In Search of a Center:
Unitarian Universalism Responds to September 11

Emily Mace

When the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center crashed to earth on September 11, 2001, Unitarian Universalist ministers from around the country supported their congregants in their searches for answers. At times like September 11th, when answers to life's deepest questions are desperately desired and religion's power to make sense of life's mysteries is most gravely sought, Unitarian Universalism's lack of a creed offers few easy answers. Its dearth of a shared ritual structure contributes to this missing "centripetal force." Without a creed, without a commonly shared ritual life, the question remains of what holds our diverse, pluralistic denomination together as a unified religious body. Where is our center? In search of this center, this paper looks at Unitarian Universalist responses to September 11th to see whether, through extraordinary circumstances, a pluralistic religion can find its focus. Relying on the traditional concepts of symbol and ritual, I look at the significance of both actions and words to explore what lies beneath Unitarian Universalism's multiplicity, finding that September 11th did not bring a new focus to Unitarian Universalism. Rather, it merely highlighted what already existed – the flaming chalice as the flexible symbol that bears the light of truth into the world, the lighting of candles as the many voices of the community, and the primacy of words as communication, clarification, and expression, as well as division and unity.

Unitarian Universalism's lack of and search for a "center" has received much attention in our scholarly circles. While some of the discussion merely signals the lack of a focal point, much of it points towards a center. I offer here merely a brief sketch of some of the literature on this topic. Historian Conrad Wright implies that diversity in the context of community is itself Unitarian Universalism's core: "this attitude, deeply rooted in our past, is part of our definition of what we stand for and hence who we are. We assert the right and duty of each one of us to adhere to his or her understanding of religious truth, and we accept the obligation to respect one another, even if we do not always agree" (Wright 1989, 27). Suzanne Meyer agrees, suggesting in her article "The Curriculum of the Free Church," that the "three Cs" of "Covenant, Congregational Polity, and Conscience" are the glues holding Unitarian Universalism's building blocks together. She writes, "we are united not by our theological beliefs but by the promises we make to each other" (Meyer 2000, 7). Offering a slightly different approach from that of Wright and Meyer, Ken Olliff focuses his work on the search for the theological center of our liberal tradition. In his article "Constructing a Commanding Vision of God for the Liberal Church," he describes this possible center as "an intellectually viable and religiously efficacious conception of God" (Olliff 2001). Finally, Robert Bellah, in his Ware Lecture at the 1998 General Assembly, turned the conversation about Unitarian Universalism's center in the direction of ritual and symbol:

> My point is in the end sociological: that without powerful rituals and sacraments – practices that make our beliefs tangible, physical – and without the powerful symbols and narratives that resonate with those rituals and sacraments, the fundamental truth of social ontology can be covered over (Bellah 1998).

All of the first suggestions I mentioned are useful starting points for conversation, but it is Bellah's focus on symbols and rituals that I wish to develop more thoroughly. To my knowledge, no serious consideration of ritual and symbol in relation to the identity of our pluralistic and creedless Unitarian Universalist religion yet exists; this paper begins to fill that gap.

Sunday, September 16th, was not an ordinary Sunday, and neither were Tuesday and Wednesday, Septembers 11th and 12th. In the days and weeks following the attacks, the terrifying emotions of grief, anger, shock, uncertainty, fear, anguish, and loss were in the hearts of millions of Americans. The experiences of the nation were also the experiences of Unitarian Universalism, and whether the community spoken of is the community of the nation or the much smaller “UU” community, the experience of systemic loss and trauma was repeated at both levels. On those days and into the following weeks, ministers were called on to create rituals dealing with the tragedies, giving voice to the many emotions, questions, and thoughts the attacks brought forth. What were the rituals on September 11th, 12th and 16th like? Were there any common actions shared between congregations? Were the same words spoken, as the situation demanded, across the country?

To answer these questions, I turned to the website of the Unitarian Universalist Association, where a special section was devoted to the crisis of 9-11 (UUA 2001). Here I found everything from sermons and orders of services to a 21-page document of liturgical resources and a website of “clergy responses” with links to no fewer than 69 sermons and 17 orders of service. The several “pastoral letters” by President William Sinkford were included. In addition to these extensive online resources, a recent issue of the *UU World* focused a special issue on “the realities of life with terrorism.” This issue included articles titled “Confronting Evil,” “Breaking the Cycle of Violence,” and “Living the Faith,” in which UU responses to the attacks were chronicled (Ross 2001).

Coming to Symbolic Terms

While no amount of reading can substitute for actually being present at a community’s events, these many online documents are rich materials , and they point to the lived experiences of thousands of Unitarian Universalists in the wake of September 11th. The seventeen orders of service tell what many congregations did, what their actions were. Perhaps more significantly, the orders of service and the countless letters, sermons, and articles tell what their words were.

Theoretical understandings of religion mean little if they do not arise from the lived experiences of a community, and they mean as little if they fail to deepen our understanding of that religion as it is lived by the everyday person. In light of this methodological bias, my observations are grounded in both Unitarian Universalist responses (written and acted) to September 11th and in the work of prominent theorists of religion. Following Bellah's hint about symbols and rituals, I have relied on two theorists – Victor Turner with his classic analysis of the function of symbols in a community and Catherine Bell with her stimulating concept of ritualization – to orient this search for Unitarian Universalism's center.

Nearly every Unitarian Universalist Sunday worship service begins with the lighting of the flaming chalice. In a popular UU pamphlet, this chalice is described as the combination of "two archetypes – a drinking vessel and a flame" (Hotchkiss 1993). This flaming chalice "officially or unofficially functions as a logo for hundreds of congregations." It is the main symbol currently associated with Unitarian Universalism, by UUs and non-UUs alike. Following Victor Turner, it could be considered the "dominant symbol" of our religion. Turner explains his concept of dominant symbols in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual.* These symbols are "regarded not merely as means to the fulfillment of the avowed purposes of a given ritual, but also and more importantly refer to values that are regarded as ends in themselves, that is, to axiomatic values" (Turner 1967, 20). The flaming chalice pamphlet upholds this interpretation of the symbol's significance: "Perhaps more importantly, it has become a focal point for worship. No one meaning or interpretation is official. The flaming chalice, like our faith, stands open to receive new truths that pass the tests of reason, justice, and compassion" (Hotchkiss 1993).

The flaming chalice is the dominant symbol of Unitarian Universalism. As Turner suggests, it represents axiomatic values – but as the UUA Pamphlet also indicates, there is no one official interpretation of the chalice's meaning. The dominant symbol of Unitarian Universalism, it would appear, only refers back to our religion's very lack of a center, creating a somewhat bizarre circularity. Despite its openness, the flaming chalice does represent a set of core values in that several related meanings are often attributed to it. The pamphlet states, "some of the meanings symbolized by a chalice" are "sharing, generosity, sustenance, and love. A flame can symbolize witness, sacrifice, testing, courage, and illumination" (Hotchkiss 1993). The hymnal *Singing the Living Tradition* offers nine short quotations under the heading of "Chalice Lightings." These embrace the themes of illumination, being a "beacon of hope," the flame in one's heart, the spark of the universe, the source of warmth, the source of life, the "quest for truth," the "fire of commitment" and the "warmth of community" (UUA 1993, 447-455).

Ordinarily, when the chalice is lit, words are spoken, as in Rev. Diane Miller's words from September 16th: "May the light of this flame illuminate lives and strivings of the spirit. May it heal misunderstandings and strengthen love" (Miller 2001). Few of the other online orders of service for September 16th recorded or posted what words were spoken. Without a more complete record of what words were used on September 16th, what this dominant symbol meant in times of crisis to we who rally around it cannot be fully known. According to Carl Jung (as quoted by Turner), the definition of a symbol (as distinguished from a sign) is that "a symbol is always the best possible expression of a relatively *unknown* fact, a fact, however, which is nonetheless recognized or posited as existing" (26). The chalice is Unitarian Universalism's symbol, its unknown fact. Our religion's unknown center does exist – and rather than find expression in phrases and descriptions, it finds expression through its dominant symbol.

While the chalice lightings in the orders of service were left in silence, they nonetheless indicate that the voices of the many attendees at the services were given full recognition through the participatory lighting of candles. A common element of many Unitarian Universalist services is the "sharing of joys and concerns." A Unitarian Universalist altar usually has not only a flaming chalice but also a holder for many unlit candles. In the sharing of joys and concerns, members of the congregation who so desire are invited to come to the front of the church and light one of these extra candles in honor of a "joy or concern" in their life. A typical hypothetical joy might be that "I light this candle in remembrance of a joy in my life – twenty years ago on this day, my husband and I were married."

As indicated by the online orders of service, on September 11th, 12th, and 16th, the lighting of candles of concern gained in importance – they seem to have been given greater prominence than even the chalice lighting. One service distinguishes two candle lightings, one for children, and one for adults, calling them simply "Candles of Community" (Miller 2001). Laurel Hallman's service on September 11th in Dallas included a section for "Candles of Concern and Remembrance," and it offers an extended set of instructions about how to light the candles:

> Now I invite all who wish to come to the front, light a candle – either in silence, or to speak the name of a special concern – perhaps someone who is especially affected by the events of today. Speak briefly, or light a candle in silence – or if you wish, remain seated in quiet meditation (Hallman 2001).

At a "Meditation and Healing" service on September 12 in Reston, VA, a time was set aside for "Candles of Reflection," described on the website as "sharing of experiences by members of the congregation, some of whom lost friends in the Pentagon or World Trade Center attacks" (Daniel and Wilde 2001). Finally, in New York City itself, at the Unitarian Church of All Souls, on Wednesday September 12th, Forrest Church led a service at which

> all [800 people in attendance] were invited to process to the front of the sanctuary and light a candle for a loved one, friend or acquaintance who was dead or missing. For 15 minutes, the organist and a flutist played for a solemn procession down the three aisles; in the end, 400 candles had been lit (Church 2001).

Other services offered time for sharing and reflection, but did not specify whether or not candles were involved. During one congregation's September 11th "open sharing and reflection," the instructions n the order of service read "people are invited to speak from their hearts here" (O'Connell 2001). In place of description or instruction, another congregation's September 16th order of service merely revealed a single italicized word: "*Naming*" (Belletini 2001). It does not say whether this was a time for the congregation to share names of friends and loved ones or not.

These candles of concern are most often lit from the flaming chalice itself, indicating continuity between the two symbols. As Victor Turner makes clear, "each […] ritual has its specific mode of *interrelating* symbols" (Turner 1967, 32). The flaming chalice and the candles of concern are Unitarian Universalism's interrelating symbols. Both involve kindling a flame and using words to identify that flame. Turner would call their relationship the relationship between the dominant symbol and the "instrumental symbol." Instrumental symbols are connected to the "wider context […] in terms of the total system of symbols which makes up a given kind of ritual. … They are the means to the main end of the ritual" (Turner 1967, 32). The candles of concern are situated in the wider context of the ritual because they are lit from the very flame of the dominant symbol of the chalice. What do these candles indicate about the purpose of the ritual? Although I will return to this question at a later point in my paper, I make a few initial observations. First, the candles are an invitation for otherwise (relatively) passive and silent participants to become active and vocal by bringing the concerns of their lives into the service. Second, the candles are a reminder of the diversity of perspectives and experiences that comprise Unitarian Universalism. A UU symbol – the very thing that Turner and Bellah look to as a point of unity in religion – appears to be a point of disunity. If candles of concern are indeed instrumental symbols, they should fulfill the teleology of the ritual. Therefore, we can posit the goal of a Unitarian Universalist ritual: to bring together the diverse perspectives and experiences of the members of a community that is dedicated to light and truth, and to send those members out into the world to act in the spirit of the community's spoken diversity.

The Ritualization of Diversity

Symbols are one way in which a community is said to find its unity; ritual is often the vehicle for the expression of those symbols. The Unitarian Universalist rituals on September 11th, 12th, and 16th did not include anything unusual in comparison to what usually occurs. Most typical Sunday services follow an order of service that is very similar to Protestant Christian services. These services include opening words and/or a chalice lighting, a time for welcoming newcomers and announcements, an opening hymn, readings pertaining to the sermon or topic of the day, perhaps a time for prayer or meditation, the sermon itself, a time for the sharing of joys and concerns, an offertory, and closing words. Each congregation is at liberty to rearrange these elements, to include some, or to leave others out. The rituals are not usually very lively: by this I mean that they sometimes involve dancing or other physical activity, but usually they offer merely a chance to sit down, stand up and sing, and sit down again, until standing to sing once more. Because I only have one service from each congregation, I cannot easily compare the services following September 11th with those of a possible usual format used by those congregations, but there is every indication that these orders of service used the same basic structure and elements as services in less traumatic times.

A fuller understanding of Unitarian Universalist ritual, no matter when that ritual occurs, requires a closer look at Unitarian Universalist ritual in general. As I did with the chalice lighting and candles of concern, I discuss the elements of a Unitarian Universalist service in detail despite our familiarity with them and their apparently commonplace nature. Turner could be instructive in this analysis, but I concentrate instead on Catherine Bell's *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* for a truly dynamic understanding of ritual that is well suited to the peculiarities of Unitarian Universalism. Departing from some more traditional theories of ritual, Bell allows the phenomenon of "ritualization" to be messy and complex, writing that "formality, fixity, and repetition are not intrinsic qualities of ritual so much as they are a frequent, but not universal strategy for producing ritualized acts" (Bell 1992, 92). She uses the term *ritualization* to "draw attention to the way in which certain social actions strategically distinguish themselves in relation to other actions" (Bell 1992, 74). Ritualization structures one's world into a series of binary oppositions and makes the ritual itself appear to be the source of that very structure (Bell, 140). The process of ritualization creates the "ritualized body," a "body invested with a 'sense' of ritual" (Bell 98). The ritualized body is produced through "the interaction of the body with a structured and structuring environment" (Bell, 98). To explain this concept, she uses the example of kneeling in a Catholic church: "Required kneeling does not merely *communicate* subordination to the kneeler… kneeling produces a subordinated kneeler in and through the act itself" (Bell 100).

What practices do we unsystematic Unitarian Universalists have that might correspond to that of kneeling in a Catholic church? If Bell's concepts apply to Unitarian Universalism, our bodies must be ritualized; they must interact with its environment in a way that creates structured and privileged oppositions. We Unitarian Universalists stand up and sit down; we do not usually kneel. Often, we are given the option of standing and walking to the altar, lighting a candle, saying a few words (or remaining silent), walking back to our seats, and sitting down. Technically speaking, none of these actions are required in a UU church in the same way that kneeling is expected in a Catholic church. Before a hymn, the minister will say, “Please stand as you are willing and able, and sing hymn number 159.” Despite this apparent flexibility, virtually everyone does stand up (and if one did not stand up, one might receive a few curious glances. Lighting a candle of concern is not a requirement, and usually only several people participate. While full participation of the congregation in the ritual would require that everyone light a candle, most services are not designed to be that long. Even if participation does not involve everyone, the participation of just a few congregants is enough to insure that their added voices count.

Bell discusses three main categories of oppositions created by actions: superior vs. inferior is a vertical and hierarchical relationship; here vs. there (or us vs. them) creates a horizontal and egalitarian relationship; and central vs. local, which “incorporates and dominates” the preceding oppositions (Bell 125). The nuances of standing, sitting, and walking may not appear significant, but they are what we Unitarian Universalists do and must be considered. If the entire congregation stands as one to sing a hymn, and everyone sings it, an egalitarian relationship is created. When that congregation sits down again, a minister rises to deliver a sermon; she is the only one standing in the room. In that instance, the hierarchical relationship of superior vs. inferior is created, as well as a relationship of one vs. many. This hierarchy is softened, however, when members of the congregation stand, walk to the altar, light a candle, speak, and sit back down, for another congregant to walk, light, speak, and sit. Over the course of the service, a subtle hierarchy placing the minister at the top is negotiated, but it is a careful negotiation; the minister's actions recognize that the people are not powerless. The minister rarely lights a candle representative of her own joy or concern; but she will light a candle "for all the joys and concerns that remain unspoken." In so doing, the one with hierarchical dominance acknowledges the interests and desires of the less powerful.

In the Center is the Word

Action refers not only to movement, but also to the spoken word. In the most delicately nuanced sense, to move the muscles of one's mouth – simply to open one's mouth and speak – is to act. In considering what happens when language meets ritual, Bell points out that two things occur: first one might find "the ritual use of language," as in phrases that are used at certain times in certain rituals. Second is the "communicative function" of ritual as its own text and language that can be read, studied, and understood (Bell 1992, 111). She points out that while speech is not necessary for ritual, "ritualization readily affects the way language is used and the significance it is accorded" (Bell 1992, 113). Bell also notes, "sometimes the words are considered by those involved to be *the* most critical elements" (Bell 112). This critical importance of words certainly holds true for we Unitarian Universalists, who are sometimes notorious for not singing a hymn if we disagree with the words (as the old joke goes). In particular, when deciding whether or not to attend church on Sunday, many UUs often check the congregation's newsletter to see who is speaking, and on what subject.

However, on September 11, 2001, and in the days and weeks following, I doubt that many UUs checked the newsletter to find the topic of the sermon. I doubt many cared whether the senior or the associate minister was preaching. In a letter to the denomination, William G. Sinkford, the Unitarian Universalist Association's president, speaks of what called people to congregations across the country the week of September 11th: "May our congregations be centers of support where we can bring our questions and our fears, where we can find the presence of the holy in our coming together" (Sinkford 2001). Another minister adapted the words of Adrienne Rich, writing,

> Our hearts are moved by all we cannot save: So much has been destroyed. Our minds are numbed by what we do not understand: For words do not explain. We gather in loss. We gather in disbelief. We gather in this home for the free spirit, to be comforted, to remember again who we are. And what is important. Let us worship together (Hallman 2001).

In extraordinary times, people need the support that religion provides; they need the "structured and structuring environment" of ritualization. They need to be a part of a "ritualized body" aligned once more "within a series of relationships linked to the ultimate sources of power" (Bell 1992, 141).

September 11th clearly demonstrates that this need of the power of ritual to situate a person in community and in accord with a structuring view of the world is as true in a religion without a clearly expressed center as it is in a religion with an easily named creed. But what is it about Unitarian Universalist ritual in particular that mourners would find so comforting? There is little blatant symbolism; there are few opportunities for participation (though in the incident of September 11th, there were expanded opportunities for candle-lighting).

Joining in community, simply being present with other human beings, is part of the reason, but the *words* spoken in the ritual are also what gives the gathering meaning. As much as the dynamics of sitting and standing and walking structure the ritual into oppositions, the dynamics of speech and silence also frame and shape the ritual. During the hymns, equality is presumed because it is assumed that everyone will sing the hymn. During the minister's sermon, she is the only one speaking in the room; the congregation remains mostly silent. An opposition of active vs. passive is constructed through the act of speech. The sermon allows the minister to have control over the situation, but the candles balance this control, giving voices to the congregants. Members of the congregation speak of what their candle of concern represents; at that time, that person's voice is the only one heard in the room. As I have noted, over the course of the service, through the action of words, a subtle hierarchy placing the minister at the top is negotiated. When the minister lights a candle "for all the joys and concerns that remain unspoken," she exercises her authority to speak where others have remained silent.

The services following the events of September 11th make it abundantly clear that words in Unitarian Universalist rituals are themselves the structuring elements of the group's existence in community. Their structure derives from the ritualized acts of who is speaking to whom, when that person is speaking, where that person is speaking, and the importance of each of these factors. Is the simple fact that words are part of the structure enough to make words a symbolic center of our creedless religion? How are words related to the dominant symbol of the flaming chalice and the instrumental symbols of the candles of concern? If words are to be symbols and not mere signs (and if Jung is correct), then they must also be "the best possible expression of a relatively *unknown* fact, a fact, however, which is none the less recognized or postulated as existing" (Turner 1967, 26).

Words express the diversity of opinions in Unitarian Universalism – this diversity is found in the many, many different readings that might accompany a chalice lighting, or they express the joys and concerns of the pluralistic Unitarian Universalist congregation. Like the candles, words and phrases are the best possible expressions of Unitarian Universalism's "relatively *unknown*" center. They are not merely signs; words themselves are the embodiment of Unitarian Universalist community. Earlier, looking at Victor Turner, I suggested that candles of concern are instrumental symbols that point to the goals of the ritual. The significance of candles is the same as the significance of the words, and the words, too, are instrumental symbols. The speech of the candles turns the congregants into active participants in the service, reminding participants of the diversity of perspectives in Unitarian Universalism. This very action and speech, however, is structured into community through the organization of the candles and words into oppositions.

The goal of a Unitarian Universalist Sunday service ritual is to make Unitarian Universalism a pluralistic community of actors. Catherine Bell asserts that the process of ritualization never completely resolves the oppositions created during the ritual; the oppositions must be taken out into the world and lived there. "Ritualization," Bell says, "catches up into itself all the experiences and conventional conflicts and oppositions of social life, juxtaposing and homologizing them into a loose and provisional systematicity. The process of signification is deferred beyond the rite itself, as it must be, into the world at large" (Bell 1992, 105-6). In the wake of September 11th, UUs reached out to local Islamic communities, gave blood to the Red Cross relief effort, or traveled to New York to offer their services as firefighters, doctors, nurses, and chaplains (Skinner 2002, 30-41). Inspired by the light of the flaming chalice and their lived awareness of diversity within community (as expressed by the candles of concern), the goals of every UU ritual were brought again to life in the quotidian world. What Unitarian Universalism's center is can never be explicitly clear; it must be sought within ritual as well as outside of it. Unitarian Universalism's center springs from our shared ritual life, but it does not stop there.

This close look at ordinary and September 11th UU rituals provides an idea of where we might continue the search for Unitarian Universalism's center: in the community of ritualized actors who, through words as symbols and actions, express the diversity which characterizes this creedless religion. I do not mean to assert that this ritually structured "center" of Unitarian

Universalism is its only possible center. In fact, as with September 11th, it merely points to what has been noted before – by Conrad Wright, Suzanne Meyer, and many others – that Unitarian Universalism's center, its unity and glue, is found in the intentional but voluntary community of free believers. The difference is that I have focused my analysis of the character of that community through the lens of symbol and ritual. Only further discussion about Unitarian Universalist symbol and ritual can more fully explore the relation of these two classic concepts to our religion. It is my hope that this paper offers a starting point for such a conversation about symbol and ritual in Unitarian Universalism and adds a new dimension to Unitarian Universalism's search for a center.

Works Cited

Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bellah, Robert N. 1998. "Unitarian Universalism in Societal Perspective." *Ware Lecture,* Unitarian Universalist Association General Assembly, 1998, in Rochester, New York. 27 June.

Belletini, Mark L. 2001. "Service: The Rev. Dr. Mark L. Belletini" *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/mbelletini916.html>.

Bowens-Wheatley, Marjorie, ed. 2001. "Liturgical Resources for use following the acts of Sept. 11, 2001," 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/reliturgical.html>.

Daniel, Dennis J. and Sydney Kay Wilde. 2001. "Responses from Unitarian Universalist Clergy" *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/danielwilde.html>.

Church, Forrester. 2001. "Four Views From New York: The Rev. F. Forrester Church." *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/church.html>.

Hotchkiss, Daniel D. 1993. *The Flaming Chalice.* Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association.

Hallman, Laurel. 2001. "Service on 9/11/01 by Dr. Laurel Hallman" *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/lhallman.html>.

Lederach, John Paul. 2002. "Breaking the Cycle of Violence." *UU World* XVI, no. 1:26-29.

Meyer, Suzanne. 2000. "The Curriculum of the Free Church." *Unitarian Universalist Voice* VI, no. 2: 3-7.

Miller, Diane. 2001. "Service: The Rev. Diane Miller." *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/dmiller.html>.

O'Connell, Daniel Simer. 2001. "Service: The Rev. Daniel Simer O'Connell." *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/doconnell911.html>.

Olliff, Ken. 2001. "Constructing a Commanding Vision of God for the Liberal Church." *The Unitarian Universalist Christian* 56:5-22.

"Responses from Unitarian Universalist Clergy." 2001. 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/clergy.html>.

Ross, Warren R.. "Confronting Evil." *UU World* XVI, no. 1: 20-25.

Sinkford, William G. 2001. “An Open Letter from the Rev. William G. Sinkford President, Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations.” 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/sinkford.html>.

Skinner, Donald E. 2002. “Living the Faith.” *UU World* XVI, no. 1:30-41.

Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA). 1993. *Singing the Living Tradition.* Boston: Beacon Press.

---. 2001. “9/11/01 Home,” *UUA News Website*, 13 December 2001 <http://www.uua.org/news/91101/index.html>.

Wright, Conrad. 1989. *Walking Together: Polity and Participation in Unitarian Universalist Churches.* Boston: Skinner House Books/UUA.