

THE CHATTANOOGA STORY HOW ONE CITY REDUCED ITS ABORTION RATE

Robert H. O'Bannon, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Chattanooga, Tennessee, is now reported by the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) to be the largest city in the United States without an abortion clinic. It is perhaps the only city in America where the pro-lifers purchased a building housing the city's sole abortion clinic and converted it into a building used exclusively to help young women preserve the lives of their unborn. For those of us who are convinced that abortion is one of the greatest blights ever to curse our society, the Chattanooga story gives us a genuine ray of hope. May it inspire pro-lifers in cities, towns, and communities across our land to continue in their efforts to curtail this selfish, senseless slaughter of innocent lives.

Since I have been active in the pro-life efforts of Cleveland, Tennessee, my own community, just 30 minutes north of Chattanooga, I have been involved only minimally in the Chattanooga story. Nevertheless, I have followed the activities surrounding this issue and am personally acquainted with several of the pro-life leaders who have been instrumental in making abortion "taboo" to a large number of Chattanooga residents. Granted that every city has its own personality and that what worked in Chattanooga may not work in every community, it is still my sincere opinion that many of the actions and strategies that were successful in Chattanooga deserve to be considered by pro-lifers everywhere. After presenting a brief history of the conflict, I will attempt to detail several aspects of the Chattanooga story that might be most helpful.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

Chattanooga is a beautiful, well-known, southern city of approximately 153,000 residents located in the southeastern corner of Tennessee. The greater Chattanooga area has over 400,000 residents. This city is known for Lookout Mountain, Ruby Falls, and, more recently, the Tennessee Aquarium. Several significant battles of the Civil War were fought in and around Chattanooga. The city is again the site of a civil war of a different type. The battle has temporarily shifted in favor of the proliferers, but a lasting settlement is yet a long way off. While somewhat more religious than many communities its size, it has not been immune to the sexual revolution which resulted in a per-eived need for a quick fix to end unwanted pregnancies.

In 1973 *Roe v Wade* opened the door to legalized abortions — a door behind which many greedy people stood eagerly awaiting their patrons. That first year 799 reported abortions were performed. In ten years that number had climbed to 2,277 per year. Thanks to active and persistent proliferers, the number of reported abortions performed in the Chattanooga area in 1993 had dropped to 690.ⁱ How did this reduction come about? Please allow me to give you some of the highlights of the story.

In 1975 the Chattanooga Women's Clinic was opened for the sole purpose of providing abortions on demand. They were challenged by proliferers throughout most of their 18 years of operation. In 1976 clinic owners were charged with performing illegal abortions and practicing medicine without a license. Dr. Harold Hoke was sentenced to ten years in prison, but no records were found of his ever having served that sentence. Owner Tom Cole did spend some time in prison, however.ⁱⁱ

With the Women's Clinic temporarily closed, Erlanger

Medical Center opened its own Voluntary Interruption of Pregnancy Center. As the community became more aware that abortions were being performed, some at taxpayers' expense, public sentiment against abortions began to mount and made its way to the Hamilton County Commission in 1979. It was then that the Commissioners threatened to stop funding for Erlanger Medical Center because the hospital was doing elective abortions.ⁱⁱⁱ

As is characteristic of most noble causes, there always seems to be some zealots who manage to give a bad name to an entire group of responsible citizens. In 1983 Chattanooga had its own "Bible totin', abortion hatin', street preacher" with vivid pictures of aborted babies used to secure an audience. The prochoice voices in Chattanooga wanted desperately to make this street preacher the spokesman for the entire prolife community. Fortunately, this never happened. Yet the exchange generated much publicity in the media, making the local citizens more aware of the implications of their city offering abortion on demand.

In an effort to insure that responsible prolife voices were being heard, several community leaders in the prolife movement created an umbrella organization called the Prolife Majority Coalition of Chattanooga (ProMaCC). It was, indeed, a coalition of different denominations, different races, different classes of people from all walks of life who had one thing in common: they all believed that abortion was an evil that should be stopped.

One of the most fruitful actions of ProMaCC was to unite forces with AAA Women's Services, Inc., a group which had opened its offices directly across the street from the abortion clinic. Counselors began regular vigils on the sidewalks in an attempt to talk women out of having abortions and to offer them better options. Prayer groups began to meet regularly for prayer. They prayed that God would speak to the hearts of those performing abortions and the employees that assisted.

This continued every Sunday morning for nine years. The events that followed are difficult to explain if one does not accept the reality of divine intervention.^{iv}

In 1989, and again in 1991, Operation Rescue targeted the clinic with dozens being arrested as they attempted to block entrances to the clinics. A few were convicted and sent to jail for short periods. Because the clinic was performing abortions after three months of pregnancy (which they were not licensed to perform), the rescuers were able to use this violation to justify their efforts to "prevent a crime from occurring." Eventually, all charges against the rescuers were dropped.^v

In 1991 the clinic's owner, Ms. Sue Crawley, died of cancer. The attention then focused on Ms. Fran Muzzacco, the clinic's co-owner. Reverend Bob Borger, president of ProMaCC, reported that "We would call out to Fran and beg her to consider what happened to Sue and to turn from this evil."^{vi} But she would curse at us. So our prayers continued." In February 1993 Ms. Muzzacco also died of cancer.

Clinic attorney Selma Cash Paty strongly opposed the notion that their deaths were anything but normal. She said, "The clinic closed because Sue Crawley and Fran Muzzacco died of a dreaded disease, not because God cursed them or some nonsense." She defended them by saying that "They were two people with the will power, with the guts to stand up to those who would impose their moral judgments on the rest of us. Had Sue Crawley not died, poor women in Chattanooga would still be able to get an abortion today."^{vii}

But Sue and Fran did die and Sue's husband became the sole proprietor of the clinic. Mr. Crawley decided not to continue the clinic. Consequently, the owner of the building found it necessary to declare bankruptcy.

Dr. Ed Perry, who had worked at the clinic for several years, made an early bid to the bankruptcy court of \$259,000 on the building valued at \$220,000. When members of ProMaCC

learned of Dr. Perry's bid, they prayed for direction and felt compelled to raise money to bid on the facility. The only problem was that that decision was reached on Thursday — the bidding was to be completed on Monday, just three days later. Getting on the telephone and contacting every one they knew in the community who were sympathetic to the prolife agenda, they walked into court on that Monday morning with approximately \$280,000, all raised by word of mouth.^{viii}

The bankruptcy court judge instructed the bidders to bid in \$5,000 increments. Dr. Ed Perry with his earlier bid of \$259,000 began the bidding. ProMaCC countered with \$264,000. As the bidding went back and forth, it seemed doubtful that the proliferers would be able to make the final bid.

Ms. Patricia Lindley, spokesperson for ProMaCC, says that they had decided to bid only the amount that they had. Fortunately, a prolife lawyer who happened to be in the courthouse, learned of the bidding and made a promise of an additional \$10,000 to ProMaCC. As the bidding concluded, the proliferers offered \$294,000, which was all they had. Had Dr. Perry offered one penny more, they would have had to bail out. But it was Dr. Perry who said, "Enough." He never topped their bid.^{ix} And the clinic that had performed an estimated 35,000 abortions was deeded over to ProMaCC, which promptly evicted the operators of the clinic. Clinic operators promised they would relocate to another facility within weeks, but it never came about. The State Health Department revoked the clinic's license, and Dr. Perry "packed up his bags and went home." Now in semi-retirement, Dr. Perry remarks: "There comes a time in your career when you just don't need the headaches."^x

So what impact did this change of ownership have? ProMaCC President Borger says, "We are under no illusions that we have stopped women in Chattanooga from getting abortions. We have taken the first step, which is to keep it from being so readily available and so easy to do. We want

people to think about what they are doing."^{xi}

In the month before the clinic was closed 145 reported abortions were performed in Hamilton County and plummeted down to only 45 total reported abortions from July through December, 1993.^{xii} Neither prolife nor prochoice advocates are deceived into thinking that Chattanooga women are no longer having abortions. Clinics in all the neighboring states report increases in their clientele from the Chattanooga area. The total number does seem to be decreasing, and the number of women coming to the AAA Women's Services seeking help to keep their babies is increasing. The public at large is better informed and more likely to support prolife activities.

Let us then look at some of the key players in the Chattanooga story. In doing so, I hope to point out some principles or characteristics that have enhanced each player's role in that story.

PROLIFERS MUST ADMIT AND EMBRACE A RELIGIOUS BASE

In interviewing Linda Keener, Executive Director of AAA Women's Services, she mentioned repeatedly: "None of this would have happened without God's help."^{xiii} If saving the unborn from premature death is as close to the heart of God as most of us believe it is, it should not surprise us when God responds favorably to the prayers of those who seek to alleviate the suffering of those little ones He loves.

Are there not others that He loves? Yes, of course. But the unborn are the most helpless, least protected members of the American society. Men and women, young and old, in any city of the world, can expect God's grace to be upon them if they seek to help the unborn.

The prolife position should be endorsed by every religious body under the banner of Christianity. It should be supported by every political persuasion because it is an innately proper

human response.

I am convinced that all human life is sacred because each individual bears the image of God. To embrace this concept automatically seems to demand a strong allegiance to the prolife position and a concomitant sense of worship and awe toward one's Creator. You will occasionally find an agnostic or atheist who opposes abortion, but that number is small. Those who deny God's involvement in life will have a weak philosophical argument to support their prolife stance. Thus, small prolife groups in cities where abortions are regularly performed should recruit new members from among those who regard God as Creator and accept His Word as the basis for opposing abortion on demand.

It was from these religious convictions that ProMaCC and the AAA Women's Services were begun. Dr. Nan Pollard, chairperson of AAA's Board of Directors, succinctly demonstrates this religion/prolife relationship in the clinic's 1994 Annual Report:

"There are no choices." The woman entering the abortion clinic told the couple that had intervened to save the life of her baby. "Where else can I go?"

A small circle of Christians felt the leading of the Holy Spirit to give women alternative choices. On their knees, they asked God for His direction. In obedience to His will, they pooled their resources and personal time and opened a storefront crisis pregnancy center across the street from the abortion clinic.

The purpose? To provide women alternatives to abortion, to minister to their physical needs, and to present the Gospel of Christ. And the women came. The small circle of Christians grew.

Ten years later, AAA Women's Services is reaching 3,000 women a year in our office and hundreds more on the 24-hour hotline. We are giving them real "choices" for their babies. Our location? The building that once housed Chattanooga's only abortion clinic — delivered to us in direct answer to prayer.

As more women came, God showed us their needs. We saw their need for healing and started post-abortion Bible studies for those traumatized by abortion. We saw their need for God's plan for sex and developed Why kNOW abstinence programs for schools and

churches.

As AAA Women's Services begins its 10th year anniversary, we thank you for your prayers, commitment and financial support — and ask you to join us in thanking God for the privilege of serving Him by celebrating life. . . one life at a time.^{xiv}

The Mission Statement of AAA Women's Services likewise identifies this connection:

In obedience to Christ
the mission of AAA Women's Services
is to lovingly influence women
to choose life-giving alternatives
for crisis pregnancies by communicating
both God's plan for sexuality and
the sanctity of life of unborn children
and by ministering to their
physical, emotional and spiritual needs.^{xv}

It is also fitting that those who now carry out this Mission Statement should describe their work in the following slogan:

Together we are ending
the tragedy of abortion
one life at a time.^{xvi}

AIM FOR A BROAD BASE WITH A NARROW FOCUS

A general observation regarding the success of Chattanooga proliferators is that they established a broad base of people who all possessed a narrow "abortion is wrong" focus.

From a list of donors to the various prolife activities in the area, it is obvious that the prolife cause found sympathy in nearly every denomination as shown below by the list of supporting churches:

Battlefield Parkway Nazarene Duncan Park Baptist Church
Bethel Memorial Baptist Church East Chattanooga Church of God
Bethel Temple Assembly of God East Ridge Church of God

Bibleway Baptist Mission	East Ridge Presbyterian Church
Brainerd Baptist Church	First Presbyterian/Ft.Oglethorpe
Brainerd Presbyterian	Friendship Community
Brainerd Baptist	Grace Baptist Church
Burning Bush Baptist	Green Pond Baptist
Calvary Bible Church	Heritage Baptist Church
Calvary Independent Baptist	Highland Park Baptist
Center Point Baptist Church	Hixson First Baptist
Central Baptist of Hixson	Hixson Presbyterian
Chattanooga Chr'n Fellowship	Hixson United Methodist
Church of Living Faith	Holy Trinity Catholic Church
City Gate Church	Lee Highway Church of God
Clingan Baptist Church	Lookout Mtn. Presbyterian
Community Baptist Hixson	Lookout Valley Baptist
Community Bible Church	Miracle Missionary Baptist
Covenant Presbyterian Church	Mountain View Church of God
Cross of Christ Lutheran	New City Fellowship
New Life Church	Silverdale Baptist Church
Northside Baptist Church	South Seminole Baptist Church
Our Lady of the Mount	St. Elmo Presbyterian
Red Bank Cumberland Presb.	Valley Memorial Baptist
Red Bank Presbyterian	Varnell Methodist Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church	Wayside Presbyterian
River of Life Church	Westview Baptist Church
Signal Mountain Bible Church	White Oak Methodist
Signal Mountain Presbyterian	Woodland Park Baptist Church ^{xvii}

This may seem a bit skewed toward the conservative denominations, but this is simply a reflection of the community at large.

Individual donors, numbering 2,750, are likewise diverse. Fund raising activities have been very well designed, appealing to middle to upper-middle class, cross cultural clientele. The major fund raiser for the AAA Women's Services organization is a well-planned, annual banquet. A past supporter of the program agrees to recruit four couples for his/her table and informs them that the banquet is for fundraising. A lovely meal is followed by some outstanding speaker. Washington Post correspondent Cal Thomas spoke at

their more recent banquet with approximately 600 in attendance. Personal success stories of local young women who were influenced not to abort their unborn children were also highlighted.

In addition to individual giving, there are a significant number of businesses whose owners or CEO's consider the prolife agenda worth supporting. Listed below are companies who have helped in the success of antiabortion efforts in Chattanooga.

American Communications, Inc.	Hamico, Inc.
BLJ Properties	Hamilton-Roddy Chiropractic
Brainerd Psychological Services	Huffaker and Associates
Brainerd Vending Service	Jeff Locke Sign Company
Chattanooga Area CFC	Knights of Columbus
Chattanooga Coca-Cola Bottling	Ledco, Inc.
Chattanooga Christian Foundation	Lookout Plating, Inc.
Chattanooga Resource Foundation	Maclellan Foundation, Inc.
Cleveland Business Machines	MCM Company of Tennessee
Cyclelex Company	Physicians/Family & Sports Med.
G and M Realty	Pickett, Tarpley & Assoc., Inc.
Gabby's Restaurant	Po Boys Restaurant
Graham Vannoy Construction	Pulmonaire Services, Inc.
Red Bank Athletic Shop	Totten Furniture
Redemptorist Fathers	Unfinished Furniture Expo
Samples & Jennings, P.C.	United Steelworkers Local 3508
Southern Champion Tray	W.C. Teas Company
The Caldwell Foundation	Weld Mart, Inc. ^{xviii}
Therapeutic Foot Care	

Another good indicator of support for the prolife position are the thousands of people who line the streets to let passersby know that "Abortion Kills Children" during the annual Life Chain demonstration held in October. Large representations from many different churches make an entire community aware that those who perform abortions are not likely to win or influence people. Nor can they expect to get wealthy by exploiting the sad situation in which a young, single,

pregnant girl finds herself. One obstetrician from a neighboring community had this to say: "In Cleveland, it would be professional suicide if I were to be doing elective pregnancy terminations. Personally, I am prochoice. But I work here and I like it here, and the standards and morals of this community are very conservative. I have chosen to stand by these community standards."^{xix}

Some professors at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga believe their city to be just as conservative. Medical ethics professor, Dr. Don Klinefelter, had this to say: "There is room in Chattanooga for a courageous debate, but, unfortunately, only one side is speaking out. There is a very strong sense in Chattanooga that abortion should be viewed as the devaluing of human life and evidence of an increase in immorality. To speak in favor of abortion in this town is like saying that you are in favor of sin."^{xx}

I couldn't have said it any better myself.

SUCCESSFUL PROLIFERS ARE KNOWLEDGEABLE PROLIFERS

The prophet Hosea says of Israel in Hosea 4:6, "My people are destroyed for a lack of knowledge." Many people dedicated to the prolife position have the right motive and worthy intentions but are ineffective as agents of change because they are ignorant of some of the crucial areas in the prolife/abortion debate.

High on the list is one's ignorance of the law — local, county, state and federal law. And divine law, I might add. The prolife folks in Chattanooga were fortunate to have several excellent lawyers with strong prolife convictions who guided and protected them through some difficult situations. If such people are not available, more effort will have to be made to become

acquainted with the legal issues that may be faced.

Not only should pro-lifers be well-informed themselves, they should continually be looking for ways to convince others to join the struggle against abortion. Based upon our Chattanooga experience, one of the more effective ways to do this is by attempting to befriend and convince the media of the validity of our cause and push for the truth to get a fair hearing in the public forum.

I must say that most newspaper, TV and radio newsmen in Chattanooga have been extremely fair and unbiased in their coverage of the pro-life/abortion debate, especially when contrasted with media coverage in Washington, D.C. and other national news sources. It was "the media" who hired the Mason-Dixon Political/Media Research, Inc. to gather public opinion on a large number of pro-life/abortion issues. Results of this comprehensive survey were published in a six-part series that appeared in the Chattanooga Times and were repeatedly mentioned on both radio and TV. Can you imagine the boost the pro-life cause received when the following data appeared as lead stories in the pages of Chattanooga's daily newspaper?

Over 50% of area respondents thought that Chattanooga was better off without an abortion clinic, and that the leading medical center should not provide abortion services.

64% of Chattanooga respondents believe life begins at conception, 59% believe that abortion should be illegal and 84% think there are too many abortions in America.

74% percent regard abortion views of candidates for public office to be an important consideration for deciding one's vote.

82% percent of pro-life respondents based their opinion about abortion on religious beliefs, 53% think the Bible condemns abortion, and 69% think abortion is morally wrong.

Pro-choice candidates were consistently more willing to pay more taxes to cover uninsured pregnant women, infants born with AIDS, and foster parenting.

85% of respondents recommended that parental or legal guardian consent be required for all women seeking abortions under age 18.

81% of respondents are opposed to government funding of abortion except in cases of rape, incest or to protect the life of the mother.

90% of respondents believe that the act of killing an abortion doctor should be considered an act of murder.^{xxi}

Surely you can appreciate how much more aggressive and confident prolife advocates are knowing that a majority of the community is on their side. We owe a great debt to the media for this highly publicized information.

WOMEN REGRETTING THEIR ABORTIONS MAKE GREAT COUNSELORS

Prolifers have often been accused of talking a young lady out of an abortion only to forget about her once the child is born. And, sad to say, in some instances that may have been true. Because a large number of the personnel at AAA Women's Services have themselves been party to an abortion, their input into the policy and practices of AAA Women's Services have been instrumental in providing a rather comprehensive plan of care for every woman who comes to them. Over 17,000 have been served by one or more of the following services:

1. *Pregnancy Services*: free pregnancy tests, confidential counseling, 24-Hour Crisis Hotline, Shepherding Homes, maternity/baby clothing and equipment, emergency food shelf, Evangelism and Discipleship, "My Baby and Me" Prenatal Program. "In 1994, 3,164 women came through the doors of AAA Women's Services to find compassionate counsel, accurate information and practical help. Last year 45

women accepted Christ, and over 100 women changed their minds about aborting their babies. Over 400 women received help with clothing, food and housing, and 90 participated in our "My Baby & Me" program.^{xxii} Women receiving their services ranged from ages 12 to 52. Each had unique stresses in their lives which made her pregnancy a crisis. And each found love and support at AAA.

2. *Abstinence Education*

AAA Women's Services is also waging a strong campaign to reduce the need for abortions through its abstinence program. Over 3,200 young people in the Chattanooga area have been taught to save sex for marriage. In 1994, a five-day series was presented in 54 classrooms and in 19 church groups. This emphasis is in stark contrast to school districts that are passing out condoms to curb teenage pregnancies. This "Why kNOw" abstinence program has been well received by both public and parochial schools. It has been featured in *Worldwide Challenge* and WRCB's *Sex on Hold* TV series.^{xxiii} According to Kris Frainie, creator and teacher of the program, the demand for abstinence education by public schools has been much greater than anticipated.^{xxiv}

3. *Post-Abortion Support*

In the post-abortion support groups, even the men are included. The first men's Bible study group began in 1994. "Through these groups, monthly HOPE support meetings, and individual lay counselling, many people found new freedom from the pain of past abortions."^{xxv}

One of the objectives of AAA is to make a portion of their newly acquired building into a National Memorial for the Unborn who have been aborted. At the very site where over 35,000 babies were aborted, the memorial

will provide a place and a way to honor our nation's forgotten children. Small metal plaques giving the aborted child a name, the date of death and a small verse or thought will be placed there by mothers, fathers, grandparents and others grieved by their deaths. It will give those who have lost a child to abortion a place to mourn.

Tom Klassen, author of *Pro-Life Manifesto*, has said this about such memorials: "The plaque is her personal connecting link to the Memorial, the child's death, and healing. As she begins that simple action, she senses the beginning of new peace within herself."^{xxvi}

The entire staff of women at AAA all have tremendous gifts of service and compassion for the work they do and render them often with very meager remuneration. The radiance on their faces and the love and compassion in their hearts for the hurting young women is a blessing to observe or experience. In addition to the eight full-time staff, more than 150 other women are among their volunteers.

CONCLUSION

How long will it be before Chattanooga gets another abortion clinic? No one knows for sure. But those who embark upon such a mission should know a host of very religious, well educated, caring, non-violent people will be there reminding them they do not approve of aborting the unborn. Further, they need to know that that host will be extending their hands and hearts to all those experiencing a crisis pregnancy who may be seeking a better alternative than terminating the life of their unborn.

Several years ago, I developed a simple plan to assist my local prolife group in grasping the parameters in their prolife/abortion debate. The Chattanooga folks did

not have access to this plan but seem to have lived it out more than I could have ever desired. So I conclude by sharing it with you in hopes that your city, your community may be able to experience the delight of knowing all our sacrifices for the unborn are not in vain.

THE PROLIFE PLAN

Recognize the sacredness, value and worth all humans possess as a result of their being made in the image of God.

Identify the social, spiritual, and political forces bent on the destruction of human dignity through the annihilation of the unborn, unwanted, and unproductive of our society.

Gather and disperse accurate knowledge of fetal development and encourage continued research into the long-range effects of abortion on women, families and society.

Help women with unwanted pregnancies find creative alternatives to abortion by giving love, counsel, friendship, comfort, and support.

Tell the owners and employees of hospitals and clinics performing abortions that legality and morality are not synonymous terms, and their facilities will be picketed until killing the unborn is no longer profitable.

Translate the Judeo-Christian ethic into a life-validating, life-saving way of living that convinces others of the merit of the prolife position.

Oppose all views portrayed by the public media that are clearly biased against the prolife cause.

Link up with all local, state and national organizations dedicated to promoting life, participate in their activities, and support their cause.

Inform political and community leaders of the prolife position, praising them when they are supportive and striving for their replacement when they are not.

Follow the example of Jesus Christ in communicating God's love to those who have had abortions and those who are considering it by providing better alternatives.

Educate families, churches, and communities about the abortion issue until respect for all life is restored.

NOTES

i. M. Curriden and C. Patterson, "Driven to secrecy — or another town" in *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 63 (Monday, February 27, 1995), citing the Tennessee Department of Health.

ii. "Chattanooga's abortion fight through the years" in *The Chattanooga Times*. Vol. CXXVI, No. 64 (February 28, 1995).

iii. Ibid. (February 27, 1995).

iv. Linda Keener, personal conversation, April 1995.

v. "Chattanooga's abortion fight through the years." *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 64 (February 28, 1979).

vi. M. Curriden and C. Patterson, "Clear-cut win" in *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 64 (Tuesday, February 28, 1995).

vii. Ibid.

viii. Ibid.

ix. Ibid.

x. M. Curriden, "A former traveling doctor now on road to retirement" in *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 67 (Friday, March 3, 1995).

xi. M. Curriden and C. Patterson, "Driven to secrecy — or another town" in *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 63 (Monday, February 27, 1995).

xii. Ibid.

xiii. Keener, April 1995.

xiv. Nan Pollard, "Chairman's report" in *AAA Women's Services*

Annual Report (1994) p. 3.

xv. "Mission Statemen." in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p.2.

xvi. "AAA slogan" in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p. 2.

xvii. "List of supporting churches" in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p. 7.

xviii. "List of supporting businesses" in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p.7.

xix. M. Curriden and C. Patterson, "A City's Taboo" in *The Chattanooga Times*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 63 (Monday, February 27, 1995).

xx. Ibid.

xxi. Mason-Dixon Political Research, Inc., Survey of 415 Adults in Chattanooga Area (February 12-February 15, 1995).

xxii. "Services" in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p.5.

xxiii. Ibid., p.5.

xxiv. K. Frainie, personal conversation (May 15, 1995).

xxv. "Services" in *AAA Women's Services Annual Report* (1994) p.5.

xxvi. "National Memorial for the Unborn" in *AAA Women's Services Brochure* (1995).