of the superego—because she believes “de good Lawd don’t keer whether he bright or not” (290). She could offer him the balance he needs to live calmly with his tumultuous mind, the balance Caddy promises Benjy but takes away. In the end, it is Dilsey instead of Caddy who remains to hold Benjy and wipe his “drooling mouth upon the hem of her skirt” (316). Benjy fails to recognize the affirmation Dilsey gives him; even when Dilsey tells him he is a “big boy” and asks him to hush, it is not till Caddy asks him that Benjy responds (60). Will Benjy ever recognize Dilsey as his true mother figure? No. Benjy is stuck in his own personal flow of time, agonizing over the loss of his sister day by day. Even as Dilsey holds him in her lap, he “bellow[s] slowly, abjectly, without tears: the grave hopeless sound of all voiceless misery under the sun” (316).

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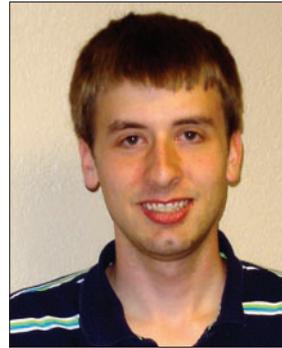
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Modern Tibetan Buddhism and Bon Folk Religion: Did One Influence the Other?

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Tibetan Buddhism is an offshoot of the Buddhist world religion with a character all its own. It combines ritualized veneration of spiritual heroes and deities as seen in India (Waddell 420-21) with the esoteric concept of Tantra (Mitchell 160). Bon is a religion often considered the fifth school of thought in Tibetan Buddhism. However, it differs greatly from the other four in its inclusion of aspects of shamanism and animism. Therefore, its followers consider themselves independent of Buddhism (Powers). In fact, most of the practitioners of Bon believe it predates the coming of Buddhism in Tibet, regarding it as the modern successor of traditional Tibetan folk religion (Dotson 41). This declaration of seniority over modern Tibetan Buddhism has raised a controversy over who inspired whom (Powers). Buddhists concede that Bon is influenced by folk tradition, but they criticize Bon's current ritual system for appearing to be imitative of Buddhist traditions. The Bon accuse the Buddhists of the same kind of imitation.

Upon close examination, modern Tibetan Buddhism incorporates many traditions from Tibet's pre-Buddhist past and has many traits common to traditional societies worldwide. The question, then, is to what degree Tibet's native religion has influenced its form of Buddhism. Most of the scholars who have written about the two religions focus primarily

on describing the religions as they are, with occasional references to how they are similar or different. Their main interest is not the question of which influenced the other. After analyzing the works of many of these scholars, I believe that modern Tibetan Buddhism is heavily influenced by traditional Tibetan cosmology, rituals, and practitioners.

Cosmology is the first aspect of Tibetan Buddhism containing elements that appear to be traditionally inspired. Tibet's model of Buddhism is fundamentally different from other sects because of the significance placed on the ritual veneration of deities and demons. Believers see a need to appease the former and dispel the latter. Jacob Dalton explains how Buddhist cosmology mixed with folk cosmology (760), saying that Tibetans saw their land as a dangerous and uncontrollable place haunted by hostile spirits that inhabited everything. These spirits were completely disconnected and unknowable but demanded respect regardless. However, the Buddhist concept of tantra stressed control of one's world, a concept that appealed to the ancient Tibetans with their desire to master their dangerous environment. This is similar to the nearly universal concept of "place spirits" explained by Alice and Irving Child (58-59). These spirits of nature dwell in objects people interact with daily, such as the spirits of dead game animals. Dalton and the Childs differ widely in their view of the spirits' concentration and purpose. Dalton explains why Tibetans allowed Buddhism to take hold in their lives with little resistance, but he does not attempt to prove there is a direct link between the two religions. Instead, he implies that the traditional society was converted to Buddhism.

Another cosmological idea borrowed from folk religion is the concept of evil spirits. John Powers provides a mythical outlook for why the Buddhists of today believe so firmly in natural spirits. He notes that the ancient people of Tibet relied on magic and a traditional priestly ritual to keep spirits at bay. He goes on to explain, in detail, in what ways the old and new religions are mixed. Priestly figures, such as the mythical founder, Padmasambhava, are believed to have tamed the demonic spirits of Tibet and convinced the spirits to become Buddhists themselves. Hence, they are now guardians of the Buddhist cosmos, yet their demonic nature still has to be monitored by both traditional shamans and the Buddhist monks. Some Buddhist monks believe this concept so whole-heartedly that they will avoid traveling at times when spirits are more malignant. These spirits are said to live in one of the three realms of the world, according to Powers: "the sky and heavens, earth, and 'lower regions.'" To him, the evil spirits concept of modern Tibetan Buddhism is one and the same with the traditional concept.

Even the gods of modern Tibetan Buddhism may be traditionally inspired. Austine Waddell sees the entire Tibetan Buddhist pantheon as a mixture of popular Buddhist deities with the local gods, spirits, and demons (369). The local deities have been divided into classes modeled after the Buddhist classification system, with the major native gods being in the top tier. The major gods are represented by the tallest mountains in Tibet. Many, such as the god of wealth, are named after the mountain they dwell in. Some are even considered to be one and the same with the mountain. Child and Child give an example of such "mountain gods" in another society (58): the Inca worshipped the sun from the mountaintops, and so the mountains may be deities as well. Another "friendly" tier of deities is the ghosts of legendary heroes and ancestors. One such hero, Pehar, is firmly implanted in Tibetan ritual as the patron of sorcerers. Child and Child also find evidence of the veneration of culture heroes elsewhere (60-61). Culture heroes exist across the globe to explain how aspects

of a culture or its worldview came to be. The other tiers are filled with fiends or ghosts who are hostile towards mortals. These lesser gods include the geniis, which are thought to be indistinguishable from their place of habitation (hence they are “place spirits”). For example, the *gNan* are very malignant spirits that haunt objects in nature, such as rocks and trees, and so those places they are thought to dwell are avoided.

Thus, I believe the two traditions have been integrated not only because of an ancient fear of the wrath of the mystical world, but also because Tibetans desire to sanctify Tibet’s distant past without giving up on the promises of eternal bliss Buddhism proclaims. The aforementioned myth of the conversion of local deities to Buddhism by Padmasambhava illustrates the dependence of Buddhism on folk religion. The story demonstrates Tibetans’ ongoing respectful fear of demons and spirits and the placing of higher-ranking local deities on the same level as those of Buddhism.

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Another set of strong similarities modern Tibetan Buddhism has with folk religion is related to ritual. Powers describes the common rituals of traditional Tibet from the Imperial Period (600-850 C.E.). One important theme in the rituals was death and the afterlife. The traditional priests, called *bon* (lowercase), led ceremonies regarding death and the spirits of the deceased. These funerary rites were intended to guide the deceased to the afterlife and provide for basic necessities as well as luxurious items. These included common animals, such as sheep and horses, drink, and jewelry. In the case of the king’s funeral, his many servants were sacrificed in his honor and ceremonies were held over several years to ensure that he was provided for. Child and Child point out that sacrificial rituals are common among traditional societies as a means of earning the approval or blessings of a deity (66-67). The ceremonies held over many years after the death of a king resemble the common practice in other traditional religions of dividing the time between preparing the corpse and saying final farewells in order to allow the family to manage their grief.

Healing practices were also important during the Imperial Period. Their description by Brandon Dotson is based on texts from the Imperial Period as a source (43-44). Healing rituals were divided into two segments, the *gto* and the *dpyad*. The former was a recital of a mythical story describing instances of the rite’s successful use in the past. The latter was the actual diagnosis of sickness. The stories, called liturgies, include accounts of demon possession among other topics (45). Most of the stories end with serious illness or death being reversed by the priest character.

The modern rituals of Buddhism share some conspicuously similar concepts with these

age-old rituals, including important universal traditional traits described by Child and Child. The primary difference is that most organized ceremonies today are methods of venerating Buddha and other deities (Waddell 421). They involve such steps as invoking the deities, making offerings (which range from art to spoils of war), praising, and the reciting of *mantras*. However, both traditional Tibetan rituals and modern Buddhist ones share similar ideologies regarding how to handle death and healing. In both, the deceased requires assistance in reaching the spirit world, such as seen in the example of the Imperial Period described above. A modern example is the Tibetan Buddhist “bardo ritual” (Cuevas 36). Texts are recited detailing the path a soul takes to the next life. In this case, the new life to which a

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soul is guided begins with reincarnation. The Northern Magar of Nepal, who Dotson believes share identical funerary rites with pre-Buddhist Tibetans, recite the many geographical places to the east where a soul proceeds on its way to the next life, culminating in Jaljala Pass (59). East is believed to represent new

life, while west represents death. So, the Magar believe that new life follows death if the soul completes its journey.

As far as healing is concerned, modern Tibetan Buddhists hold the idea that illness is demonic in nature, as did the Tibetans of the Imperial Period. More specifically, a healing method called the ransom ritual displays strong similarities in both religions. This rite is meant to save severely sick patients from imminent death or to help the dead cross over without interference from demons if they cannot be saved (Waddell 448). The modern version utilizes an effigy of the sick person to be given to demons in exchange for the person’s soul, saving him from death. In the traditional ritual, the effigy may contain the essence of a deity to be exchanged with a demon as a distraction, allowing the soul of the deceased person to freely transition to the next life (Dotson 58). The versions of the ritual have obvious similarities in that demons are the cause of illness and expulsion is the cure.

The similarities in traditional and modern ritual depicted in these articles are even greater than those of cosmology. The strongest connection between the two religions is the method of handling death or near-death illness. Both believe the soul will wander aimlessly without guidance through the real, geographical landscape leading to the mystical world of the dead. It can also become prey for demons in both traditions. Apparently, the ancient priests were more concerned with supporting their own validity, as they saw the need to continuously retell stories about how past healers successfully cured terminally ill patients. It is also clear that Tibetan Buddhism has many ritual characteristics frequently found in traditional societies worldwide, as described by Child and Child.

Finally, Buddhist and traditional religions in Tibet share similar practitioners. Powers, Waddell, and Todd Gibson support a connection between the practitioners of the past and

present. Gibson, for example, sees a clear relation between Buddhist practitioners of today and those of ancient Inner Asia (39, 46). Powers sees this inspiration, too, as he did with cosmology and ritual. As before, Waddell recites his observations but does not offer an opinion about the connections between modern and traditional practitioners. However, his descriptions highlight the similarities between the practitioners of today and traditional ritual leaders around the world.

One example of practitioner is the healing shaman. Historical evidence suggests that the process of becoming a shaman was the same in the past as it is in modern Tibetan Buddhism. A child is destined to become a shaman from birth, but can only be identified by the contraction of a serious illness around puberty. The person breaks down physically and mentally and must be reintegrated into society successfully or risk becoming insane.

The *pawo* appears to be the practitioner of modern Bon religion with the most similarities to pre-Buddhist shamans (Gibson 50-51). However, there is evidence that disputes the link of the *pawo* to antiquity, specifically the fact that some believe the founder of the order is the Buddhist hero Padmasambhava. It is more likely that Buddhist concepts simply influenced the shaman tradition when Buddhism was spreading throughout Tibet. Buddhism offered a type of shamanism that could be practiced by anyone, not just those destined to become full-fledged shamans. According to Powers, the *pawo* shamans are hired by common people to contact spirits and either determine how they are interfering in a person's life, if at all, or to request help in the person's future endeavors.

The *Lha-Ka* is a type of exorcist shaman employed by people in remote corners of Tibet to relieve pain (Waddell 482-3). The shaman does so by invoking Buddha or other important saints, then making offerings to the possessing demon. The demon is sucked from the diseased part of the body until the patient is healed. The concept of demon intrusion is related to the concept of spirit possession or spirit attack common in traditional religions world-wide (Child and Child 135-38). Such spirits are believed to be sent by a higher being or to act on their own to enter the victim's body to cause illness.

Another specific type of shaman is the *terton*, which is believed to be inspired by Bon (Gibson 47-48). *Tertons* are only born occasionally, each one helping to renew Tibetan religion by revealing hidden texts and relics, which can be either tangible objects they found in sacred sites or information they have inherited as a reincarnation of the disciples of Padmasambhava. Gibson believes that the *tertons* are inspired by the shamanic tradition of Tibet's folk religion, but they may choose to reveal Buddhist texts and relics in order to win Buddhists' favor. The *tertons* are a peculiar case because prophets tend to appear more in the world religions of today rather than traditional ones. However, Child and Child do mention the prevalence of prophets in Native North American cultures as leaders of revitalization movements, so such figures do play a role in some traditional societies (214).

Gibson identifies another group of shamans, whom he calls mediums, which allow gods or spirits to possess their bodies in order to convey important messages to humans. (49). Unlike the revelations of the *tertons*, those of mediums are often taken seriously. This is because they are believed to become vessels of a Buddhist deity who offer a solution to a pressing concern, rather than suddenly claiming to bring hidden knowledge that could permanently change the faith's outlook. While the *terton's* messages are clear, the medium's prophecies must be deciphered by the clergy. The possession of mediums is also more ritualized and controlled than the unpredictable insights of the *terton*, as mediums are given

free rein by the priests to induce regular visions. Spirit mediums are common in traditional societies as speakers for the gods or spirits (Child and Child 94).

Among the more official practitioners of modern Buddhism, many practice traditions extending back into Tibet's ancient past. One such priest, the astrologer-Lama, associates with common people throughout the year and during major life stages (birth, marriage, death) regarding the influence of astrology and the spirit world on their lives (Waddell 450-51). Each large monastery grants the astrologer position to its smartest monk.

The astrologer monks have many duties. One is handling the plights of the people in satisfying angry spirits or demons. They are also responsible for deciphering the symbols of the Chinese-influenced calendar (Waddell 451-52). Monasteries depend on them for predicting an unlucky pairing of animal names in a given year, such as mouse and sheep, and prescribing the ritual needed to counteract it. Related to this is the selling of horoscope readings to the laity to determine the person's fortune depending on their birth animal. These astrologer monks and the concept of controlling the mystical forces of the world are common world-wide, often called divination (Child and Child 81-82). According to the practice of divination, nearly any major event can be interpreted as a sign from a higher power. Child

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and Child use the example of the gods' approval or disapproval of humans' behavior as causes for divine intervention. Astrologer monks similarly interpret the messages of spirits, demons, or the heavens, depending on which one is believed to be the cause.

Another modern Buddhist practitioner is involved in the day-to-day dealings of the government (Waddell 476). Called the *Na-ch'un*, he is the official government diviner, also called the "Defender of the Faith." As the head diviner of the government, he is responsible once a year for predicting the success of government projects and other major dealings. In addition, the wealthy can purchase his services for personal divinations. This importance of shamans in modern Tibet may stem from the fact that they are considered to be descended from cultural heroes, and traditional Tibetan beliefs about the forces of nature are still important today.

In a sense, all modern followers of Tibetan Buddhism can be practitioners. The laity, who cannot always afford the services of a diviner, resort to the use of more accessible items to predict one's fortune in upcoming activities (Waddell 464-70). These objects include dice, cards, and rosary beads. In all of these cases, one or more deities are invoked through prayer. Depending on how the object is used, many responses can be numerically derived.

Thus, it is very likely that the occult shamans and the more priestly sorcerers and diviners are all inspired by Tibet's traditional past. The people do not seem to have dropped their belief in the spirits that permeate all things, and they are as concerned with controlling

the mystical world in the present for their own wellbeing as they are with guaranteeing their wellbeing in the next life.

It is due to these similarities in the cosmologies, rituals, and practitioners of folk religion and modern Tibetan Buddhism that I believe the latter was influenced by the former. However, the modern Bon religion contains many elements that are clearly Buddhist in nature. It is possible that the two influenced each other, or that both were influenced by ancient Tibetan religion. Ultimately, perhaps the question is not who influenced whom, but whether the two are intertwined descendants of the same tradition.

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Reverse Phase HPLC Determination of L-DOPA in *Mucuna pruriens* Nutritional Supplements

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Abstract

Mucuna pruriens, also known as velvet beans, would be an ideal source of protein in developing countries if it were not for the high levels (up to 9% by mass with seed coats removed) of the psychoactive drug L-DOPA (see Figure 1). In Central America, as an inexpensive coffee substitute, velvet beans are commonly brewed to make a beverage called Nescafe. Nescafe has been shown to contain up to 300 mg of L-DOPA per cup, which can cause nausea as well as many other undesirable side effects at high doses (Price). Ironically, in the United States, dried *Mucuna pruriens* is sold in capsule form for the claimed health benefits of reproductive health and proper brain function.

In this study, reverse phase HPLC was used to establish a calibration curve (44 – 1765 ppm, R^2 value of 0.9995) to study aqueous solutions of L-DOPA. This method was used to show that our attempts at removing L-DOPA from Nescafe samples by heated reaction with CaCO_3 (limestone) were unsuccessful. This method was also used to test the claimed

L-DOPA concentrations in the capsules purchased from various nutritional supplement companies. The calculated concentration of L-DOPA in the nutritional supplements agreed with the concentration the companies claimed.

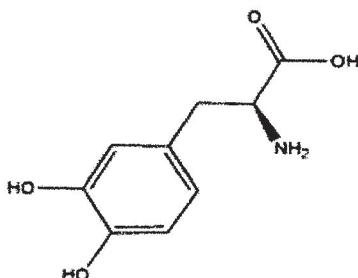


Figure 1. L-3,4-dihydroxyphenylalanine (L-DOPA)

Introduction

In Central America, velvet beans are being used as “green manure” and are planted between the growing seasons of various important crops such as corn. The velvet beans grow well in many environments because they are drought resistant and insect resistant and can easily cover an entire field, providing many benefits for farmers. The velvet bean plant shades the soil, keeping it at a lower temperature, preventing oxidation, and retaining moisture in the soil. It also suppresses weed growth, fixes nitrogen in the soil, and forms compost when it dies, replenishing depleted soils. This allows the same crop to be planted in the same field every growing season. That is especially helpful in areas threatened by erosion because plowing of the land is not necessary if velvet beans are grown during the off season of the commercial crop (Price).

Velvet beans are high in protein and contain all the essential amino acids necessary for a healthy diet for pre-school age children as well as for adults (Betancur-Ancona et al.). Velvet beans could be enjoyed safely if the L-DOPA were removed. In addition, the Latin American coffee substitute Nescafe would be much safer to drink if the L-DOPA was extracted from it. Studies have shown that boiling the velvet beans in water for several hours, along with changing out the water several times, significantly reduces the concentration of L-DOPA in the beans. In addition, dry heating of the velvet beans has shown to reduce the concentration of L-DOPA (Rich and Teixeira).

Powdered velvet beans are encapsulated and marketed as a nutritional supplement claimed to provide various health benefits, largely due to the high L-DOPA content. The supplement is primarily marketed for reproductive health, as an aphrodisiac and a treatment for infertility. It is said to increase levels of testosterone, stimulate the production of growth hormone, and increase sperm production and ovulation (Mitchell et al.).

Three nutritional supplement brands of *Mucuna pruriens* were chosen for analysis. NeutraceuticalsRx claims to have 100 mg of L-DOPA in every 250 mg capsule of its *Mucuna pruriens* nutritional supplement (“*Mucuna pruriens* 40% L-DOPA”). Himilaya’s supplements do not provide a specific measurement for the amount of L-DOPA in their

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product (“*Mucuna*, 60 ct”). Tattva’s Herbs Organics claims to have 115 mg of L-DOPA in every 250 mg capsule (“*Mucuna* plus CO₂-certified organic”). These companies claim scientific reproducibility and accuracy. However, nutritional supplements are not regulated by the Food and Drug Administration, so little accountability exists for these products. This study sought to test the validity of their claims.

Methods and Materials

HPLC Systems

Two HPLC systems were utilized for this study.

System 1

In the first portion of the study, standard concentrations were prepared by dissolving L-DOPA powder in 0.1 M HCl (aq), with the aid of a Branson 1200 sonicator for approximately 5 minutes. The concentration of 0.1 M HCl (aq) mimics the acidic pH of the stomach, where the nutritional samples containing L-DOPA are dissolved when ingested (Bowen). The highest concentration of 530 ppm was successively diluted to lower concentrations with 0.1 M HCl aqueous solution. Each concentration was placed in the HPLC Waters 712 WISP autosampler, with an injection volume of 40 μ L. The Varian 9012 Solvent Delivery System used an isocratic mobile phase of 0.01 M sodium acetate buffer (aq) flowing at a rate of 1 mL/min, with an Agilent Zorbax RX-C18 column connected to a Varian 9065 Polychrome Diode Array Detector. The L-DOPA was detected at 278 nm (Schieffer).

Nescafe Analysis

In order to assess various methods for removing the L-DOPA from Nescafe, a method was determined for measuring the concentration of L-DOPA in a solution. The calibration curve established for System 1 was applied. This method was attempted because another calcium salt, CaOH, with a pH of 9 and washed with hot water, has been shown to reduce the concentration of L-DOPA by 80.4% (Bressani and Echeverria). An aqueous L-DOPA solution was treated with CaCO₃ (limestone) and tested to determine if the concentration of L-DOPA decreased through this procedure.

A solution of L-DOPA (14.5 mg) in 25 mL 10% HCl (aq) was treated with 54.8 mg of CaCO₃ for 15 minutes of boiling, and was filtered. The filtrate was analyzed with HPLC using System 1 and showed no significant decrease in L-DOPA concentration.

System 2

The second portion of this experiment utilized HPLC to analyze the concentration of L-DOPA in nutritional supplements of *Mucuna pruriens*. The HPLC system consisted of a Beckman Coulter 126 Solvent Module (system ID 455079), a System Gold 508 Autosampler (Serial #10033), a Zorbax CDis-C8 4.6mm x 15cm column (PN 993967.906), and a System Gold 168 Photodiode Array detector (PDA). This utilized 32 Karat 7.0 software. The mobile phase was an isocratic mixture consisting of methanol and 0.1% ammonium acetate (aq) in a 7:3 mixture ratio with a flow rate of 1 mL per minute and an injection volume of 10 μ L.

Nutritional Supplements Analysis

Initially, L-DOPA was dissolved in a 0.1 M HCl (aq) solution but was found to decompose, perhaps due to protonation of the L-DOPA forming several compounds. HPLC analysis of these solutions showed multiple peaks in the chromatograms (Figure 2), complicating the detection of the L-DOPA standards. Deionized water, which did not decompose the L-DOPA (Figure 3), was used to make the L-DOPA standards.

Standard solutions of concentrations ranging from 44 to 1765 ppm were prepared by dissolving L-DOPA in deionized water by sonicating for 25 minutes (Wu). Solutions of the nutritional supplements were prepared by placing the contents of a capsule in deionized water (200 mL), followed by sonicating for 25 minutes. Each solution was then filtered through fritted glass (10-15 micrometer pore size). A portion of each sample was transferred to a 2 mL vial to be analyzed by HPLC.

Results

HPLC Analysis (System 1) of L-DOPA in Nescafe Solutions and its Attempted Removal

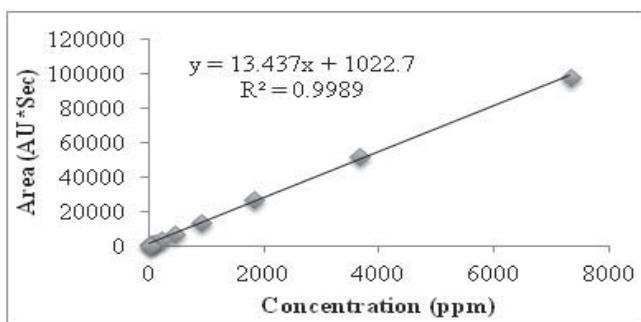


Figure 2. Area under the peak for L-DOPA in 0.1 M HCl solutions (System 1) measured in AU*sec as a function of sample concentration in ppm.

Table 1: Data of Standards for Calibration Curve Using 0.1 M HCl (aq) (System 1)

Concentration (ppm)	Average (AU)
7320	98006
3660	52088
1830	27116
915	13927
457.5	7256
228.8	3834
114.4	2116
57.2	942
28.6	1007
14.3	462

The calibration curve showed a linear relationship over concentrations of 7000 to 15 ppm with an R^2 value of 0.998 (Figure 2). L-DOPA gave a retention time of 4.3 minutes. When the L-DOPA solution was treated with 2.07 g CaCO_3 and heated, the peak height went from 1.57 AU to 1.36 AU.

HPLC Analysis (System 2) of L-DOPA in Nutritional Supplements

0.1 M HCl (aq) was used as the solvent, and a new calibration curve was established for the instrument. L-DOPA produced a retention time of 1.57 to 1.6 minutes (Figure 3).

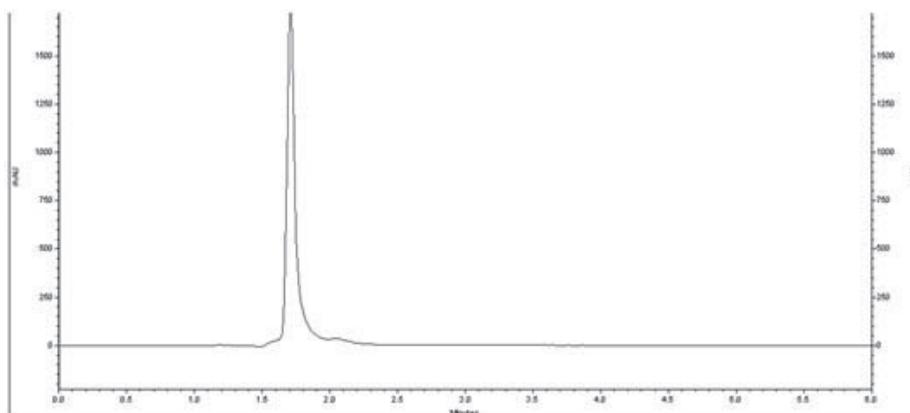


Figure 3. Chromatogram of L-DOPA in solution.

Multiple peaks were detected from the purely prepared samples of L-DOPA dissolved in 0.1 M HCl (aq) (Figure 4). The L-DOPA solvent was then changed to deionized water (Figure 5), samples were again prepared (Table 2), and a calibration curve was established with an R^2 value of 0.9995 (Figure 6).

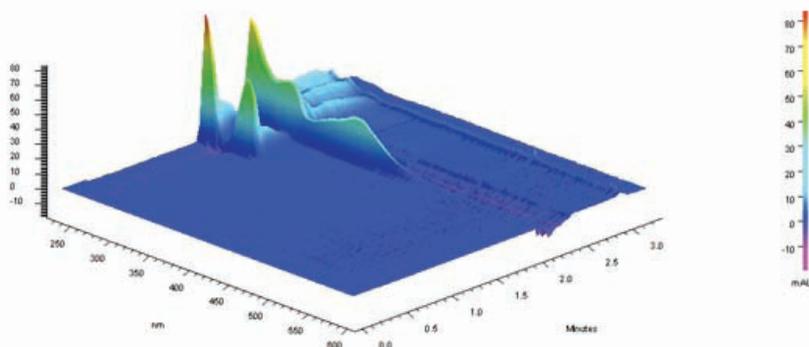


Figure 4. 3-D chromatogram of L-DOPA in 0.1 M HCl (aq) showing multiple peaks, indicating deterioration of L-DOPA.

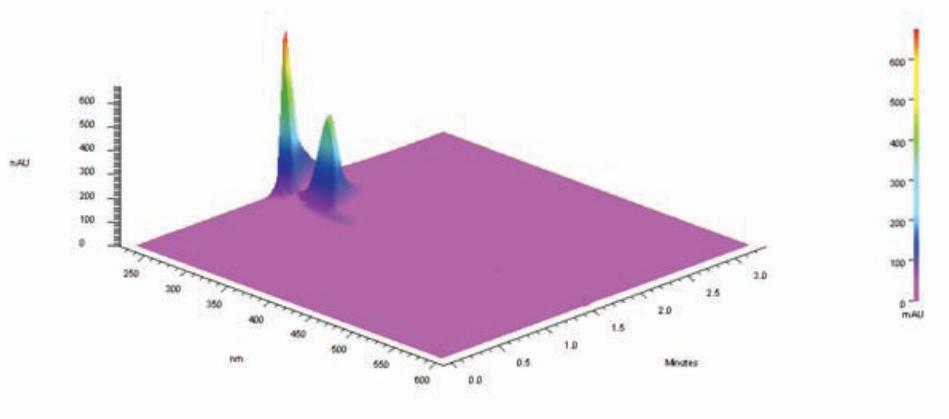


Figure 5. 3-D chromatogram of L-DOPA in deionized water

Table 2. Data of Standards for Calibration Curve Using Deionized Water as Analyte Solvent

Concentration (ppm)	Average Area (AU*Sec)	Standard Deviation	%RSD	95% Confidence Interval
1765	1.31e4	2.36e5	1.79	5.86e5
1324	1.01e4	4.23e3	0.042	1.05e4
883	6.68e3	1.07e4	0.161	2.67e4
441	3.40e3	1.36e4	0.40	3.39e4
353	2.71e3	2.33e4	0.86	5.78e4
177	1.28e3	1.08e4	0.84	2.67e4
88	7.11e2	8.08e3	1.1	2.01e4
44	4.64e2	6.85e4	14.7	1.72e5

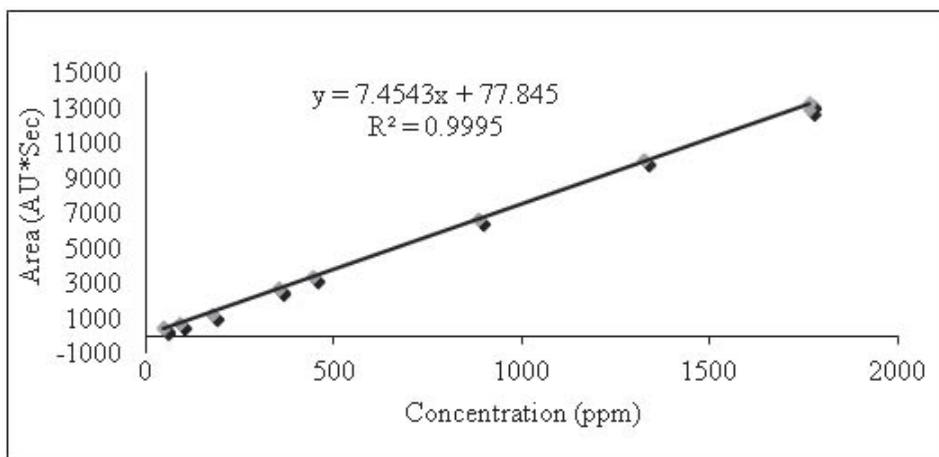


Figure 6. Calibration curve for L-DOPA standards using deionized water as the solvent from 4 to 176 ppm measured by HPLC at 280 nm (System 2).

Using the calibration curve established for detection of L-DOPA in water, filtered samples of each *Mucuna pruriens* nutritional supplement brand were analyzed and measured to determine the approximate concentration of L-DOPA in each sample (Table 3).

Table 3. Data of Nutritional Supplements Dissolved in Water and Measured at 280 nm

Brand	Avg. Area of Peak (AU*Sec)	Calculated Concentration (ppm)	Advertised Mass of L-DOPA in pill (g)	Calculated Mass of L-DOPA in pill (g)	S.D. of Calculated L-DOPA Mass (g)	95% Confidence Interval (g)	% Error
Tattva's	4314	568	0.115	0.1137	0.015	0.037	1.52
Himalaya	6158	816	N/A	0.1634	0.003	0.008	N/A
Nutra-ceutics	3897	512	0.100	0.1025	0.0004	0.0009	2.47

The calculated mass of L-DOPA in Tattva's nutritional supplements was 0.114g +/- 0.04 with a 95% confidence interval. The advertised mass of 0.115 g is within this range, with a 1.52% error. In addition, the calculated mass of L-DOPA in Nutraceutics nutritional supplements was 0.103 g +/- 0.0009 with a 95% confidence interval. The advertised mass of 0.100 g is not within this range, but is very close with only a 2.47% error. The calculated

mass of L-DOPA in the Himilaya nutritional supplement was 0.163 +/- 0.008 g with a 95% confidence interval. Himilaya advertised no value for the mass of L-DOPA in its capsules.

Discussion

At low concentrations, the calibration curve shows System 2 is a good method to determine the L-DOPA content of a sample. The attempts at lowering the concentration of L-DOPA using CaCO₃ proved unsuccessful, but other sources report boiling the solution for hours when trying other methods of extraction (Rich and Teixeira), so a more significant effect may be seen if the solution is allowed to react for longer than 15 minutes.

The 0.10 M HCl decomposes L-DOPA. Using water as the solvent proved more effective. The analysis of the nutritional supplements supported the L-DOPA concentration claims of the companies.

It should be noted that all L-DOA solutions should be analyzed over a time period of days. It was noted that the color of the samples darkened to a brown and showed evidence of mold growth.

Future research opportunities that could follow this study include an expanded analysis of *Mucuna pruriens* nutritional supplements, analysis of possible improvements to the current process of removing L-DOPA from velvet beans, and a study of how the pH of the stomach affects the digestion of L-DOPA. Since the pH and composition of the 0.1 M HCl (aq) solvent mimicked the conditions of the human stomach, further research could study whether exposure to these conditions in the stomach disables L-DOPA's ability to cross the blood-brain barrier and convert to dopamine.

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An Unexpected Feminist: William Knibb, Missionary, Abolitionist, and Advocate for Women’s Rights

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If I must speak at all, I must speak the real sentiments of my mind, and those sentiments must, to my latest moment, be uttered about slavery – slavery for every kind – but above all, slavery of woman. (Hinton 157)

This quotation from William Knibb, Baptist missionary to Jamaica and ardent abolitionist, declares his overwhelming concern with slavery, especially as it affected women. Loved and appreciated by the slaves of Jamaica and by many of his fellow Baptists, the English missionary devoted his life to seeing equality established for the Jamaican people. Knibb became an “impassioned defender of the human rights of blacks,” with a deliberate focus on women’s rights and education (McBeth 300). His desire for a new role for women, however, was not evident only in his public life, but also in his relationship with his wife, Mary, and their daughters, Catherine and Ann. While asking for Jamaican women to be given a new status, he also subsequently asked British women, including his wife and daughters, to take on new roles for women in the nineteenth century.

This is a much-condensed version of a study Fruchtmán completed while studying at the University of Oxford with her tutor, Dr. Andrew Cross.

In this paper I will look at Knibb's "feminist" qualities by his defense of women's rights through his reliance on his wife, his longing to see his daughters carry on his work, his insistence on elevating Jamaican women from their lowly state, and his call to British women to further the cause through active support.

First it is important to establish the definition of feminism pertinent to this paper. Unlike the contemporary understanding of feminism that causes controversy for many in the social, religious, and political worlds, feminism as used here comes from the original meaning of the word. As first used at the end of the nineteenth century, the term was defined as "the doctrine advocating social, political, and all other rights of women equal to those of men" (*Dictionary.com*). Of course, the concept of feminism and the rights of women can be regarded as one of the fundamental changes that Christianity brought about, and, with this idea in mind, we can see William Knibb as a feminist in the most biblical of ways. Many of Knibb's statements exemplify his feminist sympathies, exemplified by his bold statement at a meeting in London, 15 August 1832: "Must I not then, plead for woman? If any one refuse to advocate her cause—if he decline to lift his voice in her favour, in the spirit of the Roman giving his opinion I say he is less than man" (Hinton 157). With this statement, we can see that Knibb attributed much of his masculinity to his passion for feminism and human rights in general.

In an unpublished letter to A.G. Fuller, one of the first written after his arrival in Jamaica from England, Knibb recounted his first seeing slaves:

When I first beheld a slave, my feelings sunk within me, nor could his smiling face dissipate the gloom which overspread mine, for the idea that a person could be happy in a state of slavery seemed to me one of its most accursed fruits. While at Port Morant I saw about 50 who had walked 16 miles in a hot sun to hear a sermon and were returning, many of whom do not have any thing to eat the whole day. Is this not a lesson to British Christians!

Knibb immediately awoke to what he had already known as an injustice and realized his duty to bring an end to slavery. In a speech given on 21 June 1832, on a trip back to England, Knibb said, "I now stand forward as the unflinching and undaunted advocate of immediate emancipation. I plead for liberty to worship God on behalf of 30,000 Christian slaves ... I will never cease to plead for the people I love ..." (Hinton 148).

While in England, Knibb made many bold statements regarding his desire to see slavery immediately ended. In a meeting with the Baptist Missionary Society Committee, as recounted by Dr. Thomas Price, pastor of the Baptist church at Devonshire Square, London, Knibb made one of his most famous and courageous statements: "Myself, my wife, and my children, are entirely dependent on the baptist mission; we have landed without a shilling, and may at once be reduced to penury. But, if it be necessary, I will take them by the hand, and walk bare-foot through the kingdom, but ... I will make known to the Christians of England what their brethren in Jamaica are suffering" (Hinton 143-44). And in June 1835, when the pace of abolition was slowed by a transition period known as the Apprenticeship, his frustration overflowed:

Oh! this thrice-accursed apprenticeship! – nothing but blood, murderous cells, and chains! I think nearly forty young and old females pass my door in chains every morning. Not one school is yet established, while most abominable cells and treadmills are being erected all over the island! This to prepare the poor things for

freedom!! You tell me to be quiet, and I am; but if I were at home, I would publish what I know as far as I could travel. (Hinton 232)

In a letter the following month to John Dyer, Fuller's successor as secretary of the BMS, Knibb acknowledged that he knew he was bringing trouble upon himself with his unwavering stand against slavery and Apprenticeship. He wrote, "I hope that I shall never live to see the day when I can behold a bleeding, chained, Christian female, and fail to defend her through fear of man" (Wright 19).

Much of the success of Knibb's work, as he stated many times, was due to his wife, Mary. It is believed she was born about 1798, making her five years William's senior (Wright 19). She has been called an "ideal companion" for Knibb who "displayed a gentle tenacity to match her

Much of the success of
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husband's more aggressive determination" (Catherall 12). From the beginning Mary was William's equal partner, starting with their voyage to Jamaica where they very much relied on each for physical and spiritual support.

One of Mary's main roles was to work with the native women to prepare them for baptism. In a report written for the London Missionary Society, Knibb spoke of his wife's work, telling how "Either myself, Mrs. Knibb, or some one whom we know to be fully competent, speaks individually to the candidates, Mrs. K. generally taking the females" (Hinton 211). William understood the importance of women working with women and made sure that Mary was a leader among the women of the church. It is clear that Mary was loved very deeply by the church and was held in "affectionate regard in her own right" (Wright 199).

In correspondence between Mary and a friend in England, Mrs. Adry, it is clear that Mary was in charge of selling goods to the local women of Jamaica. In an unpublished letter in 1837, she lists the items that would be ready for sale: "frocks, pinafores, aprons, collars, gloves, handkerchiefs, threads, tapes, bobbins, buttons, pins, needles, scissors, dish-mats, baskets of all sorts, bonnets, caps, ribbons, & children or infants shoes, bags, dolls, & all kinds of toys." Many of these things were used to make items to "be sold for the benefit of the schools or given to those who are really needy." She and her husband had established the schools that she referred to, and in the early years she had been one of the teachers.

After William's death in 1845, Mary continued the mission work. With the help of her daughters and the financial support of the Quaker abolitionist, Joseph Sturge, and the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society in Birmingham, the girl's school that Mary had established continued long after her death (Hall 131). The people of Jamaica cared so much for Mary and her work that before William's death they made sure he had a home built for her so that "if he should die his wife would have a roof over her head and would be able to remain among them" (Wright 199). While not wanting to own any property but desiring to provide

for his wife, William had the house built and then signed over the ownership to Mary. It was uncommon in that day for women to be property holders, but William thought it necessary to give her full control of the home and its estate.

Having survived William by twenty-one years and having spent forty-one years in Jamaica until her death on 2 April 1866, Mary is remembered not just for being the wife of a missionary but for her independent service to Jamaicans and her relations with the British women on whom she called for support. Her obituary, written by the Reverend John Kingdon, a missionary in Jamaica, spoke of the “same meekness and gentleness, and kindliness of character” that continued until the end of her life (Kingdon 459). Kingdon wrote, “Her great unwillingness to keep anyone from the public means of grace, of which she herself was deprived, and her interest in everything pertaining to the Redeemer’s kingdom continued to the last” (458). Like her husband, this passionate defender of human rights faced many hardships and struggles with much faith and strength. She stepped into a role that was neither easy nor expected of women of her day, proving that women also could serve and minister in the same capacities as men. The mutual dependence that Mary and William placed on each other was a beautiful example of the true partnership of marriage. Neither could have contributed as much to Jamaican society and their fellow British friends without the help of the other.

The feminist tendencies portrayed in Knibb’s marriage also influenced his relationship with his two daughters, Catherine and Ann. Even after the loss of their twelve-year-old son, William, and their many other children who died in infancy, William and Mary continued to train their children from a young age in the things of God. From an early age William encouraged them to devote their lives to mission.

At the very end of his life, Knibb wrote one last time to Catherine and Ann, who were back in Jamaica, continuing to ask that they care diligently for their mother and continue his work. He wrote, “My poor girls, you will soon be fatherless; live near to God by prayer and work for Him. Do all you can to keep up the schools. And mind you take care of your poor mother. She has had an anxious trying life and often rough path; and she will need all the sympathy and tenderness you can show her” (Smith 125). Catherine and Ann followed their father’s wishes. Both worked with their mother in the girls’ schools and became wives of missionaries. Catherine married Thomas Milbourne, the captain of a missionary schooner used for the BMS in Africa (Wright 244); Ann married Ellis Fray, a black native of Jamaica, thus, as one writer says, “demonstrating through her marriage her family’s belief in the universal family” (Hall 171). Her marriage can be seen as the culmination of all that Knibb had worked for: freedom and equality for Jamaicans and a new perspective of humanity for whites and blacks together. Ellis Fray became the pastor of the congregations at Kettering and Refuge, Jamaica, continuing Knibb’s ministry (Wright 244). Annie continued to help Mary run the girl’s schools and provide reports to their female supporters back in England.

Knibb’s private life and relationships with the women of his family truly reflected his belief in equality for all. He was a feminist in the purest sense. He made sure that equality was central to his family’s relationships before he could ask for it to be accepted in the wider world. At the first anniversary of freedom on 1 August 1839 and during a meeting of the Falmouth Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, Knibb made the very poignant statement: “All that we want is equal justice, the same justice for the black that there is for the white man. I here pledge myself that I will not rest till you are placed upon the same footing as I am. I will

not be satisfied till your wives are placed upon the same footing as my wife” (Hinton 321).

Knibb wanted to bring the Jamaican female slave out of abuse and dependence to the status of a dignified, independent woman. The institution of slavery, which one Knibb contemporary wrote “leads its abettors to perpetrate the most atrocious acts, and stains every land where it prevails with cruelty and crime,” directed many of its evils towards female slaves (Hoby 7). One brutal account given in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in 1831 tells of a horrendous act of violence to a young female slave:

... the last seventeen [days] of her existence, which this poor tortured female slave passed in the stocks; then the bringing in of her own father to flog her, for even this refinement of cruelty was not wanting, making the hands of the parent the instruments of the torture of his agonized child; then the statement of the amiable mistress, who put red pepper into the eyes of the wretched victim until she became blind; then flogging her for being blind; then flogging her for pretending to be ill; and at length finding her dead on the field a few hours after she was released. (Buxton 255)

Appalling events like this spurred Knibb to pursue the rights of the female slave. The laws that had been established regarding the punishment and flogging of women were, for him, anything but decent: “women when flogged, are to be flogged *decently*, and *with the military cat*, and that ‘*pregnant women*’ are no longer to be flogged, but merely confined” (*Anti-Slavery Reporter* 302). Sadly, one of the most infamous cases regarding the inhuman

treatment of a female slave was the slave of a Reverend R.W. Bridges, a colonial clergyman who supported the Jamaican planters (Mathieson 99).

Sexual abuse was quite common, and many mixed families were produced. One consequence of the heavy drinking of the white planters was that many slave women were the

Knibb responded by teaching these women of their worth as humans outside the sexual context in which they had learned to value themselves.

helpless victims of these men (Mathieson 59). It was also not uncommon for white planters to offer a slave girl as a form of hospitality: “A witness examined by a Committee of the House of Commons in 1832 admitted that the hospitality of a planter always included the offer of a black girl; and plantation accounts were found to contain such items as these: ‘Hire of Gracey, a mulatto, to Mr. ----- at L 20 per annum; hire of Anne Clarke, a mulatto, to Mr. ----- at L16 per annum’” (Mathieson 59). Such acts must have had profound psychological effects on Jamaican woman. Many slave women began to live together in order to avoid the black male slaves, knowing that if they could produce mulatto children, they would be treated better (Turner 41). They would do whatever was necessary to secure any advantages in the slave system. Knibb responded by teaching these women of their worth as humans outside the sexual context in which they had learned to value themselves. His aim in setting

up schools to educate women and girls was to bring them into an understanding of their worth in Christ and their dignity as humans.

Despite their treatment, many of the women came to faith, becoming “troph[ies] of divine grace,” as Knibb told John Dyer in a letter in 1829:

One of those recently baptized, a respectable female of colour, had been severely tried, and I have been delighted and encouraged by beholding her Christian resignation to the will of God. Within a few days she was to all appearance on the borders of eternity, and her hopes were fixed on Christ. No sooner was she partially restored to health, than she heard that her brother had died suddenly, and that her eldest son had been drowned. Religion did appear then in all its loveliness, and the balm of consolation was poured into her agonized heart. (Hinton 100)

Although still maliciously treated and enduring unspeakable hardships, Jamaican women were beginning to come into the freedom of Christ.

As a partnership began to form among William and Mary, the British women, and the Jamaican women, it was obvious that new morals and ideas were influencing the former Jamaican slaves. Jamaican women were beginning to see their importance in society as educated and moral individuals, and this owed much to the education and support given by

British women living in England.

During the early years of
Knibb’s time in Jamaica,
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already taking a stand
against slavery.

The aid of British women, both Baptists and other Nonconformists, played a powerful role in the abolition of slavery and in the help that was given to raise the Jamaican women from their lowly place in society. Having been handicapped themselves

due to gender inequality in England, many British women in the nineteenth century did not allow this to hinder their activity. Using whatever means available to them, they played an important role in ending slavery, from boycotting sugar from the plantations of slave holders to sending money and supplies to Jamaica. Knibb knew he must call upon such women to support his cause and developed many relationships and a sense of camaraderie with them.

During the early years of Knibb’s time in Jamaica, many women in England were already taking a stand against slavery. They often had tea parties to raise awareness and gather friends to discuss the atrocities of slavery and plan how they could help (Hall 332). Many societies were established (“Women’s Anti-slavery Associations”), and through their desire to see slaves given freedom these women were themselves able to enter into a new societal freedom, free from restrictions that tried keep them quiescent.

One society directly related to William and Mary Knibb and the Jamaican mission had the unwieldy name Female Society For Birmingham, West-Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and their Respective Neighbourhoods, for the Relief of British Negro Slaves. Later known as the Ladies’ Negro’s Friend Society in Birmingham, these women established an anti-

slavery society in their towns a year before an all-male society was established. In their first pamphlet the women reported the reasons for their society and what they aimed to accomplish. Its opening statement spoke of their desire to help the female slave and their Christian duty to do so:

A few individuals who commiserated the unhappy condition of British Negro Slaves, and wish to “remember those in bonds, as bound with them,” and who particularly felt for the degraded condition of their own sex ranked as they are, in the West-India Colonies, with the beasts of the field – determined to endeavor to awaken (at least in the bosom of English *women*) a deep and lasting compassion, not only for the *bodily sufferings* of female Slaves, but for their *moral degradation*, being well aware, that whether Slave be, or not be, repugnant to the principles of Christianity, *such* Slavery as that which *now* exists in our Colonies, should have the prayers of all Christians, and the best exertions of every Briton, united against it, that “they who name the name of Christ may depart from” this “iniquity.” (*The First Report*)

These courageous women took the same radical stance as Knibb, for immediate abolition. Just as Knibb did, they made sure that their public arguments were reflected in their personal lives. One of their resolutions was to abstain from slave-cultivated sugar and only to use products of free labor. They understood that using free labor products was one of the “most effectual means of annihilating the existence of that scourge of humanity, not only in our West-India Colonies, but also in other parts of the World” (*The First Report*). One of the most well-known ladies on the committee was Hannah Sturge, the wife of the Quaker abolitionist and philanthropist Joseph Sturge. Sturge was a good friend of Knibb’s, and much correspondence and support developed between the two families. In one letter Knibb mentions Hannah and the other ladies of the society who had sent items to be used in the schools and church. Even after Knibb’s death, the female support of Sturge’s daughters, Sophia and Lydia, for the schools then run by Mary and Ann continued the relationship between both families (Hall 316). Knibb very much relied on the service and sacrifice of such British women in the fight for emancipation.

Having established such deep and lasting relationships with the women back home, Knibb saw his ultimate goal realized: education of the Jamaicans. In an unpublished letter to a Mr. C. Young, Knibb devoted an entire section to Young’s wife and daughter, informing them of the work being done among the Jamaican women. From this letter we can begin to appreciate the lowly state that Jamaican women had endured and the necessity of ending such injustice:

Much, very much, has been done; much, very much, remains to be done, and especially among the female portion of the community. It will easily be supposed that the infernal system of slavery as it existed in Jamaica would, as it did, produce the most fatal effects upon the female slave. As she was treated like a brute so all feelings of modesty and propriety were lost in her condition. Though much of this has been renounced, a great amount of what is wrong and unseemly remains, and I very much wish to have one or more separate schools for females from 10 to 14 years of age, under the care of females, that they may be properly trained, not merely in the knowledge of religion, but in those domestic duties and requirements which will fit them for those occupations and that situation they are intended in after life to fill.

A great deal of light was shed on the condition of Jamaican women, and Knibb used every opportunity to highlight the importance of education for alleviating their situation.

One could argue that feminism's and Knibb's greatest gift to women was the platform to pursue education. Education was key in enabling women to achieve the equality that had wrongly been kept from them for so long. Knibb understood that for women to be given the equality they deserved, they needed to be given opportunity to be educated and to help educate each other.

At a BMS meeting in April 1842, Knibb discussed the role that Baptist women should have in missions and in serving and educating the women of Jamaica. Addressing his fellow Baptist ministers and missionaries, Knibb also boldly stated that they must rely on their wives for the entrance of women into the church: "I say, if we are wrong to take the testimony of our wives to the competency of those in scriptural knowledge who wish to come into our churches, being females, then we are wrong, and shall be wrong still" (Hinton 424). By asking for an increased role for Baptist women in church decisions, Knibb continued publicly to show his support for women and was, in many ways, a pioneer.

Although slavery still exists in the world today, leaving our age the task of continuing to press for equality for all, William Knibb paved the way for the huge advances that have taken place. With his passion for human rights, he fought for emancipation for his beloved Jamaicans and, by extension, for women of all societies. Along with his accomplishments in the emancipation of slavery, one of William's greatest accomplishments was his ability to live an authentic life. The ideals he asked for in public, he lived in private. His partnership with Mary and later the dependence he had on his daughters exemplify his desire for women to have a more substantial role in society. In his public life he called British women to take action and work for the betterment of the Jamaican women. Knibb embraced feminism in its truest form. His passion for equality spurred on many to take a stand with him. His words following the passage of the Reform Act continue to challenge later generations: "Now I'll have slavery down. I will never rest, day or night, till I see it destroyed, root and branch" (Wright 112).

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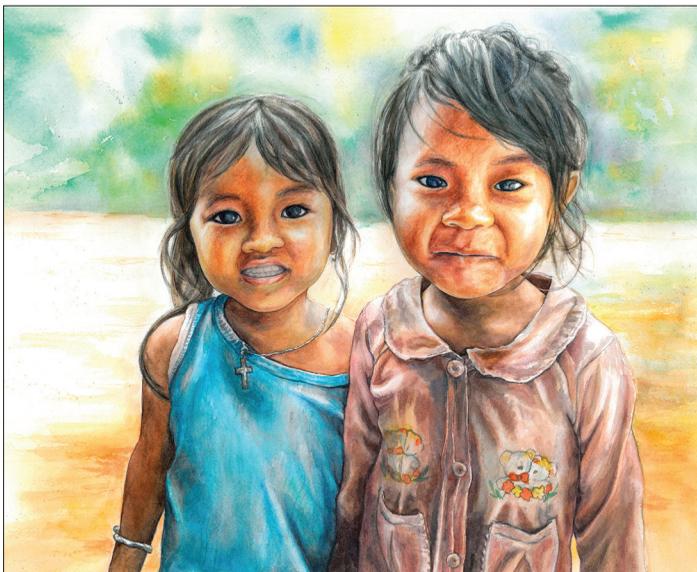
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