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If you have a book you would like reviewed, or you would like to offer to review a book, please email the Book Review Editor on <u>reviews@ncis.org</u>. As a guide to length and content, you can download previous reviews from <u>https://www.ncis.org/book-reviewsthe-independent-scholar-tis</u>.

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FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP



Welcome to Volume 8 of *The Independent Scholar*. It is 2021, Year 2 C. E. [Covid Era], so this is another Journal of a Plague Year, may Daniel Defoe have mercy on our souls Considering what a "plague year" means—limitations on mobility, access to institutions, the ability to interact with others—underscores how truly creative, resilient, and independent we are. This issue serves as an example of what people, under incredible stress and varying degrees of isolation, are capable of producing, and you can be sure that each of these papers has passed thre same rigorous peer review process employed since the beginning, B. C. E. [Before Covid Era].

Jordan Lavender performs pioneering work on a tiny sliver of the Jewish Diaspora, as he examines various Jewish communities within Ecuador. While this has an anthropological feel to it, Eric Olson presents a paper on archaeological fieldwork in urban residential sites, a new and fresh perspective literally and methodologically.

Amanda Haste and Douglas Dixon approach pedagogy from different directions, the former as a native English-speaker teaching in a non-English environment, the latter as a teacher of students whose primary linguistic environments are not English. These papers discuss perspectives and problems, challenges and solutions.

To add to the mix, we introduce the winning essays in the 2020 Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize. Unfortunately, publisher's permission was not forthcoming for the winner, political scientist Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr., who examines one of seventeen Sustainable Development Goals set forth by the United Nations in 2016 and the various aspects of this one single Goal. However, you can read runner-up Sarah Hardstaff's essay, which discusses ideas of money and the gift in two novels by two children's authors.

The Book Review section is even more diverse than usual, with nine reviews ranging from practical guides for scholars to an examination of gender roles in Islam, maritime, medical and media history respectively, and more. Appropriately, this volume ends with the last piece of writing by NCIS affiliate member Fannie Peczenik, and tributes to two members of NCIS, the late art historian Georgia Sommers Wright, and sociologist/anthropologist/psychologist David Sonenschein, a veteran member of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars who worked in many capacities to build and maintain the organization.

As we head into Year 3 C. E., preparations for Volume 9 are already under way. We encourage you to join in the adventure of independent scholarship. For many this is a place where those who combine fields and disciplines in their work can present it to an appreciative audience, knowing that you, too, have met our high standards. If you have a paper that you would like to have considered for publication in *TIS*, please send it to <u>tis@ncis.org</u>; our submission guidelines are on the website (see also Notes for Contributors above). Likewise, if you would like to offer your services as a peer reviewer or a book reviewer, or if you yourself have a book to review, please let us know on <u>reviews@ncis.org</u>.

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.

General Editor, TIS

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CRITICAL ESSAYS

THE JEWS OF ECUADOR TODAY: ESTABLISHED AND EMERGING COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

This paper presents a contemporary analysis of Jewish communities in Ecuador, situating historic communities within their own internal development in the country since the mid-twentieth century, as European Jews fled anti-Semitism on the Continent, finding refuge in this South American country. The paper examines the modern history of the Jewish communities by considering the population groups that make up each community: (1) descendants of Ashkenazi immigrants from the 1940s-1950s; (2) limited Sephardic immigrants from the Middle East; (3) Israeli expats; (4) American Jewish expats, and; (5) Ecuadorian converts to Judaism who either claim Sephardic descent or not. Sephardic descent is claimed by converts as descendants of the Bnei Anusim (Heb. "forced ones"), Sephardic Jews who forcibly converted to Catholicism by the Spanish Inquisition, but who allegedly maintained Jewish practice in secret. Jewish communities in Ecuador are divided between these groups with Ashkenazi and Sephardi immigrants living near the country's two oldest synagogues in Quito and Guayaquil. Israelis tend to live along the coast, but can be found throughout the country and American expats tend to live in Cuenca, where there is no official synagogue, but an informal community exists. Jewish converts have been rejected by older synagogues and have started their own communities in Quito, Guayaquil, and elsewhere throughout the country.

Keywords: Ecuador, Judaism, emerging communities, Bnei Anusim

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INTRODUCTION

Much of the scholarly literature on the topic of Ecuador's Jewish community is outdated or unavailable in English. It does not account for recent phenomena of the conversion of Ecuadorians to Judaism, nor the presence of American lifestyle migrants in the past two decades (Hayes 2018). The various strands of current Ecuadorian Judaism include religious vs. cultural Jewish identities, socioeconomic class differentiation between born Jews and Jewish converts, as well as the emergence of denominational identities and intercultural relationships between Ecuadorian Jews and American expatriates (expats) and Israeli visitors. The community is composed of several groups: (1) Ashkenazi immigrants who arrived in the country, mostly due to the tragedy of the Holocaust; (2) a limited Sephardi immigration from the Middle East; (3) modern Israeli travelers and immigrants; (4) a resurgence of the descendants of crypto-Jews, who were forcibly converted to Catholicism in the 15th century and onward, and; (5) American Jewish retiree expats. Together these groups constitute the Jews of Ecuador, even if they do not necessarily interact with, or even recognize, the Jewishness of each other, particularly an issue for the descendants of crypto-Jews. Ecuadorian Jews share important characteristics with other Latin American Jewish communities but the community, but is also distinct in its own way. For instance, in contrast to other communities that were founded in the latter part of the 19th century, it is a relatively new community founded in the late 1930s (Darvish-Lecker and Don 1990). Ecuador's Jewish community is tiny in comparison to the overall population, constituting only 0.0001% of the population., Nevertheless, it is a community of individuals which has had a significant impact on Ecuadorian society, not only in academics, but in industry and science.

The History and Geography of Jewish Populations in Ecuador

The modern, majority Ashkenazi communities in Ecuador began as a result of refugees fleeing the horrors of the Nazi regime in Germany and other European countries (Darvish-Lecker and Don 1990). As Jewish refugees fled Europe, the majority went to Palestine or the United States, while a small number arrived in Ecuador. At that time, and even today, Ecuador was a largely unknown country to the world's Jewish population though there had been some discussion of relocating Jews to Ecuador and other Latin American countries. Other countries, such as Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, and Brazil were also open to European migration, particularly hoping that European migration would improve their agricultural production... Ecuador was no exception and vigorously promoted the idea of agricultural settlement by Jewish refugees and other European immigrants, even though this project failed in the end. Arriving in the port of Salinas, Jewish refugees spread to the Andes regions, particularly Quito. They also migrated to Ambato, Cuenca, and Riobamba, but no formal communities were established there. Jews in Ecuador, and all Latin American countries, often had a difficult process of adjustment as Latin American nationalists often opposed immigrants and anti-Semitic views were commonly held among the population (Elkin 2014).

The Jewish Community of Ecuador (JCE) was founded in 1938 under the name "Asociación de Beneficencia Israelita de Quito" by Julio Rosenstock, an Austrian Jewish engineer who arrived in Ecuador in 1914 to participate in the construction of a railway there. He briefly returned to Austria as consul of Ecuador but in 1934, but with the rise of the Nazism, returned to Ecuador and founded the association with other refugees arriving from Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The transition from life in Germany to life in Ecuador was drastic for these early refugees and likely led to their decision to resettle in other parts of the globe after some time in Ecuador.

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The Jews who arrived in Ecuador were academics, learned persons, well-respected in Germany. For them it was a great shock, how can it be that Germany, who loved me, I was a professor in the University, and today they are sending me to a gas chamber? It was a psychological shock more than anything else: How? What happened? What did we do? What was our error? Besides leaving Germany, those that arrived in Ecuador had to work in agriculture because Ecuador opened its doors for those who wanted to work in agriculture. So, someone who was an engineer, lawyer, arrived and had to take care of cows. They were never very religious, either in Germany or Ecuador.

The particular history of the Ecuadorian Ashkenazim has produced a unique identity, according to Rabbi Max Godet, a former rabbi in Quito and now Chief Rabbi in Uruguay, as he explains:

The Ecuadorian Jew is secular, he is very patriotic and he has a very strong Jewish identity, that is not lost. But his identity is not based on Zionism or religion, it is based on history. Here the CJE is very connected to history. Every child can be asked about his grandparents, great-grandparents and they will tell you the details. The fact that I am Jewish, the fact that my grandparents lived through the Holocaust, this is my Jewish identity... Something very particular about this community, a Jewish identity not based on Zionism or religion.

This unique cultural Ashkenazi identity is strong in Ecuador and manifests itself in interesting ways, most notably in how the community responds to issues of assimilation. Rafael Kaufmann, a member of the community, explains how they deal with intermarriages and particularly the children of those marriages:

Our intention is to try to maintain everyone united, maintaining the religion. In those cases where the children are not Jewish according to halacha (Jewish law), because the mother is not Jewish, either by birth or conversion, our mission is that, at least, those children will be ambassadors of our religion and when they hear people speaking about Judaism they will respond and speak well of us.

A unique aspect of the Ecuadorian Ashkenazi Jewish Community is that it straddles the line between Orthodoxy and assimilation and has adopted a posture of openness in its community, even in cases where Jewish identity was lost according to Orthodox standards.

Sephardic immigration to Latin America followed a different path. Because the regions of the Middle East, particularly the Ottoman Empire, had been considerably more open to Jews than Europe, emigration usually occurred for economic reasons. A majority of emigrants went to Palestine (later Israel) while many wealthier Sephardim, more likely to be French-speaking, immigrated to France. Others however, including lower class Sephardim who spoke Ladino, left states such as Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Libya, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq seeking Spanish-speaking countries for a better chance of integration as well as the looser immigration rules in Latin American countries. The nature of various Latin American countries complicated their integration, however, so that Jews in Mexico, Ecuador and Peru maintained a distinct culture due to a less tolerant host culture, whereas Jews in Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba and Brazil integrated more easily socially. Not many Sephardim immigrated to Ecuador though, and similar to those elsewhere, it has gradually lost its immigrants to other countries as they continued to seek better economic opportunities (Toktaş and Kılınç 2018). However, immigration in recent years, particularly from Israel, has increased the number of Sephardic Jews in Ecuador.

The population of the Jewish community in Ecuador peaked in the 1950s with around 4,000 individuals. Losses in population were initially sustained by further European immigration (Darvish-Lecker and Don 1990). Since the

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community's height in 1950, the population has continuously declined, as members have moved to the United States and Israel, leaving a small nucleus of Jews in Ecuador's capital, Quito, and the city of Guayaquil, the largest cities in Ecuador. These two cities host the majority of synagogues and other community institutions in the country. The *World Jewish Population* survey estimates the population of Jews in Ecuador in 2018 with a core group of 600 and a maximum expanded group of around 1,200 (Dashefsky et al. 2018), with the vast majority of Jews living in Quito. Figure 1 shows a map of Ecuador to situate the communities of Quito, Guayaquil and Cuenca for the reader.



Figure 1. Map of Ecuador

The Ecuadorian state, serving as a host to a variety of religious groups and sects, guarantees freedom of religion and prohibits discrimination based on religious grounds. Religious groups must be registered to obtain legal status in the country. Public schools may not instruct in religion but private schools may be established to teach religious doctrine. Several religious groups have expressed concerns about the registration process, regulations vis-a-vis private educational institutions, and customs regulations affecting the importation of kosher and halal food products (International Religious Freedom Report for 2018). However, the current president, Lenin Moreno, celebrated the 80th year of the Jewish community in October 2017 and established interfaith working groups. However, religious groups note that societal tolerance does not match the existing legal framework for pluralism.

The story above presents a historical sketch of the established Orthodox communities in Quito and Guayaquil, the only communities counted in official surveys. However, the story of Ecuador's *emerging communities* adds further depth to the picture of Jewish life in the country. In Guayaquil, in addition to the Orthodox synagogue, there have been Masorti and Reform synagogues all of which are new to the city in the past decade or so. While the international Reform and Conservative movements do not have any officially affiliated communities in Ecuador, some of the emerging groups claim these identities for themselves. In this sense, Ecuador has all of the ingredients of modern Jewish life: cultural Judaism in Quito, and denominationalism in Guayaquil with Reform, Masorti, and varying shades of Orthodoxy, including Chabad whose focus is on outreach to non-observant Jews (Telushkin

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1991). Unlike in America, where the non-Orthodox denominations are part of the "establishment" in Jewish life, in Ecuador, they are connected with emerging communities. This is illustrated by the work of a Reform rabbi in performing conversions of Ecuadorians to Judaism. Conversion to Judaism is most prevalent among the *Bnei Anusim*, which in Hebrew refers to "children of the forced [ones]", referring to the forcible conversion of Jews to Catholicism in medieval Spain, who often maintained a clandestine practice of Judaism referred to by scholars as *crypto-Judaism* (Kunin 2009). These crypto-Jews spread throughout Spanish territories and their descendants have become aware of their heritage and have sought conversion.

Conversion to Judaism in Latin America is subject to a number of unique complications as a result of an "eternal" ban against conversion imposed on the Syrian Orthodox community in 1927. This decree seems to have resulted from a number of insincere conversions resulting from interfaith relationships between Jewish men and non-Jewish women and was intended to limit the number of cases of intermarriage in the community. The decree reads, "It is forbidden to accept converts in Argentina forever... If they desire they can go to Jerusalem, perhaps they will accept him. (Diber Shaul – Yoreh Deah Siman 3)". This decree was only applied to Argentina but, due to later decisions by the State of Israel to not accept Orthodox conversions performed in Latin American countries and the practicality of assembling Orthodox batei din (religious courts), it is common practice *not* to perform conversions in Ecuador. However, the Orthodox rabbis of the country help arrange for conversions to take place in the United States and conduct education for conversion candidates in their communities.

The dynamic of established communities versus emerging challengers defines the culture of Ecuadorian Jewry, as alternative communities are being established to parallel the established communities in Guayaquil and Quito. Added to this story is the amorphous and, often times, transnational community of American expats in Cuenca, Ecuador's third largest city, with a growing (but difficult to establish) number of Jews who have an unofficial "Jewish Community of Cuenca" group that meets for religious and secular celebrations around Jewish holidays and other social events. If we take into consideration the emerging story, we can see much more room for hope in the continuing longevity of Ecuadorian Jews.

Most emerging communities in Ecuador lay some claim to Jewish ancestry as *Bnei Anusim*, the descendants of Jews forcibly converted to Christianity in the Spanish Inquisition. Let us now explore the story of these Jews and their connection to Ecuador and its modern Jewish communities.

THE HISTORY OF BNEI ANUSIM AND CRYPTO-JEWISH POPULATIONS IN ECUADOR

Spain was an important religious and cultural center for medieval Jewry as it housed religious scholars and poets rivalling Babylonia, the traditional center of Jewish learning at the time, where the Talmud, one of the core texts of rabbinic Judaism was compiled and diffused throughout the world. The academies of medieval Spain eventually outpaced the Babylonians and became the major center of Jewish learning in the world until the Reconquest of the Peninsula by the Christian Spaniards, producing many of Judaism's greatest thinkers, including Moses Maimonides, among countless others.

Tradition has asserted that the Jewish presence in Iberia (Spain and Portugal) was ancient. These assertions were essential to the Jews' defense against the courts of the Inquisition and therefore might be exaggerated, though archeological evidence confirms a Jewish presence as early as the 1st or 2nd century CE. Additionally, documents were found in Babylonia that commented on the prosperity of Spanish Jewry in 953 CE and which allegedly had been so since the destruction of the first Temple in Jerusalem in 587 BCE. The Jewish community in Hispania, as the Romans called Iberia, was fairly large with established communities in many of the cities of the Roman province.

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However, the situation of the Jews would change as Hispania was invaded by the Visigoths, Vandals, and other Germanic tribes in 416 CE. At first, there was not any drastic change, as the Visigoths espoused Arian Christianity, a heterodox system of belief, and did not initially pay much attention to the Jews in their kingdom. However, the Visigoth conversion to Catholicism in or around 589 CE under King Reccared I resulted in a markedly different approach to the Jews in Hispania. This is where we begin to see the idea of forced conversions, in addition to increasingly stricter regulations vis-a-vis Jewish worship and practice. The legacy of the Visigoths and their approach to the Jews after converting to Catholicism will become an essential ingredient in understanding the renaissance of Jewish life in Ecuador in the past few years, because it established a pattern of forced conversions to Catholicism among families which has been passed down through generations and has allowed modern descendants to rediscover Jewish ancestry and heritage.

In 711, the Iberian Peninsula was conquered by Moors from North Africa, which fundamentally altered the culture of Iberia, particularly for the Jews. While things were certainly not perfect for Jews under Muslim rule, the circumstances of the Muslims' attitudes towards the Jews allowed for Jewish life to develop in a way which was not possible under Christian rule. The tide began to change in Spain as Christian Spaniards began to reconquer the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim rule, starting in the 12th century and onwards. Christian kingdoms were subsequently re-established and regained power from formerly Muslim rulers.

Spanish Jewry split into two separate histories with the reconquest of the Peninsula by Christian rulers, who were zealous Catholics eager to rid Spain of non-Christian influence. The infamous Expulsion Act of 1492, promulgated on 31 March, 1492 presented Spanish Jews with the option to convert or leave the country within 90 days. Many Jews chose to convert to Catholicism. While many were sincere conversions, others were insincere, either by individuals who wanted the possibility of socioeconomic advancement in a Christian society, or those who were religiously Jewish but converted to save their lives. While the coercive nature of the conversionary impulse among medieval Spanish Christians did produce some fervent missionaries among Jewish converts, it also produced new Christians who only had a surface-level attachment to Christianity and maintained a private observance of Judaism at home. This became known as *crypto-Judaism* (Kunin 2009). Jewish converts to Christianity were subject to investigation by Inquisition authorities for practicing Judaism.

Many other Jews chose to leave, and the mass exodus on 31 March, 1492 created what we now know as Sephardic Judaism, taking the name *Sefaradi*, from *Sefaradi*, the Hebrew name for Spain. These Jews spread throughout the world and created a large diaspora of communities, spanning from Portugal (which only lasted a few years, due to the influence of the Inquisition), to Palestine, Morocco, Egypt, Syria, Italy, Yemen, the Netherlands, England, and the United States. The US's oldest synagogue, Shearith Israel, in New York City, was founded by Western Sephardim, also known as Spanish and Portuguese Jews who had arrived from Western Europe. Spanish and Portuguese Jews also established important communities in the American Colonies in Newport, Rhode Island, Charleston, South Carolina, and Montreal, as well as in European capitals, such as London and Amsterdam.

Crypto-Jews or *conversos* ("converts") often settled in the New World. Throughout the colonial period in various South American cities, *conversos* settled and practiced trades of different types, even though they did not receive a warm welcome in all cases. There were *conversos* who settled in the Spanish colonies which maintained Crypto-Jewish practices for some time though they eventually assimilated into mainstream Spanish society and became as Catholic as other Spanish colonists. Other *conversos* arrived in Jewish communities in Italy or the Netherlands and

returned to Judaism. In modern times, individuals have become aware of their ancestry as Crypto-Jews through an analysis of family customs that many have linked to crypto-Judaism (Kunin 2009).

Many researchers have set out to discover where *conversos* settled in the world, particularly in the New World, to ascertain if there is any Jewish influence in a particular region. Ricardo Ordóñez has produced a work exploring Sephardic Jewish influence in Loja, Ecuador, in his book titled, La herencia sefardita en la provincia de Loja (Sephardic Heritage in the Loja Province). Ordóñez explores the tradition that associates Loja as a place of refuge for Peninsular Jews since times past, with traditions of clandestine synagogues and the Sephardic origin of its earliest Spanish settlers. He shows the Sephardic connection and history tied to the city of Loja, in the southern part of Ecuador, and also presents a linguistic case that ties the unique lexical traits of Lojano Spanish with the type of Judeo-Spanish that might have been spoken by the earlier Sephardic settlers in Loja. He also describes traditional practices by Lojanos (people from Loja) that are allegedly derived from crypto-Judaic practices of the conversos. For example, the custom of cleaning the house every Friday to celebrate a "feast" with only a pair of candles to the "invisible God" and without the typical religious Catholic altar with Saints and images of Christ . There were reports of some people having the custom of having a mezuzah on the door of their house without explicating the rationale or reason for having such a religious item in their possession. This attempt to link distinct cultural practices to Sephardic ancestry has been confirmed, with considerable debate, by genetic research (Velez et al. 2011). At some point, the Ecuadorian converso community disintegrated and ceased to exist in any meaningful sense. However, other studies of converso communities in New Mexico reveal certain traits similar to Ordóñez's claims about Loja. Kunin (2009) notes four Crypto-Jewish or converso identities: (1) strong converso identity; (2) weak converso identity; (3) Christian identity with converso elements; (4) Christian identity without converso elements (p. 115). Crypto-Jewish identity is tied to self-identification, genealogy, practice and belief. The practices are varied but similar to what Ordóñez documents in Loja. In Ecuador, the renaissance of converso identity is new and seems to be of the strong variety. Particularly of interest is the keeping of records, of which Ordóñez references and presents in his book that present lists of names and surnames of Spanish and Portuguese conversos from the colonial period together with the traditions mentioned above. What this history provides is a *link* to a Jewish past, which many spiritual seekers in Ecuador and in all of Latin America hold onto as they adopt new religious practices. It is also important to note that Ecuadorian Jewry does not have a large Sephardic immigrant population, in the way that Syrian and other Middle Eastern Jewish communities became important in other Latin American countries (Elkin 2014; Sandberg 1917). The return of the descendants of Sephardim in Ecuador to Judaism is both unique as well as similar to their experiences in other countries.

We shall see how this story has played out in modern Ecuadorian Jewish life in the next section, as we examine currently existing communities and how they came into being. The story of the *Bnei Anusim* is crucial to the development of alternative communities in Ecuador. What is important is that this story has taken hold among the current practitioners of Judaism in Ecuador, particularly the new converts to Judaism who make up the bulk of congregants in emerging communities. The development of this identity has not been addressed by scholarly inquiry (to the author's knowledge) but seems to have developed over the past twenty years with the establishment of new congregations, many of whom have a clearly *Anusim* identity.

After having briefly outlined the origin of the Ashkenazi established communities and the origins of the emerging communities in Ecuador, I now wish to offer a survey of the existing Jewish communities in Ecuador. These profiles are based on interviews with community members, investigating websites and social media profiles of communities, and relying on secondary sources to understand the history and current situation of each community. We will

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explore these communities by dividing them into different categories, which I have called "established" and "emerging" communities, as well as "cultural organizations", even though these names might not necessarily be the best names to describe these communities. The intent is to describe the origin as well as the status and impact of each community on the larger Jewish community of each self-identified portion.

EXISTING JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN ECUADOR

The nomenclature of "established" vs. "emerging" communities are used to classify Ecuadorian Jewish communities. This terminology was used by informants interviewed for this study. "Established" synagogues or communities refer to those of the European immigration in the early 20th century and are regarded as the official Jewish communities of the country. "Emerging" synagogues are those that descend from other groups, most notably those claiming Sephardic heritage as *Bnei Anusim* and other Ecuadorianas pursuing conversion to Judaism outside of the established communities. I also include a category of "Cultural Organizations" to describe (mostly) non-religious Jews, particularly the Cuenca expat community, which is an informal organization that hosts both religious and non-religious events and consists of recent immigration of American expats, who have retired in Cuenca. Information about each group was assembled through interviews with communal leaders. Table 1 shows the number of communities in Ecuador broken down by the aforementioned categories.

The majority of Jewish life in Ecuador is Orthodox or Orthodox-leaning for a variety of reasons and it seems that the non-Orthodox streams of Jewish life have not had continued success in organizing themselves. The one Reform community is currently inactive but plans to reopen.

Table 1. Organized religious communities in Ecuador

| Denominational identity | Number of associated communities |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Established Orthodox communities | 2 |
| Chabad Houses | 2 |
| Reform communities | 1 |
| Conservative communities | 2 |
| Emerging Orthodox communities | 3 |
| Total | 10 |

Established Synagogues

Jewish Community of Ecuador (JCE)

The Comunidad Judía de Ecuador (CJE) in Quito is a fully functioning community with a synagogue that has daily prayers, adult education programs, Shabbat services, and lodging for Shabbat visitors. It was historically known for its organizational network, described by Beno Weiser, a prominent Ecuadorian Jew as, "the most attractive and best

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organized [community] in South America" (1947, p. 536). In fact, the entire Jewish community in Ecuador is largely synonymous with Quito as historical immigrants to Ecuador arrived in Guayaguil on the Pacific coast but tended to migrate to Quito (Darvish-Lecker and Don 1990), often leaving behind rural settlements necessary to obtain visas but who lacked economic and educational opportunities for their children (Simos and Kohls 1975).

CJE has been served by several rabbis throughout its existence. Its first permanent rabbi, Leon Albin, was raised in the community, after his parents immigrated to Ecuador in the 1930s. He served the community intermittently between 1972-1995, after having studied in Israel for his semikhah. He continues to live in Quito and operates an independent shechita operation, providing kosher chicken to several families in Quito. After Leon's retirement, there were no permanent rabbis until Rabbi Alejandro Mlynski arrived in 2003. He was affiliated with the Conservative Movement in Latin America and served in Quito until 2013. He was succeeded by Rabbi Max Godet, a Brazilian Jew from 2015-2018, who later became the Chief Rabbi of Uruguay. The current rabbi, Nir Koren, has served the community since Max Godet's departure.

CJE also has a kosher kitchen serving kosher food daily as well as preparing frozen meals for travel and delivery to observant travelers or quests. Max Godet, rabbi of CJE from 2015 until 2018, informed me of the situation concerning kosher food in Ecuador at that time. His comments centered on the situation in Quito, where there are supermarkets that sell kosher products, including kosher meat and poultry, as well as Ashkenazi staples, such as gefilte fish and other such imported products. There are many certified kosher national products to be found in a majority of supermarkets in Ecuador including local cheeses, various brands of bread, yogurt, fruit juices, milk, cream cheese and other staples. Rabbi Nir Koren informed me that the options available for kosher consumers has increased since Rabbi Godet's departure. The community had been more Conservative in its religious orientation but Rabbis Godet and Koren have introduced many initiatives to increase Orthodox observance in the community. Rabbi Nir Koren had previously served communities in Mexico and Colombia. He embarked on a journey to increase Orthodox observance in Quito with initiatives such as teaching Jewish law and having daily prayer services in the homes of members and starting a youth movement. Simos and Kohls (1975) describe the religious life of the Quito community:

Religious practices of the majority of Quito Jews was roughly similar to what it had been in Germanspeaking countries of origin. Religious leadership went by default to the Eastern European Orthodox minority, with the majority complaining but failing to provide leadership. Most of the people did not attend religious services at all or were, at best, "three-day Jews," i.e., attending services on the High Holidays only. Most families celebrated Passover and Chanukah. Six families still kept the dietary laws. Despite lax religious observance, all parents were united in opposing intermarriage, and the feeling of Jewish identity was strong (p. 210).

The Quito community is often described as having a strong cultural Jewish identity, as mentioned in the introductory section of this paper. The opposition to intermarriage is due to social factors, rather than strictly religious opposition, although the patriarchal orientation of Ecuadorian society can facilitate intermarriage because children typically identify with the religion of their father in the broader society. Often, an intermarriage involves downward class mobility, affecting a family's economic standing, due to the racialized socioeconomic hierarchy in Ecuador and broader Latin American culture, associating whiteness with higher socioeconomic status (Hayes 2018; Simos and Kohls 1975).

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The CJE has a school called *Unidad Educativa Albert Einstein*, which is located in Quito. It is fully bilingual in English and Spanish, with a third language requirement of Hebrew or French. The linguistic preference of the community historically was strongly European and German and Yiddish were maintained for some time after the arrival of the first immigrants (Simos and Kohls 1975). The school is a secular institution which has both non-Jewish and Jewish students. It is founded upon Jewish cultural values and the intent, which results from the unique identity of the CJE, is to use Jewish culture to enrich a secular education. The school was founded by members of the CJE in 1973 to provide a place of academic excellence which would also teach Jewish culture, the Hebrew language, and the history of Israel from a secular point of view. The school chose to name itself after Albert Einstein because is viewed him as an example of the type of cultural synthesis sought out by the Quito community, by maintaining Jewish identity in difficult circumstances, while representing global citizenship and a concern for the wellbeing of the planet.

The social status of the Jews of Quito is between middle-class and affluent. Simos and Kohls' (1975) study of this community revealed that a majority was successful from an economic standpoint and able to afford medical care in the United States or elsewhere, as well as to send children to private school in Quito or abroad. Members of the community were able to afford higher-priced imported goods and household attendants. Their study also revealed some of the social habits of the community, which were strongly attached to the religious and cultural institutions mentioned above. However, some members had begun to move in non-Jewish social groups, due to business contacts or intermarriage of their children or grandchildren. The Jewish community (at the time of their study) was not well-integrated into Ecuadorian upper class life, since it did not accept Jews as social equals. Children of Jewish Ecuadorians were expected to eventually leave Ecuador, for to a variety of reasons. Other social issues faced by the community relate to the relations between the German and the Eastern European Jews in Quito, whose religious behavior and culture differs markedly. There has been conflict between "intermarried" families of Germans to Eastern Europeans, particularly among older generations. The potential conflict around these issues is no longer an issue in the community. However, the socioeconomic status of the community is still much the same and the problems with intermarriage and emigration are of continued concern for the community.

The Sephardic Synagogue of Quito

Besides the Jewish Community of Ecuador in Quito, there is another synagogue, The Sephardic Cultural Center, or as it is colloquially known, The Sephardic Synagogue of Quito, which formed in the 2010s in the Kennedy neighborhood of Quito. It is a space for Sephardic Judaism in Quito. It generally follows the *Yerushalmi nusach*, popular among Sephardic Jews in Israel and the United States but follows some Moroccan and Spanish-Portuguese customs. It is led by Yosef Franco, who is the rabbi of the community and received *semikhah* from Yeshiva Pirchei-Shoshanim. The legal name, "Sephardic Cultural Center" was chosen because the community is much more than a synagogue; it is also a bookstore and Judaica shop. They have access to a kosher *mikvah* and are supplied with kosher meat from the Quito community. They have worked with outside organizations, such as Kulanu, receiving their volunteers in the past. Before the community was officially established, Rabbi Franco worked with a few students and there were no formal services, only informal gatherings. Gradually the community had added prayer services daily before the COVID-19 pandemic. Unlike all other communities, the synagogue did not disclose information on its membership but reports around 40 people, who join their Zoom classes. They also work with both potential conversion candidates, who complete a year-long course-of-study and must live within walking distance of the synagogue and begin with a course on the Seven Noahide Laws. Some candidates pursue full conversion, while others remain connected to the community as Noahides, non-Jews who observe the ethical

teachings of Judaism. They hold two weekly classes on Tuesdays and Wednesdays with invited rabbis from Mexico, Panama, Argentina and other countries, who teach on various topics. On Sundays, they also hold a class on halakhah. In January, they are holding Hebrew classes for beginners to learn reading and writing skills in Hebrew.

Chabad of Quito

A Chabad House was established in Quito by Rabbi Tomer Rotem in 2004 but has become less active. As is characteristic of Chabad, Rabbi Rotem and his wife, Rivka Rotem, are active in reaching out to Ecuador's Jewish community, together with other rabbis, particularly Uriel Tawil of Guayaquil. As with other Chabad communities around the globe, Rabbi Rotem has been active in promoting religious observance in Ecuador, for example by distributing *shmurah matzah* and organizing seders during Passover, as well as other outreach efforts to Ecuadorian Jews. The impact of Chabad is felt by American expats in Cuenca (and elsewhere) who rely on Chabad rabbis for important ritual items and for the delivery of matzah on Passover.

Comunidad Judía de Guayaquil / Jewish Community of Guayaquil

Rabbi Uriel Tawil led Chabad of Guayaquil from 2011-2017; he is also involved in creating kashrut certification in Ecuador. It is now led by Mandy Fried, another Chabad rabbi who arrived in 2018, Guayaquil having had no permanent rabbi before Uriel Tawil. This community was founded in 1940, before Jews began to move to the Sierra region in Quito, and was traditional in style with a membership of around 80 people. It maintains a website under the name "Comunidad Judía de Guayaquil" (Jewish Community of Guayaquil), containing information about the history of the community, its upcoming events, and other important information for members and travelers alike. The community maintains Orthodox services, with separate seating for men and women, as well as maintaining other aspects of the community according to Jewish law. However, the personal practice of the members varies between different levels of observance. The community hosted rabbinical students, who came to lead the holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in the fall, Hanukkah in the winter, and Passover in the spring and other events, from 1990 until Rabbi Uriel Tawil arrived in 2011. Rabbi Tawil increased the number of services and programs and advocated for a more Orthodox observance in the community. Intermarriage is presennt in the community, as well, with many members being defined as patrilineally Jewish. The rabbis of the community arrange to study with these individuals to prepare them for conversion, although the conversion ceremony itself occurs in the United States. Alfredo Czarninski Sidermann (1916-2003) acquired a visa to travel to Ecuador around 1936 after travelling to Costa Rica with a friend. He founded the supermarket chain, Mi Comisariato under a different name in 1958. His family has been central to the Jewish Community of Guayaguil and was involved in its founding. His son, Johnny Czarninski, is the current president of the community.

In 2015, an Israeli resident of Guayaquil opened a kosher restaurant, called Kosher Pita Grill, which serves mostly Israeli food, including falafel, shawarma, kebabs, schnitzel, and other dishes. The opening of the restaurant contributed to the expansion of the kosher infrastructure for the observant community in Ecuador along with more access to kosher food in supermarkets, and solidified Chabad's presence as a source of kosher food, which has expanded under the leadership of Rabbi Tawil, who noted an increase of kosher meat and other products being sold in the past five years. This expanding access to kosher food was also highlighted by the opening of a kosher certifying agency in Guayaquil, which has connections to US certifying agencies such as the Orthodox Union. The agency certifies a number of national products, with a particular emphasis on exported products. In addition to the kosher restaurant, the Guayaquil community also opened a mikvah with separate facilities for men and women,

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built under the supervision of Rabbi Uri Taweil and Rabbi Yirmiyahu Katz, who is involved in the construction of mikvahs worldwide.

The community has an ambivalent relationship with developing emerging communities. The Guayaquil community has had negative experiences with these individuals and does communicate with them. The emerging communities express a negative attitude as well, feeling that they are excluded from the community. There is a conflict of ideologies among the emerging groups in Guayaquil, leading to disagreements between the JCG and other communities. Although, the disparity between the JCG and others in Guayaquil can also be attributed to differences in ideology with regard to practicing Judaism. Another potential source of disagreement is that many in the emerging communities have a desire to make aliyah and not to build a presence in Ecuador, which might not be appreciated by Ecuador's synagogues.

Chabad of Montañita

Chabad of Montañita was established by a group of Israeli *mochileros* who decided to stay in Ecuador. At its height, there were around 30-40, mostly Israelis, who were affiliated. However, since the COVID-19 pandemic, this community has disbanded. There was discussion of services and other signs of congregational life in Montañita in an expat discussion forum. The community also seems to have expanded beyond its original Israeli nucleus to include some American Ashkenazi expats.

Emerging Communities

Congregación Judía Reformista Beit Jadash (Chadash in English Transliteration)

The story of *Beit Chadash* (New House) is intrinsically tied to the story of the *Bnei Anusim* explored above. Dr. Carl Hauer-Simmonds, a descendant of Ecuador's established Orthodox community in Guayaquil began to work with Ecuadorian *Bnei Anusim* because he saw that the traditional community was closed off to converts without an Orthodox conversion, a change that occurred after the community hired Uriel Tawil, an Orthodox rabbi. Deciding it was necessary to establish a new congregation that would be open to *Bnei Anusim*, and which reflected the vision of the community towards the *Bnei Anusim*, he contacted Rabbi Terry Bookman, who had expressed support for *Bnei Anusim* and had offered his personal support in bringing back *Anusim* to Judaism. Rabbi Bookman, the former rabbi at Temple Beth Am in Miami, suggested the name *Beit Chadash* and the community was born on July 1, 2010.

The congregation was founded on July 1st, 2010, and, at first, it was unaffiliated with any worldwide Jewish movements. However, it identified as progressive in its outlook by accepting women as active members of the congregation, accepting patrilineal Jews, among other characteristically progressive policies. At first, there were few who joined *Beit Chadash*, yet, with the passing of the years it has grown tremendously to include 140 members. The congregation began without a building but now has a permanent home, represented physically in its dedicated space for services and other community activities, and institutionally, since it has joined the World Union for Progressive Judaism. *Beit Chadash* facilitated the conversion of its 140 members. It was also instrumental in helping convert around 800 other *Bnei Anusim* to Judaism, who were formerly members of Christians congregations. Many of these individuals also became involved in other emerging communities after receiving conversion from Rabbi Terry Bookman. It also seems that many of these congregations have ceased to operate in the past few years.

The 2020 COVID-19 pandemic has hit all emerging communities hard. *Beit Chadash* has been affected especially as it has been forced to cease operations since the onset of the pandemic, which has made it difficult to meet for services and other events. Additionally, Dr. Carl Hauer-Simmonds unfortunately passed away in 2020.

Beit Toldot

Beit Toldot (House of Generations) is a community which has operated since 2015, after its founder, Mr. Yosef Toledo, discovered his own Jewish roots via the Spanish Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism. He travelled to Colombia to learn from a rabbi associated with the organization, Shavei Israel, an Israeli organization that seeks to bring back *Bnei Anusim* and typically encourages *aliyah*, immigration to Israel. A small community gathered around Toledo who organized their conversion in Barranquilla, Colombia in 2018. He began to work with Chaya Castillo, Shavei Israel's representative in Latin America, to build this community.

Beit Toldot consists of around 10 families or around 50 people and is supervised by Rabbi Shimon Yehoshua, Shavei's emissary in Colombia. Mr. Toledo prioritizes finding conversions that are acceptable to the State of Israel both to facilitate *aliyah* and to ensure that Judaism in Ecuador conforms to Orthodox standards. The community continues to grow and he works with small groups to form communities in other parts of the country. Although the group is small, it is very active holding daily as well as Shabbat and holiday prayer services, as well as Torah study and celebrations.

Nachale Emuna

Nachale Emuna was a community that existed after a group of rabbis came to convert a group of *Bnei Anusim* to Judaism several years ago. This group was advised by Rabbi Joseph Kolakowski and Rabbi Moshe Otero but has since ceased operation. Many former members have joined other communities, such as El Elohai Israel or the Chabad of Guayaquil. The community was affiliated with Los Caminos de Israel, an outreach effort that seeks to bring back *Bnei Anusim* to Judaism and offers online classes on YouTube.

El Elohei Israel - Comunidad Judía Anusim (The God of Israel - Jewish Bnei Anusim Community)

This community was formed in 2005 and obtained legal status in 2007. It was founded by a group of *Bnei Anusim* with the specific goal of being a Sephardic congregation. Its leader is Mr. Nery Montiel who had a powerful experience of divine calling to return to his roots in Judaism after learning that his family had roots in Spain and other parts of the Middle East. This is another example of an emerging congregation which is very active and engaged with practicing Jewish law and devotion. Around 80 people regularly attend Shabbat services. Mr. Montiel and their website reveal that they offer many weekly activities, including full day Shabbat and holiday services, as well as several weekday prayer services on Sundays, Mondays, and Thursdays for Shacharit, or the morning prayers. There are also opportunities for learning throughout the week, with weekly *parashah* classes on Wednesdays, Fridays, and on Shabbat. Additionally they offer courses in learning Hebrew, Sephardic Jewish living, Jewish cooking, courses to understand *taharat hamishpacha* and classes for children. In a similar way to Beit Toldot, El Elohei Israel is working with other small groups throughout the country who want to convert to Judaism and establish their own communities.

Congregación Ovadia Yosef

Mr. Israel Villacis started this community in 2011. They began in the Reform Movement and were converted by Rabbi Terry Bookman, becoming Orthodox in 2015. They began working with the Diaspora Yeshiva Toras Yisrael in Jerusalem. Mr. Villacis studied there and received *semikhah*, he is the current rabbi of the community. The community was large at first and subsequently lost members upon transitioning to Orthodoxy. It now has around 80 members, according to Mr. Villacis. Unlike other groups, this community does not claim Sephardic heritage as

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Bnei Anusim but is made up of spiritual seekers who came to love Judaism and its unique practices. They describe themselves as Sephardic Haredi and follow the Sephardic ritual in synagogue services.

Jewish Association of Guayaquil

This community was the result of two projects. The first project was called the Shtibel of Guayaquil, which was a small group of people learning with an Ecuadorian, a lawyer in Guayaquil, who identifies with Conservative Judaism. This first iteration of the project was more oriented towards Orthodox Judaism at first, but tried to create a Conservative community with the help of Rabbi Juan Mejía, a Colombian who converted to Judaism and was ordained as a rabbi in the United States. He helped the community learn about Judaism and advised them on how to affiliate. That project did not come to fruition, due to financial issues. This group fragmented but some stayed with him and continued learning. This group met an American Jew, who also had a small group interested in forming a community. These two groups formed the Jewish Association of Guayaquil. This group describes itself as a right-wing Conservative synagogue, meaning it is traditional in style but does not require all of the strictures of Orthodox Judaism. The community consists of around 25-30 members.

Other Emerging Communities

There are small groups that want to form new communities in Cuenca, Ambato and Loja. In Ambato, there is a community forming around an individual named Renán Muñoz, which is affiliated with Mr. Yosef Toledo's group, *Beit Toldot*, in Guayaquil and Shavei Israel in Colombia. However, I was not able to organize an interview with Mr. Muñoz. Mr Renán Muñoz has completed his conversion and is involved with teaching Judaism to other new groups. There is another initiative of Beit Toldot of Guayaquil in the city of Cuenca, called *Comunidad Chadash Chai Torah Emet* (New Life Torah of Truth - CCTE), which is working closely with Mr. Yosef Toledo in Guayaquil, who has a dream of opening at least one Shavei Israel community in each province of the country. CCTE is working on establishing their community in Cuenca under the leadership of Eliezer Sánchez who works with Yosef Toledo and Shavei Israel to establish the community. Another former Messianic group, *Raíces.Congregación* (Roots.Congregation), under Mr. Gonzalo Calle, has also started to learn with Shavei Israel. Groups in Cuenca and Loja have been working with Mr. Nery Montiel to organize new emerging communities there under his supervision. There is reportedly a community in the Province of El Oro called *Beit Aharon* (The House of Aaron) but I was unable to establish contact with anyone from that group to know if it is still in operation.

Cultural Organizations

Jewish Community in Cuenca, Ecuador

As with most Ecuadorian Jewish organizations, this group is relatively new and is tied to other processes of migration, mostly relating to the economic situation in the United States. The financial position of people entering retirement in the United States in the past decade has been such that a small subsection of retirees has sought to live as expats around the globe, increasingly in Latin America. Ecuador is a frequent destination of retiree expats due to the desirable climate, affordable prices, and its use of the American dollar, which provides economic stability and the lack of any need to convert a lifetime's worth of savings into a potentially volatile foreign currency (Hayes 2014a; 2014b). Official estimates of the actual number of Americans living in Ecuador are unreliable but many estimates arrive at a number around 8,000 while acknowledging that the actual number could fluctuate in either direction (INEC 2010). Additionally, many residents are temporary residents who either spend part of the year in the United States, or in other countries, or who move to Ecuador for a number of years before relocating elsewhere.

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The Jewish Community of Cuenca (JCoC) is a small subset of this overall American community in Cuenca. As such, it is composed of American retirees who have settled in Cuenca for some time. They bring an American cultural Judaism to their South American retirement living. This type of cultural affinity shapes the practice of the JCoC, which is an unofficial organization that organizes on Facebook, and does not think of itself as a synagogue or any other type of official Jewish organization. It meets informally at the homes of people who associated themselves with the group and hosts semi-religious celebrations of Jewish holidays, including a Rosh Hashanah potluck, Hanukkah party, and a Passover seder. It does not host prayer services, Torah study, or other markedly religious observances and it seems that the majority of Jews in Cuenca do not consider themselves to be observant. Chabad groups active in Ecuador perform outreach to members of this community.

Jews of Ecuador (Facebook group for descendants of Ashkenazi refugees in the 20th century)

This cultural organization, like the Cuenca group, lacks officiality. It is an informal group for organizing and connecting with fellow Jews of a similar background, in this case, with some connection to Ecuador, even if currently not living there. Dr. Carl Hauer-Simmonds, president of Beit Jadash, describes the Jews of Ecuador community as such, "They are European Jews... that came to Ecuador fleeing the Holocaust and their descendants (including me). They came as children or were born in Ecuador, but just about all of them moved to the USA in 1945 where they live now. There is only a handful of them that remained in Ecuador or came back here after retirement." The Jews of Ecuador maintains a website that includes a number of important historical documents, photographs, videos, and links to the documentary *An Unknown Country* by the documentary filmmaker, Eva Zelig, about the experience of Ashkenazi Jews in Ecuador. Although the first Jewish immigration to Ecuador allowed for the establishment of its two most prominent synagogues, newer waves of immigration from Israel, Europe, and other Latin American countries will certainly bring about more changes within the communities.

HOW MANY JEWS ARE IN ECUADOR?

The most reliable statistics on the number of Ecuadorian Jews, the *World Jewish Population* survey estimates the population to include a core group of 600 and a maximum expanded group of around 1,200 (Dashefsky et al. 2018). This includes individuals of Jewish descent who are not necessarily considered Jewish according to Jewish law, the vast majority living in Quito. From a sociological point of view, these estimates do not capture the full extent of individuals claiming Jewish identity in Ecuador and the data should be examined again to account for emerging communities and American Jewish expats. An updated population estimate is included below based on information gathered from contacts within the communities. We also do not know the number of culturally Jewish descendants of Ashkenazi refugees in the 20th century who do not affiliate with synagogues or other organizations in Guayaquil and Quito, nor how many of those remain in Ecuador.

The population estimate above takes into account both a low or conservative count and a more inclusive count by factoring in considerations around the reported sizes of each community. A very conservative estimate of all communities would give a number of around 955 Jews in the country, whereas a more generous estimate could see that number as high as 1,030. Several of the figures for the communities include fluctuating numbers, particularly in Cuenca and in the Reform community, where retirees are sometimes only part-time residents or leave for other places. With regard to Beit Chadash, a large number of people were converted by Rabbi Terry Bookman but there is no reliable data as to how many of those people continue to practice Judaism or claim any Jewish identity. The estimated population size does not take into account issues of Jewish law and recognition of

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conversions, which would alter the numbers of Jews accepted as such by all communities. It also does not include the small groups of new emerging communities developing in Cuenca, Ambato and other places in the country.

Table 2. Population Estimate of Ecuadorian Jews

| Community | Number of Members or Associated Individuals |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Jewish Community of Quito | 600 |
| Chabad of Guayaquil | 60-100 |
| Chabad of Quito | 10 |
| Chabad of Montañita | No longer functioning |
| Beit Chadash | 140-160 |
| Beit Toldot | 10 |
| Nachacle Emuna | Not operating |
| El Elohai Israel | 80 |
| Jewish Association of Guayaquil | 25-30 |
| Jewish Community of Cuenca | 30-40 |
| Jews of Ecuador Facebook Group | 589 |
| Total | 955-1030 |

CONCLUSIONS

This essay serves as a brief introduction to the Jews of Ecuador, a fascinating community that blends into a tapestry of complex, and often contradictory identities, resulting from multiple streams of origin. First, it consists of an immigrant community of mostly Ashkenazim, who were able to escape the horror of the Holocaust and were able to find assylum in Ecuador in a difficult time as well as a small community of Sephardic immigrants from the Middle East. While most of these refugees eventually left to settle in other parts, a small minority decided to stay and call Ecuador home. This group has persisted to this day and created a unique form of cultural Judaism that is both secular but equally anchored in tradition in a way that differs from other forms of cultural Judaism. Secondly, there

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are transient communities of American Jewish expats, mostly retirees, who stay for extended periods of time (even years) and Israeli tourists and *mochileros*. This aspect of Ecuadorian Jewry, particularly American expats, exists in a parallel world that does not intersect much with established or emerging communities. This is mostly due to geographical distance between communities and language barriers, as most either do not speak Spanish or have a lower proficiency in the language. Finally, an emerging community is being born of individuals, some of whom believe that they are descended from Sephardic Crypto-Jews from the times of the Inquisition, and others who are spiritual seekers that find meaning in Judaism. Many hundreds of Ecuadorians believe that they are descendants of Sephardic Jews forcibly converted to Catholicism many hundreds of years ago. Due to a variety of factors, there is not much interaction between these individuals and the country's official Jewish community. These communities have sought to find rabbis to teach them about Judaism and facilitate their conversions, even if this complicates their status as Jews in the country. Some Orthodox conversions are accepted by Orthodox rabbis in the country, whereas others are not. This results from different ideologies in the communities leading them to either accept or reject a conversion. However, each group will need to maintain its course to continue the Jewish communities of Ecuador and hopefully lead to a place of rapprochement among the groups in the future.

The Jews of Ecuador constitute a modern iteration of Judaism in the developing world but mirroring the complex issues facing other Jewish communities in developed and developing countries. Its strong cultural attachment to community and tradition and a common bond in surviving the Holocaust characterize one sector of the community, while at the same time, a passionate community of newcomers poses many challenges but also possibilities for growth in coming years and decades. The Jewish community's small size and multiple tendencies and identities make the study of Jews in Ecuador a study in changing community and identity formation as newer groups add their visions to the mixture.

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IMPROVING HISTORY INSTRUCTION IN TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY LANGUAGE-ENRICHED CLASSROOMS

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Abstract

Efforts to address the burgeoning needs of second-language learners in college history courses, particularly Spanish-to-English (ELL), are finding their way to leading historical organizations. At the same time, historians continue to perceive a deficiency in helping students to think and write as historians. A prominent example comes from the Organization of American Historians (OAH), which recently called for researchers to share how "to support the growing number of English-language learners while balancing the writing demands essential to our discipline" (see OAH's call for articles on "Writing in the History Classroom," email, to OAH members, June 18, 2020). Unfortunately, the lack of interdisciplinary collaboration may be a barrier to useful solutions; that is, the integration of the work of historians and pedagogy and language experts, among others. This research works to close this gap in two ways: It integrates studies across disciplines that have potential to promote student success—from cognitive and instructional science, history teaching and learning practices, and English and Spanish language acquisition. The author then describes an application of these ideas, a limited set of data to highlight examples of student's work, and a brief analysis of the data with closing thoughts.

Keywords: Second-language learners, history teaching, writing in history, language-acquisition research, cognitive science and the classroom, college history teachers, interdisciplinary research, cross-discipline faculty collaboration, cognitive and instructional processes in history, American history, doing history

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"In this book I learned that Theodore Roosevelt had ADD (attention deficit disorder) or what the author calls it[,] "artistic temperament."

> One of my history student's interpretations of Mary Beth Smith's The Joy of Life: A Biography of Theodore Roosevelt (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013).

INTRODUCTION

Exploring better ways to teach history can be complicated by meeting the needs of dual-language learners. I taught the standard history courses, "U.S. to 1877" and "U.S. Since 1877," at a college near the border with Mexico.¹ Many of the students were ambitious learners struggling with both their at-home language, Spanish, and college-level English. They were working hard to read the required textbook (*The American Journey: A History of the United States, Volume 1 and 2*, Pearson), navigate in-class lectures, absorb what was presented in overhead power point slides and videos, and respond to required assessments in multiple formats. In other words, these English-second-language learners (ELL) had to learn to listen, read, write, and speak, in a second language, while learning the history of—in the slang of some—*norteamericanos.*² This is partly to remind us that "Writing in the History Classroom" cannot be compartmentalized as one of many specialized devices in a plumber's toolbox. Thus, the instructional task presents both a challenge and an opportunity for student and instructor alike.

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH INFORMING PRACTICE

Because I have engaged a wide assortment of experiences, training, and research in language learning and history, I came to the task of teaching these college students with an orientation different from monolingual, U.S. history collegiate instructors.³ For example, at one time or another, I have taught in dual-language (Spanish/English) classes, first to fifth graders, and in high school and college-level courses for native English-language learners of Spanish.⁴ I have also completed nearly a major in Spanish-language coursework, including classes such as "Spanish Second Language Acquisition" and the "Foundation of Bilingual/Bicultural Education," and the required complement of history courses as an undergraduate and graduate student. But what informed my practice in teaching the U.S. history survey course to ELL, as much as all this experience and academic preparation, was the research I have explored.⁵ Useful selections of this will be elaborated here, as applied to my course in the next and

¹ Names of places, schools, colleagues, and students are omitted or changed to protect the participants. The techniques I discuss, and data examples illustrated, were collected from both courses.

² While I use the acronym ELL, a colleague has noted that EAP (English for Academic Purposes) may also be used in this instance. It is important to keep in mind that language acquisition research distinguishes between types of language competence (i.e., "informal"/ "conversational" versus "academic"), the former generally accomplished long before the latter; see James Crawford discussion on "cognitive-academic language proficiency," in his *Educating English Learners: Language Diversity in the Classroom* (Bilingual Educational Services, 2004), 34-37, 232-234; also see concepts such as "register" and multiplicity of meanings of language proficiency, in Jim Cummins, *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire* (Tonwanda, NY: Multilingual Matters, 2000), esp. Chapter 3 and pp. 118-125.

³ I grew up with English as my sole language and only began studying Spanish decades later, in various venues.

⁴ I use the term "dual language" here because researchers label "bilingual" as an end state that signifies proficiency that often may not exist in either the home (primary) or second language of students.

⁵ Useful sources to support conclusions in this project come from various reviews of research and related case studies; see, for instance, Mario Carretero and James F. Voss (eds.), *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences* (Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994); see esp. Chapter 9—active exploration of topics—expressing views, elaborating reasoning, citing evidence—and "participatory classrooms" related to increased levels of student interest and enjoyment, and feelings of efficacy, versus passive lecture and recitation and forgetting, disinterest, boredom, or constructivism and narrative

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last part of this article.⁶ For example, Nancie Atwell and her practitioner-based evidence in the book *In the Middle: Writing, Reading, and Learning with Adolescents* (Heinemann) is a wonderful starting point to set up a classroom protocol, modified for college, of course (Atwell, 1987). (See her book appendices, especially Appendix J, for examples of underlying research conclusions.) And in conjunction with Atwell's practice (Atwell, 1987) it is worth repeating that ELL students must engage interactively in all the communication skill sets—understanding through hearing, verbalizing, reading, and writing. With this in mind, and the sometimes embarrassing attempts at learning that go with it (especially among second-language learners), the focus of Richard and Patricia Schmuck's *Group Processes in the Classroom* or Ronald Vansickle's "Practicing What We Teach: Promoting Democratic Experiences in the Classroom" are useful; that is, the interpersonal constructs that make a classroom effective in terms of influence structures, feelings of socio-emotional security and support, and social status as bases of power, among other variables.⁷

Bruce VanSledright's action research has provided data on students' (younger than college-aged, to be sure) exploration and interpretation of primary sources, then, their efforts at reading and writing interpretative accounts and the successes achieved and obstacles encountered (e.g., affective and cognitive struggles with uncertainty, referential illusions, static epistemologies, and presentism) (VanSledright 2002, p. 51).⁸ These challenges are not so far removed from those facing older students, based on my experience and informal reasoning research.⁹ Other researchers, Robert Bullough, Jr. or Seymour Sarason, VanSledright, Carole Hahn (among others in Mario Carretero and James Voss) inform larger questions of systemic issues that reach beyond the artificially compartmentalized writing-history course conundrum, but that are central to facing an honest reckoning with all the elements— internal and external to the course—needed to succeed in each separately.¹⁰

INTERVENTION AS PRACTICE

In this section I will address the following questions as they intersected with my practice of teaching the course. It is important to keep in mind, however, that they are interconnected in terms of my instructional method and the instructor and student expectations.

remembering, and so forth. Variations of these challenges have been identified by historians collecting data more than half a century ago in American schools; see Baxter, Maurice G., Robert H. Ferrell, and John E. Wiltz, The *Teaching of American History in High Schools* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964).

⁶ It is important to underscore that leading efforts of present-day historian-reformers of teaching and learning (e.g., University of Colorado-Boulder panel, 2020 AHA annual conference session, or the recent articles on teaching and learning history in the *Journal of American History* 106, no. 4 [March 2020], 985-1019), are rehashing the same debates addressed by earlier researchers during the educational reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, without sufficient attention to the earlier studies or results. One might look, for example, to Carole Hahn's review in "Controversial Issues in History Instruction," in Carretero and Voss (eds.) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History*, 202-203.

⁷ Related to these ideas are second language development and engagement (e.g., "silent period" or "low-anxiety environments"), in James Crawford, *Educating English Learners, see* esp. "Considering Program Alternatives," in Chapter 9.

⁸ For quick lessons found in VanSledright's book, see Douglas A. Dixon, "Can Elementary School Students Learn the Skills of Historians?" *Theory and Research in Social Education 31*, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 136-140.

⁹ James F. Voss et al. (eds.), *Informal Reasoning and Education* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1991); see, for example, Chapter 18—"Informal Reasoning in High School History," and also, chapters 4, 9, 14.

¹⁰ Robert V. Bullough, Jr., *First-Year Teacher: A Case Study* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1989) and "First-Year Teacher" Eight Years Later: An Inquiry into Teacher Development (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997); Seymour Sarason, *The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990); VanSledright, *In Search of America's Past*, Carole Hahn, "Controversial Issues in History Instruction," in Carretero and Voss (eds.) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History*, 201-220.

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- 1. What does it mean (in this context) to prepare students to write historically?
- 2. What can an instructor learn (and teach students) about writing through transdisciplinary teaching collaborations?
- 3. What are strategies to support the growing number of ELL while balancing the writing demands essential to the history discipline?

Following Atwell's method of teaching language arts, I required students to use one of the class meeting times each week principally to read, then, write about (using history-related prompts I provided), whatever self-selected biography sections they had engaged. They were encouraged to share interesting findings or anecdotes with the whole class on occasion. Since each class session lasted an hour and fifteen minutes, this permitted substantial time for independent reading. Generally, I would request students to begin their question-prompted writing reactions to that day's reading, 5-10 minutes prior to the end of class, though, of course, most took a few notes while reading. A substantive paragraph-length response—four sentences or more, with attention to good writing (addressing the prompt and clear communication) was emphasized as part of the effort evaluated, up to 20 percent of the participation grade.¹¹ The paragraphs also served to enhance opportunities for student sharing of points of biographical interest. My engagement during the 'reading and writing' in-class activity was to discuss the previous week's paragraphs as a point of departure with individual students that I found needed more intensive individualized feedback ("conferencing" in Atwell's system) and to return the class paragraph evaluations.¹² This method of feedback permitted me to monitor student reading less intrusively while moving about the auditorium.¹³

Students were required to choose U.S. historical figures as their book foci, within the time frame covered by the course, constrained only by what was available at local or college libraries or bookstores in mind. I placed no strict limits on category or person (e.g., political, social, business, etc.), and even more, I permitted students to choose a second book as the course progressed if the initial selection proved uninviting. Agency in choice, the "proximal zone" of difficulty of material engaged, and student accountability for learning are important criteria in student engagement and learning as discussed by educational theorists and empirical researchers (e.g., John Dewey, Lev Vygotsky, Ronald Vansickle, and the many examples in Carretero and Voss, cited earlier, among others). These researchers have found increased learner motivation is tied to piquing student interest, setting a healthy class climate (less status conscious interaction), making learning personally meaningful, engaging intellectual curiosity, and/or meeting students' potential for learning, among other factors.¹⁴ At least one student in the course chose

¹¹ I did not penalize a student for poor writing unless s/he continued to ignore previous corrections (especially noteworthy in accumulative metrics or did not write sufficiently lengthy responses to the reading/writing prompt.

¹² Many students were pressed with outside-of-school work or other demands that did not permit scheduled office visits outside of class sessions.

¹³ There were approximately 40 students in the course in a lecture hall setting. It is fair to say that a few students were not as engaged in this as I desired, and there were rough patches that pushed me to hold students to the level of reading attention required. As one might expect, too, the diminished time to lecture on weekly topics reduced verbal course content coverage or entire-class interaction; yet, it must be acknowledged given the research, that students do not benefit as much as instructors would hope from traditional passive student learning. I encouraged students struggling with textbook readings to come to office hours and/or to seek help at the language lab.

¹⁴ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (Free Press, 1997/1916); L. S. Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Richard A. Schmuck and Patricia A. Schmuck. *Group Processes in the Classroom* (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C Brown Co., 1983); Ronald L. Vansickle, "Practicing What We Teach: Promoting Democratic Experiences in the Classroom," in Mary A. Hepburn (ed.) *Democratic Education in Schools and Classrooms* (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1983; Doug Dixon, "Lions, Tigers and...Dora La Exploradora? Past and Present as Prelude to Spanish Competency," *Texas Foreign*

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to read a less challenging children's book, an indicator of the difficulties reading and writing English posed for her. I also permitted students to write their reading responses in Spanish, if this allowed for a greater level of comfort, but only one decided to do so. Of course, if a history instructor does not possess Spanish (or other) language competency or a deep understanding of language acquisition issues, this calls for some collegial collaboration and/or personal research.¹⁵

As is apparent from the instructional method I introduced, the mix of writing and history teaching and learning cannot be divorced from reading. With the in-class biography reading-writing response, history instructors can understand better the level of reading comprehension and address writing needs of students while also prompting them to think beyond merely reading history as one would a standard history textbook, but with self-selected content that likely evokes more interest. In my course, the first week's response required students to provide a paragraph overview of what they had read that day. In the remaining weeks, the reading prompts turned to various aspects of historian interrogation methods.

A useful instructor's roadmap to guide students to interact with their biographies as historians is Mary Lynn Rampolla's A Pocket Guide to Writing in History.¹⁶ While the purposes it serves is much broader than ours here, several sections lend themselves to framing student thinking in weekly historian-perspective writing exercises, as students respond to" (in Atwell's terms) what they are reading in their self-selected biographies. Rampolla's guide serves as an introduction to important ways to think historically ("mini-lessons," in Atwell's system).¹⁷ I provide several examples below of historical question prompts and a few of the students' responses to them, but these just capture a glimpse of the possibilities. Even more, they highlight lessons for history instructors in classrooms filled with second-language learners.¹⁸

DATA AND DISCUSSION

In one writing prompt, students were to quote a claim made by the biographer, then examine and discuss the evidence and logic used to support the claim. It is important to keep in mind, organizationally, that with each day's reading, students wrote the bibliographic citation (and 'short form' after the first day), the day's date, the page number they started and stopped reading (for accountability, logistics, and my understanding of their reading

Language Association Journal 60, no 2 (Summer 2013): 16-17.

¹⁵ Excellent overviews of research on second-language acquisition and cultural or policy constraints can be found in reviews of the following: Susan M. Gass and Larry Selinker, Second Language Acquisition: An Introductory Course (New York: Routledge, 2008); Crawford, Educating English Language Learners, Cummins, Language, Power and Pedagogy, Barbara A. Lafford and Rafael Salaberry (eds.), Spanish Second Language Acquisition: State of the Science (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003). A colleague has reminded me too to be sensitive to the concept of "translanguaging", the students' use of his/her full set of language skills and resources to respond. For a brief review of this, see https://www.languagemagazine.com/2018/09/10/a-pedagogy-of-translanguaging/ (accessed August 9, 2021).

¹⁶ Rampolla, A Pocket Guide to Writing in History (Boston: Bedford, 2012); another helpful source for reading-writing prompts is the present author's discussion of "checks on historical account objectivity" in Beyond Truman: Robert H. Ferrell and Crafting the Past (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield/Lexington Books, 2020), esp. 76-77.

¹⁷ "Mini-lessons" on English language topics are unrealistic given the time constraints and course focus.

¹⁸ See Rampolla's discussion on historian "techniques for evaluating primary sources," p. 13., or her list of "Questions for Evaluating Secondary Sources," and discussion of these, pp. 16-21; see also Rampolla's elaboration of reading and writing in Chapter 3, i.e., "Reading actively in history", "Writing about reading," and using primary and secondary sources. Several of these could be combined for out-of-class, short-writing prompts (e.g., investigation of the publisher, comparisons with alternative primary sources, author contradictions with other experts, etc.).

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progress), and on which page the quote was found—partly to allow me to inquire about the quote and the section of the book cited.

In the following example, one student, "Carla," drew on Ronald Reagan's An American Life: The Autobiography.¹⁹

"Once I was back on the campus, I was seduced by Eureka all over again." (p. 49)

Ronald Reagan loved being in college[.] He was so excited when he got a scholarship to play football[.] He join[ed] a lot of clubs [and] became captain and coach of [the] swim team. He became [s]tudent body president his last year of school. He mentioned through the chapters that he experimented with alcohol, which he didn't enjoy the next day.... On one of their out-of-town trips his team was staying in Dixon [Reagan's hometown][,] but the motels refused to let two of his colored teammates ["to"-delete] stay there. So Ronald told his coach that they could stay at his parent[']s house.

Another student, "Marcos," used the following quote, though inexactly copied, from David Herbert Donald's *Lincoln*, as a claim to examine:

"Large [of/for] his age, and had an axe put into his hands at once." (p. ?)

When Abraham Lincoln's dad died of a [gun shot/gunshot], his [son's/sons] took over. Abraham was one of the [son's/sons] that mature[d] more quickly [then/than] anyone else. At the age of eight he had his own axe which he used for the land he had. Thomas Lincoln[,] the oldest son[,] was surprise[d] about his younger brother that mature[d] quite quickly.

"Savanah," a third student, discussed the claim found in Fred Kaplan's *Lincoln: The Biography of a Writer*.

"He [Lincoln] was always full of stories." (p. 18)

Abraham Lincoln loved to [entretain/entertain] his family members by telling them stories he learned [on/in] books. A year after Lincoln's mother [death/died], his father married a widow named [Sahra/Sarah] who brough[t] new books to Lincoln's house and the opportunity to learn other stories from outside the Bible, since his family was poor and not able to buy any books.

Another writing prompt required students to <u>evaluate the authority of the author's knowledge</u> <u>of the topic</u> <u>discussed based on the use of sources or specific expertise</u>, as this reading response from Marcos demonstrated:

The author David Herbert Donald knows [how/what] Abraham Lincoln['s] life was all about [be]cause he did his research by reading books and looking into websites. This author talks about Lincoln's family, education, and the events that occurred to him [has/as] a child to adulthood. It probably took him days, maybe even weeks[,] to write about Lincoln's life[.] Mr. Donald [must've/must have] taken classes as well to learn more about [A]braham [L]incoln[']s events as he was growing up. People think that publishing a book is easy but it [ain't/is not] [be]cause they (as in the authors) have to learn the history of that person to write a book about [them/him or her].

¹⁹ For illustration (and sometimes for clarity), I quote the students' work as written in their responses, adding brackets to highlight grammatical corrections and in some cases, provide the example of incorrect usage (e.g., [has/as]—the first word/phrase is the student's: the second, "as" is the correct word; in this case, the student's confusion arises among Spanish-second-language learners of English because the "h" is silent in Spanish, so phonetically, the two appear the same).

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Students were also asked to <u>state their own interpretation about the subject of the biography</u> in a writing prompt, culling evidence, examples, etc. from the cumulative sessions of readings, beginning the paragraph with his/her argument as a topic sentence. Marcos, for instance, wrote:

Abraham Lincoln wanted some way to transport all goods in a much faster way. He had all sort of plans to do something about it, then he came up with a brilliant idea[./,] [delete "Which was"] the railroad tracks[.] [, it will/It would] be the best idea he had ever had in his life. Many people wanted to use the canals to move around the area which means it [would've/would have] taken much longer. But with the railroad tracks going through the land[,--delete] and streets of the city, it would just [taken/have taken] a few minutes.

Savanah interpreted Lincoln's boyhood as exceptionally challenging:

Lincoln grew up in a poor family with a lot of limitations. He learned to read and write with the use of the [H]oly [B]ible [delete ,] because his family was very engaged in Christianity. His first teachers were his mother and a neighbor. He had a sister named Sara[h] and a brother who died at an early age.

Carla believed that Theodore Roosevelt "had ADD [attention deficit disorder]":

The author mentioned that Theodore would get anxiety attacks when he was a teenager[,] but he would [work?] through them. There[']s times he would play sports. [t/T]imes he would read and just do about anything to get through the attacks. Other things the author mentioned was that Theodore would never stay still[.] [h/H]e was alway[s] in a hurry but had an amazing concentration when he was reading. He also had photographic memory[.]

Marcos told us something about the <u>historical significance of his biographical focus</u> in this prompt for a writing response: Do you think the focus of the book is historically important, and why?

The book I have chose to read is called *Young Patriots*. The reason being is because it includes two very important people in our history[,] and they are James Madison and Alexander Hamilton. Without these two men, we wouldn't have the most important document of all time[,] and it was called "the Constitution." So[,] if these two men wouldn't have met, the United States Constitution would have not existed[,] and the future could have been so different.

Savanah found Lincoln of value historically (aside from the obvious, I suspect) due to his personal attributes and activities and to the thoughts of those around him.

Abraham Lincoln was different from the people around him. He was interested in being well educated and spent most of his time reading rather than helping [in/on] the farm. People described him as very intelligent and being capable of remembering everything he had learned as if he [was/were] reading in the moment. Lincoln and the people around him knew that he was going to be an important person in society. He was inspired by reading Benjamin Franklin['s] and George Washington's biograph[ies]. One day he said that he was going to be president of the United States.

What can be gleaned from this limited set of data?²⁰ Its analysis tells us something of the status of students' writing skills and opportunities for cross-disciplinary collaboration and for student feedback (see my "Grammar/Writing

²⁰ As the course writing response matrix used for each student suggests, these examples of student work provided do not include the full range of writing responses, thus, my conclusions draw on a wider sample.

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Checklist" and "Writing Improvement Metric" rubrics in Appendices 2 and 3 respectively), second-languageacquisition struggles and their causes, and rich potential for 'mini-lessons' related to the work of historians. Though an exercise as hurried as this each week does not speak to polished student writing, with opportunities for revision, grammar corrections, etc., it can facilitate upgrading student skills. With this paragraph-writing response approach, repeated errors in grammar, syntax, morphology, and so forth, likely signal more than temporary lapses, and with the use of comprehensive rubrics, instructors can address efficiently student writing problems without overly burdensome out-of-class time spent.²¹

A closely related, even overlapping, issue with writing competence among ELL is the common errors made by learners in transition from Spanish-to-English usage that experts identify.²² Several examples drawn from the history reading-writing-prompt responses of Carla, Marcos, or Savanah speak to the richness that this research field offers instructors of history, especially if they collaborate with specialists in language departments to address their history students' English writing needs. Marcos may struggle with punctuation and plural and possessive forms; Savanah and Carla, as seen from these *limited* examples, may suffer from a more diffuse set of writing issues, but certainly repeated missteps in lexicon and capitalization. Taken together (with the addition of many more of their peers' responses), these students show a marked ability to communicate their message, yet also exhibit shortcomings worthy of attention based on what language acquisition experts label "errors" (systematic) versus "mistakes" (one-time).²³

Two areas of second language acquisition research particularly relevant as applied to these students' reading responses are what Gass and Selinker label "interlingual errors" and intralingual errors (2008, p. 103). The first are those "which can be attributable to the NL" (native language). The second are errors "that are due to the language to be learned, independent of the NL. Before continuing, it is critical to underscore that limited data from any one student (or multiple students), whether longitudinal or cross-sectional is rife with problems of interpretation or imputation of causation and/or lack of attribution to multiple causation. *This caution is useful if we impute the source of difficulty that students exhibit in this limited sample*. An example of what *might be* the cause of students' miscues with respect to signifying the possessive (e.g., parent[']s house, sons/son's took over, Lincoln[']s life, Lincoln[']s events) is that Spanish does not signify the possessive this way, but instead with phrases such as *la casa de los padres (house of the parents)* or *la vida de* Lincoln (the life of...). These second-language learners, thus, are attempting to learn a new form of possessive, an interlingual difference. Marcos's and Carla's responses reflect a noticeable inconsistency with English-appropriate punctuation (e.g., periods, commas, apostrophes). A host of other intermittent errors may only signal lack of care. Gass and Selinker provide a roadmap to conduct error analysis: "collect data, identify errors, classify errors, quantify errors, analyze source, and remediate." (2008, p. 103). The idea here, however, is not to require experts in language acquisition among history instructors, but through

²¹ For a useful overview and discussion on basic concepts of second language acquisition (e.g., syntax and semantics, morphology, or interpretation of errors), see Gass and Selinker, *Second Language Acquisition*, Chapter 1 and 2 (esp. pp. 35-38—syntax and morpheme development), and Chapter 4, esp. "Error analysis," 102-110.

²² It is important to underscore the "additive" nature of language learners (not deficit) to celebrate increased competence that comes with engaging another language.

²³ Though addressing English-to-Spanish acquisition, Lafford and Salaberry (eds.) *Spanish Second Language Acquisition*, for example, offers some potential for understanding language development of these students; see their chapters 2, 3, or 5; also see Gass and Selinker, *Second Language Acquisition*. For an insightful but brief review of effective instructional practices that overlap with the reading-writing-feedback approach discussed here, see Charles Grove, "The Role of Instruction in Spanish Second Language Acquisition" (esp. pp. 304-310) in Lafford and Salaberry (eds.), *Spanish Second Language Acquisition*.

collaboration, to help one be sensitive to the types of language problems encountered and the plausible sources of, and solutions to, the challenges.

The reading-writing prompts also serve as an introduction, early on, to historians' ways of interrogating the past, or better said, its surrogates.²⁴ How does context of the times shape the historian's treatment of the person? In what ways does the historical period differ from the contemporary one, and what meaning might this have for the historian's interpretation versus that of our own times? How might have significant events tied to the focus of the biography been different if s/he had not lived? These, and other prompts, push students to engage ideas such as cause/effect, contingency, 'great' man/woman versus other forces, context of the times, presentism, or counterfactuals. Student reading-writing responses, good and poor, can serve as mini-lesson prompts to discuss the historian's work, interrogation of sources/texts, and historical interpretation in all its richness, complexity, and uncertainty.

CONCLUSION: RESTRUCTURE AND COLLABORATE

The seemingly impossible task of teaching second-language learners in history courses requires an instructor with an unusual assortment of experience and training, and/or more importantly, the willingness to collaborate with colleagues across disciplines, in my example, English Department instructors and language specialists. This is no easy task for an assortment of reasons. Faculty members have unique attitudes toward cross-disciplinary collaboration, as many are driven by competing sets of priorities, dictated in part by their level of experience teaching and personal goals, their college's promotion system, or their comfort level. Other factors can be as powerful. I decided to leave this college behind, in part, because the administration had adopted a wholesale approach to textbook imposition on instructors and student assessment, pressed by a financial agreement with a major textbook and assessment company. These are examples of the external-to-classroom factors that make (or not) successful teaching and learning reform viable.

These examples and associated evaluative rubrics are presented here to demonstrate several broad thrusts. First, that history instructors can shape students' ways of thinking historically outside the too routine practice of content coverage via textbook assignments, lecture, and recitation and testing, much of which has been shown to be ineffective, even for minimal, short-term memorization (and even less, for enjoyment) of history. Students' work, used with anonymity, can be wonderful starting points to conduct in-class mini-lessons on the historian's craft, as Atwell has demonstrated while teaching language arts. Secondly, these student writing samples exemplify the herculean task facing history teachers as they address the obstacles to ELL, and more importantly, the necessity of creating cross-disciplinary collaboration with colleagues in English or global language departments.²⁵ Finally, by using a modified system of Atwell-ian 'reading and writing' in-class responses that is geared toward specific historian thinking prompts, history instructors can balance, even integrate, the issues of ELL with the demands (according to research) of more effective history education.

²⁴ See Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton, *Doing History* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 5; Callum B. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 6-31.

²⁵ Studies in second-language acquisition suggest various causes, and thus, potential ways to address underlying language development; moreover, there is some consistency in results across child and adult results; see for instance, Gass and Selinker, Chapter 5, "Language morphene order studies." Since history instructors are unlikely to gain substantial subject knowledge in Spanish-language acquisition, or Spanish itself, establishing a sensitivity to common student issues, acquaintance with colleagues in the field or with on-campus peer-to-peer/preparatory studies learning labs is essential.

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As the citation to the introductory quote to this article suggests, our history students may not have a fundamental grasp of how to select and/or interrogate what might constitute a professionally acceptable work of history, in this case written by a computer programmer, perhaps in her spare time. This response is an opening to the historian's world. It provides student-generated thinking that takes little time to evaluate while providing valuable insight into language competence issues that may need to be addressed at the same time. Taken on throughout the semester, it is a cumulative record of each student's engagement, both process and product. Requiring students to put in chronological order weekly produced work with instructor feedback in a folder, permits instructors to record and evaluate errors that diminish (or not) over time on an end-of-course "writing matrix" (see Appendix 3). Of course, the reading-writing response method presented here has plenty of room for improvement and variety: assigning longer (one-page), out-of-class writing responses tied to larger purposes; pushing students to compare other historians' takes on the subject matter; attending to primary sources not found in the self-selected biography, and how they might inform the in-class biographer's interpretation, and so forth. Nevertheless, this method has great potential to inculcate aspects of the historian's work, inform student writing, and provide for the needs of second-language learners.

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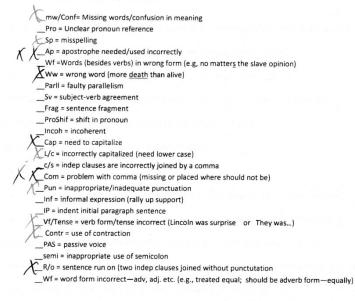
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Appendix 1. Example of Student Writing

| | Author's Name ; Daugh Herbar Donald |
|----|--|
| | Tible: Lincoln 2-5-14 |
| | |
| | Page: 23 + 7 |
| - | SP. |
| | Page 23, Paragraph 2, Line 9-10 |
| | luge 24, hay uph 1, Line 9 |
| ~ | Page 23, Noragangh 5, Lire 4-7 |
| | targe of his |
| | 2.60 |
| | ×, ()) |
| | "Large of his age, and had an axe |
| | put into his hands at are" " |
| | Ľ |
| | 1. M. L. L. L. L. L. |
| | When Abraham Linealn's dad died |
| -1 | ot a gun shot, his son's lock over. |
| | Abraham cares one of the gon's that |
| | |
| | mature more quickly then anyone else. |
| | At the age of eight the had his |
| | own axe which he used for the |
| | |
| | land he had. Thomas Lincoln the doest |
| | son was surprise about his younger brother ? |
| | that mature quite quickly. |
| | print print |
| - | |
| | |

Appendix 2. Grammar/Writing Checklist

Grammar/Writing checklist



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Appendix 3. Writing Improvement Matrix

<u>Directions</u>: For each paper that I mark, you will identify (and keep track of) your errors on the matrix given to you belo). The hope, of course, is that by the end, you will begin to eliminate the types of errors that you commit—and be rewarded for it on an end-of-course writing assignment. Thus, on individual papers returned (e.g., 6th Paper), mark the appropriate "error code" that you committed (see example at the bottom).

Example

Error Code (see email with these provided): AP = apostrophe; etc....

| Error Code | Papers #1-5 | 6 th Paper | 7 th Paper | 8 th Paper | 9 th Paper | 10 th Paper | 11 th Paper | 12 th Paper | 13 th Paper |
|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3. | | | | | 2 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | - |
| | | | | | | 2 | | | |
| | | | | | | | - | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |

*Improvement Matrix/Table concepts borrowed from Mr. Donald Crouse and Ms. Ela Newman.

Example Student: John Doe

| Error | Papers | 6 th | 7 th | 8 th | 9 th | 10 th | 11 th | 12 th | Final |
|--------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| Codes* | #1-5 | Paper | Paper | Paper | Paper | Paper | Paper | Paper | Paper |
| | POS | POS | | | | | | | |
| | C/S | | | | | | | | |
| | CAP | CAP | | | | | | | |
| | FRAG | | | | | | | | |
| , | | | | | | | | | |
| | (30) | | | | | | | | |
| | | | 8 | | | 00 | | | |

*To identify the correct error codes, see the email attachment I sent to the class on February 4.

USING TRANSLATION AS A PEDAGOGICAL TOOL IN TEACHING ENGLISH FOR MUSICIANS AND MUSICOLOGISTS

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Abstract

This article explores the role of translation in courses prepared for and taught to musicology students at a French university, with the author's dual experience as a professional musician and translator, which allows her to serve as an "intercultural mediator" (Valero-Garcés, n.p.) between French and British musical culture, as well as between languages. The students are all musicians rather than aspiring linguists, so this article explores the validity of using translation as a learning tool within a non-linguistic discipline: first to promote fluency in interlingual and intercultural communication for undergraduates, and subsequently to extend this into "traditional principles of fidelity and adequacy" (Valero-Garcés, n.p.) for the purposes of postgraduate research.

While use of the mother tongue has traditionally been eschewed in second language teaching (SLT) because it reduces valuable second-language exposure time, its "liberating role" has latterly been recognized (e.g. Deller and Rinvolucri, 2002; Laviosa, 2014).

Likewise, the role of translation in SLT has now been defined and explored in Alderete-Diez et al. (2012) and in Laviosa (2014), and is increasingly being recognized as a valuable teaching tool.

Keywords: Pedagogical translation, translation in language teaching, musical culture, musicological research, English for musicians.

KEY TO ACRONYMS USED THROUGHOUT THIS ARTICLE

| CEFR | Common European Framework of Reference for Languages |
|------|--|
| CLT | Communicative Language Teaching (method) |
| EAP | English for Academic Purposes |
| EOP | English for Occupational Purposes |
| ESP | English for Specific Purposes |
| L1 | Student's first language (mother tongue) |
| L2 | Student's second (target) language, in this case English |
| SLT | Second language teaching |
| TILT | Translation in language teaching |

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INTRODUCTION

Translation trains the reader to search (flexibility) for the most appropriate words (accuracy) to convey what is meant (clarity).

Alan Duff (1996, p. 7)

This article explores the role of pedagogical translation—i.e., using translation into the students' first language (L1) as a means of facilitating foreign language learning—in teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) to undergraduate and postgraduate music students at a French university.

Translation as a pedagogical tool has long been frowned upon, for two reasons. First, its association with the nowoutdated grammar-translation method, which fell out of favor because "the unstated assumption" was that "it was *the act of translation itself* which lay at the root of the problem" (Weschler 1997, 88; emphasis in the original). The second reason translation is no longer widely used in teaching is that subsequent methodologies have eschewed the use of students' L1 in SLT, because it reduces valuable exposure time in the second language (L2), (Hall & Cook 2012) and interferes with language learning "in almost all aspects" (Denizer, 2017).

However, the tide has turned since the late twentieth century, with scholars such as Chirobocea (2018) and Leonardi (2009) making the case for translation as a teaching tool. This controlled use of students' L1 in the language classroom, and the bilingual activity of translation in language teaching (TILT) has been promoted by scholars such as Guy Cook (2010), who considers TILT "an integral part of the teaching and learning process as a whole" (2010, p. xx). The case for the inclusion of pedagogical translation in SLT is also clearly argued by Kerr (2014, 2015, 2016), Deller and Rinvolucri (2002), Leonardi (2010), Pintado Gutiérrez (2012), Petrocchi (2014) and Laviosa (2014).

Several universities and conservatoires in the United States and Europe offer language courses to enable non-Anglophone students to follow a music degree course in an English-speaking environment. However, the literature on this specialization is sparse, and focuses on access courses designed to ensure that students have the necessary fluency in English to begin studying for degrees conducted in English. The literature on these access courses includes Jocelyne Wolfe's 2006 study of the challenges facing international music students in Australia; Laura Wakeland's 2013 article on her collaboration with subject specialists to develop an EAP course for music students in Hong Kong; and Elżbieta Lesiak-Bielawska's 2014 account of the development of a course in English for Instrumentalists at the Fryderyk Chopin University of Music in Warsaw, Poland. The use of translation in these courses is not discussed; the dearth of literature on TILT for musicians may be for reasons identified in the European Union study on translation in language teaching (Pym, Malmkjaer and Gutierrez-Colon Plana, 2013), which reveals that many teachers are reluctant because they "have never considered it seriously," "do not feel qualified," or consider it "detrimental to language learning" (Pym et al. 2013, p. 123).

There is also the issue of courses being constructed in collaboration with, rather than by, subject specialists: "Subject specialists often have ambivalent attitudes . . . in particular, concerns that English teachers . . . may not know enough content to teach writing in the subject" (Wakeland 2013, p. 45). Indeed, Lesiak-Bielawska states in her 2014 article "English for Instrumentalists: Designing and Evaluating an ESP Course" that although the course developer had "some musical background and training," she "continually checked her understanding . . . with domain experts and students" (p. 27). The materials described for this course mention translation only tangentially, for example in the context of "translating parts of the sentences" of a text into English (p. 18).

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My own experience as a professional musician and French-English translator provides deep technical knowledge that is essential for ESP teachers, as it offers both expertise and cultural understanding. Such a background allows an ESP teacher to serve as an "intercultural mediator" (Valero-Garcés n.d., n.p.) between the French and British musical and linguistic traditions. In presenting a case study of translation use in English courses for musicians and musicologists, my hope is that those who focus on translation in ESP language teaching will find useful applications. At the undergraduate level, communication purposes are apt, and at the postgraduate level research purposes apply. I argue that this use of TILT allows students to use their L1 to work multidirectionally and creatively to improve their cultural and linguistic understanding and fluency.

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES: ENGLISH FOR OCCUPATIONAL PURPOSES

At my university, all undergraduate music students were required to take one of the modules in *langues musicologiques* (musicological languages) each year. They could choose English, German or Italian, the latter two being particularly useful for singers. These courses aimed to prepare students for a professional life in music. The intention was to improve their communication skills within the context of their studies: English for Occupational Purposes (EOP). Given that far more have learned English than the other languages offered, the majority (more than 90 percent) enrolled for English as a Musicological Language,¹ with the students taking German or Italian consistently in single figures. The students' first language was French, and their level of competence in English ranged from level A2 to C1, with most at around B2 according to levels established by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe. 2001). As evaluated against the proficiency standards of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, these levels equate to a range of intermediate low to advanced low in English, with a predominance of intermediate mid.

TEACHING METHODOLOGY

My teaching methodology lies within the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach, with grammar teaching and correction as well as functions and notions included where relevant to the topic.² It is, obviously, very important to enhance lexical and semantic competence for students to communicate effectively with their Anglophone peers. As Gajšt says, technical terminology acquisition "presents a major part in tertiary-level ESP courses," because despite being considered "independent users of a foreign language [they] may not be as proficient in the vocabulary of their occupational domain" (Gajšt 2012, p. 442).

In theory, each of my classes is taught entirely in English, to maximize second-language (L2) exposure. However, students are monitored constantly when working alone or in pairs, and as they often address questions in French, I provide explanations in their first language (L1) when necessary. However, I then switch to L2 when addressing the group, while providing key terms in L1 by "sandwiching" (Kerr 2015, p. 5), i.e. inserting a translation into the

¹ Average numbers for English as a Musicological Language 2016-2018: Year 1 n=67; Year 2 n=46; Year 3 n=32. The reduction in numbers reflects the overall student numbers on the course. This is because, due to the lack of selection at entry, French university courses fail/lose 50% of the students by ther end of Year 1, and another 50% after Year 2, so typically only 25% of the original intake will graduate.

² The CLT approach goes beyond teaching grammar and lexis, and uses "the target language in a meaningful way so that learners will develop communicative competence. By making the language relevant to the world rather than the classroom, learners can acquire the desired skills rapidly and agreeably." Simhachalam Thamarana (2014), "A Critical Overview of Communicative Language Teaching." *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on English Language and Literature, Hyderabad, India, June 28-29*: 63-70. p. 64.

students' language of a key word or phrase that may be difficult for them to understand in L2. In this way I use as much L1 as necessary to identify comprehension issues and L1 interference.³

My decision to include pedagogical translation was grounded in practice-based observation of own-language use in the classroom. As well as resorting to L1 when discussing the language work, students annotate their worksheets in L1, so I decided to integrate translation. My belief was that its use would build on the students' efforts to relate their English language learning to their L1. The benefits, as identified by Deller and Rinvolucri, include students feeling "safe and grounded," a better understanding of English grammar "by looking into the L1 grammar mirror," the "clear and defined" way of introducing new lexis" (vocabulary), and allowing them "to fully enjoy the exercise of their linguistic intelligence" (Deller and Rinvolucri 2002, p. 10). Far from being a dry exercise, judicious choice of translation texts assures that students see the relevance of the task to the discipline. It allows them to play with the two languages. The teaching goals, thus, were to consolidate the technical lexis, grammatical, and semantic forms that had already been learned, in a specifically musical context. The benefits of this approach have been codified as "a positive form of interference aimed at enriching rather than harming learners' competence and performance skills" (Malmkjaer 1998 cited in Leonardi 2009, p. 143).

TRANSLATION AS A PEDAGOGICAL TOOL

It is important to note that this use of translation does not require any understanding of translation theory, so it remains a purely practical and relevant activity. However, although the use of L1 as a safe place is comforting, translation is a complex process. As noted by Mažeikienė (2018, p. 513):

"Kavaliauskienė and Kaminskienė (2009, p. 171) believe that building knowledge of a specialized domain in a foreign language implies demanding tasks in the ESP classroom. In the ESP context, it implies that L2 may cause considerable tensions for the ESP learner. This is why the use of L1 and translation activities may be needed by the ESP learner and why the use of mother tongue and translation may facilitate comprehension of specialized texts (Kic-Drgas (2014, p. 259). Moreover, translation of stimulating materials involving multi-modal texts (for instance photographs and other visual representations of reality), as it is further noted by Kic-Drgas (2014, p. 260), inspires learners' creativity."

In the undergraduate courses in question, translation into L1 was introduced toward the end of the first year. As preparation, students were given a selection of musical "false friends"—and there are many. Figure 1 shows a selection of the dictionary definitions supplied (Harraps 2010) many of which can lead well away from the field of music if not well chosen.

³ Language interference or language transfer describes the application of linguistic features from one language to another, e.g. translating "*la baguette du chef d'orchestre*" as "the baton of the conductor" rather than "the conductor's baton" as French does not have the possessive form "'s".

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Fig. 1

| ENGLISH | FRENCH |
|--------------|--|
| baton | (conductor's) <i>baguette</i> ; (policeman's) <i>baton</i> ; (in riots) <i>matraque</i> ; (in sport) <i>témoin</i> . |
| conductor | chef de train, chef d'orchestre, (on bus) receveur, [Elec. et Phys.] (corps) conducteur. |
| crotchet | noire |
| part | morceau, partie; [Mus.] partition |
| partition | cloison |
| recorder | enregistreur, flûte à bec, archiviste, greffier |
| score [noun] | note, résultat, conducteur |
| score [verb] | marquer un but, marquer un point; noter qqn/qqch. |
| | |

| ENGLISH | FRENCH |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| French loaf, stick, baton, chopstick | baguette |
| drumstick | <i>baguette de tambour</i> [Mus.] |
| | pilon de poulet [chicken drumstick] |
| conductive [elec.], guiding [principle]. | <i>conducteur</i> [adj.] |
| driver, conductor [elec.], operator, lead sheet, full score. | <i>conducteur</i> [noun] |
| quaver (<i>Br.</i>), eighth note (<i>Am.</i>). | croche |
| partition, separation, sheet music. | partition |

As Kerr points out, "the best and most effective way of drawing learners' attention to false friends (both lexical and grammatical) is through contrastive analysis" (2015, p. 3) so I initiate a discussion of the definitions and pitfalls involved. For example, "conductor"—the orchestra director—is never translated as *conducteur* but rather as *chef d'orchestre*. Working in the opposite direction, the most familiar general meaning of *conducteur* is that of the driver of a vehicle, whereas for French musicians it is the full score.⁴ Similarly, the Baroque instrument known as a recorder in English is a *flûte* in French,⁵ whereas in English a flute always refers to the transverse instrument (*flûte traversière*), which is very different. The French options for translating "recorder" equate to a device for recording sound (*enregistreur*), an archivist (*archiviste*), or a clerk (*greffier*), as well as the correct *flûte à bec*. There is also notably the false association between *croche* and "crotchet," both musical notes and thus essential lexis; however, the French *croche* equates to an English "quaver" (British English) or an "eighth note" (American English), and is thus half the duration of the English crotchet.⁶ Such mistranslations of an instrument or of note durations would of course be disastrous in terms of performance or in research.

⁴ The sheet music used by the conductor which gives all the instrumental parts.

⁵ Full name *flûte à bec* to signify the fipple mouthpiece.

⁶ These two note names originated from their early forms, which both resembled a hook, or *crochet* in Old French.

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Following the inevitably lively discussion as students negotiate options, I then produce some phrases for translation which are littered with false friends (Fig. 2). Here the problem translation areas are highlighted in bold type: as can be seen, the last phrase is particularly tricky, because there are two distinct meanings of "conductor."⁷

Fig. 2

1) The orchestra was playing under the young conductor's baton.

2) She prefers playing baroque music on the **recorder** rather than the **flute**.

3) The conductor placed his score carefully on the music stand.

4) We improvise a lot, so we just use a **lead sheet** rather than everyone having their own **part** written out.⁸

5) The **conductor** was studying a symphonic **score** on the bus when the **conductor** asked for his ticket.

The students are then given a very questionable translation, and together we examine the text closely to identify issues and produce a better translation. Figure 3(a) shows a well-meaning effort by an English choir on tour in France in 2002. But the entire translation, shown in Figure 3(b), is full of errors (it has been redacted in order to anonymize the source). Again, selected problem areas are highlighted for the purposes of this discussion.

Fig. 3(a) Extract from original text

"Entente Musicale"

Axton Choral Society was founded in 1922 by Sir Henry Smith, to give his son Robert, a composer, experience as conductor by taking part in the Axton Musical Festival. In 1934 Smith was succeeded as conductor by Walter Brown, and was the Society's President until his death in 1997.... Their next conductor was Rupert King. Born in Milan, King studied at the Royal Academy of Music in London. He was an organ scholar at Oxford University and was later appointed organist at the Sheldonian, a post which he still holds today, playing for degree ceremonies. He has a varied and diverse career as a conductor, soloist and continuo player.

Fig. 3(b) Translation effected for the choir by a non-native speaker

"Entente musicale"

Axton Choral Society a été fondée en 1922 par Sir Henry Smith, pour **permettre** son fils Robert, un compositeur, **pour** acquérir **l**'expérience comme **conducteur** en participant au **Festival de Axton musicale.** En 1934, Smith a été **réussi** comme **conducteur** par Walter Brown, et été le président de

⁷ It will be evident that the sentences have been constructed in order to utilize not only technical lexis but also several different tenses, modal verbs, -ing form, collocations, etc .

⁸ A lead sheet, mainly used by jazz musicians, has the melody written on a single stave, under which are the chord symbols.

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la Chorale jusqu'à sa mort en 1997.... Leur prochain **conducteur** était Rupert King. **Soutenu** à Milan, King a étudié à **l'Academie Royale de la Musique** de Londres. Il a été boursier d'**organe** à l'Université d'Oxford et a été nommé **organiste** chez le **Sheldonian**, un **poteau qu'il se tient** toujours, jouant pour les **cérémonies de degré**. Il a une carrière variée et diversifiée comme **conducteur**, **récitaliste** et **continuo**.

The students are soon faced with grammatical issues in the translation, which, because they are working in L1, they can readily identify and correct. These include incorrect prepositions (should be *permettre à*), articles (*pour acquérir de l'expérience*) and choice of tenses, but also those with which they struggle. Examples of the latter are false friends such as conductor/*conducteur*, and mistranslated terms such as organ/organe: *organe* refers to an organ as either a part of the body such as heart or kidneys, or as an authority (*organe de contrôle* is a supervisory body), whereas the musical instrument is an *orgue*. There are also some catastrophically bad translation choices which completely distort the meaning, and students must refer to the source text and work out what has gone wrong, giving them a graphic example of the need to make informed and intelligent translation choices. Prime examples are the mistranslation of "succeed" as *réussir* (make a success of) rather than *succéder* (come after); and *soutenu*, a mistranslation which requires an excellent understanding of English to unpack. As the source phrase was "born in Milan," for which the only logical verb is *né* from the infinitive *naître* (to be born), the use of *soutenir* (to support, maintain, or bear) is puzzling, to say the least—unless one knows that the participle of "to bear" is "borne." Thirdly, mistranslating "post" as *un poteau* (a fence post) rather than a professional post creates an enduring image of this talented musician standing in a field eternally holding a fence post rather than *un poste qu'il occupe toujours* (a post he still holds).

Offering this faulty translation also serves to highlight issues which face all translators, such as when to translate, and when to add a gloss: *Entente musicale* can remain, as the pun on *Entente cordiale* between England and France is clear, whereas the issue of whether to translate "Royal Academy of Music" leads to animated discussion of the pros and cons. Lastly, there are the cultural references. The reference to "the Sheldonian" as the Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford is likely to be understood only by the British, and even then probably by only a minority, so expansion is in order. Likewise, *cérémonies de degré* does not at all convey the meaning of "degree ceremonies." Quite apart from the fact that *degré* (degree in the sense of level or extent) is not a university degree (*diplôme,* or specifically *licence* or *master*), with a few notable exceptions, the *remise des diplômes* in France has traditionally been a very casual affair—the degree certificate is often simply posted—with nothing of the pomp and ceremony of the British tradition.

This strategy of effectively showing students how not to translate provides a framework—and much hilarity—within which to introduce the serious business of translation. Regular translation tasks are then provided throughout the semester, always within the context of a task-based approach. The text is taken from the comprehension they have just studied, so the translation is understood in context. Although short, it often, as in the following example, contains a false friend, or a musical idiom, which they will have learned from the resources provided during lessons. The 100-word example below, to be translated into L1, is selected from a 400-word text about the life and career of the British conductor Neville Marriner (1924–2016) and contains one of the learned musical idioms ("A self-effacing man, Marriner never *blew his own trumpet*," emphasis added), as well as lexis and grammar covered during the course.

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Sir Neville Marriner, who has died aged ninety-two, was a rare example of a great conductor known for his likeability. While many of his peers had reputations as tyrants on the podium, musicians knew that Marriner was one of them: a talented violinist who had founded the Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields chamber orchestra precisely in order to escape the control of bullies and egotists. A self-effacing man, Marriner never blew his own trumpet, and yet was regarded as one of the world's most influential conductors. He continued to conduct into his nineties, and gave his last performance only two days before his death. (Redacted from *The Week*, 2015).

Inaccuracy of meaning is penalized—as musicians, students should be able to identify closely with the scenario—as are grammatical mistakes and literal translation of idioms. Translation is, thus, used not only as a test of comprehension, but also to engage in cultural translation—which, as Laviosa notes, entails exercising "ethical, ideological and political agency" (2014, p. 82). Such cultural translation also allows the classroom to be "a space open for teaching and learning through discussion and debate" (Pintado Gutiérrez 2012, p. 182) and affords agency to the student as they learn, through translation, "to deal with different realities" (p. 192).

POSTGRADUATE COURSES: ENGLISH FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES (EAP)

At the postgraduate level, students are offered a course titled "*Comment survivre en milieu musicologique nonfrancophone ? Essayer de mieux comprendre, de mieux lire, et de mieux s'exprimer en anglais dans le cadre de vos recherches* [Surviving in a non-Francophone musicological world: How to better understand, read and express yourself in English for the purposes of your research]. the second half of this focuses entirely on translation as a research tool. The aim here is to convey the essentials of the translation process: discerning meaning through good use of resources and sound working practices, as well as the essentials of formatting for academic work. Through texts related to students' own research fields where possible, as problems arise during translation they work on decisions about glossing and expanding and how to recognize and deal with metaphor, unintentionally pejorative terms, and of course differences in grammar, , register, and style. Targeting the texts to their research leads to increased engagement, and the intercultural fluency promoted at the undergraduate level is now extended into "traditional principles of fidelity and adequacy" (Valero-Garcés, n.p.) for the purposes of research.

To teach translation in both directions, I provide pairs of texts on a similar topic, such as these two excerpts about Haitian poet Oswald Durand, who wrote in Creole and whose most celebrated work was set to music. The first text, redacted from an article by Maximilien Laroche, is to be translated from French into English, and focuses on Durand's life and work, with reference to "Choucoune," his most famous poem.

Oswald Durand est le premier grand poète de la littérature haïtienne. . . . Comme la plupart des écrivains haïtiens, qui ne peuvent vivre de leur plume, Durand a exercé différentes professions, allant de celle de ferblantier à celle de haut fonctionnaire. Il a été aussi journaliste mais avant tout il fut poète. . . . Il connut la prison où il composa les paroles de « Choucoune », le plus célèbre de ses poèmes. Parmi les thèmes qu'il aborde dans sa poésie, on peut distinguer quelques thèmes universels. (Redeacted from Laroche, n.d.)

(Oswald Durand is the first great poet of Haitian literature. . . . In common with the majority of Haitian writers, who are unable to earn their living solely through their writing, Durand had a variety

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of professions, from tinsmith to senior civil servant. . . . He was also a journalist, but he was above all a poet. . . . He spent time in prison where he composed the words of "Choucoune," his most famous poem. Among the themes he tackled in his poetry, several universal ones can be discerned..."), my translation.

The second text, to be translated from English into French, is about "Choucoune" itself. There is typically a certain duplication of facts between two related texts, providing additional context; in this case, the poet's background and life experience, which impact on issues addressed in his poetry.

Oswald Durand (1840–1906) was arguably Haiti's most prolific nineteenth-century poet. Although his numerous personal and political poems are largely forgotten, Durand is routinely remembered by scholars for "Choucoune" (ca. 1880), one of only two poems in Haitian Creole to be published in *Rires et pleurs*, and set to music by Michel Mauléart Monton. . . . "Choucoune" has been read rather consistently in terms of poetic failure. . . . Another reading focuses on the poem's likeness to the European *pastourelle*, concluding that it "marked a noteworthy moment in literary self-consciousness. [Redacted from Lynelle, 2015]

As well as their differing focus, these texts demonstrate different registers, with the French written more colloquially and idiomatically, and the English at the higher register typical of academic writing. This bitextual method of working allows the students to immerse themselves in one area while working on translating bidirectionally. The translation is set as a homework assignment over one week, so that they can draw on all available written and online resources. There is a certain amount of crossover information, and the resulting cross-referencing helps confirm and consolidate linguistic choices made during the translation process.

TRANSLATION AS A TEACHING TOOL

The discipline of music-making covers many technical, expressive, and practical aspects. As teaching time is at a premium, the focus is on the key terminology common to most musicians: topics may include orchestration, conducting/musical direction and improvising, as well as comparisons between Anglophone and Francophone musical cultures. Translation is always used within the context of these topics, so the specialist vocabulary will already have been learned, and relevant grammatical forms, such as the active or passive voice, will have been revised and discussed. Translation therefore provides controlled practice of learned lexis and grammar, and as well as a comprehension check. It also offers students a chance to express themselves in L1, and they produce many creative—but still accurate—translations of the source text (ST). The translation element also provides a very useful guide to their linguistic competence: not infrequently their French has to be corrected, as basic grammatical errors, incorrect use of homophones, and so on are encountered. Assumptions of total fluency in written L1 may, thus, be misplaced. If L1 understanding is faulty, how can we expect accurate reproduction of L2?

For the undergraduate courses, the focus is on communicating meaning rather than grammar or form. This CLT approach is often at odds with the rigidity of the French educational system, because the focus on communicative fluency means tolerating errors in grammatical form; the aim is for students to understand written instructions on a score, or engage in spoken L2 dialogue with other musicians so as to arrive at a mutual understanding. This also encourages the more capable students to act as language brokers for others, which complements my role as mediator and facilitator in their language learning process, rather than the autocratic role of the teacher, and the

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rule-based, fault-driven approach which still prevails in France. However, translation provides a valuable highly controlled written task in which accuracy is important and is valued by the students, meaning they gladly accept the correction of faulty grammar in this medium.

Not surprisingly, when translating into their L1, these students produce a wide variety of solutions, so this also provides a valuable teaching tool in that translation is used as an additional opportunity for oral practice. They are asked to read their translations to the class, usually taking turns phrase by phrase. They give the sentence from the source text first, followed by their translation, allowing errors of L2 pronunciation to be corrected. By the time the second or third student has read the source phrase, the correct pronunciation has been automatized without the need for parroting. The ensuing group discussion (in L1/L2) provides an effective means for students to elaborate on their responses. During this stage, their very worldview can be challenged. In this way, translation is useful not only for practicing all four modalities of reading, writing, speaking, and listening, but also for dramatically enhancing intercultural understanding.

DISCUSSION

There are certainly several issues at stake in incorporating translation activities into the ESP classroom, one of which is the balancing act of differentiating specialist courses from General English for Academic Purposes (GEAP) courses "while at the same time being careful not to 'cross over' into teaching music content" (Wakeland, 2013, p. 45). The use of translation requires a high level of motivation among students, as tasks require preparation and the anticipation of possible problems. Teachers need to have a sophisticated knowledge of the language and culture of both L1 and L2, and to be confident that their translation skills exceed those of the students. This way they can guide them through the process by means of discussing the pros and cons of various options that students will propose.

In terms of communicative competence, Duff states: "Translation develops three qualities essential to all language learning: flexibility, accuracy, and clarity. It trains the learner to search (flexibility) for the most appropriate words (accuracy) to convey what is meant (clarity)" (1996, p. 7). To this end, the necessary discussion of possible translation solutions lifts the act of translation out of the realm of a purely text-based activity (exercising only the skills of reading and writing) by providing valuable practice in speaking and listening.

In the courses discussed in this article, translation is used only within the musical context; the introduction of regular small tasks, maintaining the element of a communication gap, demonstrates to the students the value of translation. It also encourages open discussion from the very beginning, and this has been shown to reap benefits as students progress from an undergraduate (communicative) agenda to the research focus of postgraduate studies.

Translation can be used to focus on highly specific learning aims, such as the practice of vocabulary, grammar points, styles, and registers. It can and should be integrated with other skills-based activities. As Petrocchi argues, "Tthe competence acquired through translation is the first step that enables the student to master both source text and target text, and to keep the two language structures on separate levels but manage them simultaneously . . . by learning to switch from one language to the other continuously and seamlessly" (2014, p. 98).

Establishing confidence in this bidirectionality is, as Petrocchi notes, "fundamental in enhancing foreign language skills and cross-cultural communication" (2014, p. 98). While Hall and Cook (2012) maintain that such use of L1 is

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counterproductive because it reduces valuable L2 exposure time, this discussion contends that a policy of using translation for 20 percent of the communicative course content is valid, especially given that students do often use translation as a learning strategy and indeed find translation activities very motivating.

In this article I have argued in favor of using translation as a learning tool at these two very different levels of EOP and EAP within a non-linguistic discipline: first in promoting fluency and confidence in interlingual and intercultural communication, with the teacher as a cultural linguistic mediator; and subsequently extending this into "traditional principles of fidelity and adequacy" (Valero-Garcés, n.p.) for the purposes of research. Evidence of the value of translation in these courses has been provided on two fronts: student reception and perception of the content, and learner output.

Students' comments on the translation content of the course have included the following: "enriching course content which consolidates our knowledge and skills"; "an excellent musicological exchange around a foreign language"; and "focused on music and very practical for learning how to write and talk about music."⁹ In terms of learner output, not only did students' translation efforts improve throughout the course, but they also showed a marked and continuing willingness to engage with and tackle intelligently the challenges presented in the chosen texts, using L1 for clarification, but then switching back to L2 rather than continuing to rely on L1. The benefits of such own-language use are clear, and indeed the position is summarized by Kerr when he speaks of the "emerging critical consensus" which confirms teachers' "practice-driven understanding" of their language classrooms (2016), which "may be summarized as English mainly, rather than English-only" (2015, p. 6). Students have commented that they appreciate the process of translation as a means of consolidating their lexical competence in different musical contexts, that they find it liberating to find there may be several acceptable solutions in translation, and that the juxtaposition of L1 and L2 has increased their linguistic and cultural awareness and widened their perspective on the international musical world.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have sought to demonstrate the usefulness of translation in promoting fluency and confidence in students' L2. This student body is composed of musicians, not linguists, but it is crucial for these budding performing musicians, sound technicians, and event organizers to learn to function effectively in a world where colleagues are more likely to speak English than French. Although the sample groups are small, the qualitative data have shown that students' translation efforts improved throughout the courses, and that their willingness to engage with the texts, and the use of L1 for clarification, strengthened the output in L2. Positive reception by students, along with concrete results demonstrating the efficacy of translation in their academic work, together suggest that of appropriately used, translation is the course component that most clearly opens paths toward the manifold possibilities involved in language use. Given that the teacher has a firm grasp of the terminology and concepts in the specific field in both source and target languages, pedagogical translation provides a focus on understanding and accuracy, and it increases cultural understanding and knowledge. Even though translation is a controlled task, the validation of several solutions—and thus the creative use of language by music students—leads to a productive learning outcome and an increase in confidence. It also provides an excellent opportunity to improve language

⁹ ["un contenu enrichissant qui consolide nos acquis et nos connaissances"; "un bel échange musicologique autour d'une langue étrangère" and "axées sur la musique et très pratiques pour apprendre de s'exprimer sur la musique, par écrit et oralement ".] Source: written student feedback 2017-18.

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learning abilities, including study skills and heuristic skills, leading to increased learner autonomy. This gives students valuable tools with which to pursue their professional lives and research activities in an Anglophone musical environment.

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BACKYARD ARCHAEOLOGY AND INTEGRITY AT RESIDENTIAL SITES IN NORTHEAST OHIO

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Abstract

Within the United States, prehistoric archaeology in urban or residential settings has been, to date, understudied. Residential settings are located on small parcels of land, usually less than two acres in size, and have an extant residence or dwelling on them. The assumption of many archaeologists is that urban contexts are disturbed, and therefore lack significant archaeological context and integrity. However, it is unclear if this assumption is based on the reality of the archaeological record, or a self-fulfilling prophecy of professional archaeologists quick to write off sites due to their presumed low archaeological potential. The issue of integrity within urban and residential sites is not dissimilar to recent debates on the utility of the plow zone at sites documented in agricultural settings. In both cases, the issue centers on the archaeological prospection for sub-surface features almost to the exclusion of other archaeological context. Only through systematic survey of urban sites can we begin to understand the integrity and context of prehistoric sites in these settings. This paper presents the realities of the urban and residential archaeological record, through a sample of 41 sites discovered in Northeast Ohio in and around the cities of Akron and Cleveland. The sample was compiled using government archaeological databases such as the Ohio Archaeological Inventory. The results of this sample, though limited in geographic scope, provide an interesting template for urban prehistoric archaeology throughout North America. Residential sites have the potential to yield useful information on the prehistory of modern urban centers that would otherwise be evaluated as insignificant when considered individually.

Keywords: Ohio Prehistory; Archaeology; Historic Preservation; Historic Archaeology; Archaeological Field Methods

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of cultural resource managers (CRM), according to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, is to assess the impacts to properties eligible or listed on the National Register of Historic Places (King 2020). There are numerous publications by the National Park Service that provide guidance on assessing eligibility to the National Register, known as *National Register Bulletins*. These bulletins outline evaluative procedures from a variety of site types, from shipwrecks to traditional cultural properties.

One could argue that our job as archaeologists, at least from the perspective of historic preservation, is to inventory artifacts and features, and determine if they are important enough to be listed along with other historically significant properties. However, recent scholarship has shown that these inventories of archaeological data (e.g. the Ohio

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Archaeological Inventory) are an underutilized resource of immense prehistoric and historic knowledge (see Nolan 2014; Olson et al. 2021; VanValkenburgh and Dufton 2020). The individual decisions of CRM have cumulative effects for anyone conducting research using data from the archaeological record.

Within the United States, municipal governments are often responsible for the cultural resource management of countless numbers of historical structures and archaeological sites (Brookstein 2001). Under regulations such as 36 CFR 800, municipal governments are often responsible for assessing the adverse impacts of Housing and Urban Development projects on these cultural resources within their jurisdiction. In many cases, historical archaeology is a logical concern and consideration, since many cities have inventories, registers, and historic landmark commissions that list historic structures and sites. Urban historic archaeology, particularly in Northeast Ohio, has long held the interest of archaeologists (Hoag and Petznick 2018; Lanouette 1999; Lee and Lewine 2000, 2003; Lewine et al. 2002, 2003; Mannik & Smith Group, Inc. 2021; Salem 2003). However, the evaluation of residential lots for prehistoric archaeological resources is often lacking. For examples of the lack of critical evaluation on residential lots, one can simply look at any of the numerous "grey literature" reports (see references in Table 1), or in the standards laid out by state agencies regarding residential properties. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission distinguishes prehistoric sites from urban sites, and clearly focuses on the aspects of archaeology as it relates to historic resources (Pennsylvania Bureau of Historic Preservation 2001). The Ohio Archaeology guidelines (Ohio Historic Preservation Office 1994:68) make a similar distinction, and note that "field testing in urban situations will normally be very limited...." The implication is that prehistoric sites are discrete and separate entities from urban or residential sites. Residential lots are often written-off as disturbed, lacking context, or unlikely to contain archaeologically significant data. In other words, prehistoric sites in residential settings are often considered to lack integrity.

The concern over integrity, and when it does and does not exist, has been raised previously by King (2020) in general theoretical terms, and by Brookstein (2001) in architectural terms. The issue of integrity at residential sites is not dissimilar to the debates of integrity within plow zone contexts. Prominent 20th century archaeologists, such as Ivor Noël Hume, have publicly questioned the utility of excavating the plow zone (King 2004). It is common practice for many archaeologists to mechanically strip the plow zone at sites, since this stratum is considered devoid of context (Harvey 2012). However, sites that have been damaged by plowing still retain useful information when viewed at regional scales or in aggregate (Martens 2016; Nolan 2014). The issue of plow zone as context is associated with a larger theoretical shorthand within the discipline: presence of features means sufficient integrity. This shorthand is almost explicit in the National Register Bulletin on assessing archaeological sites (Little et al. 2000), and among professionals today (Duncan 2011; Webster and Zimmerman 2021 18:50).

With the increase in professional and collector collaboration (Shott et al. 2018; Olson et al. 2021), and the ability to analyze "big data" (VanValkenburgh and Dufton 2020), there has been a revision of the old way of thinking of plowed fields and archaeological information. While this shift in thinking is nascent in the United States, Britain has been leading the way in both big data and collaboration with amateurs since the 1990s with the use of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (see Thomas and Stone 2009). There is analytical value in collector reported and collector identified sites. Projectile points are "superabundant" within North American archaeology (Shott 2020), and their individual information potential is surpassed by their aggregate information value. Often, projectile points are some of the only artifacts collected when non-professionals encounter a site.

The same cannot be said of residential prehistoric archaeology. There is a dearth of literature on prehistoric archaeology in urban contexts in North America. For New York City, the early work of William Calver and Reginald Bolton provide limited, amateur, accounts of archaeological investigations at the turn of the 20th century (Orser 2002:353). Mooney (2010) has compiled what little information there is on the four prehistoric sites inventoried within the city center of Philadelphia. Across the Atlantic, Dr. Kenny Brophy has done extensive work in Scotland researching and blogging about prehistoric sites within urban contexts on his website *The Urban Prehistorian* (Brophy 2021).

Large cities are constantly in a state of ground disturbing activities, which churn the soil and destroy archaeological contexts. However, the extent to which this perception has been systematically studied is minimal. Most soil scientists are familiar with the concept of "urban soil," as "highly disturbed soils in urban areas" (Pouyat et al. 2020:127). The current issues in soil science regarding urban soils revolve around combating soil erosion and habitat loss. In generic

terms, urban soils are in urban areas. As Riordan et al. (2021) note, urban areas also include "pseudo-natural" soils. To identify potentially undisturbed or minimally disturbed soils, then, requires examination of regional soil survey maps. Soil surveys going back to the 1970s in Ohio have identified original undisturbed soils in the backlots of residential parcels in Ohio (Ritchie and Steiger 1974). Where there are undisturbed soils, there is potential for preserved prehistoric archaeological sites. Are archaeologists categorically excluding residential sites before putting a shovel in the ground?

The United States Department of Interior has done no favors for urban contexts, either. A site is archaeologically "disturbed" when "cultural materials have lost their important depositional context (horizontal or vertical location of deposits)" (U.S. Department of Interior 1997:23). In my classrooms, students often take a very liberal interpretation to this text. *Any* artifact found in a plowed field is disturbed, and thus, ineligible for the national register of historic places. By this logic, very few sites would be worth preserving since the artifacts were not found *exactly* where they were deposited. If this is how students interpret the state and federal standards, can we not expect city planners to come to similar conclusions? As stated previously, it is the "plow zone as context" problem, in an urban setting.

The public's perception of the national register also reflects a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the goals of historic preservation. Heritage Works (2016) lists several common "myths" about the national register. The most common myth they report is that properties listed on the national register receive extra scrutiny, oversight, and control by the federal government. This is not true, as Heritage Works (2016) and Brookstein (2001) point out, but nonetheless it is common for the public to think listing a site on the national register comes with many strings and obligations to the landowner. Thus, there is a general public disincentive to find and register sites on the national register based on misunderstandings of how the national register works.

The general understanding among archaeologists, while similar in outcome (failure to identify prehistoric sites in residential settings), is different in approach. The assumption is that urban and residential settings will not yield significant archaeological data (criterion D of the National Register of Historic Places). This paper provides a preliminary survey and analysis of prehistoric sites recorded in urban or residential settings in Northeast Ohio. Though limited in geographic scope, the sample provided here is a baseline for further research into the patterns of prehistoric site distribution, density, and composition in residential and urban settings that can be applied to other regions of the United States. The goal of this research was to systematically evaluate the common assumption that residential sites cannot yield meaningful or significant prehistoric data.

METHODS

"Residential" for the purposes of this paper, will use the Ohio Historic Preservation Office's definition, as outlined in their guidelines for the Ohio Archaeological Inventory (OAI): "ranges from high density (e.g., multiple-unit structures of urban cores) to low-density, where houses are on lots of more than one acre, on the periphery of urban expansion" (Ohio Historical Society 2007:24). An acre is approximately 4047 square meters. For the purposes of this analysis, sites on farms were excluded from the study. Since the primary aim of this study was to investigate the impact of urban and residential development on the integrity of prehistoric sites, these large properties do not fit the criteria for inclusion. However, city parks, which often exceed two acres in size, were included. City parks have a considerable amount of development, with paved walkways, roads, parking lots, electric lighting fixtures, pavilions, gazebos, bathrooms, and other structures built up within their boundaries.

Archaeological sites were sampled from Northeast Ohio, generally, since this is the main research area of the author. Northeast Ohio also has two very large urban centers from which to examine the impacts of urbanization on prehistoric archaeological sites: Akron and Cleveland. Sites were mainly identified from field reports on file at the Ohio Historic Preservation Office, the OAI (which is digitized and accessible to professional archaeologists), and previous projects with which the author has led. Many of the sites selected were entered into the OAI by the author or were sites the author was directly involved in identifying and recording. The OAI is a statewide database of archaeological sites, using the Smithsonian Trinomial system. The Smithsonian system labels sites by their state (numerically), then the county, and finally a sequential number for the site within the county. For example, 33 CU 500 would be the 500th site inventoried in Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Ohio is 33rd alphabetically, instead of 35th, because Alaska and Hawaii were not states when

the Smithsonian System was implemented. For the purposes of this study, the state number was dropped when recording site numbers, since all sites were documented within the same state (Ohio).

While most sites recorded had a corresponding field report, most data were compiled from the OAI form. Field reports provided detailed provenience information, which was used to calculate distances to the nearest building or road. However, in the case of smaller sites, which often were identified by a single positive shovel test, the OAI centroid point in the Online Mapping System was used as the pinpoint for the artifact or site inventoried. Distances were ultimately estimates based on both the reported locations of artifacts and the scale of aerial photographs.

Sites with pinpoint locations were included in this sample; many more sites reportedly found in people's backyards could certainly be included. However, these general locations do not provide enough context about the proximity to other buildings or the main residence. The assumption is that house construction and related residential and historic activities directly and adversely impact prehistoric archaeological sites. Thus, the lot size and distance to nearest historic or modern ground disturbances are relevant to this research.

Where possible, historic and modern ground disturbances were identified using a variety of historical documentation, such as County Auditor records, historic atlases, maps created by county auditors for tax purposes (known as "plat maps"), and historic aerial photography. House lot boundaries and house construction were derived from a combination of aerial photographs, the county auditor's Geographic Information System (GIS), and the Ohio Historic Inventory (OHI). The OHI is equivalent to the OAI for above-ground resources. The lot size of sites was measured from the lot size at the time of discovery as recorded by the County Auditor. In a few instances, the nearest historic or modern disturbance was not a residential house, but an outbuilding, access road, or some other clearly distinguishable construction in photographs or maps. In these cases, the structure or feature was used as the nearest disturbance in place of a residence.

Conforming to the "golden rule" of statistical sampling, a minimum of 30 cases were sought for this sample (Drennan 1996). Documentary and report research was thorough, but likely not exhaustive of archaeological sites in this region. Sites were also selected for this study, where possible, from homes constructed from 1800 to the present. The aim of this objective was to capture a representative sample of sites under variable ages of home construction and historic residential activities.

RESULTS

In total, 41 sites were identified in residential settings in Northeast Ohio (Figure 1). Most sites were identified in the suburbs or edges of Akron and Cleveland. Seven sites were recorded on lots between 1 and 2 acres in size, and 13 sites were recorded on properties larger than 2 acres. The remaining sites (n=21) in the sample were identified on parcels an acre or less in size. Nearly 42 percent of all sites in the sample contained temporally diagnostic artifacts or features (n=15). Table 1 details the names of sites, their municipal location, and basic descriptions of the artifacts and features recorded. Table 2 details the information about historic residence construction, location of site relative to the home, and other information about the property.

Roughly 80 percent of sites (n = 33) were documented between 10 and 15 meters from the nearest building or road construction. In two cases, the "nearest building" was a constructed road (Haag Island 2 and Haag Swamp 2). Given the proximity to homes in many cases, 10 meters was a relative cut-off that was observed as data were collected.

Only two sites included in this sample were devoid of prehistoric cultural materials: Grace Park and Backyard Site #1. These sites contained historic artifacts, and an A Horizon which was not damaged by plowing or other agricultural activities or urban construction. These sites were included in analysis because their soils represent potential for intact subsoil features at other backyard residential lots, like anecdotal comments of intact subsoils noted by Ritchie and Steiger (1974).

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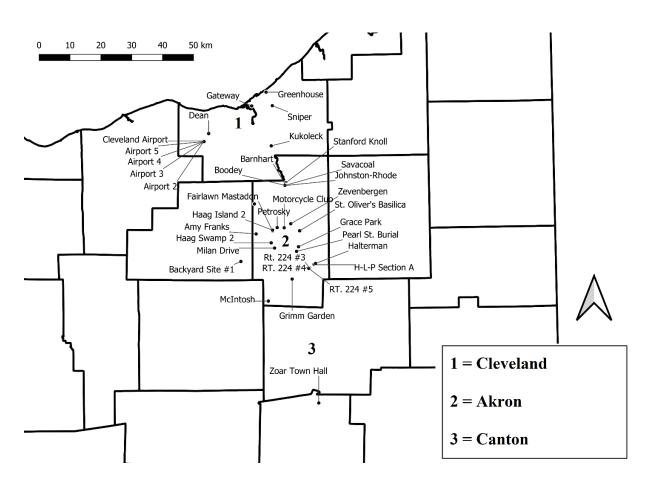


Figure 1: Location of sites included in sample, with county borders and locations of major cities.

Of the sites sampled for this study, only three sites were discovered after the original residences or buildings were razed (Gateway, Greenhouse, and Johnston-Rhode). However, in these three cases, construction activities and disturbances were still active after the original residence was razed. In particular, the Gateway site was identified prior to construction of Progressive Field in downtown Cleveland by faculty at Cleveland State University. The artifacts are currently displayed at the Cleveland State University Library.

In general, these sites included in the sample represent small lithic debitage scatters, with the occasional chipped stone tool. Only eight of these sites were identified within 10 meters of the nearest building. Four sites contained prehistoric features; however, the Pearl Street Burial lacks specific details beyond an expedient grave unearthed in 1913. From the reported evidence, the burial is likely Native American, but it was unclear from the news reports how this conclusion was made.

The Kukoleck Site

The Kukoleck site, for the purpose of this analysis, includes both the excavations in 2007, and the excavations in the 1930s by David Sanders Clark. While not listed on the OAI form, the Clark excavations extend across the road, and should be considered part of the same site. The site contains a significant number of features, which were identified in the 1930s during a survey to find the location of the historic village of Pilgerruh (Clark 1940). Clark, working as a research associate of the Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS), surveyed the area for evidence of the Moravian town of Pilgerruh. During his excavations, he reportedly found "three circular stone fireplaces and remnants of some eight to ten posts, now nearly reverted to earth...as well as a few arrowheads, a number of hand-wrought nails, and some fragments of clay pipes" (Clark 1940:15). Clark did not clarify if the posts and fire pits were associated with Pilgerruh or older; in fact, he explicitly states he does not know (Clark 1940:16). Brose et al. (1981:263) re-examined the artifacts

recovered by Clark and stored at "Bethlehem College, PA," which is today known as Moravian College. The artifacts examined at Bethlehem included "Late Prehistoric Whittlesey II ceramics (1100-1350 AD) and a few early nineteenth century artifacts" (Brose et al. 1981:263). Clark's (1940:15) excavation report describes a small crew of volunteers, with no mechanical assistance, digging two and a half foot trenches ten to twelve feet apart down to "virgin yellow clay." According to Finney (2002:166) the Clark excavation is known as the "Hathaway Road" site. Finney (2002:465) also approximates the Clark investigations at the present location of the Valley View Municipal Building south of Hathaway Road and east of Canal Road, or essentially on top of 33 CU 509 (the Kukoleck site). Unfortunately, artifacts from the Clark excavations could not be located at the WRHS or at Moravian College.

Professionally Excavated Sites

Unlike these early twentieth-century investigations, Stanford Knoll and the Barnhart property were excavated professionally and identified substantial prehistoric artifact assemblages and features. Stanford Knoll contains some of the oldest recorded pottery in Ohio (Wanyerka 2016), as well as domestic architecture from the Late Woodland period (Lee 1983). Stanford knoll has several radiocarbon dated features ranging from Early to Late Woodland, while the Barnhart property contains at least one Middle Woodland radiocarbon dated fire pit. It is worth pointing out that both these sites were identified on properties with homes constructed in the first half of the 19th century and have been under the protection of the National Park Service since 1974.

Despite these relatively few sites with recorded features (Barnhart, Kukoleck, Pearl St. Burial, and Stanford Knoll) there are at least three additional sites that contained indirect evidence of features: John Brown, Halterman, and Zevenbergen. At each of these sites, small amounts of fire-cracked rocks (FCR) were recorded. Where there are FCR, there are usually fire-pits or other thermal features which created them. However, in these three cases it is possible the features were destroyed during the construction of the homes on the properties. If we include these three sites as indirect evidence of features, this brings the total percent of sites within the sample with features or evidence of features to 17 percent (n = 7).

St. Oliver's Basilica

The last site worth describing in detail is St. Oliver's Basilica. St. Oliver's Basilica was surveyed using a simple metal rod as a soil probe. The probe was inserted at 25 cm increments north-south, and 1 meter east-west. When resistance was felt, the probe depth was recorded. These depths were then interpolated in QGIS to generate a shaded relief map depicting relative soil compaction. This simple technique has been used elsewhere as a cost-effective geophysical technique (Szalai et al. 2011). Figure 2 illustrates the locations of shovel test units, and a singular bucket auger overlayed on the interpolated soil depths. The slope of the backyard, resulting from the backfill of basement excavation, is clearly visible as the more compacted portion of the yard, as indicated by the shallow probe depths. This area was also notable for the high surface clay content and poor vegetation growth (spotty growth and bare dirt). As is common in the construction of homes with basements, the B horizon and deeper soil strata are spread out in the yard immediately around the home. The micro-flakes were found in the auger test, after a 500 ml soil sample was run through a simple floatation screen. The soil sample was collected as a representative sample of the soil in what appeared from both the probe data and surface observation to be the undisturbed natural soils of the backyard. The back of the house is less than five meters east of the auger test.

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Figure 2: Location of auger test and shovel test units in an interpolation map of soil probe depth (in centimeters below surface) at St. Oliver's Basilica Site. Deeper probe tests are lighter and shallow probe tests are darker.

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Figure 3: View of St. Oliver's Basilica site, looking north. Soil probe is located at 5 meters east of southwest corner.

DISCUSSION

The pattern at St. Oliver's Basilica is emblematic of the general pattern to site discovery in residential lots. The back yard has the highest potential for preservation. The front yard is often attached to a public road, and most buried utilities are located between the front of the home and the road. This area is naturally higher in human traffic and activities because of the road access, thus leading to higher ground disturbing events such as repairs, construction, and utilities maintenance and/or installation.

Though this is a small sample, from a limited geographic region of the United States, there are some interesting patterns in these data. Sites, with intact prehistoric features, can be found on residential sites within 10 meters of a historic or modern home. However, most sites are found further away from the home. In general, the author hesitates to call this a "10-meter rule," for fear that this may be used indiscriminately by cultural resource managers. Even within this sample, the 10-meter "rule" has exceptions. In only one case were prehistoric artifacts found on a parcel less than 1011 square meters (quarter acre): St. Oliver's Basilica.

There are exceptions to this pattern, too. At the Zoar Town Hall, a single flake was discovered near the foundation, and in the front of the building. Similarly, the Stanford Knoll site lies just a few meters from the front porch of the homestead. However, both cases are at homes constructed in the first half of the 19th century, and thus had no public utilities to disturb the soil. With the advent of call before you dig laws, and organizations such as the Ohio Utilities Protection Service (OUPS), the identification and delineation of buried utilities has become as simple as a mouse-click. When paired with a simple soil probe survey of the backyard, like the one used at St. Oliver's Basilica, archaeologists can identify the extent of soil disturbance via home construction and utility installation.

Future studies should concentrate not only on sites which have been documented in urban contexts, but those surveys which yielded no archaeological materials. Given the current apathy and low expectations for urban prehistoric archaeology in the United States, extant surveys which failed to yield materials may reflect the biases of the surveyors and not the archaeological record. New studies should incorporate random samples of residential lots, with the explicit purpose of identifying prehistoric materials.

However, in all instances (e.g. past and future surveys), this belies the biggest source of data: the landowner. The current sample was restricted by provenience information, but a quick survey of sites described by Haag (2006) in Copley township could easily expand this sample. There are dozens of sites reported by Haag via landowners finding artifacts in their gardens and backyards. For example, "The Hutchinson family, who lived next door (west) of our find, had a cigar box of arrowheads they had found in their backyard garden in the late 1950s or early 1960s" (Haag 2006:136).

The issues of plow zone archaeology, raised at the beginning of this paper, are perhaps amplified in urban residential contexts. Landowners change at a higher rate of succession (and quantity) than in rural settings. The person who found a site puts their artifacts in a shoebox, and then they move to a new location, or their collection is inherited by their children who may not know anything about the artifacts. Shott (2008) has repeatedly stated, and statistically demonstrated (Shott 2015, 2017) the volume of archaeological materials in private hands. Within rural settings, there are fewer landowners collecting artifacts, and these fewer landowners tend to maintain familial ownership for longer periods of time than urban landowners. Perhaps the issue more pressing to archaeologists in residential sites is not the concern of physical integrity, but the loss of memory from landowners who no longer live there or have died. The Hutchinson's collection, as reported by Haag (2006) is probably lost to time. How many other Hutchinson's are there that are still alive with artifacts found in their gardens?

Perhaps the first place to investigate patterns in residential prehistoric archaeology are historical societies. In the case of Akron, the Summit County Historical Society houses hundreds of artifacts, mostly projectile points, found in "Akron, O." While the provenience information may be less than inspiring, archaeologists have begun to incorporate data with similar provenience in their research (VanValkenburg and Parker 2020; Olson et al. 2021). One of the largest projectile point datasets in the world, the PaleoIndian Database of Points, is provenienced to the county level. In most cases, the size of counties is orders of magnitude larger than the boundaries of a municipality. However, Historical Societies come with their own risks, often resorting to selling prehistoric artifacts before other objects in their collections, since the

provenience is often poor, and prehistory is not the primary focus or mission of many historical societies. For the city of Cleveland, these data are likely lost. Nearly all the prehistoric collections of the Western Reserve Historical Society have been sold to the highest bidder (Mazzolini 2010).

CONCLUSION

Based on the current sample, it is untenable to claim urban or residential settings as categorically excluded from archaeological considerations. Setting aside the obvious historical archaeological potential at many residential sites, this sample of 41 archaeological surveys in "backyards" demonstrates that prehistoric artifacts and features have been identified in what are commonly assumed to be disturbed contexts (residential lots).

In general, most prehistoric materials were identified at 10 or more meters away from the foundation of the nearest home or building. However, in cases where the home was constructed in the 19th century, prehistoric materials were documented. In these cases, it is likely that the lack of underground utilities (e.g. electric, cable, plumbing) and absence of paved driveways at these older homes helped preserve these prehistoric materials. Likewise, older homes were unlikely to move earth in the same manner as modern construction using hydraulic equipment, which would disturb the soil to a higher degree.

As others have noted in studying private collections across the United States (Shott 2008, 2015, 2017; Olson et al. 2021), landowner knowledge and local collector knowledge is a wealth of information for archaeologists. However, this knowledge is often restricted to rural and agricultural settings which have not been impacted by urban development and residential construction. Local and landowner knowledge is more likely to be incomplete in urban areas due to the much higher turnover rate in ownership. The fragmentary nature of landowners means other local sources of knowledge, such as historical societies, are more likely to yield information about urban prehistory than individual landowners.

Given the limited preserved records for prehistoric sites to date, the presence of any prehistoric materials within residential contexts is significant. Prehistoric sites in residential settings are not common, and though the data they yield may be limited in scope, they provide some of the only instances where professional excavation can take place in an otherwise underrepresented region of the archaeological record. The challenges of urban prehistoric archaeology in North America pose a greater demand on literature reviews and research prior to sticking a shovel in the ground. Assuming there is nothing to be found in residential lots should no longer be the norm for cultural resource managers until there is a larger corpus of data from which to make conclusions.

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Table 1: Sites Included in sample, with basic descriptions of artifacts and features identified.

| OAI | Site Name | Artifacts | Features | Other Reference |
|--------|-----------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| TU 809 | Zoar Town Hall | Three flakes | | Krumrine and Pacheco 2000 |
| SU 456 | Barnhart Property | Projectile Points, Middle Wood Bladelets bifacial tools | Two pits | Bauermeister and Richner 2012; Wanyerka 2016 |
| SU 481 | Johnston-Rodhe | Late Woodland Projectile point, 50 flakes, and retouched flake | | |
| N/A | John Brown House | FCR and two flakes, two French gunflints | | Gintert et al. 2019 |
| SU 138 | Stanford Knoll | Late Woodland Habitation with projectile points and pottery | Postholes and pits | Bauermeister and Richner 2012 |
| SU 353 | McIntosh Site | Late Archaic Projectile Point, Three scrapers, several flakes | | Heiser 2001 |
| SU 269 | Boodey House | Flake | | Bauermeister and Richner 2012 |
| N/A | Gateway | Early Woodland Bifaces | | Fry et al. 2014 |
| SU 423 | Savacoal | Early Woodland Projectile Point, groundstone tool | | Bauermeister and Richner 2012 |
| SU 638 | Pearl St. Burial | Human Burial (unknown cultural affiliation) | Burial | Akron Beacon Journal, June 5, 1913 page 1, column 2 |
| CU 509 | Kukoleck House | Flakes and piece of worked slate | Three fire-pits | Bauermeister 2008; Clark 1940 |
| SU 130 | Halterman | Biface, 4 flakes, FCR | | Clarke et al. 1984 |
| SU 219 | RT. 224 #3 | retouched flake | | Dobson-Brown et al. 1994 |
| SU 220 | RT. 224 #4 | flake | | Dobson-Brown et al. 1994 |
| SU 713 | St. Oliver's Basilica | two micro-flakes | | Olson 2021 |
| SU 218 | RT. 224 #2 | Projectile Point | | Dobson-Brown et al. 1994 |
| SU 221 | RT. 224 #5 | biface | | Dobson-Brown et al. 1994 |
| N/A | Grace Park | Original undisturbed soils | | Olson 2019 |
| SU 129 | H-L-P Section A | flakes | | Clarke et al. 1984 |
| SU 129 | H-L-P Section B | flakes | | Clarke et al. 1984 |

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| SU 528 | Zevenbergen | Woodland Pottery, Bifaces, and flakes | Whitman et al. 2017 |
|--------|-------------------------|---|---------------------|
| SU 657 | Grimm Garden | Late Archaic Projectile Points, slate axe | Vogenitz 1999:2 |
| SU 577 | Milan Drive | Two Late Archaic Projectile Points | Haag 2006: 156 |
| SU 573 | Haag Island 2 | biface | Haag 2006:84 |
| N/A | Vinyard Site | Original undisturbed soils | Olson 2017b |
| SU 631 | Motorcycle Club Site | Middle Woodland Projectile Point | Whitman et al. 2008 |
| SU 653 | Fairlawn Mastadon | Mastadon and PaleoIndian Projectile Points | Vogenitz 1999 |
| N/A | Petrosky | Archaic biface and nutting anvil | Olson 2017a |
| N/A | Backyard Site #1 | Original undisturbed soils | Olson In Press |
| SU 576 | Haag Swamp 2 | Archaic Projectile Point | Haag 2006:137 |
| SU 585 | Amy Franks | Early Archaic Projectile Point and Middle Woodland pendant | Haag 2006: 59 |
| CU 73 | Sniper | Woodland Pottery, flakes | |
| CU 74 | Greenhouse | woodland pottery, two flakes | |
| CU 406 | Edgewater | one flake | |
| CU 450 | Airport 1 | one flake | |
| CU 451 | Airport 2 | one flake | |
| CU 452 | Airport 3 | one flake | |
| CU 453 | Airport 4 | one chert chunk | |
| CU 454 | Airport 5 | two chert chunks | |
| CU 455 | Airport 6 | one flake | |

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Table 2: Historic construction episodes and years of discovery. Disturbance lag is the years between home construction and discovery.

| OAI Number | Site Name | House construction | Archaeological Discovery | Disturbance lag | Municipality | Lot Size (m²) | Distance to nearest Building or road (m) |
|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|---|
| TU 809 | Zoar Town Hall | 1835 | 2000 | 165 | Zoar | 2700 | < 1 |
| SU 456 | Barnhart Property | 1835 | 2012 | 177 | Boston | 4600 | 11 |
| SU 481 | Johnston-Rodhe | 1830s | 1986 | 151 | Boston | 13500 | 30 |
| N/A | John Brown House | 1840s | 2019 | 174 | Akron | 7100 | 30 |
| SU 138 | Stanford Knoll | 1850 | 1985 | 135 | Boston | 36000 | 16 |
| SU 353 | McIntosh Site | 1854 | 1997 | 143 | Clinton | 2700 | <15 |
| SU 269 | Boodey House | 1860 | 2012 | 152 | Boston | 350 | 14 |
| N/A | Gateway | 1870s | 1980s | 100 | Cleveland | 3400 | <20 |
| SU 423 | Savacoal | 1890 | 2012 | 122 | Boston | 2200 | <5 |
| SU 638 | Pearl St. Burial | 1800s | 1913 | 20+ | Akron | 1000 | <15 |
| CU 509 | Kukoleck House | 1914 | 1930s; 2007 | 20 | Independence | 5300 | 18 |
| SU 130 | Halterman | 1917 | 1984 | 67 | Akron | 1400 | 17 |
| SU 219 | RT. 224 #3 | 1920 | 1994 | 74 | Akron | 3300 | 65 |
| SU 220 | RT. 224 #4 | 1920 | 1994 | 74 | Akron | 2300 | 19 |
| SU 713 | St. Oliver's Basilica | 1929 | 2021 | 92 | Cuyahoga Falls | 600 | <5 |
| SU 218 | RT. 224 #2 | 1930 | 1994 | 64 | Akron | 4800 | 60 |
| SU 221 | RT. 224 #5 | 1930 | 1994 | 64 | Akron | 4000 | 23 |
| N/A | Grace Park | 1930s | 2018 | 83 | Akron | 29000 | 50 |
| SU 129 | H-L-P Section A | 1930s | 1984 | 49 | Akron | 3200 | 20 |
| SU 129 | H-L-P Section B | 1930s | 1984 | 49 | Akron | 2800 | 20 |
| SU 528 | Zevenbergen | 1950 | 2012 | 62 | Cuyahoga Falls | 4500 | 16 |

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| SU 657 | Grimm Garden | 1953 | 1990s | 42 | Portage Lakes | 1000 | 15 |
|--------|----------------------|-------|-------|-----|----------------|-------|-----|
| SU 577 | Milan Drive | 1959 | 2000s | 46 | Copley | 3400 | 20+ |
| SU 573 | Haag Island 2 | 1962 | 2000s | 43 | Fairlawn | 1100 | 12 |
| N/A | Vinyard Site | 1966 | 2017 | 51 | Richfield Twp. | 6600 | 30 |
| SU 631 | Motorcycle Club Site | 1967 | 2000s | 38 | Akron | 21000 | 18 |
| SU 653 | Fairlawn Mastadon | 1967 | 1967 | 0 | Fairlawn | 7300 | 0 |
| N/A | Petrosky | 1973 | 1990s | 22 | Fairlawn | 2700 | <5 |
| N/A | Backyard Site #1 | 1975 | 2020 | 45 | Wadsworth | 1740 | 20 |
| SU 576 | Haag Swamp 2 | 1991 | 1990s | 4 | Copley | 1000 | <15 |
| SU 585 | Amy Franks | 1998 | 1998 | 0 | Copley | 3400 | <5 |
| CU 73 | Sniper | 1800s | 1976 | 126 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 10+ |
| CU 74 | Greenhouse | 1930s | 1976 | 41 | Cleveland | 100 | <5 |
| CU 406 | Edgewater | 1930s | 1997 | 62 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 100 |
| CU 450 | Airport 1 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |
| CU 451 | Airport 2 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |
| CU 452 | Airport 3 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |
| CU 453 | Airport 4 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |
| CU 454 | Airport 5 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |
| CU 455 | Airport 6 | 1930s | 1998 | 63 | Cleveland | 8800+ | 15 |

THE ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN ESSAY PRIZE 2020

The Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize is open to all NCIS members and recognizes excellence in independent scholarship. The Prize is awarded annually for the best peer-reviewed published article submitted by a member of NCIS, and brings the winner an honorarium, which this year is \$350. The article must have been published in a peer reviewed journal or edited academic book within the last two years, and all authors must be members of NCIS, whether the authorship is single or multiple. Details at https://www.ncis.org/grants

The Eisenstein Prize was established in April 1993 and is named for Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein (1923-2016), Professor of History at American University (1959–1979) and the University of Michigan (1975–1985), and mother of Margaret DeLacy, one of NCIS's founders, in recognition of Professor Eisenstein's long-standing support of NCIS. After 2012 the Prize lapsed due to lack of funding, but was revived following Professor Eisenstein's passing in January 2016.

In 2020, a strong field produced two front runners, and after deliberation the jury awarded first prize to Kempe Ronald Hope Sr. (USA) with Sarah Hardstaff (Great Britain) as worthy runner-up – congratulations to them both. Unfortunately, the winning author has been unable to gain the publisher's permission to reprint in time for this issue, but we have included the abstract which is in the public domain.

We are pleased to be able to reprint the runner-up essay, with the kind permission of both author and publishers.

Eisenstein Winning Essay 2020

PEACE, JUSTICE AND INCLUSIVE INSTITUTIONS: OVERCOMING CHALLENGES TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOAL 16

Kempe Ronald Hope Sr.

Published in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 32:1, 57-77 (2019) DOI: <u>10.1080/14781158.2019.1667320</u>

Abstract

The SDGs are intended to be universal, in the sense of global applicability. Goal 16 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is officially titled: 'Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels'. This article provides an analysis of the importance of SDG 16 to achieving all of the SDGs, the progress on implementation of SDG 16 to date, the principal challenges that countries are encountering in the implementation of SDG 16, and proposes a set of policy solutions to overcome those challenges. It argues that progress on SDG 16 is critical to progress on the other SDGs and, therefore, it is imperative that countries vigorously attempt to overcome those challenges to meet the targets indicated for each goal. It draws on country experience as well as on the author's own field experience.

Keywords: Peace; justice; inclusive institutions; sustainable development goals; implementation challenges

(Permission to reprint not forthcoming in time for this issue)

Eisenstein Runner-up 2020

MONEY AND THE GIFT IN THE NOVELS OF MILDRED TAYLOR AND CYNTHIA VOIGT

Sarah Hardstaff, Ph.D. (Cambridge, England)

Originally published in *Barnboken Journal of Children's Literature Research*, *42* (2019). https://doi.org/10.14811/clr.v42i0.417

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Abstract

In this article, I present a comparison of the representation of the uses of money and gift economies in two landmark series for young readers from the United States: Mildred Taylor's Logan family novels (1975–2020), centred on an African American family in 1930s Mississippi, and Cynthia Voigt's Tillerman family novels (1981–1989), centred on a white family in 1970s Maryland. Both Taylor and Voigt depict characters navigating the banking system; moreover, both show the ways in which banking is a question not just of economic competence but of social capital and indeed, of social justice. While Taylor presents money as a social tool, used to acquire things of value (rather than having inherent value) and as a means for characters to collaborate or punish one another, Voigt often presents money as a tool for individual selfactualisation. Similarly, in the gift economy, Voigt shows gifts as having economic potency whereas for Taylor these gifts instead act as conduits for social exchange. In both the Logan and Tillerman novels, gifts are used to strengthen social bonds, but can be dangerous too, creating obligations and conditions of repayment that are too onerous for the characters. Often presented as opposites, the differences between monetary and gift economies sometimes seem to collapse in these novels.

Keywords: Mildred Taylor, Logan novels, Cynthia Voigt, Tillerman novels, children's literature, economic criticism, banking in fiction, gift economies

Literature and economics share core structures and themes such as choice, exchange and value: indeed, art and money share the same fundamental paradox of being simultaneously both things and fictional representations of things. In other words, fictional texts reflect, reproduce, influence and question economic and social structures through both their content and form; this is particularly pertinent in children's literature, which due to the age of its audience acts as a form of "economic socialisation" (Van den Bossche 35). Representations of money, as well as alternative economies such as the exchange of gifts, are central to this claimed socialising effect. In this article, I present a comparison of the representation of the uses of money and gift economies in two landmark series for young readers from the United States: Mildred Taylor's Logan family novels (1975–2020), centred on an African American family in 1930s Mississippi, and Cynthia Voigt's Tillerman family novels (1981–1989), centred on a white family in 1970s Maryland. I aim to

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demonstrate the multiple uses and meanings of money and gifts in the novels, focusing on their thematic similarities and divergent contexts, highlighting areas of overlap and points of difference.

Money and Gift Economies

The representation of money in children's literature remains under-explored and under-theorised with notable exceptions in works by Naomi Wood, Sue Saltmarsh and Astrid Van den Bossche. In a chapter titled "Stories of Value: The Nature of Money in Three Classic British Picture Books," Van den Bossche examines the role played by money in three picturebooks, looking at "the pecuniary logic constructed in their fictional worlds [...] highlighting the ideological tensions implicit in the representation of money, commensuration and value" (37). She finds that these depictions show that "money is not only something to be rationally counted and invested, but should also be understood as a social and moral marker ... as a defective indicator of value... and as a divisor of spheres" (37-38). In the Logan and Tillerman novels, money is a concern for both adult and child characters and, as Van den Bossche suggests, conveys multiple social meanings. It is possible to go further and argue that money and the novel form are ideologically indeterminate: "Money and fiction, both representational systems relying on credit, are also often interchangeable ... from Defoe forward, realistic fiction, at least, is always in some sense about money" (Brantlinger 144). As Patrick Brantlinger's focus on credit, trust and fictionality suggests, debt is also represented frequently in fiction, including in Taylor's and Voigt's novels.

Running alongside and intersecting with the monetary economy is the gift economy, an arena of much theoretical speculation, in which things are given rather than bartered or bought and sold. In the introduction to *Gifts, Markets and Economies of Desire in Virginia Woolf* (2008), Kathryn Simpson writes that the gift "resonates with ideals such as altruism, sacrifice and love – a utopian contrast to ... the market" (2). She outlines one way in which the gift functions:

a gift economy can operate in part as an alternative to capitalist exchange by privileging generosity, social bonds and intimacies, and rendering unimportant the purely monetary value of the objects exchanged. Significantly, the expectation or even obligation to reciprocate does not necessarily annul the spirit of the gift and convert it into a mercantile exchange; rather, it fulfils one function of the gift which is to reinforce social bonds. (Simpson 4)

In both the Logan and Tillerman novels, gifts are used to strengthen social bonds, especially those which are discouraged by the oppressive tenets of the formal economy.

Yet gifts can also be more dangerous than Simpson allows here, creating obligations and conditions of repayment that are too onerous for the characters. In his seminal work, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1950), Marcel Mauss describes how gifts can be used as a way of exerting social control: "To give is to show one's superiority, to be more, to be higher in rank, *magister*. To accept without giving in return, or without giving more back, is to become client and servant, to become small, to fall lower (*minister*)" (Mauss 95). In both the Logan and Tillerman books, characters have rational fears of being reduced in this way, due to the race and class oppression they respectively experience. Fears of poverty, violence, financial dependency and losing the family land mean that, in both series, apparent altruism must be scrutinised. Thus, these novels do not draw such a sharp dividing line between the "utopian" gift economy and the market economy as might be expected.

Taylor and Voigt

Money and gift economies are closely linked to major themes of the Logan and Tillerman novels as delineated in previous criticism. Research on Taylor's novels highlights the links between racism and economics (MacCann); the importance of land ownership (Brooks; Martin); difficulties around contracts (Davis); and variations in child and adult agency (McDowell; Hardstaff, "Papa Said"). Meanwhile, research on Voigt's novels often highlights money (Hoffman), economic hardship and labour (Watson; Pearce; Fraustino; Hardstaff, "Economies of Childness"). My previous research highlights the types of agency available to child characters in Taylor's *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* and the types of labour associated with child characters in Voigt's *Homecoming*. The present article draws on these insights, bringing together texts by both authors to explore the representation of money and gifts, themselves often associated with different types of agency and labour.

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Despite the different historical, racial, regional and social contexts they represent, Taylor's and Voigt's works share not only thematic similarities but also similarities in production, reception and form. Regarding production, some of the texts are published around the same time during the 1980s, an era when American capitalism, particularly finance, reinvented itself under Reagan. In terms of reception, both series contain Newbery Award-winning books – *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976) and *Dicey's Song* (1982) – both series are regarded as modern classics of American children's and young adult literature, both have been deployed as classroom texts, and both continue to prompt new critical work. Finally, in terms of form, both series constellate around a main protagonist, yet both too move back and forth in time, with prequels focusing on older generations and sidequels relating the perspectives of friends. Overall, there are four Logan novellas and four full-length novels (with a final novel forthcoming in January 2020), compared with seven full-length Tillerman novels. For this article I highlight examples from the three novel-length works in each series that are narrated by or focalised through the main protagonist: Cassie Logan in *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976), *Let the Circle Be Unbroken* (1981) and *The Road to Memphis* (1990), and Dicey Tillerman in *Homecoming* (1981), *Dicey's Song* (1982) and *Seventeen Against the Dealer* (1989).

In *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry*, set against the backdrop of the Great Depression, narrator Cassie learns about the racism she and her family face in Mississippi. Taylor emphasises the consequences of failed financial speculation and flaws in institutional responses that are specific to the 1930s, as well as the long-term inequalities inherent in the South's cotton economy and sharecropping system. Money is a matter of everyday survival but also a strategic tool, at the heart of acts of resistance carried out by the Logan adults. *Let the Circle Be Unbroken* portrays the aftermath of *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* and develops some of its major themes, including those relating to money, gifts and the state of the economy, as the effects of the Depression become more severe. Cassie's brother Stacey runs away with a friend to find work and is missing for much of the novel: they are finally found safe but badly shaken by their experiences working in the sugarcane fields without pay. Finally, *The Road to Memphis*, set in 1941 and narrated by a now seventeen-year-old Cassie, centres on relationships between the young adults of the community in the context of the United States preparing to go to war. Money and gifts are now exchanged by the young people themselves, rather than being mediated by adults.

The Tillerman novels begin with *Homecoming*, a story of four siblings – Dicey, James, Maybeth and Sammy – abandoned by their mother (their father had already abandoned the family). Led by the eldest, focalising character Dicey, the children make their way mostly on foot down the east coast of the United States, running out of money, working for money and, eventually, easing their grandmother's concerns about the costs, both emotional and financial, of letting the children live with her in Crisfield, Maryland. *Dicey's Song* explores the ways in which Dicey and her siblings adapt to their new home with their grandmother, who officially takes on responsibility for the children, a responsibility heightened by the death of their mother. The final novel, *Seventeen Against the Dealer*, returns to Dicey, after interceding novels focusing on other characters. Now aged twenty-one, Dicey has started her own boat-building business, but her hard work is not enough to compensate for a lack of experience and capital. A drifter called Cisco (implied to be Dicey's estranged father) helps Dicey with her work, but then runs away with her money. Eventually, Dicey is forced to close her business, but the novel closes with her intention to build a boat for herself, a future-facing expression of hope that takes her labour outside the restrictions and injustices of the formal economy.

Money in the Logan and Tillerman Novels: Credit, Contracts and Competence

Both Taylor and Voigt depict characters navigating the banking system; moreover, both show the ways in which banking is a question not just of economic competence but of social capital and indeed, of social justice. The Logan adults see money as a means of securing their material assets rather than having any value in and of itself. Their preference for tangible goods over paper assets can be seen in their distrust of certain methods of storing or transferring money: after he has sold his car, Uncle Hammer brings the money to Cassie's father David in person, claiming not to trust the mail or wire (Taylor, *Thunder* 188). Paper money is seen as undependable and uncertain. Hammer's contribution is required because the mortgage on the land is recalled by the bank in response to white landowner Harlan Granger's displeasure at the Logan's leadership of a store boycott: the bank "[s]aid our credit's no good anymore" (186). Financial institutions

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are not only stacked against the Logans' survival and chances of success, financial instruments are weapons that can be used by powerful interests at will. In a monetary system that is inseparable from notions of white supremacy, the Logans can neither trust official creditors, nor are they themselves trusted as debtors. "[M]odern money" writes Brantlinger, "originates in debt and is always a statement of debt, even as it represents wealth" (35). The Logans' already-threatened stability in the form of their land is threatened further by inequalities in access to credit, that is, to wealth itself. The credit system in this case is used to revoke access to opportunities and property rights.

Contract failure is described as a regular feature of Taylor's earlier work, due to her depiction of a "society ... entrenched in the mentality of institutionalized racism" (Davis 190). As Donnarae MacCann writes, Taylor's novels "prove [a] dynamic relationship between economics and race hatred, and upon that foundation, they are then able to offer a view of other social institutions" (116). All monetary transactions are already conducted at a disadvantage, the agency and energy required always involving an extra process – first making the money, then actually getting hold of it. In an argument with his mother at the height of the Great Depression, Stacey expresses his frustration with her reluctance to allow him to get a job: "They [white people] the ones got the money, then they the ones we gonna hafta get it from" (Taylor, *Circle* 197). Mary's fears are later proven to be accurate when Stacey's boss at the sugar cane plantation refuses to pay him for his ten weeks of hard labour (373). Given the longstanding association between fiction and credit, it is arguable that the attitudes towards money and banking presented in these texts encourage us to eschew official narratives in favour of those that are grounded in material realities, inequalities and experiences like Stacey's.

Adult agency in monetary matters is, by and large, presented as a model to children and young adults: there is no scene featuring protagonist Cassie negotiating with bank managers, and Stacey's attempts to make money are thwarted by abusive bosses. However, in a later novel, an older Stacey recounts his dealings with Wade Jamison, the sympathetic white lawyer character in the Logan novels, to attain a car on credit: "He said he'd sell it to me on time" (Taylor, *Memphis* 20). Wade is the only powerful white person who will give the Logans "time," in both the literal and financial sense. Here the young adult characters turn financial credit into a tool for their advantage, countering the historical relationship between financial speculation, cotton production and slavery in the United States (Baptist 270), seen also in the "giant chain of debt-obligations" across the Atlantic slave trade (Graeber, *Debt* 347), and frequent use of credit secured by mortgages on enslaved people (Beckert 116–117, 221–223). In the purchase of the car on credit, Stacey asserts his humanity and agency by expecting to be treated as an equal rather than an object of speculation himself.

In the Tillerman novels, money is central (cf. Hoffman 181). Yet compared with Taylor's work – where money appears as a social tool of collaboration, objectification and punishment – money in Voigt's novels is closely linked to class status and individual self-actualisation. As with other processes in the novels, money is talked about with precision: "It cost eighty-eight cents" (Voigt, *Homecoming* 25); "it cost twenty-six dollars to get to Crisfield. Fifty-two dollars there and back" (194). Money is a means by which the Tillerman children demonstrate their competence and imagination, for instance in coming up with different ways for their grandmother Abigail to make money, to maximise her utility – "with a farm, there must be ways of getting money" (378) – selling Christmas trees, keeping chickens, running a vegetable stand, renting out fields, selling butter. James demonstrates that he understands the consequences of not making more money, perhaps better than his grandmother: "With inflation, and if you're on fixed income – you could lose the farm if you can't pay taxes" (379). As with other aspects of the Tillermans' status as children, Abigail asserts her authority over financial matters in the sequel. This too is a difficult adjustment for protagonist Dicey, as seen when Abigail takes her out for lunch: "Dicey ... studied the prices. She found the three cheapest things and then looked to see what they were" (Voigt, *Dicey's Song* 82). Abigail's subsequent insistence that Dicey choose what she wants rather than what is cheap marks the power struggle between adult and child, but also an induction into new ways of economic thinking and doing for Dicey.

Despite these early signs of interest and ability in the uses and meanings of money, Dicey runs into financial difficulties in *Seventeen Against the Dealer*. She fails to take out an insurance policy for her business premises, thus suffering considerable losses after being robbed; she also trusts her unofficial assistant Cisco with a cheque to bank, which he cashes before running away. Previously, Dicey has been presented as an unusually competent agent in the informal economy, but in the formal, adult economy, she struggles with the basics – insurance, banking, contracts. Indeed, her

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would-be boat buyer gives this as an excuse when he walks away from the deal: "no obligation... No contract signed. It was all informal" (Voigt, *Seventeen* 146). Dicey is portrayed as competent with saving, budgeting and spending as a child in *Homecoming*, but seems completely unprepared in terms of the financial literacy she needs to thrive as an adult in *Seventeen Against the Dealer*. Whether this is a matter of a focalising character moving from a naïve belief in her abilities to an awareness of her limits, a reflection of Voigt's refusal to present a straightforward linear narrative of progression (cf. Reid 15) either for the personal maturation of her characters or the growth of the economy, or a comment on the limiting conditions of capitalism even for those who show the most potential and promise, is up for debate. What is known is that in other Crisfield boatyards, knowledge and resources are passed from father to son: Dicey's lack of awareness is in part due to her absent parents and in part due to her class status as a first-generation business owner.

Gifts in the Logan and Tillerman Novels: Debts, Dangers and Promises

The Tillermans' lack of resources for engaging in the formal economy means that representations of gifts in the novels often coincide with questions of money. Cost and affordability feature largely: for example, Dicey's thoughtfulness for her siblings when Christmas shopping is informed both by the loss of their mother and by the loss of money involved in each transaction (Voigt, *Dicey's Song* 211). Money and gifts are sometimes counterposed too, as when Dicey refuses a loan of money from boyfriend Jeff (*Seventeen* 68) but later accepts a gift from him that she does not want (231). Dicey's free indirect discourse reveals her thought process: "When someone offered you something, to help you, you owed them something, you owed them being able to help you out" (217–218). This circular logic recalls the obligations bestowed on the recipient of the gift and perhaps offers some explanation of Dicey's difficulties in the formal economy: although deeply independent-minded, she privileges a relational, ethical approach to gifts and debts which precludes success when in competition with the self-interested actors of the market economy.

Sometimes a gift helps to repay an obligation or represents a kind of "paying it forward" from one generation to the next: both aspects can be seen when the circus owner who has helped the children get to Crisfield returns with gifts of bicycles for all of them (Voigt, *Homecoming* 354–355). As well as providing a means for the children to literally circulate as a mode of transport, these gifts have additional temporal connotations too. Acknowledging the past, the bicycles act as reward for the children's unpaid labour for the circus, and acknowledging the future, they act as recognition of a possible need to take once more to the road; they also grant the Tillermans access to a children's economy of paper routes and the journey to school. Rather than acting to strengthen or weaken social bonds, these gifts not only represent alternative paths and potentialities but also make them materially accessible.

The potentialities represented by the gift can be negative as well as positive. In Taylor's novels, conflicts around giftgiving are most evident in the relationship between the Logan children and their white friend Jeremy Simms. Jeremy gives Stacey a hand-carved wooden flute for Christmas: Stacey initially finds it difficult to draw an equivalence between material and emotional gifts in a scene where he asks his father why Jeremy gave him a gift when he received nothing in return:

'Papa, how come Jeremy give me this flute? I mean, I didn't give him nothin'.'

'Maybe you did give him something,' said Papa, lighting his pipe.

'No sir, Papa. I ain't never given him nothin'!'

'Not even your friendship?' (Taylor, *Thunder* 129)

David then warns against friendship between black and white, stating that it cannot be equal. The gift thus acts as a material prompt for an important social lesson.

David's verbal warning is followed in the novel's sequel by a physical demonstration of the dangers of interracial relationships by Uncle Hammer. Jeremy again gives a gift in the form of a photograph of himself, one for Stacey and one for Cassie, giving away the only copies of the only photographs of himself he has ever seen or owned, a gift with no use-value beyond reminding the recipient of the giver (Taylor, *Circle* 122). Hammer finds Cassie's copy of the photograph and warns her about the risks of sexual exploitation by white men and the wrath of the white community if black men approach white women; his lecture culminates in the destruction of the photo: "he crossed to the fireplace

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and without hesitation threw Jeremy's picture into it" (169). Again an adult intervenes to explain the power imbalance involved in accepting the gift, while Hammer's use of fire to destroy the gift recalls the ways in which fire symbolises white supremacist violence elsewhere in the series, in David's burning of the cotton crop to save TJ's life, the arson attack on the Berry family and Mr Morrison's recollections of his home being burned down. The significance of fire in Taylor's work recalls David Graeber's comments on the multiple meanings of "consumption": "To be consumed by fire, or for that matter consumed with rage ... implies ... being overwhelmed in a way that dissolves away the autonomy of the object or even that destroys the object itself" ("Consumption" 491). The gift is consumed, but not in the sense intended by its giver, and the potential future danger and harm embodied in the gift is thwarted.

The flute and photographs represent Jeremy's offer of friendship. Yet this gift of friendship can neither be freely given nor accepted under the present social conditions; it is, rather, a promise for the future (Mielke 253–254). David and Hammer, in their adult interventions and verbalised opposition to Jeremy's gift-giving, cannot see forward to the sacrifice Jeremy will make when he does become a man in *The Road to Memphis*, giving up his family and community in order to save a black man's life. In explaining his choice, Jeremy refers in monetary language to his behaviour in failing to prevent an attack on one of the Logans' friends: "Now maybe the debt's paid" (Taylor, *Memphis* 151). Moreover, this "gift" is later aligned with the original gift of the wooden flute, a recurring phallic symbol in the novels which initially seems to have an uncertain fate: for example, Cassie narrates that she "never saw the flute again" (*Thunder* 129), she tells a friend that Stacey never plays it nor would he allow Cassie to play it (*Circle* 115) and she again narrates that Stacey has not played the flute – "at least to my knowledge" (*Memphis* 42). Yet we also learn that Stacey keeps the flute in "his box of treasured things" (*Thunder* 130), he tells Jeremy that he has kept it for the best part of ten years (*Memphis* 42) and, finally, Cassie hears him playing the flute in the woods after Jeremy's departure (*Memphis* 289). While Stacey takes David's advice and does not use or acknowledge Jeremy's gift publicly, he clearly values the flute, the uncertainty about his feelings reflecting the uncertainty that surrounds the fate of Jeremy and the hope for the future that he represents.

David couches his lecture to Stacey in the language of cost and risk, as well as drawing on Stacey's comparison of Jeremy and his friend TJ: "Now you could be right 'bout Jeremy making a much better friend than TJ ever will be. The trouble is, down here in Mississippi, it costs too much to find out" (Taylor, *Thunder* 130). While the relationship between Stacey and Jeremy provides a utopian vision for the future, the relationship between TJ and Jeremy's older brothers can be read as its negative. Their unequal relationship shows how gifts can form the basis of a *magister-minister* relationship.

In the Logan novels, the gift, like credit, can paradoxically strengthen the position of the giver, and for this reason must often be resisted or accepted with caution. In Voigt's novels, accepting gifts such as the bicycles can afford the child recipients greater agency. By contrast, in Taylor's novels, gifts from outside the family can be dangerous and grant the gifter not just agency but a role as creditor and a sense of ownership over the recipient. Gifts such as Jeremy's photograph prompt destruction through fire. Yet while the flute seems to invite its own symbolic destruction through Stacey's apparent refusal to play it, its recurring significance throughout the series hints at hopes for a more harmonious future.

Conclusion

In the Logan and Tillerman novels, representations of monetary and gift economies have significant implications for our readings of these novels, providing critical insights that contribute to and expand the existing research on the importance of economics in both series. Depicting money matters as inseparable from racism and social class, Taylor and Voigt complicate narratives of financial competence and the protagonists' progress and agency more generally. Focusing on the different uses and meanings of money and gifts in novels such as these may even be projected to have pedagogical applications, given the parlous state of financial literacy amongst teenagers ("Many Teenagers Struggle"). While Taylor presents money as a social tool, used to acquire things of value (rather than having inherent value) and as a means for characters to collaborate or punish one another, Voigt often presents money as a tool for individual self-actualisation. Similarly, in the gift economy, Voigt shows gifts as having economic potency whereas for Taylor these gifts instead act as conduits for social exchange. In both the Logan and Tillerman novels, gifts are used to strengthen

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social bonds, but can be dangerous too, creating obligations and conditions of repayment that are too onerous for the characters.

Often presented as opposites, the differences between monetary and gift economies sometimes seem to collapse in these novels. In the Tillerman books, the division between money and gifts breaks down, as money permits and delimits the selection of thoughtful gifts; furthermore, reflecting on the cost of a gift is positioned as part of this thoughtfulness along with consideration for the recipient's wants. Gifts stand in for payments, and gifts enable the Tillermans to make money. In the Logan books, sharper dividing lines between money and gifts and, in the earlier novels, between adult-and child-led participation in the economy, are required when it comes to keeping the children safe in a white supremacist society. Gifts that originate or are implicated in the market economy, such as Jeremy's photographs, are rejected. Yet Stacey's positioning of Jeremy's flute as "treasure" suggests an alternative value system that, though barely vocalised, runs counter to an ethically indebted and oppressive market economy. While the Logan and Tillerman novels convey multiple uses and meanings of money and gifts, it is in expressions of hope that they replicate the logic of credit systems and gift economies alike: the possibility of a more just society is offered to readers like a gift, one that entails both a promise and an obligation.

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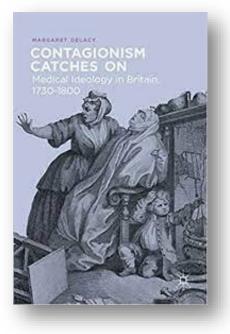
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BOOK REVIEWS



Contagionism Catches On: Medical Ideology in Britain, 1730-1800

Margaret DeLacy

Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

284pp. + Appendix, Bibliography, Index. eBook €67 / £57 / \$78 ISBN 978-3-319-50959-4 Hardcover €114 / £97 / \$134 ISBN 978-3-319-50958-7 Softcover €84 / £72 / \$98 ISBN 978-3-319-84531-9 DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-50959-4

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Review by Shelby Shapiro

Historian Margaret DeLacy has written an important work in her *Contagionism Catches On: Medical Ideology in Britain, 1730-1800.*" Contagionism is the idea that a material substance transmits disease from patient to patient." (p. 1). DeLacy carefully traces the zigs and zags of disease theory developments, starting with the view that disease resulted from imbalances among the four elements (fire, water, earth, air) to the ideas of Hippocrates and Galen based on imbalances among the four humors (blood, phlegm, black bile, yellow bile). These imbalances caused the body to react in specific ways: medical professionals and scientists did not recognize a disease as a discrete entity. Others combined these ideas with classifications according to temperature and humidity, thus: moist, dry, hot, cold, replicating the divisions of everything, it seems, into sets of four.

We think of the Germ Theory of Disease generally occurring in the mid-nineteenth century with the pioneering work of Joseph Lister, Louis Pasteur, and Robert Koch. Margaret DeLacy pushes this story back to the mid-eighteenth century. Early on she notes the dangers of "precursoritis," working backwards from today to see how a given present theory was "anticipated," as if that could be possible (p. 3).

Instead, as per Thomas Kuhn's work on paradigm shifts, we see how reluctant scientists and doctors were to abandon past ideas, and by a process of adding, adapting and adopting, managed to maintain a belief in prior theories of disease causation.

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In the chapter "Animate Disease after 1750: Exanthemata Viva," we learn of the role played by Carl Linnaeus —best known for botanical classification—in developing ideas about the animate sources of disease. A technological innovation, the microscope, enabled Linnaeus and others to locate the cause of disease in tiny animate sources. What exactly these sources were became the question: were they animalcules, or insects, as Linnaeus originally thought (p. 91)? Working off the findings of Linnaeus, Pringle and others, Marcus Antonius Plenciz "not only argued that specific agents were responsible for specific diseases. He solved the problem of index cases by arguing that all humans had existed since the beginning in the ovaries of Eve and therefore the 'seeds' of all diseases had also existed since the time of creation." (p. 99)

A number of underlying issues lay at the core of the main medical one: what was a disease? How to define it? What were the main disease theories, and how did these theories connect and change over time? How did scientists—doctors or others—seek to explain new evidence and new phenomena within the framework of older theories? What were the institutional factors which enabled or constrained the various actors? In what contexts were all of these factors embedded: print culture, communication and transportation networks, educational institutions, religious movements, political changes (including the American and French Revolutions)? Margaret DeLacy answers all these questions in a mere 284 pages—an impressive feat in itself.

One of the most interesting and exciting aspects of *Contagionism Catches On* is DeLacy's institutional focus: developments within religious tendencies (Anglicans vs. Dissenters), the evolution of cities, the expansion of print culture, the growth of transportation and communications networks, changes in medical education and licensure, the developments of statistical observation, the birth of medical narratives (a history of "the history"), the exchange of ideas enabled by these other factors. DeLacy's ability to weave these strands and sub-strands together serve as an example of how to approach a complex historical phenomenon and present it in an understandable manner without sacrificing vital details.

Urban expansion with dense populations had the effect of magnifying contagion. But it also brought those interested in science and medicine in closer contact. One of the major emphases of this book lies in its focus on the concept and reality of the network. She carefully draws the connections between particular characters, where they studied, with whom they interacted, their professional and personal interactions. In short, she traces the formation of intellectual communities:

"(T)here as a dense web of other connections between the participants: these were further enhanced by dramatic improvements in transportation and communication. [John] Fothergill, for example, would grasp many new and improved opportunities to collect and disseminate information by personal contact, mail and publication; he cultivated friendships with sea captains, served as the English advisor for American Quakers and colonial visitors, acted as an administrator and facilitator for British 'Friends, mentored young men seeking medical instruction, brought groups of physicians together Nonconformist for professional and political action, established a medical journal and wrote articles for the general public." (p. 11)

Because of the hostility between the Church of England and various groups of Dissenters or Nonconformists, and as an effect of the English Civil War, physicians pushed for bills of mortality, rather than christenings and burials—to do so would have led to excluding non-Anglicans, thus skewing the results. This meant that those interested could gather meaningful statistics without regard to religious beliefs. They sought patterns, commonalities and differences. They looked for links among all manner of data: from mortality records, to temperatures, weather, astronomical conditions, astrology, alkalinity and acidity, so on and so forth. Sheffield physician Thomas Short published a book of observations on the bills of mortality:

"Short enthusiastically tossed the effects of the scarcity or plenty of harvests on all sexes and ages, the seasons, meat consumption, the aurora borealis, astrological events, and many other factors." [p. 130]

A smallpox epidemic in Warrington could be correlated to variations in the air. With no discernable difference among those coming down with the disease and particular states of the air, physicians could abandon *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 8 (December 2021) ISSN 2381-2400 آن This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

that theory. (p. 135)

For graduate students of this reviewer's generation, Thomas Kuhn's The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962) was required reading. We learned how scientists test accepted paradigms, probing for the exceptions that disprove the rule. Typically, they try to stretch the ruling paradigm to account for anomalies—at the point that an accepted paradigm no longer works and can no longer be stretched or adapted to explain the anomaly, competing models appear until there is a "paradigm shift"-a new paradigm essentially agreed upon by consensus. Alternatively, a new phenomenon may arise which similarly does not fit the existing paradigm. Kuhn focused on physics, and the development of new ideas which could explain phenomena that Newtontan physics could not. DeLacy's book provides another case study, using the development of medical theories. As disease theories going back to the ancient Greeks could no longer explain or deal with newly discovered diseases-or as they became defined as discrete disease entities-new theories came to the fore. DeLacy also makes clear that changes in medical ideas do not occur in a linear fashion. Thus, by the mideighteenth century,

"(c)ontagionism was not adopted instantly or universally." She continues: "Contagionism remained one theory among many and even contagionist doctors continued to blame illnesses on the winds and weather; assess the humoral temperatures of their patients; and bleed, puke and purge their way through their patient lists (and patients)." (p. 77)

The book consists of nine densely packed and detailed chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. She tells a complex story, juggling a number of historical and conceptual balls at the same time. Each chapter covers new areas in the jagged road leading to contagionism and its competitors. Summarizing each chapter would mean an inordinately long review.

DeLacy carefully explains the complexities of English medical education and licensure. As a result of the English Civil War, those not pledging allegiance to the Church of England could not attend Oxford or Cambridge, or become licensed by the London College of Physicians. Education and licensure did not mark the limits of the effects of the English Civil War. The education at Oxford and Cambridge was grounded in the classics, based on mastery of classical languages and texts. That this perpetrated the teachings of Hippocrates and Galen thus comes as no surprise. Those not adhering to the Church of England— Dissenters, Nonconformists etc.—sought education where their religious beliefs did not act as a bar. Hence the heavy concentration of doctors trained in Scotland and in Europe. It was outside the bounds of Oxford and Cambridge that new ideas developed. One center was Leiden, where Herman Boerhaave held sway.

Boerhaave represented the ultimate stretching and combining of paradigms. DeLacy's detailed treatment of Boerhaave is one among many, as she traces the contours of different theories of disease, contagion and treatment in the following extended quote:

Like Galen, Boerhaave accepted contagion, but his elaborate discussions of physiological factors pushed it to the sidelines. He noted that all the humors in the body were made from what it consumed. The process that occurred inside the body must mirror the process observed every day in the outside world. Outside the body, different foods decomposed in different ways. Some, usually acid fruits, fermented: they became warmer and bubbled up. Others, usually vegetables, dissolved into a mush. Finally, meats rotted, grew dark and gave off a terrible odor. They had putrefied, a process understood as a gradual dissolution of a living body into its constituent parts in the absence of a "vital spirit" that held them together. Inside the body, "inflammatory" fevers corresponded to fermenting fruit; "slow" (or slow continued) fevers corresponded to the dissolution of vegetables into mush, and "putrid" fevers corresponded to the putrefaction or rotting of meat. They resulted either from the ingestion of these foods or from similar processes that arose when living things functioned improperly.

Boerhaave also classified diseases as diseases of the solid parts of the body (the fibers that held all its smallest parts together); diseases of the vessels (that is, the "hoses" that carried all sorts of fluids about the body); diseases of the "humors" (the fluids that circulated around the body within the vessels); diseases that combined solids and fluids; and obstructions or

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wounds. He subdivided diseases of the vessels into diseases of the large (blood) vessels, those of the small (blood) vessels, and diseases of the entrails. When vessels became weak and dilated it caused a stagnation of liquids, incomplete digestion or their contents (crudity of fluids), putrefaction of the liquids, a rupture of the vessels and an effusion of the fluids they had contained. Diseases of the fluids resulted from inappropriate foods or a failure of the body to break them down completely so that they continued to decompose within the body. The fluids might be too acid, too "gluey" or too alkaline, containing salts with sharp edges. This acrid, irritating substance in the blood decomposed into a putrid mass, ate away at the vessels, ruined the circulation, dissolved everything in its path, and disrupted secretion and excretion.

DeLacy elaborates on Boerhaavian theories further, noting, for example, that "(t)oo much blood became too hot and thick, dilating the arteries and compressing the veins. Virtually any of these causes, if not corrected by a vigilant physician, could end in inflammations, abscesses, gangrenes, and death". Her account goes much deeper than this summary. Is it any wonder, she notes, that "Boerhaave, like the Bible, was popular because he permitted a breadth of interpretation." (pp.22- 23)

DeLacy manages throughout this book to summarize fairly complex systems of thought; she discusses these theories, as well the experimentation that affirmed, confirmed, or undercut them. To test Joseph Priestley's theory of noxious air from marshes being dangerous sources of disease, "led Thomas Paine and George Washington to experiment by igniting the air from a pond in 1783. In 1806, Paine attributed outbreaks of yellow fever to this effluvium." (p. 157-158n60). John Pringle, for example, "took the idea of a 'septic principle' very seriously, devoting several years and many experiments to trying to isolate it and learn more about its role in putrefaction. His painstaking, smelly and sometimes disgusting efforts bore little fruit but he did demonstrate that putrefaction was completely different from alkalinity, contributing to the final overthrow of Boerhaavian physiology." (p. 58)

Related to this septic principle was the idea that diseases emanated from miasmas. Economic historian Carlo M. Cipolla, in *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, makes that point in discussing the protective clothing worn by doctors, the bird's beak mask and a long waxed robe. In the beak of the mask aromatic herbs protected the wearer against miasmas. As to the reasoning behind waxing the coats, he states:

The idea behind the making and the adoption of the waxed robe was that the venomous atoms of the miasmas would not "stick" to its smooth and slippery surface. Because its use seemingly worked and served its purpose, the doctors of the time found in that fact a confirmation of their theories about contagion and the role of miasmas.³⁵

Father Antero Maria da San Bonaventura was a bright and energetic friar who was charged with the administration of the main pesthouse at Genoa during the epidemic of 1657. Experience taught him that those who went to serve in the pesthouse and who had not been previously infected with the plague rarely failed to contract the disease. He had no faith in the precautions currently practiced, and about the robe made from waxed cloth, this is what he had to say: "The waxed robe in a pesthouse is good *only* to protect one from the fleas which cannot nest in it."³⁶ (emph. added).

The observations by the friar about the waxed robe was both accurate and perceptive: the robe did not protect people from miasmas, it protected people from the fleas.

Nobody then saw any connection between the flea and the disease. This serves as an example "... of sound action born out of erroneous theory..."³⁷: the waxed robes kept the actual vector, the flea, from spreading the plague. And since those wearing the robes did not come down with the plague, obviously its role as a protector against miasmas must be correct.

As intellectual and medical networks expanded, a result

³⁷ Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague*, 17.

³⁵ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 12.

³⁶ Cipolla, *Fighting the Plague*, 12.

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of changes in transportation and communication, the growth of the public sphere wherein participants could and did share ideas, the professionalization of medicine continued. The craze for statistics enabled scientific communities to take broad views, making all kinds of correlations, and disproving others.

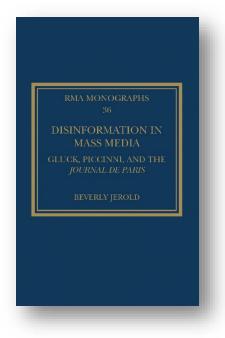
One of this reviewer's tests for determining how interesting a particular piece of writing—whether article, monograph or book—lies in its stimulus to further reading, starting with examining some of the sources listed in the author's footnotes. This is done not so much to check on the author's accuracy but to learn what else might be learned from a given source. DeLacy's sources are international, with material in English, Latin, Italian and French. A very careful historian, she notes bibliographical mistakes that scholars have made, including herself (p. 120n98). The source notes contain much of interest and should not be skipped. Margaret DeLacy passed the stimulus test with flying colors.

My only complaint had to do with how source notes appeared—as endnotes for each chapter rather than footnotes. This reviewer recognizes that such a decision is often beyond the author's control. That arrangement is still better than having them all placed at the end of the book. This, however, is a minor quibble—perhaps more indicative of the state of mind of a Footnote Freak than an author. She brings us to a complete appreciation of the dictum of British fiction writer L. P. Hartley: "The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there."

Shelby Shapiro is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. in American Studies with a dissertation on the Yiddish press and how various publications of differing political and religious viewpoints sought to construct different identities for Jewish immigrant women. He has written about Jazz, Anarchism, and the labour movement, and presently is Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut.

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Disinformation in Mass Media: Gluck, Piccinni, and the **Journal de Paris**

Beverly Jerold

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https://www.routledge.com/Disinformation-in-Mass-Media-Gluck-Piccinni-and-the-Journal-de Paris/Jerold/p/book/9780367350178

Review by Amanda J. Haste

From an early twenty-first-century standpoint, one cannot fail to be aware of the power of today's mass media not simply to report current events but to wield considerable influence through the way they present information, and indeed disinformation. But this is not a new phenomenon: in *Disinformation in Mass Media: Gluck, Piccinni, and the Journal de Paris,* Beverly Jerold relates the eighteenth-century quarrel (*querelle*) concerning the operas of the German composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) and the Italian composer Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800) as "an early instance of using daily mass media to sow discord in society at large for political advantage" (1).

The author is herself an independent musicologist and a practising musician and, although one needs no musical knowledge to follow her gripping account of this political drama, the author's deep knowledge and understanding of the musical issues at stake shine through as she examines the quarrel from several aspects.

The reason this particular guarrel became front page news, as it were, was due to the founding of the Journal de Paris, which appeared daily and catered to a large audience in the city of Paris, France. The Journal de Paris (JP) was, unlike the political and literary journals which had hitherto only appeared sporadically, a commercial enterprise which "held enormous power to distort facts, ridicule individuals, and publish anything to further its own aims". This meant it "aimed low - and then lower" and was temporarily shut down by the censor after publishing "indiscreet material". However, when the JP resumed publication it "avoided the censor by exciting controversy through cleverly designed attacks on prominent individuals" in the world of opera, and specifically the music of the German-born composer Gluck and the Italian Piccinni (3).

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It must be remembered that at that time the opera was not an elitist entertainment: most literate people went to the opera, often to see or be seen, so the "insulting articles, letters, and epigrams" aroused considerable interest (4). Gluck already enjoyed a near-monopoly at the Paris Opéra, and efforts had been made to allow Piccini to compose for the Opéra and to have his works performed there, but the texts published (often anonymously) in the JP consistently supported Gluck's position and undermined that of Italian opera in general, and the music of Piccinni in particular, claiming the latter was only fit "for concerts and the Italian theater" (96).

As Jerold points out, this *querelle* only really escalated just after the JP came into existence, and the "texts and events reveal manipulation of public opinion on a grand scale" and "substantial financial rewards" for the paper and its supporters. (4).

Jerold begins by setting the scene by outlining the major figures and events which preceded the explosion of coverage in the JP. Throughout the book she also explains important aspects of Baroque opera production, such as the use of melody (the French air or the Italian aria) and recitative, the declamatory device used to move the narrative on using natural speech inflexions, with few notes and little rhythmic interest. French opera used far more *recitative* than melody, whereas Italian opera was more melodyoriented (15). It has to be said that Italian audiences rarely actually listened to the *recitative* passages, preferring to spend the time "gossiping, playing cards, and visiting other boxes" (116). While Italians favored beautiful melodies, for French opera-goers it was "volume and high-pitched emotion" which were the crowd-pullers. As W.A. Mozart wrote to his father from Paris in 1778, French singers "really should not be called such - for they do not sing, but scream - howl that is, from the whole neck, from the nose and throat" $(3).^{1}$

Although the *querelle* pitted the German Gluck against the Italian Piccinni, Gluck was much travelled, and had studied and worked in Italy, Austria and London as well as France. Gluck was a demanding musical director and succeeded in getting French singers to introduce more dramatic content rather than simply bellowing, and his operas are a unique blend of Italian and French traditions.

The JP maintained their campaign for over a year, often invoking a nationalistic agenda, and such controversy was clearly very good for business; there was a complete disregard for integrity and the quarrel "was incited with such cunning that few knew its origin" (119). Jerold concludes by raising some interesting questions about the motives of the individuals concerned, not least among them Gluck himself.

This is a fascinating account of the musical and political background of eighteenth-century Europe, with which the reader will find countless parallels in the presentday campaigns mounted against public figures. This book is a fascinating exploration of the machinations of a few designed to manipulate public opinion and create a furore, which will resonate with anyone who has read a newspaper or delved into social media. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose.* Academically rigorous, but written in an accessible style, I heartily recommend this book to musicians and non-musicians alike.

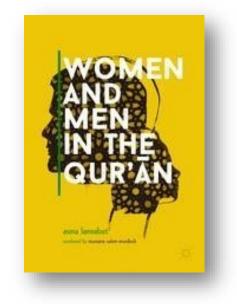
Dr. Amanda J. Haste (Ph.D. Musicology, Bristol University, UK) teaches as adjunct faculty in the Music Department of Aix-Marseille University, France and has published widely on identity construction through music and language. She co-authored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University) Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015) and is currently completing a monograph on music as a vector for identity construction in twenty-first-century monastic communities.

Deutsch, 7 vols. (Kassel : Bärenreiter, 1962-1975). Vol. 2, p. 397.

¹ Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, ed. W.A. Bauer and O.E.

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Women And Men in The Qur'an

Asma Lamrabet Translated by Muneera Salem-Murdock

Washington, DC, USA: Palgrave, 2018 **195 pages eBook ISBN :** 978-3-319-78741-1 £18 / €22 / \$26 **Softcover ISBN :** 978-3-319-78740-4 £22 / €26 / \$31

DOI : 10.1007/978-3-319-78741-1 https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783319787404

Review by Sara Jamil

Women and Men in The Qur'an is a breath of fresh air in the discourse around gender equality in Islam. Dr. Lamrabet, a Muslim woman and extremely knowledgeable scholar, takes the reader on an intricate and comprehensive journey of dismantling and disrupting stereotypical narratives through a beautiful, in-depth study of the sacred text of the Quran. The universal egalitarian message of the Qur'an is the red thread, which is skillfully interwoven throughout the book. *Women and Men in the Qur'an* is divided into three main parts:

- 1. Women in Islam: A New Approach
- 2. Women and Men in the Qur'an: The Key Concepts
- 3. Equality, the Time of a Revolution.

The eighteen chapters of the book each meticulously analyse selected relevant verses in the Quran as well as traditional interpretations, which are referred to in most of the Muslim world.

Dr. Lamrabet challenges these and uses the spiritual source itself in her arguments in a clear and confident manner, so as to shift the perspective from a fixed to an evolving interpretation that transcends the discourse of women *or* men to one of gender equality.

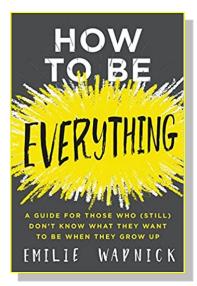
Nonetheless, empowered with sound knowledge and refreshing perspective, Dr. Lamrabet does not shy away from calling out the prevalent patriarchal, misogynistic and manipulative interpretations of the spiritual message of the Qur'an. She thoroughly addresses the underlying biases, as well as those outside Islam, of "the Muslim woman, the general tendency being to view all Muslim women as a monolithic group – often done deliberately with the intent of marginalizing this group. For too long the opponents of Islam, the media and the power-hungry Muslim clerics have been allowed and enabled to make the sacred message of the Qur'an profane – not so on Dr. Lamrabet's watch!

She concludes by suggesting that it is time for those who love and honour this sacred, spiritual message to educate themselves by studying the text from within the context in which it was revealed, and to consult various interpretations. This would allow the next generation in particular to be presented with a model, grounded in the spirit of democracy that relates to current times: an interpretation that serves not only women but all of humanity. She invites anyone outside Islam, regardless of sex, gender, race and social status, to also consider embracing this universal egalitarian message of the Qur'an.

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There is no doubt that the author's approach will push boundaries. In fact, that is her stated intent in the introduction. I am confident that it will be graciously received by scholars with a keen interest in studying Islam, gender equity and interfaith studies among other disciplines. Furthermore, it will resonate with the younger generation of Muslims - especially women and their feminist allies - as it offers hope and possibility for a narrative that serves everyone equally. However, the wording at times is too academic and scholarly for a layperson to truly connect with the important message that Dr. Lamrabet wishes to convey. Nonetheless, I strongly believe that increasing selfawareness is the only way to empower people in their agency, and this book undoubtedly provides a strong and sound foundation for anyone who is on a journey of self-discovery to explore further.

Sara Jamil is an educator, mentor and sacred activist. She is the contributing author of "Dreams Unleashed", founder of CompassionFirst and Lead Volunteer of Charter for Compassion International. As a lover of humanity, Sara passionately advocates for her faith community's motto "Love For All Hatred For None" as well as her own message of "A Better World Starts With Me".



How to Be Everything: A Guide for Those Who (Still) Don't Know What They Want to Be When They Grow Up

Emily Wapnick

HarperCollins : HarperOne (2017) Hardback 240 pages \$25 Paperback \$16 Kindle \$10.86

ISBN: 9780062566652 / ISBN 10: 0062566652

https://www.harpercollins.com/products/how-to-be-everything-emilie-wapnick?variant=32122185547810

Review by Marie-Eve Monette

Emily Wapnick's *How to Be Everything: A Guide for Those Who (Still) Don't Know What They Want to Be When They Grow Up* is an introductory guide to becoming a "multipotentialite," what Wapnick calls those trying to find alternative and flexible professional paths that are defined by interests, skills, and finances. Wapnick argues against the "Myth of the One True Calling," and invites her readers to embrace creative pursuits, rather than follow linear and vertical career trajectories. Her aim throughout the book is to guide

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her readers towards identifying their motivations and their needs, and for planning ways to unleash their multifaceted potential at different stages of their professional lives.

The book follows a simple structure, and is divided along three themes: 1) defining and ascribing positivity to being a multipotentialite; 2) the four approaches and work models for multipotentialites to explore; and 3) suggested ways of overcoming the challenges of a multipotentialite professional leading life. Throughout the chapters, Wapnick introduces blocks of questions that include exercises to guide the readers towards identifying what kind of multipotentialite they are. These activities also propose ways of experimenting with the models that best suit the readers at that particular moment in time, and of facing the inevitable challenges encountered while pursuing the selected approach. Wapnick concludes by inviting her readers to play and lead with their multipotentiality, and to join Puttylike, an online community of multipotentialites begun in 2010 that has grown into thousands of members since. The book closes with additional examples and resources, including a list of famous multipotentialites along with their several interests and pursuits; examples of interdisciplinary fields in which multipotentialites can thrive; and notes on selected further reading.

In the first three chapters of the book, Wapnick suggests that multipotentialites need to embrace their multifaceted qualities even though they may be deemed incoherent and lacking in direction by people following more traditional career paths. Among these many qualities, she claims that multipotentialites' powers of synthesis, intellectual curiosity, adaptability and resilience make them ideally suited to taking creative risks, adjusting rapidly to changing situations, and finding innovative solutions to problems. Contrary to experts who are restricted to the narrow focus of their fields, multipotentialites are systems thinkers, and can apply their passions and skills in unusual and transdisciplinary ways. In order to lean into these qualities and apply them to designing their professional lives, multipotentialites must explore the resources, motivations and levels of variety they need to do so.

In "Part II: The Four Multipotentialite Work Models: Different Strokes for Different Folks," she describes the four approaches and work models that multipotentialites generally follow. The first, the Group Hug Approach, implies having one multifaceted and interdisciplinary job or business that allows the multipotentialite to shift between many projects and activities while enjoying the financial stability of the one job. The Slash Approach is evocative of the portfolio career, allowing the multipotentialite to simultaneously work on multiple projects and jobs, all of which are driven by their passion rather than financial necessity. In order to make this approach possible, readers may hold multiple part-time jobs, own a few different businesses, and/or do freelance work. The multipotentialite selecting the Einstein Approach prioritizes financial stability. Having a stable source of income from one job that does not require much effort or energy frees these multipotentialites to work on their projects during their free time without feeling the pressure of monetizing them. Finally, the Phoenix Approach will fit what Wapnick calls the sequential multipotentialites because they enjoy delving deeply into an industry or career, before switching to a new industry or career. Choosing the Phoenix Approach may also work for those interested in building up rather than running businesses, allowing them to dedicate their time to serial entrepreneurship.

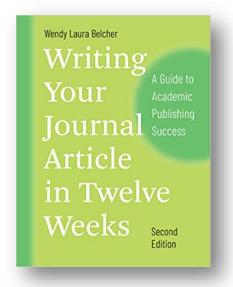
Part III introduces the readers to some of the obstacles multipotentialites often face: a lack of resources, difficulties with scheduling and logistics, and impostor syndrome, to name a few. Wapnick seems to suggest that what is central to confronting these challenges is for the readers to redefine their productivity system. Whatever approach the readers select, there are different ways of structuring professional time. She proposes that the readers redesign their time structures around a combination of needs-based, creative and energetic rhythms. She offers the examples of the prepared schedule, modeled on the school/work day; the project immersion; the flow state; and what she calls the 3Cs: the schedule divided between creation, connection/ interaction with others, and consumption (the act of researching and learning). Along with these possible productivity systems, Wapnick shares different steps the readers can take to

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set up the best state and space to get to work. Productivity systems, according to Wapnick, must also include accountability methods, such as keeping a small-wins journal, finding accountability partners, and completing self-reflection exercises to understand whether moments of resistance are signs of boredom, impostor syndrome, or that it is time to move on to another job or project.

Many components of How to Be Everything can resonate with academics and post-academics alike, and be a useful tool as they explore professional possibilities linked to their interests, work and productivity systems. For those interested in taking the independent scholar route, it can be of particular interest as it invites them to consider ways of finding financial stability while making time and space for research and writing. However, the book is only a short overview of the introduction to the life of the multipotentialite. The structure includes many subsections that often interrupt the flow of the writing, and does not delve into an in-depth exploration of the approaches, methods and exercises that Wapnick proposes. Readers can walk away with renewed ideas to define their career paths, and their transitions alongside or outside of academia, but they will certainly need to find other resources to strengthen and complement the materials found in this book. How to Be Everything can be a good, if introductory, starting point for independent scholars and post-academics interested in building non-linear and non-traditional professional paths beyond academia based on their own strengths, interests and expertise.

Marie-Eve Monette is a Latin Americanist with specializations in Andean Studies and Film Studies. She holds a Ph.D. in Hispanic Studies and is a former Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Alabama. She is currently working on her first monograph, and has published in the Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies and the Bulletin of Hispanic Studies. She currently owns Viewing the Andes, partnering with Andean filmmakers, researchers and nonprofits to support Andean audiovisual (AV) initiatives, and produces films about Bolivian histories and realities, and with Peruvian nonprofits to use AV methods of assessment of development programs.



Writing Your Journal Article in Twelve Weeks: A Guide to Academic Publishing Success (2nd edition)

Wendy Laura Belcher

Chicago Guides to Writing, Editing, and Publishing, 2019. ISBN: 978-0226499918 442 pp. Kindle £41 / \leq 47 / \leq 57 Paperback £43 / \leq 49 / \leq 60

https://www.amazon.co.uk/Writing-Journal-Twelve-Weeks-Secondebook/dp/B07SRXDYDW/ref=tmm_kin_swatch_0?_encoding=UTF8&gid=&sr=

Review by Amanda J. Haste

Wendy Belcher is a seasoned academic and writing coach who set herself the task of writing a step-by-step to getting published in academic journals. In fact, as she says in her introduction, "the goals are active and pragmatic" and will also aid you in revising a classroom essay, conference paper, [...] dissertation chapter [or] talk." (1).

In order to guide the reader through the process of preparing an academic draft for publication *Writing Your Journal Article in Twelve Weeks* is divided into twelve chapters, each one giving a set of daily tasks. For instance, Week 1: Designing Your Plan for Writing begins by tackling the emotional impact of writing, with 'Understanding feelings about writing' and contains boxes for the writer to complete with their thoughts on the positive aspects of writing. The rest of the week covers Day 1, reading the workbook; Day 2, designing your writing schedule; Day 3, selecting a paper for revision; Day 4, rereading your paper to identify revision tasks; and Day 5, setting up your writing site, citation software, and file backup system; addressing co-authorship; and reading a journal article (14-59).

Subsequent weeks focus on different tasks such as advancing your argument, writing the abstract, selecting a suitable journal, refining your works cited, crafting your claims for significance, analyzing and presenting your evidence, and opening and concluding your article.

Each chapter contains useful flowcharts and checklists which require the reader to engage in a realistic assessment of their own situation, such as the time available for writing, or introducing information such as the criteria to consider when choosing a journal. All these are incredibly detailed: the Belcher Journal Evaluation Form' (136) allows the reader to tick boxes on twenty-five different criteria, from the preferred category through longevity, punctuality, fees, audience, word limits to citation style and type of submission process. Each one of these twenty-five *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 8 (December 2021) ISSN 2381-2400 آن This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

criteria is supported by a paragraph explaining their significance (135, 137-141) so the reader can evaluate their own priorities.

Week 11 focuses on the importance of "microrevising" using the Belcher Editing Diagnostic Test whose principles are to hone the prose by reducing lists, strengthening verbs, clarifying pronouns, decreasing prepositions, and cutting unnecessary words (310-323).

In Week 12 we reach the hallowed stage of "Sending your Article" with Day 5 reserved for celebrating! But of course this is only the beginning of the submission process, so Week X covers "Revising and Resubmitting Your Article. Importantly this acknowledges the necessity of "emotionally managing the journal's decision" (361-4) regarding the carefully crafted work of art that is our submitted article, and starts with the excellent advice to "save the email for when you have time to emotionally absorb its contents on your own" and to "wait to read the reviewers' comments until you have some real time [....] Even positive decisions usually arrive with critical comments, so it's better to wait until you have the emotional space to cope" (361).

Belcher cites one author's description of the emotional journey from despair to acceptance with which virtually all academic authors are only too familiar:

The rejection of my own manuscripts has a sordid aftermath: (a) one day of depression; (b) one day of utter contempt for the editor and his accomplices; (c) one day of decrying the conspiracy against letting Truth be published; (d) one day of fretful ideas about changing my profession; (e) one day of re-evaluating the manuscript in view of the editors' comments followed by the conclusion that I was lucky it wasn't accepted!"¹ (362)

Belcher then breaks down all the possible decisions and attitudes of reviewers and editors, including "the reviewers are negative and rude", "the reviewers' reports are problematic and/or biased" and "the reviewers give conflicting advice" 362-4) and advises on the best way to respond in each case. Again, the advice is utterly practical, and she even includes examples of revision cover letters. The final section of this chapter mentions "reviewing someone else's article". As Belcher says, citing Didham, Leather and Basset, 2017, "Researchers are becoming increasingly vociferous about turnaround times and the robustness of the peer review system for their own papers, while at the same time abrogating their reviewer responsibilities in droves"² (389).

Having tackled every stage of revising an existing article into an *oeuvre* fit for publication, Belcher adds a final chapter, Week 0, in which she tackles the concept of writing an article "from scratch without an idea" and revising it using the workbook *Writing Your Journal Article in Twelve Weeks.*

For this reviewer, speaking as an editor and peer reviewer, I would be delighted if every article I were presented with had been through the Belcher process. *Writing Your Journal Article in Twelve Weeks* really does address every single aspect of preparing a manuscript for publication that you could possibly wish for. At 28x21.5cm/11x8.5" and weighing in at 1k/2.5lb the hard copy is definitely one for your bookshelves rather than your pocket, but in terms of providing the structure, task schedule and deadlines to get your article into publishable form it is ideal. No stone is left unturned, the style is accessible and the attention to detail will help dispel anxiety and build confidence. Highly recommended.

Dr. Amanda J. Haste (Ph.D. Musicology, Bristol University, UK) teaches as adjunct faculty in the Music Department of Aix-Marseille University, France and specializes in identity construction through music and language, and on musician identity. She co-edited Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization (2015). Ex Modio, 2015) and she is currently working on a monograph on music and identity which expands on her doctoral research.

¹ Benton J. Underwood (1957) *Psychological Research*. East Norwalk, CT : Appleton-Century-Crofts, p.87.

 ² Raphael K. Didham, Simon R. Leather, and Yves Basset (2017)
 "Don't Be a Zero-Sum Reviewer." *Insect Conservation and Diversity* 10 (1): 1-4, p.1.



The Merchant Ship in the British Atlantic, 1600-1800

Phillip Reid

Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2020. Series *Technology and Change in History* v. 18, eds. Adam Lucas and Steven A. Walton. 308 pp., intro, figures, illustrations, and tables, glossary, appendixes, bibliography, index. Hardback €127.00 / \$153.00 ISBN: 978-90-04-42408-1 E-Book (PDF) ISBN: 978-90-04-42634-4 https://brill.com/view/title/55869

Review by Laurence D. Schiller

There is a tendency by many historians to minimize or dismiss the role of technology in their writings. Yet key technologies, and how they have been adapted, changed, evolved, or discarded by a society can not only be determinative factors in the development of any specific culture or state in any period of history, but can help deepen our understanding of a culture and its people. Much has been written, for example, on Medieval European warfare, culture, politics, and society but the adoption of enabling key technologies by Europeans has tended to be overlooked in these narratives. Without, for example, the introduction of the stirrup from Asia in the late 6th or early 7th century BCE, and its subsequent adoption and adaptation by western European societies, armored knights and their style of warfare would have been likely impossible, thus distinctly changing the nature of the feudal system which formed the basis of western European society for centuries. The stirrup, as with any invention, is not by itself significant and was used by Asian invaders in Europe for decades before it was recognized as a useful technology and produced by indigenous European societies. It becomes significant and important at the point at which it was adopted and disseminated by these societies because it is then that it enabled the creation of the feudal knight and all that that development entailed. If we are willing to examine why it was adopted at the time it was adopted, as well as by whom and in what iteration, we can learn much more about Medieval European societies and their development at a particular point in history.¹

Phillip Reid makes this same point in his excellent book on the merchant ship in the British Atlantic from 1600-1800. There is a wealth of material already extant

¹ See Lynn White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford University Press, 1964) for a discussion of the stirrup

and other important technologies which impacted the development of Medieval European society.

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examining the slave trade, plantation agriculture, the impact of diseases on indigenous and non-indigenous people, the economics of the early modern Atlantic trade, and so forth, but very little has been written on the key technology, the merchant ships themselves, which permitted the maritime trade and the societies that depended on it, to exist. "A technological history of the British Atlantic merchant ship in this period," Reid writes, "is properly situated amongst literature on the Atlantic World, maritime economic history, and maritime archaeology, as well as the history of technology." (4) It is in the intersection of these different literatures that Reid feels can shed new and important light on the questions surrounding the development of the British Atlantic during this twocentury period.

There is agreement in the literature that despite the considerable disruption to the Atlantic trade as a result of warfare between the major seafaring European powers during this 200-year period, the productivity of British (and British American) trade grew, contributing to a growth in that country's, and ultimately postrevolutionary America's as well, Atlantic economy. The question is why? Reid's point is that to properly understand the 'why', we need to acknowledge that changes in maritime technology, specifically in ship technology, were significant factors in the growth of productivity in the industry. In this ground-breaking book, he sets out to do exactly that by first, challenging the prevailing assumptions by historians of the British Atlantic concerning ship technology and its impact in this period, and second, by challenging scholars who dismiss pre-industrial technology as having any significance to the development of British Atlantic societies. Reid asserts that in order to understand the people who created the Atlantic world before the Industrial Age, we have to understand why they used any particular technology and what drove them, in practical terms, to either change, discard, or continue to use any particular ship technology, for example hull design or the number, shape, and types of sails. Their choices were not random but determined by a host of motives and needs, which sometimes conflicted, of owners, shipwrights, and the people who manned the ships. Strongly involved in these choices was always a cost-benefit analysis, for the maritime trade had considerable risks associated with it, ranging from economic loss for the owners, to actual physical danger to the men who sailed the ships. The Atlantic was a dangerous place and sailors might be shipwrecked, attacked by other predatory powers, infected with a tropical disease, or have any number of other things happen to them. Risk was high so risk-management by everyone concerned was an important consideration in choosing technologies for a ship, not just for the owners or shipwrights, but also for those who sailed them, or consciously chose NOT to sail ships that they did not feel were worth the risk to their lives. Part of understanding why the maritime trade grew more successful is understanding what technology made it so and what made it acceptable to all involved.

One of the excellent things about this work is Reid's willingness to bring together the insights of different disciplines, which opened up different avenues of exploration as he examined his topic. This was particularly important when there are not many extant paper records specifically on ship construction and preserved archeological remains are generally limited in the Atlantic to a wreck's lower hull, making it difficult to discern what the superstructure of the wreck might have been. The foundation of his research rests on what documentary record there is combined with whatever archeological remains have been found but, thinking outside the traditional box, he found it useful, within limits, to answer questions about operational issues and building techniques by asking those who build and sail period replicas (experimental archeology) about their experiences which, he feels, can shed light on how the original builders and sailors built and operated these ships. Moreover, while still fairly new and expensive to use, computer simulations can help us learn about such things as stresses on these ships in foul weather and how that might affect structural integrity or sailing properties. Understanding how these ships responded to the conditions of sailing in the Atlantic can clarify how and why people of this time made the choices they did in selecting and utilizing technology for their ships.

With this methodology in hand, Reid sets out to try and challenge old assumptions with new data, pose his own hypotheses, and suggest questions for further study. Understanding that his audience may be conversant in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 8 (December 2021) ISSN 2381-2400 آن This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

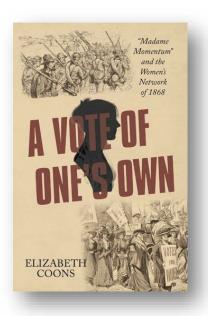
history but not necessarily in nautical matters, he presents his material in a clear, concise way buttressed with a thorough glossary of nautical terms at the end of the work. His seven chapters seek to build the reader's knowledge by examining first the context of the trade in the Atlantic, and then continues the discussion by explaining the physical nature of sailing ships, how they were built, the different types of designs that existed for different types and sizes of merchant ships, who the merchant venturers were that spent the money to build the ships and who the shipwrights were who built them. Finally, the last two chapters deal with the men who sailed the ships, from the Master, who was in command, to the lowest level of seaman, including a discussion of the nature of their lives shipboard and how they worked together to sail the ship. Understanding the technology and how it was applied tells us a great deal about the parameters within which the technology existed. This is critical to our understanding of not only what choices people actually made but what choices they could potentially make or see that they could make. He is very careful to point out that it is fallacious thinking to look at the development of technology as a linear progression, cherry picking that which would later lead to developments in the Industrial Age and ignoring the rest, often denigrating the practitioners as somehow rigid conservatives unwilling to accept change. Reid emphatically makes the point that this is unfair and not a true understanding of the motives and perceptions of the people of that era. For modern readers to understand why these people made the choices that they did, we have to separate out our understanding of how ship technology developed in the 19th and 20th centuries and view it from their perspective as to what was desirable, possible, and risk-acceptable. What is clear is that when change made sense, they adopted it, and when it did not, they maintained what worked for them.

Reid concludes his work with some hypotheses that he feels he has provided data for, hypotheses that challenge some long-standing assumptions in the historical literature that have stated that merchant ship technology was static during this period and thus had no impact on the increase of the ton-per-man ratios in the 18th century and the success of the British Atlantic

maritime trade overall during these 200 years. On the contrary, he points out that the English, and probably the French as well, adapted elements of Dutch hull design that expanded cargo capacity without increasing the size of the ships, and that changes in the sail rig, where the relative combination of fore and aft sails versus square sails changed, increased efficiency and held down costs. Part of this involved new combinations of sails plus the change in the sail rig towards having more, but smaller, sails, which were more manageable by fewer crew, reducing crew size and their considerable cost. While challenging old assumptions, Reid is also careful to point out that he has not answered all the important questions, simply made some informed guesses, and that there is much work to be done to "determine what the costs and benefits were in multiple important respects as to why certain technological choices were made, carried forward, or abandoned." (228). He ends by posing some very specific questions and again points out the need to use both the information that can be gleaned from experimental archeology and computer analysis, including using their modeling software to look at wrecks virtually assembling and disassembling them to discover how they were put together. In the end, by striving to understand the context within which these people lived and the nature and variety of factors and pressures that drove them to make technological decisions, we can better understand how technology of the time related to the development of maritime history. It is an approach, Reid points out, that can be used to "understand how any people, at any time and in any place, have taken their own particular technological approach to their sea ventures." (240)

This is an excellent book, well researched, utilizing a multidisciplinary approach that should give any serious historian something to consider in their own research. It is a strong beginning to a young academic's career and it is hoped that Reid will continue to research and produce new works on this interesting topic.

Dr. Laurence D. Schiller (Ph.D. History) is a retired Adjunct Professor from Northwestern University, from which he holds a Ph.D. in African History. Having authored several papers on East African history he is now primarily engaged in writing on the American Civil War *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 8 (December 2021) ISSN 2381-2400 آن This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License



A Vote of One's Own: "Madame Momentum" and the Women's Network of 1868

Elizabeth Coons

Bloomington: iUniverse, 2019. 68pp. inc. Notes and Bibliography. Softcover \$10.99 ISBN : 9781532089435 E-Book \$3.99 ISBN : 9781532089428

https://www.iuniverse.com/en/bookstore/bookdetails/798599-a-vote-of-ones-own

Review by Shelby Shapiro

In A Vote of One's Own: "Madame Momentum" and the Women's Network of 1868, Elizabeth Coons examines an unknown chapter in the life of Caroline Seymour Severance (1820-1914), an abolitionist, suffragist, kindergarten advocate, and reformer, best known for her role in founding women's clubs.

In addition to an Introduction and Conclusion, Coons divides her monograph into 6 chapters: Early Life; Marriage and Escape; Boston: Idea and Reality; The New England Woman's Club; Emersonian Self-Reliance; and The Traveling Lecturers Return. Coons points out that Severance's career as a suffragist was welldocumented and described in a biography by Virginia Elwood-Ackers.¹ Coons aims to fill in particular holes left in Elwood-Ackers' work: specifically the establishment of the New England Woman's Club (NEWC); her leadership approach; popularizing the self-reliance ideas of Ralph Waldo Emerson among women; her love affair with Boston, "and how she used that experience to model a type of feminism that shared some of the philosophic ambitions that characterized transcendentalism." (xviii).

Caroline Severance personified American geographic mobility, an aspect of national life. Born in Canandaigua, New York, she studied in schools in nearby towns: Harmony House in Owasco, New York, and then the Geneva Female Academy in Auburn, New York. Both schools afforded young Caroline distance from a very oppressive home atmosphere. As oppressive as that environment was, her guardian (her late father's brother) held enlightened views as to what young women should be taught. In both institutions

¹Virginia Elwood-Ackers, *Caroline Severance* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2010).

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she was encouraged to think on her own. As a sixteenyear-old graduate, she was able to become a teacher at a boarding school near Pittsburgh. Moving back to New York, she departed for Cleveland after marrying Theodoric "T.C." Severance. They lived there from 1840 to 1855.

The Severances then moved to the city of her dreams, Boston, in 1855. In 1875, the Severances made their last move, to Los Angeles. It is important to remember that in 1820, Canandiagua was just becoming more than a village; in 1840, Cleveland was still a frontier town; and in 1855, Los Angeles had only been incorporated for a mere five years. She died there in 1914, at the age of 95.

Elizabeth Coons traces Severance's trajectory of beliefs and movements, that is, the multiple motors that moved "Madame Momentum." Although her mother and father were Episcopalian, once he died, his brother's rigid Presbyterian outlook ruled - swinging on a gate as a little girl represented her entrance to eternal hellfire (pp. 3-4). Marriage liberated her; though both husband and wife had a short flirtation with the Second Great Awakening and its vision of an imminent End of Days, their religious outlook broadened to embrace Unitarianism. In Cleveland they began mixing with transcendentalists, suffragists and abolitionists through the medium of traveling lecturers. This provided the inspiration for what she achieved fame: the establishment of women's clubs. She also became active in the movement to provide kindergartens, a German innovation.

The New England Women's Club (NEWC) came to fruition in 1868, just a few short years after the massive dislocations of the Civil War. The context for its formation lay in the struggle within suffragist ranks over whether formerly enslaved men should get the vote before, or at the same time, as women. Where Severance stood on this issue is not explained. The club format represented an attempt to get past this issue and others of controversy without taking a firm stand either way. Severance thus insisted on the word "club," as opposed to "mission," "league," or other words which would have tied members to a particular stance. Severance sought to create a space where women could expand their minds, speak freely, and exercise leadership, in a setting of coequals. It was also a means by which differences could be finessed. Here women could discuss, debate and, if necessary, decide, without husbandly supervision, even though some husbands (such as TC) did participate, albeit as spectators.

Though Coons does not mention it, Severance's achievement is somewhat analogous to the creation of the "public sphere" (for men) outlined by Jurgen Habermas in establishing clubs and coffeehouses where men might meet and discuss the issues of the day. This public sphere – like Severance's women's clubs, became sites of learning, listening and leading, theoretically without regard to the varied social standings of its members.²

The greatest weakness in this monograph lies in centering Severance's actions on Ralph Waldo Emerson. While Emerson was among the speakers at the NEWC, and that Severance had read much of his work, Coons does not prove that reading his work or hearing him speak – along with others – led to the formation of the NEWC. However, she does demonstrate how others may have well laid that groundwork: the teachers at her elementary school, Harmony House, and later Elizabeth Stryker Ricord's Geneva Female Academy, institutions which provided a much broader education to young women than that usually offered; her acceptance and later rejection of Second Great Awakening doctrines; her husband's encouragement and support; the theology of her minister of eighteen years, the non-conformist Unitarian Theodore Parker. Of particular importance was Dr. Marie Zarkrewska (1829-1902), a Polish physician who could not practice as a doctor in the United States, so worked as a midwife.

Severance's attraction to Boston, as place and concept, bears a striking resemblance to the attraction of artists

² Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989, trans. of 1962 German original).

to Paris, and Jazz musicians to places such as New Orleans, Chicago, Kansas City and New York. Boston served as a center of education and the intellect, a Mecca for the enlightened. The Severances remained in Boston for about twenty years; the NEWC remained on the scene until at least 1970, the end-date of its record collection at Harvard University.

The greatest strength of this work lies in its awakening a desire to learn more about Severance and the milieus in which she lived, worked, led and inspired. Her post-Boston activities represented both continuity and rupture. She founded – three times – a women's club in Los Angeles, the last version of which, the Friday Morning Club, succeeded.³ Establishing kindergartens in Los Angeles represented a lasting contribution. as did the establishment of a Unitarian church.⁴

Yet though Severance and her husband had started out as Abolitionists, that did not equate to a belief in social equality. The 1902 gathering of the General Federation of Women's Clubs decided, at their Los Angeles meeting, that it was up to states to determine which clubs could become member organizations, thus explicitly providing cover to keep African-American women's clubs out.⁵ The General Federation thus employed the "logic" enshrined in the US Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* – "separate but equal" – to the world of women's clubs: a stance wholly in line with Progressivism (note that segregation of hitherto integrated Federal work forces occurred under the reign of the "Progressive" President Woodrow Wilson). In justifying her action (Severance's daughter had denounced her for her failing to defend women of color), Severance "[...] cited Booker T. Washington and the bishops of the colored church in claiming that a discussion of social equality could only hurt the problem of political equality."⁶ Severance's actions took place in the context of a failed attempt by Spanish-Mexican club women to participate.

The saga of Caroline Severance took many twists and turns; this monograph provides an entrance into some of her many worlds. Elizabeth Coons has helped rescue a "foremother" from near oblivion.

Shelby Shapiro is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. in American Studies with a dissertation on the Yiddish press and how various publications of differing political and religious viewpoints sought to construct different identities for Jewish immigrant women. He has written about Jazz, Anarchism, and the labour movement, and presently is Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut.

³ Diana Tittle, "Significant Others: The Defining Domestic Life of Caroline Seymour Severance," *California History* Volume 88:1, 2010, p. 45.

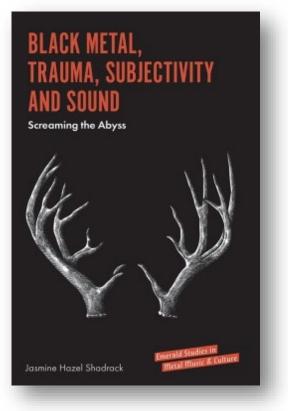
⁴Jensen, "After Slavery," p. 182.

⁵ Jensen, "After Slavery," p. 182; Wallis, Joan M.,"'Keeping Alive the Old Tradition': Spanish-Mexican Club Women in Southern California, 1880-1940," *Southern California Quarterly* Volume 91: 2, Summer 2009, p. 138.

⁶ Jensen, "After Slavery," p. 182.

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Black Metal, Trauma, Subjectivity and Sound: Screaming the Abyss

Jasmine Hazel Shadrack

Bingley: Emerald, 2020.

Series Emerald Studies in Metal Music and Culture

Hardback £70 / €78 / \$96

256 pp., intro, figures, illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index.

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Review by Amanda J. Haste

Jasmine Hazel Shadrack achieved her Ph.D. in 2017 while lecturing full time in popular music studies, and this, her first monograph, marks the debut of her career as an independent scholar. In Black Metal, Trauma Subjectivity and Sound: Screaming the Abyss the author uses autoethnography as a framework within which to situate, examine and analyze her own experiences of domestic abuse and the resultant trauma which has altered her life course in so many ways. A key tool for her healing and recovery has been musical performance as a black metal guitarist and singer, particularly in the band Denigrata, and she uses autoethnography - and specifically interpretive performance autoethnography - to present and critically analyze the role of black metal (BM) performance and her desire to play extreme music in a male-dominated genre, thus creating "a new plateau for self-embodiment and recovery" (16).

Shadrack opens with a chapter on the concept of interpretive performance autoethnography as a methodological framework, and the important shift to using "I" as she situates herself within the narrative "as a feminist autoethnographer, a survivor of domestic violence, a musician and an academic" (3). These multiple identities play out throughout the book as the author employs authors such as Lacan, Butler, Hall, McClary, Cixous, Kristeva and Hill-Hendrix to weave an interdisciplinary exploration of black metal subculture with performance studies and gender studies.

Chapter 2 explores extreme metal's engagement with women, and its cultural practices which traditionally demote women to sexual objects or hangers-on, only joining the scene as an excuse to "dress up in black lace and wear rubber corsets" or to "play in bands [to be] with their boyfriends" (30). Shadrack relates her own negotiation and re-encoding of this role by "work[ing]

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hard at playing the guitar so that musicianship would legitimize my occupation of space within extreme metal" (27), an experience echoed by my own experiences as a saxophonist in all-male jazz and big bands.

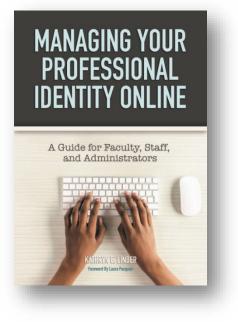
Chapter 3 provides a fascinating analysis of the history of BM and its subgenres, and in Chapter 4 "The Feminine Absent" Shadrack expands her discussion of the "hyperborean" wave of the 1990s and the "transcendental" third wave of the 2000s in terms of the role and absence of women.

Chapter 5 "Of Wolves and Witches" examines BM's "links with occulture, the void as wolf tone and the witch as restorative feminism" (99) and the gendered space of (masculine) hyperborean and (feminine) transcendental BM. As a musicologist - though not a metalhead - I particularly enjoyed her close analysis of Denigrata's Kyrie Eleison (95-7) which clearly demonstrated the gendered characteristics of the music, which have led to assumptions by listeners that of the two guitarists in the band - one male, one female - the "broken chords have been written by the woman and the sharper, semitonal structures [...] by the man" whereas in fact "the female guitarist has composed the hyperborean riffs and the male guitarist [...] the transcendental (97). Likewise, Shadrack's analysis of the wolf tone, a rogue harmonic dreaded by string players which appears out of nowhere - the "accidental harmonics cry across Ebs and G#s, screaming and lamenting over the other notes" - demonstrates that whereas the wolf note ranks alongside the tritone, the diabolus in musica as an unwanted "aberration," BM has embraced its "abyssic qualities" through its "otherness and sonic representation of the void" (100).

In Chapter 6 Shadrack examines the performance and reception of her BM band Denigrata, and her own alter ego as the screaming, growling horned priestess Denigrata Herself, whose role Shadrack describes earlier in the book: "I do not perform as me, but as Denigrata Herself, a representation of parts of me that facilitate access to my trauma" and who "functions as a vessel for expurgation" (16). The book concludes with a peroration on the author's own trauma-related disintegration and her reconstitution of self through BM, and her contribution is complemented by contributions from legal pracademic and disability specialist Rebecca Lamont-Jiggens and Amanda DiGioia, who is currently focusing on gender and heavy metal. There is also a very useful glossary and some suggestions for further reading, along with practical support for those facing domestic abuse.

Make no mistake – this is a tough and complex subject and this book is characterized by unflinching emotional honesty; it is also beautifully written and exquisite in its richness, depth, and academic rigor. Despite the autoethnographic framework, *Black Metal, Trauma Subjectivity and Sound: Screaming the Abyss* is not insular and inward-looking but rather remarkably farreaching in its insight and relevance. It will resonate particularly with those working within the fields of music, gender, feminism, disability or cultural studies. It is an account of healing, of restoration, of reconstitution of self through music. I cannot recommend it highly enough.

Dr. Amanda J. Haste (Ph.D. Musicology, Bristol University, UK) teaches as adjunct faculty in the Music Department of Aix-Marseille University, France and has published widely on identity construction through music and language, and on musician identity. She coauthored (with Prof. James Block, DePaul University) Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015) and she is currently in the early stages of planning a collection of essays on autoethnographic analyses of musical performance, emotion and healing.



Managing Your Professional Identity Online: A Guide for Faculty, Staff, and Administrators

Kathryn E. Linder

Stylus Publishing, eBooks.com (2018) With Glossary, References, Index. Hardback \$135.00 ISBN: 9781620366684 Paperback \$32.50 ISBN: 9781620366691 E-Book \$32.50 ISBN : 9781620366714

https://styluspub.presswarehouse.com/browse/book/9781620366691/Managing-Your-Professional-Identity-Online

Review by Marie-Eve Monette

Whether we are academics or independent scholars, most of us are public intellectuals now, because we are connected digitally. As Katie Linder explains in Managing Your Professional Identity Online: A Guide for Faculty, Staff, and Administrators, most of us use online platforms and tools to connect in synchronous and asynchronous ways in order to network, to highlight and exchange pedagogical practices, and/or to disseminate knowledge. Since the beginning of the pandemic, the need for participating in virtual forums has become more important than ever, making this book a crucial tool to think about the ways in which we are shaping our online identities, and about where we fit in the ever-changing digital landscape. Katie Linder shares strategies and steps to take to improve our presence and interactions online, including ways to overcome the discomfort and time restraints that may have impeded us from investing in our online identities before now.

The introduction to *Managing Your Professional Identity Online* presents these ideas, and concludes with a section about how to use the book, which is where the traditional scholarly book format ends. Rather than provide a linear order of the chapters, Linder makes suggestions about where the reader can start, depending on their interests in and needs to develop their online identity. She recommends that the reader consider the reasons for reading this book in the first place and, depending on their answers, that they select the chapters that will address their questions and concerns. For instance, to learn about what makes an online identity professional, Linder suggests reading chapters 1 and 3, and to know more about how a reader can prioritize where to be online and how to represent themselves, she points to chapters 2 and 8. Throughout the chapters, she refers to previous and upcoming chapters that are relevant to the current one, in case the reader wishes to go back or jump ahead to those linked chapters and complement their reading.

The different chapters of the book continuously refer to the six criteria of a strong digital identity: consistency, accuracy, organization, professionalism, quality, and finally, representativeness. In order to ensure that these pillars of the reader's online identity are strong, Linder invites them to harness their training as researchers, to evaluate their own presence online according to the six aforementioned criteria, and to research and evaluate the features, strengths and *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 8 (December 2021) ISSN 2381-2400 آن This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License

limitations of different platforms, tools and apps necessary to update and manage their online identity. For those less familiar with the options she provides, many chapters include lists of platforms, tools and apps to look into, with brief descriptions and links to each. A Glossary listing them all can also be found at the end of the book.

Additionally, Linder provides guidance with regards to the ways the reader can build their professional branding. On the one hand, a few chapters are dedicated to content. For instance, an entire chapter focuses on the different components of online CVs and résumés, another shares information about building a professional website, and yet another proposes strategies for creating and sharing content with large audiences. On the other hand, Linder offers chapters that highlight different forms of online engagement from finding existing communities and building new ones, to tweeting, blogging, and podcasting. One chapter approaches the challenging subject of responding to conflict online, and ways of seeking support from colleagues and institutions when conflict arises. For both content and forms of online engagement, chapters include tables with exercises and questions the reader can complete as they explore the different ways in which they want to professionally represent themselves online.

Managing Your Professional Identity Online would be incomplete without the inclusion of the voices of several professionals whose roles as academics, alt-acs, and post-acs provide clear examples of the varied ways to develop an online identity. Emphasizing the social nature of our online presence, each chapter becomes a conversation between Katie Linder and the directors of centers for learning and teaching excellence, associate professors, higher education consultants, podcasters, entrepreneurs, coaches, and others whose experiences and knowledge are shared in complementary boxes embedded within the main text. This way, the reader sees concrete examples of the ways in which these professionals have intentionally built their online presence, experimented to find the right online spaces, used professional websites to start conversations, engaged in various communities to model behavior for students and to build connections and host conferences, blurred the lines between the professional and the personal, and taken digital sabbaticals. While these examples are extremely helpful, Linder also recommends that the reader visit the online profiles of other academics, alt and post academics, to get an even more diversified idea of different strategies and intentions behind presenting oneself and interacting with others online. Finally, in the spirit of reinforcing the interactive nature of online identities, Linder's book closes on the words of three scholars: one whose active digital presence has opened doors to opportunities never before imagined, another whose numerous tweets led to a job and career change within academia, and finally, the last who refuses to develop an online identity over concerns of individualism and the commodification of academic intellectual production.

While the book seems mostly aimed at faculty, staff and administrators, it is also a trove of information for independent scholars. Managing Your Professional Identity Online is not just a book about platforms, apps and tools. It is about negotiating who we are as professionals. As Linder explains in the introduction, she intends this book "to be as much a 'how-to-beonline' guide as it is a 'how-to-be-yourself' reflective experience" (8). Leaving academia can be an extremely challenging decision, and rearticulating our identities as independent scholars, especially when we lack institutional affiliation, can prove difficult and frustrating. Linder's book may not provide the solution to resolving that challenge, but it can certainly serve as a road map. Following its guidance, we can start thinking about our online identities as independent scholars, improve our connections to research networks, and enhance the visibility of our own independent work.

Marie-Eve Monette is a Latin Americanist with specializations in Andean Studies and Film Studies. She holds a Ph.D. in Hispanic Studies and is a former Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Alabama. She is currently working on her first monograph, and has published in the Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies and the Bulletin of Hispanic Studies. She currently produces films about Bolivian histories and realities, and with Peruvian nonprofits to use AV methods of assessment of development programs.

MUSINGS

WINNING THE WAGER: WHAT FAUST COULD HAVE LEARNED FROM PHYSICS

Fannie Peczenik, Ph.D. (Princeton Research Forum)

http://www.princetonresearchforum.org

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NCIS is honored to publish this thoughtful piece by the late Dr Fannie Peczenik, which was presented to TIS by Dr Peczenik's husband, physicist Dr Donald H. McNeill, also a member of the Princeton Research Forum.

Fannie Peczenik (1947-2018) graduated in 1967 from Brooklyn College with a major in foreign languages. Her Ph.D. thesis at the City University of New York (1981, English literature) was entitled "Adam's Other Self: A Reading of Milton's Eve." She joined the Princeton Research Forum when it was founded while she was working on her dissertation. Her writing and studies encompassed the following: literary criticism, from Milton to Mailer, etc.; animals and plants; travel and memoirs; short stories and a novel; translations (Italian, Yiddish, Spanish); editing (technical, language, for friends).

Preface

"Winning the Wager: What Faust could have learned from physics" is a personal reflection on a physics course for nonphysics students given at the University of Pittsburgh at about the time of the centenary of Max Planck's proposal of the quantum hypothesis in December 1900. Planck was attempting to explain the (black body) spectrum of light from heated objects, a long-standing puzzle of nineteenth-century physical experiment and theory on which he had worked for many years.

So, what does Faust have to do with Planck? Planck was one of the most serious and disciplined men of science. Within 30 years his idea led to the revolution in physics known as quantum mechanics with the contributions of: Einstein,

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photoelectric effect; Bohr, atomic theory; DeBroglie, wave nature of electrons; Schroedinger, quantum theory; Heisenberg, quantum theory; etc. Faust's efforts to understand the world are of a pattern from his pre-scientific era and, guided by notions of predictability not followed in nature, he fails at his original purpose. Maybe, like so much of physics in 1900, he needed a quantum hypothesis. The irony of this misunderstanding of nature is central to many differences of method in the sciences over the centuries, from Faust, to Goethe, to Planck, to our times. Its significance is amplified further since in May of this year the basis of the international system of physical units for mass will be redefined in terms of a specified value of Planck's constant (essentially a fundamental constant, or conversion factor, available everywhere), rather than as a piece of platinum-iridium alloy of specified mass located in Paris (as it has been since the kilogram was defined about 200 years ago).

Fannie wrote and discussed her essay at length shortly before her death in mid-2018.

Dr Donald H. McNeill Princeton Research Forum

Our culture is foolish to keep science and poetry separated. They are two tools to open our eyes to the complexity and beauty of the world.

Carlo Rovelli, Reality Is Not What It Seems: The Journey to Quantum Gravity

Some years ago, I took a brief course in quantum mechanics offered by a lifelong learning program. The instructor was highly regarded for his lucid undergraduate lectures, and to suit a class of older, recreational students, he boldly undertook to teach without recourse to mathematics, the normal tool of physics. Words had to carry the full weight of the discussion. The method worked surprisingly well to engage the class. In fact, for me, it opened a long-term entanglement (I use the term cautiously) with Planck's constant.

The universe we inhabit, the instructor explained, is possible only because of Planck's constant; without it, neither we nor our familiar environment could exist. Maybe it was the way he phrased the sentence -- I can't remember his exact words -- that brought a shock of recognition. Planck's constant was new to me, but I'd heard a description like that before. It echoed lines from Goethe's *Faust.* "*Dass ich erkenne, was die Welt/ Im Innersten zusammenhält*" (translated literally: so that I'll see and know what holds/ the world at its innermost together).¹

In Act I, we first see Faust at his desk in a dingy, Gothic room cluttered with books and papers. In a long monologue, he laments his intellectual failures and thwarted ambition. Ten years devoted to a thorough study of philosophy, law, medicine, and theology proved to be wasted labor. He learned nothing new, and certainly not what holds the innermost world together, by poring over dusty tomes. Frustrated and bitter, he has now turned to magic, hoping it will reveal the hidden workings of nature to him. With spells and symbols from a manuscript written by the hand of the Renaissance magus Nostradamus, Faust tries to invoke the aid of supernatural spirits. But sorcery fails him, too.

The way is then open for the devil Mephistopheles to arrive and offer Faust, if not the longed-for revelation of nature's secrets, at least the full sensuous human experience that his cloistered, scholarly life has denied him. Skeptical of the devil's promise, Faust wagers on disappointment and dissatisfaction. He makes a deal that if he ever finds a single moment so beautiful that he wishes to prolong it, he will gladly die and let Mephistopheles take his soul. With that

¹Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust: Der Tragödie. Erster Teil*, in *Werke*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1966), p. 17.

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wager, Faust's quest for knowledge becomes a quest for experience. It does not end well; the unhappy consequences of an aging professor trying to make up for lost time are inevitable.

Wasn't it interesting, I thought, that Faust's monumental craving for knowledge would, in real life, end in a mere number, a humble measurement? Conversely, my husband, who's a physicist, was amused that a couple of lines of hypnotically rhymed verse might be an apt footnote to Planck's constant, which he had never considered in need of embellishment. He teased me about writing an essay -- let it enter a time warp and break the boundaries of literary fictions-- on Planck and Goethe.² With the aid of several excellent popular books on quantum physics published in the last few years, I can now accept the challenge.³

When Faust opens the Nostradamus manuscript, he comes upon the sign of the Macrocosm and, contemplating it, imagines he feels its power coursing through his body. But he has deceived himself; the spirit of the Macrocosm eludes him. He then invokes the sign of a lower order, the Earth spirit, who scorns and rejects him. From the vantage point of later scientific developments, one wonders if at this point Faust shouldn't have abandoned the atavistic notion that worth is directly proportional to magnitude, and tried the least formidable sign--the sign of the Microcosm (Goethe does not say if such a sign is included in the manuscript but let's suppose it is).And of the Microcosm, he should choose the most minute, indivisible form of matter. It would ultimately lead him to a fact as extraordinary as anything conjured up by magic incantations or Mephistopheles -- that contrary to everyday experience, nature is neither orderly nor predictable. It is random and probabilistic, and at its core, at the subatomic level, swarm restless particles resistant to precise measurement, all governed by the ubiquitous Planck's constant.⁴

The first edition of Part I of *Faust* appeared in 1808. Some ninety-two years later, on Dec. 14, 1900, Max Planck, intent on solving the mysteries of black body radiation, presented his radiation law to the German Physical Society. He had spent weeks sequestered in his study (like Faust, except that Planck's study was most likely cleaner and airier) with data on radiated energy and frequency that had long confounded physicists. It was universally assumed that light was emitted continuously, but through insight or intuition Planck realized that the assumption was wrong: if light was emitted discontinuously (in "lumps," later called "quanta"), then the data suddenly made sense. Along with the discontinuity, it was necessary to have a constant -- he named it "h"-- that determined how much energy was contained in each of the "lumps."At that moment, quantum mechanics was born, although, of course, it would take many others to pioneer and develop the field.

Planck found he required the constant to explain the data. Yet that was only the first glimpse into its magnificent necessity. As the lecturer told my quantum mechanics class, we and the world around us depend on Planck's constant for our existence. It is the fundamental constant of nature; it is included in every quantum equation and determines the

²Unknown to us, the link between Goethe's *Faust* and quantum mechanics had already been explored decades before, but in a completely different vein. As Gino Segrè recounts in *Faust in Copenhagen: A Struggle for the Soul of Physics* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2007), in April, 1932 the annual physics conference in Copenhagen featured a humorous skit that adapted Goethe's play to the lives and discoveries of the physicists surrounding Neils Bohr. Planck's constant was not mentioned in the "Copenhagen *Faust*," rather, the skit focused on the neutrino, then the subject of much contention, which took the role of the seduced and abandoned Gretchen of the original.

³Both highly accessible to nonscientists and well-written are: Michael G. Raymer, *Quantum Physics: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Carlo Rovelli, *Seven Brief Lessons on Physics*, trans. Simon Carnell and Erica Segrè (New York: Riverhead Books, 2016) and *Reality Is not What it Seems to Be*, trans. Simon Carnell and Erica Segrè (New York: Riverhead Books, 2017). Older but extremely valuable is Kenneth W. Ford, *The Quantum World: Quantum Physics for Everyone* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), as is Jim Baggott, *The Quantum Story: A History in 40 Moments (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

⁴Raymer, *Quantum Physics: What Everyone Needs to Know*, p. 129, notes that Heisenberg's well-known Uncertainty Principle -- that the position and momentum of a particle cannot be simultaneously measured with the same accuracy -- has been complicated by a misleading translation. The term Heisenberg used is "Ungenauigkeit," which simply means "imprecision" or "inexactness." The word "uncertainty" carries unwarranted psychological connotations.

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scale of the subatomic world. It is almost unimaginably small, a number that, in the quotidian reality we inhabit, we would tend to disregard -- less than one divided by a billion trillion trillion (in SI units).⁵The slightest change in the value of Planck's constant would spell doom for the universe as we know it. Make *h* smaller and the atoms will be smaller; make *h* larger and the atoms will be larger. Perhaps one could fashion a viable world with these atoms, but it wouldn't be a place we'd recognize. And if there were no Planck's constant, there would be no atoms: if *h* were equal to zero, electrons would be subject to the rules of classical physics and, spinning in their orbits, crash into the nucleus.⁶

Planck's constant is then the numerical nexus of the universe. Not only is it the scaling factor, it is also the great diversifier. All elementary particles of a given type are identical; when they interact, Planck's constant gives them separate identities.

"It's what makes all of these things that are the same different," as my husband said. ⁷ The Periodic Table of the Elements is the result. To me, that seems to clinch the argument. Not everyone is convinced. I tell a friend who's a particle physicist about my ideas. He disagrees.

"Gluons," he says, "they're what hold the world together."

Literally, he is right of course. Gluons are the "glue" of quarks -- the whimsical names of elementary particles are only one aspect of the strangeness of quantum mechanics to the uninitiated -- and are therefore the building blocks of protons and neutrons. This is indeed a strong argument in favor of gluons. But the spins of the gluons, like all subatomic particles, are measured by Planck's constant, aren't they? Then Planck's constant remains a singular requirement, while gluons, vital for building atoms, are one of many essential components of matter, along with electromagnetic fields, strong force fields, photons.

As though to underscore its primacy, Planck's constant will, in the near future, be used to define the standard kilogram.⁸At present, the kilogram is defined by an actual object, a cylinder made of iridium and platinum that is kept under three bell jars locked in a safe at the International Bureau of Weights and Measures on the outskirts of Paris. The cylinder must be polished with a chamois cloth every so often, which wears the metal down and causes change in its mass, as well as being, it seems to me, an undignified circumstance for a universal standard of weight. *h* will neither erode nor require housekeeping chores.

In one sense, it is satisfying to think of Faust's frustrated intellectual labors as looking toward Planck's constant. Goethe was a life-long amateur scientist and despite his Olympian standing among German writers, already established in his lifetime, fervently wanted his scientific work to be taken seriously.⁹ He had particularly high hopes for his *Theory of Colour (Zur Farbenlehre)* in which he railed against Newton, his imagined opponent. But there was no real competition between Newton's physics and Goethe's speculations about the nature of color. The scientific community was not impressed; his work was ignored. And yet, wrong as he was about color, in his best known literary work, Goethe inadvertently provided an apt description of a discovery that led to a scientific revolution. That's a formidable accomplishment for two lines of verse.

It is not rare for poets to be interested in science. For a strong example, consider that in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, an epic populated by characters drawn from biblical narratives and legends, there is only one contemporary figure -- Galileo. Milton left the question of a heliocentric or geocentric universe unresolved in the poem, but his admiration for Galileo, the "Tuscan artist," and his telescope, "optic glass," is undeniable. Nor was Goethe's rejection of Newtonian

^₅bid., p 100.

⁶Ford, *The Quantum World: Quantum Physics for Everyone*, p. 201.

⁷Dinner table conversation with Donald H. McNeill, Oct. 12, 2017.

⁸https://www.nist.gov/physical-measurement-laboratory/plancks-constant (accessed 2/11/2018).

⁹The subject of Goethe and science has been much studied. For a succinct summary of his views in the context of a biography, see Rüdiger Safranski, *Goethe: Life as a Work of Art*, trans. David Dallenmayer (New York: Norton, 2017), pp. 418-424.

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physics rare among writers and humanists of his time. They generally abhorred the deterministic, mechanical view of nature assumed by Newton and other early modern scientists such as Descartes.

Yet there is deep irony in an imagined conversation between Goethe and Planck via *Faust*. Goethe disapproved not only of Newton's world view but also of his methodology. Again, like many of his contemporaries, Goethe considered nature a living entity; he believed that applying mathematics to natural phenomena was a cruel constraint. He would have preferred that scientists concentrate solely on observations and limit their inquiries to what the human eye can see (effectively making scientific experimentation akin to painting and sketching; not surprisingly, his method worked better for botany and anatomy than for physics). So Goethe probably would not have been pleased to discover that what holds the innermost world together is expressed mathematically and not apprehended visually.

Nonetheless, Planck's constant might suit Faust's needs very well. Since he wagers on never finding satisfaction, even for a moment, then *h*, as the key to quantum mechanics, can help him win the wager with Mephistopheles. What is the likelihood that in the quantum world there is a moment, beautiful or otherwise, that can be caught and held for a while? None. Where precise measurement is impossible, where two identical experiments may yield two different results, where only probabilities can be calculated, where chance rules, there can be neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction. Planck's constant reveals the deep truth of nature: to know what holds the world together is to know the limits of knowledge.

Faced with *Ungenauigkeit*, Faust would see that while his desire will never be fulfilled, nature is infinitely more interesting than he ever imagined. We can suppose that, wiser, he would not settle for pedestrian pleasures, as he does, at long last, in Part II, declaring he has found his beautiful moment in a disastrously bungled scheme for real estate development. And then he would not need the intervention of the Eternal Feminine and the eternally forgiving Gretchen to whisk him up to heaven. The study of physics, a subject notably absent from Faust's earlier curriculum, would suffice to win the wager with the devil.

Here I have, admittedly, given a fanciful alternative ending to *Faust*, but my experience points to the sober reality of the interplay between literature and science. I had come to an adult education class to hear about subatomic particles and found myself remembering lines from a play I'd first read in a college German class many decades before. Faust's uncompromising hunger for knowledge had thrilled my teenage mind. I didn't ask whether it was reasonable. Who wouldn't want to know what held the world together? But the undergraduate years are brief. Soon I had other interests; questions about what lies at nature's core were not among them. And suddenly, unsought, there it was -- h the number that holds the innermost world together. If by then I had ceased to admire Promethean egotists like Faust, I was bemused to find, at long last, where his quest might end.

Quantum mechanics, even when taught by a gifted lecturer and modified to suit an audience with little or no scientific preparation, is difficult and demanding. Remembering how *Faust* had tantalized me made the labor easier, and later made me willing to grapple with popular quantum mechanics texts.

And in our tawdry political time, there is one thing more. It was bracing to enter the quantum world. I was frequently frustrated and befuddled, as though I had accidentally crossed the border into a country with an exceptionally peculiar language and bizarre customs. But the exotic new world was also a haven, an escape from the pronouncements of cheap hucksters who dominate the headlines with their willed ignorance and disdain for thought and reason. To make the journey seemed imperative – and it was a pleasure.

A TRIBUTE TO GEORGIA SOMMERS WRIGHT Tisa M. Anders



Georgia Wright (1937-2019), art historian, independent scholar, and filmmaker, contributed significantly to her major discipline of medieval art and independent scholarship. Born and raised in St. Paul, Minnesota, she earned her BA from Swarthmore College, MA and Ph.D. in art history from Columbia University, and MBA from the University of California, Berkeley. She taught at University of Minnesota, Stanford University, UC Davis, Mills College, and UC Berkeley. She brought together her scholarly and business expertise through her company, Video Monuments producing awardwinning educational films, *Light on the Stone: The Medieval Church at Vezelay* and *Three English Cathedrals: Norwich, Lincoln, Wells*.

As an independent scholar, Georgia published numerous articles for academic journals, anthologies, and reviews. Starting in the 1980s, she was active in the Bay Area-based Institute for Historical Study (president,

newsletter editor). She co-founded NCIS in 1989 and began serving on the Board in 1993, including terms as Secretary (2001), Vice President (2002), and President (2003-2005). She co-directed the Limestone Sculpture Provenance Project starting in 1995. In late 2006, she led their efforts for a magnificent exhibition, Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Sculpture, Metropolitan Museum of Art. She was a National Endowment for the Humanities grantee (1993-94) and was named Chevalier in the Order of Academic Palms, by the French government (1989).

Georgia's colleague Judith Strong Albert shares more about this pioneering independent scholar:

"I never really knew Georgia Wright as a friend but as a colleague in the Institute for Historical Study. She was what I thought of among many in her scholarly set as a group brought together in a collegial rather than formal academic setting – as one of many smart unaffiliated scholars.

In that time and as a close friend of Frances Richardson Keller's– a mover and shaker who knew everyone in that certain coterie --I knew that Georgia was integral to the work of the Institute, part of a select innersanctum of scholars who thought alike and valued one another's perspective and historical outlook. On the edges of that circle, my place in it was peripheral. But that set on the fringes of academe made many like me feel more real academically and socially than we might have felt in any less welcoming and interested circumstances.

Georgia's home in the Berkeley hills was near ours – in a neighborhood brimming with intellectuals and faculty where even a whiff of identification with the University was sought after, cultivated and valued. Going to a meeting in Georgia's living room was affirmation of having become part of an intelligent, sentient independent circle. Her name was familiar to us; we followed her interests while intent on contributing our own. Through her, we became Institute members who had been given a place, an identifying badge of scholarly belonging.

Georgia Wright represents the meaning of being an Independent Scholar."

A TRIBUTE TO SOCIOLOGIST AND NCIS STALWART DAVID SONENSCHEIN



It was with great sadness that we learned of the passing of our friend and colleague, sociologist David Sonenschein on 28 May 2021. An early Member of NCIS, David served as NCIS Board Secretary, Book Review Editor, Membership Officer, and Database Manager. In his own words, David "fled academia" in 1973. Academically trained and with field experience in anthropology, sociology, and psychology, he continued writing and publishing as an Independent Scholar. His research areas were human sexualities and American popular culture, and he was Historian for the American Studies Association of Texas.

When I first applied for membership of NCIS in 2012, David's warm welcome, and his willingness to iron out snafus, endeared me both to him and, by association, NCIS. When I became president in 2015, at a difficult period in our history, David's calm presence on the Executive Committee was a lifesaver for me, and it is no small part due to him that we survived and are now thriving. To demonstrate the

measure of the man, and his enormous contribution to NCIS, we can do no better than to share some of the many tributes we have received. We are proud to continue his legacy.

Amanda Haste, Ph.D. President, NCIS (2015-present)

David had been the NCIS Membership Officer during and after my term as president, and was backup for us with all his knowledge about NCIS from its early days. David's discipline was sociology but he was also our computer guru, with extensive knowledge of how the Internet worked. He presented a wonderful paper "Surface Thoughts on the Deep Web" at the 2006 NCIS conference at Princeton University in which I heard, for the first time, about the "deep Web." David was a dedicated member of NCIS and worked mightily to keep and increase our Membership. Those who remember David will recall his dry wit and playful verbal sense of humor. He was the epitome of 'unflappable.' He will be sorely missed.

Janet Wasserman, J.D. Past President, NCIS (2005-2007)

We all loved David, who played so many roles in NCIS. Alicia will miss him terribly but so will all his contacts around the world. David always had time for all of us and any issue we wanted to discuss; he never turned down a job and gave each one his all. But most of all he was a good friend, with a wry sense of humor which brought levity and laughter to all our interactions. I can just see him - with that ever-present twinkle in his eye. He will be deeply missed.

Katalin Kádár Lynn, Ph.D. NCIS Vice-President (2006), Secretary & Membership Chair (2007-2009)

David was membership chair throughout my short tenure at NCIS as well. He was smart, witty, and his dry humor was always refreshing. David was diligent, modest, tactful and quiet. I have visions of him mowing the lawn, pushing the mower uphill – a task he mentioned often. To me that was symbolic of our NCIS struggles – we often felt like we were

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indeed pushing up hill in those days. I loved David – or at least the David he let me know – as everyone said, he was very quiet about his personal life, but he did share his loves and a few dreams. I will never forget him.

Mona Berman Past President, NCIS (2013-2015)

David welcomed me to not just to NCIS, but also to San Antonio, Texas. I had moved here only a few months prior, just retired from academia, and he made me feel I had come to the right place. A gentle, witty soul, his time and council were available to whoever needed them. He was deeply private, yet the few times I saw him he was always encouraging and happy to have a visitor. He is gone too soon.

Joan Cunningham, Ph.D. Grant Awards Chair, NCIS

My first interaction with David was when I became a member. I still remember his gracious welcome. Later we would interact further when I volunteered to take over the techy behind-the-scenes portion of the web site. David, out of wisdom and expediency, had a 'hard' copy of everything and dealt personally with individual member concerns. He put together some careful documentation on things financial so that his successors would have the appropriate tools to take up the role of membership officer. So much of the day-to-day functioning of NCIS rested on his shoulders. He is still missed. Last, but not least, he was just fun. He had a wonderful wry wit!

Ed Walls, Ph.D. Webmaster, NCIS

David was my immediate predecessor as NCIS Membership Officer. Now that I hold this title, I can appreciate how hard he worked and how much he did to establish NCIS on a sound institutional basis. When I was elected as Membership Officer, David was most patient and thorough in training me on all the details of the role, from communicating with applicants to maintaining the several reports to the Board. David was a very organized, helpful, and encouraging teacher. It was a pleasure to work with him. David is one of the NCIS ancestors whose legacy we continue.

Yvonne Groseil, Ph.D. Membership Officer, NCIS