

t h e y e a r

2 0 0 0

e s s a y s o n t h e e n d

e d i t e d b y

C H A R L E S B . S T R O Z I E R
a n d M I C H A E L F L Y N N

The Year 2000

Essays on the End

EDITED BY

Charles B. Strozier

and

Michael Flynn



New York University Press

NEW YORK AND LONDON

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS
New York and London

- Copyright © 1997 by New York University
Chapter 3. © The Society for the Comparative Study of Society
Chapter 4. Catherine Keller's article "The Breast, the Apocalypse,
and the Colonial Journey" originally appeared in the *Journal of
Feminist Studies in Religion* 10 (Spring 1994).
Chapter 5. © 1994 Charles B. Strozier. From *Apocalypse: On the
Psychology of Fundamentalism in America* by Charles B.
Strozier. Reprinted by permission of Beacon Press, Boston.
Chapter 6. © Paulist Press. Originally published as "Apocalyptic
Spirituality" by Bernard McGinn in *Catholic World* (January, 1996).
Chapter 9. © Robert Jay Lifton
Chapter 16. Reprinted by permission of the Mid-American Studies
Association. Originally published as "Racist Apocalypse:
Millennialism on the Far Right" by Michael Barkun, in *American
Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 121-40.
Chapter 17. © Sara Diamond
Chapter 21. Reprinted from *The Illusion of the End*, by Jean
Baudrillard, translated by Chris Turner, with the permission of
the publishers, Stanford University Press. This translation ©
1994 Polity Press
Chapter 22. © Sandra Schanzer
Chapter 24. © Peter von Ziegeler
Chapter 26. © Hillel Schwartz

All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
The year 2000 : essays on the end / edited by Charles B. Strozier and
Michael Flynn.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8147-8030-X (alk. paper). — ISBN 0-8147-8031-8 (pbk. :
alk. paper)

1. Two thousand, A.D. 2. Millennium. 3. End of the world.
I. Strozier, Charles B. II. Flynn, Michael, 1962- . III. Title:
Year two thousand.

CB161.Y39 1997

909.83—dc21 97-4786

CIP

New York University Press books are printed on acid-free paper,
and their binding materials are chosen for strength and durability.

Manufactured in the United States of America

Contents

I	Introduction	I
	<i>Charles B. Strozier</i>	
PART I: Religion		
2	The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Millennial Fever and the Origins of the Modern West	13
	<i>Richard A. Landes</i>	
3	Medieval Millenarianism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements	30
	<i>Norman Cohn</i>	
4	The Breast, the Apocalypse, and the Colonial Journey	42
	<i>Catherine Keller</i>	
5	God, Lincoln, and the Civil War	59
	<i>Charles B. Strozier</i>	
6	Apocalyptic Spirituality: Approaching the Third Millennium	73
	<i>Bernard McGinn</i>	
7	The Other Is Ourselves: A Feminist Spirituality for the Year 2000 and Beyond	81
	<i>Marie L. Baird</i>	
PART II: Apocalyptic Violence		
8	Apocalyptic Violence and the Politics of Waco	97
	<i>Charles B. Strozier</i>	
9	Reflections on Aum Shinrikyo	112
	<i>Robert Jay Lifton</i>	
10	Shifting Millennial Visions in New Religious Movements: The Case of the Holy Order of MANS	121
	<i>Phillip Charles Lucas</i>	
11	On the Image of 2000 in Contemporary Cults	133
	<i>Margaret Thaler Singer</i>	

- 12 Phallic Millennialism and Radical Environmentalism:
The Apocalyptic Vision of Earth First! 144
Lois Ann Lorentzen
- 13 Coercive Purity: The Dangerous Promise of
Apocalyptic Masculinity 154
Lee Quinby

PART III: Politics

- 14 The Paucity of the Millennial Moment: The Case
of Nuclearism 169
Richard Falk
- 15 Is the Apocalypse Coming? Paramilitary Culture after
the Cold War 180
J. William Gibson
- 16 Racist Apocalypse: Millennialism on the Far Right 190
Michael Barkun
- 17 Political Millennialism within the Evangelical Subculture 206
Sara Diamond
- 18 The Millennial Concept and the Evolution of Leadership in
Black Pentecostalism and the Nation of Islam 217
Clarence Taylor
- 19 The Flight from Finitude 230
Jean Bethke Elshtain

PART IV: Culture

- 20 Searching for Alternatives: Autobiography and Masculinity
at the Bimillennium 239
Michael Flynn
- 21 Hysteresis of the Millennium 250
Jean Baudrillard
- 22 The Impending Computer Crisis of the Year 2000 263
Sandra Schanzer
- 23 Millennium, Texas 273
Michael Erard
- 24 After Armageddon: Apocalyptic Art since the Seventies:
Tactics of Survival in a Postnuclear Planet 284
Peter von Ziegesar
- 25 Theater at 2000: A Witnessing Project 299
Karen Malpede

26	Economics of the Millennium	309
	<i>Hillel Schwartz</i>	
	<i>Contributors</i>	325
	<i>Index</i>	329
	<i>About the Editors</i>	343

Introduction

Charles B. Strozier

The year 2000 is at hand, calling forth varied responses. For some it further agitates their already frantic relationship to personal and collective death. Soothsayers and cult movements abound. But no one in our culture can entirely escape the millennial hysteria of the 1990s. Certainly, as a potent symbol, 2000 stirs the imagination of virtually all believing Christians at some level. Jesus, after all, announces in the first book of the New Testament (Matthew 24) that he is coming back, just as the Bible's last book, Revelation, twice plays with the evocative power of thousand-year cycles in its climactic chapter 20. *End time* means that moment (which is at the same time a process) of moving out of human history and into God's time. But as a cultural artifact 2000 connects as well with secular forms of the apocalyptic. In this sense many are drawn into generalized images of endings around this pervasively concrete and available symbol *for the end*. The year 2000 appears everywhere as a subtext, in literature and art; in all the media; in politics, especially at the extremes; in all religions, new or old; and in what might be called the American self. Often this concrete imagistic millennialism degenerates into the apocalyptic chic of the *National Enquirer*. But it is never absent. For many, and not just the semiliterate and weak at heart, 2000 suggests much about potential ultimate human endings and God's agency in creating new forms. The year 2000 is in our souls.

This book explores the meanings of the year 2000 both as an approaching event and as an evocative symbol in American life. The beginning section presents essays that explore 2000 in religious history, from its first millennium experience through Columbus to the Civil War and the New Age, along with arguments for a transformed Christianity inspired by apocalyptic spirituality. The second section features essays on the manifestations of apocalyptic violence that have been energized significantly by the year 2000, from Waco and Oklahoma City to Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, as well as in various other kinds of totalistic communities. The third section, on 2000 and politics, addresses in particular the preoccupation of right-wing extremism in America with millennial themes but includes as well discussions of the way 2000 works together with racial tensions and the reality of potential endings in nuclear catastrophe. The final section includes essays on 2000 and culture, from art to theater and deconstruction, and includes even the collapsing universe of computer programming, faced with the daunting challenge of a rollover of zeros.

It is astonishing that a mere date should work its way through a culture in so many different ways. Undoubtedly, death figures centrally. It is, after all, knowledge of our own death that distinguishes humanity and is an important part of the process in the creation of culture. We also know of the apocalyptic, or collective death, because we all die. Knowledge of our own death allows us creatively to extend that knowing into an imagining of universal endings. To think about such things is heavily weighted spiritually, for it pushes up against knowledge of the divine, however conceived. For the fundamentalists this involves the revelation of God's anger and forgiveness in defined stages, or "dispensations," the knowledge of which we have from "signs" of the end. The fundamentalist end time story line is a teleological narrative that is literal and violent, as well as being so stereotypically masculine as to almost mock the patriarchy (the rider on the horse in Revelation 19:21 appears with a suggestive sword sticking out of his mouth). But it would be a serious mistake to leave 2000 to the fundamentalists. The themes are too universal, too human, too rooted in images of collective death and renewal. In most millennial scripts, whether New Age or Baptist, apocalypse precedes redemption, indeed cannot happen without it. In such stories salvation requires violence, which in its very destructiveness cleanses. Time collapses in the fullness of the old dying and the new coming to life. In the end time, despair and hope merge. Endings become beginnings. As a female black parishioner once told me, "You cannot go over it, you cannot go alongside it, but you must go through it. You must go *through the blood*."¹

Biblical genocide is the dread. The book of Revelation plays out God's anger in cascading waves of violence linked with sevens of trumpets, seals, and vials. In the theology of literalized Christianity, as it emerged between the 1830s and the 1880s, a very specific version of the end time took shape that was a departure from earlier narratives. The key figure was a British theologian named John Nelson Darby (who was to make many evangelist trips to the United States) and his small group of Plymouth Brethren in the 1830s. Their ideas of "premillennial dispensationalism" included the now-familiar notions of the rapture, the tribulation, the timing of the return of Jesus, the interpretation of biblical history as divided into defined stages or dispensations, and the special role of the Jews in the end time process. This elaborate theory of the end was later given a certain panache in the theory of textual literalness as developed by Charles Hodge, his son, Archibald Alexander Hodge, and Benjamin Warfield, who were all professors at Princeton Theological Seminary in the 1870s and 1880s. This theory of "inerrancy" was uniquely pernicious, for it cast a long tradition of literalness into dogma and changed forever the loose meanings of the complex symbols of prophetic texts. A sacred end time sequence emerged. In it the ingathering of the Jews foreshadows the coming of Antichrist and the beginning of the seven-year sufferings of the tribulation. But first, in most scripts, Jesus appears in the clouds to rapture the faithful. The great battle of Armageddon between the forces of good and evil brings to a close the period of tribulation. Jesus returns to earth with the resurrected saints and rules for a thousand years from the site of present-day Israel. Satan is then "loosed for a season," which leads to another great battle between good and bad. At last, then, there is the final judgment, when the faithful enter the newly created heaven and the rest, along with most readers of this book, are cast into the lake of fire.

The timetable of this sequence is relentless once the process begins. Satan is loosed, for example, *exactly* 1,007 years after the beginning of tribulation, which in turn must follow the appearance of Antichrist. It is all ordained, indeed pre-existing, though God will reveal hints of what he is up to through signs; that is why close readers of biblical texts become such valued experts in the world of fundamentalism. The narrative is self-driven once set in motion. But what sets it off? For all contemporary fundamentalists the great prophetic moment of the twentieth century was the founding of the Israeli state in 1948 because it seemed to realize their own predictions about the “ingathering” of the Jews. The more agitated talk portentously of 1948 as starting the end time clock ticking and await with ambivalence the appearance of Antichrist. In such a rendition the climactic moment of the end time narrative must be the year 2000 as the inevitable moment for the rapture of the faithful and the beginning of the tribulation. Date setting, however, is proscribed (“But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only,” says Jesus in Matt. 24:36 [Authorized Version]), and so it can only be whispered in the collective dreams of the culture.

This relatively new story line has transformed Christianity and shifted the emphasis within it from the Sermon on the Mount to the book of Revelation. In the sermon (chaps. 5–7 of the book of Matthew), which assumes a human future, Jesus instructs that the poor are blessed, as are the meek, and those who mourn, and those who make peace, and those who are persecuted. Jesus insists on a strict morality (no divorce except for reasons of fornication), but his main concern is love and forgiveness: “Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also” (5:39) and “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you” (5:44). In Revelation, on the other hand, the images are of the sun becoming black as sackcloth of hair and the moon like blood (6:12), for the “day of his wrath is come” (6:17); of a beast rising up out of the sea, “having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy” (13:1); of a “great whore that sitteth upon many waters” who is “drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus” (17:1, 6); of a mighty angel casting a stone like a millstone into the sea (“Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down” [18:21]); of blood everywhere and the remnant slain by him who rides the white horse with the sword proceeding out of his mouth (19:21); and the final violent death of Satan (20:10) and the death of death itself (20:14).

Such a transformation in the read of Scripture is of some consequence. Most of all, the new emphasis on Revelation (and other prophetic texts, especially Ezekiel and Daniel from the Old Testament) celebrates violence, which is a necessary correlate of the more immediate endism of fundamentalism. Both psychologically and spiritually, any prophetic narrative that brings the end closer at hand heightens its emphasis on collective death and destruction. Revelation is a bloody book. But so is the fundamentalist read of that and other texts. Fundamentalists bring something to it, a harsh dualism, that leads them to revel in and deepen the meaning of the violence they encounter. Fundamentalists, for example, make all important things happen twice, from their personally transformative experience of being reborn to the

horrid second death that sinners must die for refusing to accept Jesus. Jews in this system bear a special taint. Their ingathering somehow forces the mystical return of Jesus, but then before it is all over they must all die (except for 144,000 in most accounts). A converted Jew cannot even be raptured.²

A frequently asked question is whether the millennial concerns with which we live are really new. Aren't the current faddish obsessions with the year 2000 simply a contemporary replay of very old themes? In the very asking, the smug become jaundiced. No one has been more confident about what I have called "eternal endism" than the critic Frank Kermode, who was one of the first many years ago to talk about some of these issues.³ Kermode dismisses as "childish" any attempt to attach special significance to the terrors of our modern age, arguing that apocalyptic thinking is too firmly rooted in human experience. Only the naive, he argues, would privilege one's own time as uniquely dark and set it off as a cardinal point in time. The anxiety itself is not new. Cultures since the Mesopotamians have been grappling with it. Only the patterns of creative response to that anxiety, he argues, have been different.⁴ Kermode would also dismiss as heated imaginings that brooding anxiety aroused by 2000. It would seem to him a form of "centurial mysticism" or, as Don DeLillo calls it, "millennial hysteria."⁵ To the extent that we feel we now live in a state of perpetual transition, we elevate our period of ambiguous ending into an "age" in its own right.⁶

Much wisdom lies in such a deep appreciation for the enduring, human attachment to the end. Certainly it is true, for example, that there was a tremendous surge of cultural anxiety in the last half of the tenth century, evidenced by a general decline in cultural and artistic activity, especially in the French monasteries, where monks even stopped copying their Bibles. It was "an evening of the world" (*mundus senescit*) in people's imaginings.⁷ The conclusion of the first millennium seemed too precise a fulfillment of *millennial* anxiety. It took no elaborate calculations, or year-day equivalents, or any special knowledge to feel secure in the approaching end of history. The end (followed by renewal) had long been associated with thousand-year cycles and was in fact known to *all* the ancient peoples "as a basic element of their religion or philosophy." The only change Christianity introduced via John of Patmos was to be specific about the thousand years: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I *saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received *his* mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years" (Rev. 20:4). Tenth-century Europe was a thoroughly biblical culture, one that was brimming with superstition and general illiteracy. The apocalyptic had a kind of democratic flavoring. No experts were required to foretell the coming of the end. Most people (as least as far as one can tell from the fragmentary evidence available) assumed the world was about to come to its logical conclusion. A "nameless fear gripped mankind," a dark mood fell on the age.⁸

The complex intersection of politics and millennialism, as Norman Cohn showed long ago, became a familiar theme in the few centuries up to 1500,⁹ and Hillel Schwartz has recently described the disarray and confusion at the ends of *all* cen-

turies in the last thousand years, especially the tenth, the fifteenth, and the twentieth.¹⁰ Another little-explored millennial topic is the anxieties surrounding the years ending in 33 of various centuries (recalling the death and resurrection of Jesus), not to mention the plethora of offbeat prophets like Nostradamus about whom we have heard much of late. And all that, of course, restricts the apocalyptic to the Christian narrative. There has long been a powerfully rich Jewish mystical tradition associated with the Zohar that engages in its own end time arithmetic. Native American (especially Hopi) stories forecast the end of this, the fourth, world in ways that end evil human culture but preserve the earth and enough human life to insure continuity. And there are always often-discredited traditions (such as those of William Blake and the Muggeltonians) that work at the margins of our psyches.

But in one very important sense apocalyptic preoccupations of all kinds in the late twentieth century are historically unique: they occur in the context of real, scientific possibilities of ultimate destruction.¹¹ In the past various cultures assigned the task of imagining the end of human history to mystics, artists, and psychotics. Before the modern period, the very notion of an end time was in such vivid contrast with the seeming certainties of daily life that only those with fertile (or disturbed) minds could open themselves up to such endist notions. For the last few hundred years those certainties have been increasingly eroded in the imperialistic expansion of the West, the vast new powers of industrialization, and the deadliness of wars. The nuclear age, however, brought about a qualitative shift in that process of altering human consciousness of collective death. It is now quite obvious and real that the human experiment could end. It is fatuous to pretend otherwise. We no longer need poets to tell us it could end with a bang, or a whimper, or in the agony of AIDS.¹² Consciousness of human endings haunts the psyches of quite ordinary people.¹³ The psychological consequences are enormous. If once it took an act of imagination to think about the end time, now it takes an act of imagination, or a numbing, *not* to think about it. In such a world we all become end timers.

This general context heightens the immediacy of 2000 for literal Christians, just as 2000 emanates to a variety of constantly changing forms. Heaven's Gate, for example, in southern California combined a belief in UFOs with elements of Christian symbolism and a deep fascination with the year 2000. When the entire group committed suicide just before Easter in the spring of 1997, each body was meticulously covered with a purple shroud, suggesting, among other things, Lent. The group's founders, Marshall Herff Applewhite and Bonnie Lu Nettles, originally (in the 1970s) referred to themselves as "The Two" after the two witnesses "clothed in sackcloth" in Revelation 11:3–14 who are slain by the Beast and then rise from the dead. Such eclectic theologies typify cult movements.

Consider, as well, Aum Shinrikyo, the Japanese cult with aspirations to Armageddon. The leader of Aum, Shoko Asahara, put together a theology of esoteric Buddhism that blended elements of yoga and Hinduism and symbols from Christianity. At one time Asahara was thus a close student of the book of Revelation and, as is so often the case with such involvements, he came to talk about Armageddon in the year 2000. Later, the end was pushed ahead to 1997 for obscure reasons and then hurried along by releasing sarin gas because of a fear the police

were about to raid the Aum compound. Another example is David Koresh, who was intensely apocalyptic in the early years of the decade leading up to 2000. In 1992 Koresh renamed the Mount Carmel compound near Waco, Texas, "Ranch Apocalypse" and died in a fiery Armageddon that has since inspired much radical millennialism in others.

Imagery of 2000 reaches deeply into extreme political movements. Timothy McVeigh, the accused Oklahoma City bomber, was himself transformed psychologically by his pilgrimage to Waco during the standoff there between the Branch Davidians and government officials. Later, he allegedly chose the anniversary of the fire as the date on which he and others would bomb the federal building in Oklahoma City. The far Right in America in general locates theological themes centrally in its ideology. They talk loosely of ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government), for example, which has its basis in the Christian Identity idea of Jews as the literal children of Satan. They read the rapture differently from Pat Robertson. Identity movements believe Jesus only returns in the middle of or after tribulation. It might seem strange that so much passion could be wasted on such a seemingly obscure piece of theology. But it makes much political and psychological sense. Followers of Identity theology want to experience the violence of the end times directly. They want to shoot it out with the beast of Revelation, to fight true evil with their Uzis.

But extremism and 2000 are not restricted to the Right. The greening of apocalypse is upon us. Earth First! began among those passionately committed to saving the environment. Few noted at first how dominated their rhetoric was by a kind of phallic millennialism. The male-dominated leadership called themselves "warriors" out to protect "mother earth" who needed to be saved by their martial tactics before total destruction wiped out our future. And indeed Earth First! became the most aggressive of all environmental groups in its fight with loggers and others whom they saw as despoilers of the sacred ground of our being. The ends of preservation came to justify the means of violence, and some were injured in tree-spiking and other tactics. Politically, it was extreme; spiritually, it was a desperate effort to stave off the end time and a hauntingly odd rendition of Revelation 11:18, that he "shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth."

Perhaps the most obvious and visible emanations of 2000 are in films. At times the apocalyptic is treated in its literal religious context, as in *The Seventh Sign* or *The Rapture* (too sexy a movie for believers and too biblical a one for the raunchy). In most cases, however, Hollywood secularizes the end time story, while retaining echoes of 2000. *Twelve Monkeys*, for example, dates human endings through an environmental plague in the 1990s, whereas virtually every movie Arnold Schwarzenegger has made in recent years either has a nuclear or a postnuclear theme. Viruses have proved a potent end time theme (*Ebola*, *Outbreak*, *The Hot Zone*). In literature as well, especially the novel, 2000 is everywhere. Among serious writers Don DeLillo may be currently the most explicitly and brilliantly apocalyptic, but he is hardly alone. The theme of collective endings is often mocked or exploited in the novel, but it is seldom forgotten. How could it be otherwise?

In other words, 2000 reverberates with our deepest psychological dread. It becomes a metaphor for collective death, an unseemly euphemism. Through it we

speak in code, whereby one thing substitutes for something else and itself, irrationally, at the same time. The year 2000, for example, deepens our fears of disease and contamination and makes AIDS an end time plague. It is, of course, the end for those who get it, but it becomes end time in the minds of the faithful and all others open to such metaphors as the kind of plague that will ravage the land during the tribulation. Even the trivial deepens in contemporary America, as shown by the culture's recent preoccupation with the weather. Cable channels everywhere talk weather twenty-four hours a day, and then people go to a theater to see a movie about it (*Twister*). Many Americans are much better informed about the rain than about world events. Behind such preoccupations lie the earthquakes of Matthew 24 that mark the signs of the return of Jesus and the ecological devastation of Revelation. In such a world of underlying dread, nothing is trivial.

And so somehow an introduction to a book about the end must itself end. Concluding is the central dilemma for anything touching end time. That is why, as an art form, autobiography, whether told by Benjamin Franklin or Colin Powell, never reaches a satisfactory conclusion. Death, the only appropriate culmination of a life, is yet to come. Francis Ford Coppola discovered this millennial coda when filming *Apocalypse Now*. The only real end to the movie may have been the blight brought to the corner of the Philippines where the movie was shot. Martin Sheen showed up on the set in the midst of a nervous breakdown and was in fact dead drunk in his opening scene; that night he had a heart attack and was hospitalized for seven weeks. Coppola had to shoot around him, not knowing for sure whether Sheen would die on him and the whole project would have to be abandoned. Marlon Brando as Kurtz refused to adjust his limited time commitments to the movie, despite the madness on the set. By the time shooting was under way Coppola gave up the literal story line from "Heart of Darkness" and filmed several possible endings while he still had Brando at hand. Costs spiraled out of control and chaos reigned supreme. Like a great work of art, *Apocalypse Now* was never properly finished, just abandoned and later resurrected in the editing room.

The real question about 2000 is what follows. Will we go with a bang or a whimper? Will there be a human future?

NOTES

1. Charles B. Strozier, *Apocalypse: On the Psychology of Fundamentalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), 89.

2. *Ibid.*, chap. 9, 194–208.

3. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 16. Compare, however, Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophetic Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), ix, 337. Boyer by no means mocks the contemporary popular concern with prophecy (as does Kermode); he tends to stress that its current emphasis blends "age-old themes" that will keep prophecy belief alive well into the next century.

4. Kermode, *Sense of Ending*, 95–96.

5. Don DeLillo, *Mao II* (New York: Viking, 1991), 80.

6. Kermode, *Sense of Ending*, 28.

7. Henri Focillon, *The Year 1,000* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1969), 53. Lincoln Burr, "The Year 1000 and the Antecedents of the Crusades," *American Historical Review* 6 (1900): 429–44, argues that the "panic of terror" in the latter part of the tenth century actually originated in the mind of the fifteenth-century abbot Johannes Trithemuis, is entirely legendary, and now exists only as a "nightmare" of modern scholars. The evidence Burr rightly discounts, however, is of a popular panic that some nineteenth-century historians used to explain the crusades. He does not address the more interesting evidence that Focillon used from the monasteries. Burr, of course, wrote a half-century before Focillon.

8. Focillon, *The Year 1,000*, 40.

9. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957).

10. Hillel Schwartz, *Century's End: A Cultural History of the Fin de Siècle from the 1990s to the 1990s* (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

11. The scholar who has most intelligently opened up this line of inquiry is Robert Jay Lifton, whose major conceptual and empirical studies are *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China* (1961; reprint, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans, Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); *The Genocidal Mentality: Nazi Holocaust and Nuclear Threat* (with Eric Markusen) (New York: Basic Books, 1990); *Hiroshima in America: Fifty Years of Denial* (with Greg Mitchell) (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1995). Lifton's most popular book about the nuclear threat is *Indefensible Weapons: The Political and Psychological Case against Nuclearism* (New York: Basic Books, 1982) (co-authored with Richard Falk). His most important theoretical study is *The Broken Connection: On Death and the Continuity of Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), though note as well *The Life of the Self: Toward a New Psychology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). The only collection of his essays is *The Future of Immortality and Other Essays for a Nuclear Age* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

12. Susan Sontag, *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1988).

13. Besides my own *Apocalypse*, a number of empirical studies over the years have studied the effect of nuclear threat on people. See Thomas R. Tyler and Keith M. McGaw, "The Threat of Nuclear War: Risk Interpretation and Behavioral Response," *Journal of Social Issues* 39 (1983): 186; Thomas A. Knox, William G. Keilin, Ernest L. Chavez, and Scott B. Hamilton, "Thinking about the Unthinkable: The Relationship between Death Anxiety and Cognitive/Emotional Responses to the Threat of Nuclear War," *Omega* 18 (1987–88): 53–61; Raymond L. Schmitt, "Symbolic Immortality in Ordinary Contexts: Impediments to the Nuclear Era," *Omega* 13 (1982–83): 95–116; Scott B. Hamilton, Thomas A. Knox, William G. Keilin, and Ernest L. Chavez, "In the Eye of the Beholder: Accounting for Variability in Attitudes and Cognitive/Affective Reactions toward the Threat of Nuclear War," *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 17 (1987): 927–52; Jerome Rabow, Anthony C. R. Hernandez, and Michael D. Newcomb, "Nuclear Fears and Concerns among College Students: A Cross-National Study of Attitudes," *Political Psychology* 11 (1990): 681–98. See also the collection of essays in Lester Grinspoon, ed., *The Long Darkness: Psychological and Moral Perspectives on Nuclear Winter* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986). Another interesting—and controversial—area of research on nuclear threat in the 1980s was done on children. See Sybil K. Escalona, "Children and the Threat of Nuclear War," in *Behavioral Science and Human Survival*, ed. Milton Schwebel (Palo Alto, Calif.: Science and Behavior Books, 1965), 201–9. See also Milton Schwebel, "Nuclear Cold War: Student Opinion and Nuclear War

Responsibility," in *Behavioral Science and Human Survival*, ed. Milton Schwebel, 21–240. But the most important work on children and nuclear threat, much of which was conceptual and clinical, was done by John Mack, William Beardslee, and their colleagues at Harvard: John Mack and William Beardslee, "The Impact on Children and Adolescents of Nuclear Developments," in *Psychosocial Aspects of Nuclear Developments*, ed. Richard Rogers, Task Force Report no. 20 (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1982); John E. Mack, William R. Beardslee, Robert M. Snow, and Lawrence A. Goodman, "The Threat of Nuclear War and the Nuclear Arms Race: Adolescent Experiences and Perceptions," *Political Psychology* 4 (1983): 501–30; William R. Beardslee, "Perceptions of the Threat of Nuclear War: Research and Professional Implications," *International Journal of Mental Health* 15 (1986): 242–52; and John E. Mack, "Resistances to Knowing in the Nuclear Age," *Harvard Educational Review* 54 (1984): 260–70. The most bitter (and polemical) criticism of this work was Charles E. Ginn and Joseph Adelson, "Terrorizing Children," *Commentary* 79 (1985): 29–36. Note also Fox Butterfield, "Experts Disagree on Children's Worries about Nuclear War," *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1983.

Part I

Religion