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Joan Cunningham (Ph.D. Public Health: Epidemiology) is a cancer epidemiologist, retired in 2013 from the Medical University of South Carolina. When the coronavirus pandemic began she “threw in her towel” to pitch in with the City of San Antonio (Texas) Metro Health COVID-19 Response Team. She holds an MSc (Biology: aquatic eco-embryology) from the University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada and Ph.D. (Public Health: epidemiology) from the University of Texas School of Public Health (Houston). Her work focuses on racial disparities in breast cancer, and non-pharmacological mitigation of cancer treatment side effects, with a current foray into local aspects of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Amanda J. Haste (Ph.D. Musicology; Dip.Trans.IoLET) is a British musicologist and academic translator whose research interests include identity construction through music and language. She is a member of the Chartered Institute of Linguists and teaches courses in Translation and in English for Specific Purposes at Aix-Marseille University, France. Her research has been published in leading journals and books by major editors, and she co-authored *Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization* (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015); her awards include the Louise Dyer Award for research into British music, and the Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize (2018). Her monograph *Music and Identity in Twenty-First-Century Monasticism* is scheduled for publication by Routledge (2023).

Jordan Lavender (Ph.D. Spanish Linguistics) teaches Spanish and Latin American History at Pomfret School in Pomfret, CT and has conducted research on the use of minority languages on Twitter in Spain, bilingualism in the linguistic landscapes of Azogues, Ecuador, and forms of address in Ecuadorian Spanish, based on ethnographic research in both online and offline contexts.

Annie Rehill (Ph.D. Modern French Studies, MFA) specializes in the literature and history of Francophone Canada, focusing on intercultural expressions and implications. Most recently she has studied Métis literature and art. Previous work in ecocriticism centered on representations of the Canadian *coureur de bois* figure, and on Francophone Caribbean writings. Her publications include “Le Travail dans la nature canadienne: L’Équilibre (et le déséquilibre) humain tel qu’il est représenté par Louis Goulet et Joseph-Charles Taché” (2018); “An Ecocritical Reading of Joseph-Charles Taché’s *Forestiers et voyageurs*” (2018); *Backwoodsmen As Ecocritical Motif in French Canadian Literature* (2016); and “Inscriptions of Nature from Guadeloupe, Haiti, and Martinique” (2015).

Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies) is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. 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 was Associate Editor of *Records of the State of Connecticut* from 2012-2022. He presently is translating Volume 1 of the memoirs of Rudolf Rocker (*The Youth of a Rebel*) from Yiddish to English.

Patricia Silver (Ph.D. Anthropology) is a sociocultural anthropologist whose research has centered on the Puerto Rican diaspora in the U.S. states. Her publications have appeared in *American Ethnologist*, *CENTRO Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *Op. Cit.: Revista del Centro de Investigaciones Históricas*, *Southern Cultures*, *Memory Studies*, and *Latino Studies*. Her book, *Sunbelt Diaspora: Race, Class, and Latino Politics in Puerto Rican Orlando* was published in 2020.

Tim Woolley (Ph.D. Theology) is a British Methodist minister and adjunct lecturer at Cliff College, tutor for the Methodist E-Academy and the Oxford University Department of Continuing Education, and research associate of Wesley House, Cambridge. He researches 19C British Methodism, the Holiness Movement, Revivalism and Nonconformity and has co-written *Mission Shaped Intro* (2nd ed.) for *Fresh Expressions of Church* and *Talking of God and Worship: Leading and Preaching* for The Methodist Church in Britain.



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FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP



Welcome to Volume 9 of *The Independent Scholar*! This issue of our Open Access journal continues its mission of providing high-quality peer-reviewed papers across disciplinary boundaries, plus a lively and healthy book review section.

Two papers come from the field of education. Helen Ross (UK) considers the challenges of teaching and learning for students, parents and teachers under the conditions necessitated by Covid-19, while Mary Ellen Nourse (USA) approaches education of a different order, as she discusses apprenticeship programs in Catholic schools. In her paper, theologian Valerie Abrahamsen (USA) takes us on a road trip along the Via Egnatia, through which she examines the interactions with paganism among those who would later call themselves "Christian."

Every year, the National Coalition of Independent Scholars awards the Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize, which in 2021 produced joint winners, plus a runner up, and we are delighted to have been granted permission by the respective authors and publishers to reprint all three. British scholar Janet Smith explores the nineteenth-century activism of Helen Taylor, while American author Phillip Reid examines merchants ships in the British Atlantic, 1600–1800. The runner-up, award-winning classics teacher Evan Dutmer offers a very different treatment of the teacher-student dynamic during Covid in "Teaching as *Consolatio*."

Shelby Shapiro, Ph.D.

General Editor, *TIS*



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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS VOLUME

Valerie Abrahamsen (Th.D., Harvard Divinity School) is an independent scholar and lecturer, and her primary research interests are women in antiquity and New Testament archaeology, especially the site of Philippi, Greece. Widely published in journals, she is also the author of *Paranormal: A New Testament Scholar Looks at the Afterlife* (2015); *Goddess and God: A Holy Tension in the First Christian Centuries* (2006); and *Women and Worship at Philippi: Diana/Artemis and Other Cults in the Early Christian Era* (1995).

Janis Bell (Ph.D. Brown University) specializes in early modern Italian art and theory. She co-edited *Art History in the Age of Bellori* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) and *The Fabrication of Leonardo da Vinci's "Treatise on Painting" 1651*, and has published on Leonardo da Vinci in *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, *Leonardo Studies*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *Mitteilungen des KHI in Florenz*, *Raccolta Vinciana*, and several anthologies.

Evan Dutmer (Ph.D. Ancient Philosophy, Northwestern University) is Senior Instructor in Ethics and Curriculum Leader in the Department of Leadership Education at the Culver Academies boarding school. He has published widely in classical studies, notably in *Ethical Perspectives*, *Journal of Ancient Philosophy*, *Teaching Classical Languages*, and *Journal of Classics Teaching*. In 2020 he was Indiana Classical Conference Teacher of the Year, Rising Star, and in 2021 was shortlisted for the Cambridge University Press Dedicated Teacher Awards.

Mary Ellen Nourse (Ed.D., University of Memphis) has taught at secondary, post-secondary, undergraduate, and graduate levels, including 21 years in the corrections field in Idaho. With a colleague, she developed the first Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeship Program in the Idaho adult prison system, and has presented at state, regional, and national conferences. Now retired, she is returning to scholarly research and writing; her particular interest is Catholic education.

Annie Rehill (Ph.D. Modern French Studies, MFA) specializes in the literature and history of Francophone Canada, focusing on intercultural expressions and implications. Most recently she has studied Métis literature and art. Previous work in ecocriticism centered on representations of the Canadian *coureur de bois* figure, and on Francophone Caribbean writings. Her publications include "Le Travail dans la nature canadienne: L'Équilibre (et le déséquilibre) humain tel qu'il est représenté par Louis Goulet et Joseph-Charles Taché" (2018); "An Ecocritical Reading of Joseph-Charles Taché's *Forestiers et voyageurs*" (2018); *Backwoodsmen As Ecocritical Motif in French Canadian Literature* (2016); and "Inscriptions of Nature from Guadeloupe, Haiti, and Martinique" (2015).

Phillip Frank Reid (Ph.D. History, Memorial University of Newfoundland) is a maritime historian specializing in Atlantic World history, maritime history, and the history of technology. Already published by several journals and learned societies, his books include *The Merchant Ship in the British Atlantic: Continuity and Innovation in a Key Technology* (Brill, 2020) and *A Boston Schooner in the Royal Navy, 1768-1772: Commerce and Conflict in Maritime British America*, forthcoming, Boydell & Brewer, 2023).

Helen Ross (Ph.D. Social Policy, University of Bath) is a fully qualified special needs teacher and former Special Educational Needs Coordinator (SENCO) who also provides expert advice and research consultancy, as well as specialist tuition and CPD. Dr Ross is an advisor to the British Dyslexia Association and is Chair of the Wiltshire Dyslexia Association. She has consulted for the British Dyslexia Association, The Committee for Science and Technology, and Wiltshire Local Authority.

Gloria Monteburno Saller (Ph.D. East Asian Languages and Cultures) is a Research Scholar in Japan Studies. Her current research focuses on the history of Japanese and Japanese American Atomic Bomb survivors residing in the United States and their social activism through the Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors, United States) and the American Society of Hiroshima-Nagasaki A-Bomb Survivors. Currently, she serves as Honorary Director and Historian of the American Society of Hiroshima-Nagasaki A-Bomb Survivors in Los Angeles, California.

Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies) is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. 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 was Associate Editor of *Records of the State of Connecticut* from 2012-2022. He presently is translating Volume 1 of the memoirs of Rudolf Rocker (*The Youth of a Rebel*) from Yiddish to English.

Janet Smith (Ph.D. Women's and Gender History) has published on Helen Taylor, including a paper on Taylor's anti-imperialist campaigning in Ireland in *Women's History*. She is contributing a chapter to a book on legal firsts for women, and is currently working on her monograph about Taylor.



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CRITICAL ESSAYS

EDUCATING POST COVID-19: MOVING ON FROM PANDEMIC PEDAGOGY

Helen Ross, Ph.D.
(Trowbridge, Wilts, ENGLAND)

Correspondence should be addressed to: helenlouiseross@gmail.com

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Abstract

This paper presents findings from interviews undertaken following the second period of national lockdown in England during the COVID-19 pandemic. The interviews present one parent's, one teacher's and two parent-teachers' experiences of working with young people with specific learning difficulties (disabilities) throughout COVID-19 lockdown-periods in England. Focusing on how interviewees navigated the seemingly conflicting prioritization of mental health/well-being and academic attainment, this paper presents how points of tension (habitus clashes) arose due to differing approaches and understanding of emergency remote teaching. Exploration of differing priorities and values led to different practices where habitus clashes occurred, and families and educators acted to mediate those differences is undertaken and subsequent positive developments highlighted in practice. The positive strategies uncovered in this study are then linked to strategies with wider applications as part of development of inclusive settings. Strategies suggested are grounded in inclusion and the importance of all voices being adequately considered in implementation of support strategies for young people with SEND.

Key Words: Pedagogy, inclusion, SpLD, specific learning difficulty, specific learning disability, dyslexia, SEN.



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INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 and 2021 necessitated wholesale change in delivery, access and resourcing of education globally, at all levels. Local Authorities in England shifted delivery from classrooms to remotely over the course of one March weekend (Coronavirus Act, 2020), with teachers making fundamental changes to delivery of learning all while lacking time and training to fully consider effects of changes in pedagogy for learners and their families (Ross, 2022). Universities and school districts globally updated courses, policies, practices and procedures, with staff working from home, learning delivered online and via other media where necessary (Gould, 2020; Zawadka et al., 2021), also with little time and capacity to fully consider how implementation of remote learning may affect curriculum accessibility. It is important to note that in the context of remote learning, various terminologies were applied to the way of working imposed on stakeholders because of COVID-19 and the associated changes to teaching and learning. Subsequent to lockdowns, learning looked very different in different school-based settings, depending on many factors. 'Home-schooling' and 'remote learning' are terms often used in literature relating to COVID-19. However, such use does not always reflect the specific and temporal nature of the teaching/learning delivery that took place as a direct result of COVID-19. As such for the purposes of this paper and to reflect the temporality and specificity of the strategies and delivery that took place during 2020-2021, this paper will refer to 'emergency remote teaching,' which has been defined as a "temporary teaching solution to an emergent problem" (Misirli & Ergulec, 2021), when discussing teaching during the initial lockdown periods.

In England, changes were made to statutory frameworks relating to provision for young people with special educational needs and/or disability (SEND) with an Education, Health and Care plan (EHCP), because of COVID-19 lockdowns and school closures (Coronavirus Act, 2020). The legal requirement for provision detailed in EHCPs was removed and replaced with a temporary measure that meant that Local Authorities (LA) were only required to use "reasonable endeavors to discharge made, in part, to buffer schools and LAs against the risks of adverse legal action, where they could not meet provision as detailed in students' EHCPs. On the ground, this meant that young people's provision was not always delivered appropriately and many young people with EHCPs were left without much-needed support (Webster et al., 2022). Given that young people with statutory provision did not have access to their legally defined provision and support in schools, it is unsurprising that research undertaken as part of an earlier phase of this project, found that the needs of young people with SEND who did not have statutorily proscribed provision were regularly not met through the instruction they received via remote learning (Ross, 2022).

This study is a continuation of work undertaken during the Summer of 2020, which analyzed the experiences of educators, parents and parent-educators through the different lockdowns in England and traces their experiences of supporting young people with specific learning difficulties through that journey. Specifically, this paper presents analysis of interviews, undertaken in spring-summer 2021, which explored the following:

- Parents'/educators' sense-making and conceptualization of remote learning, and support strategies which empower/undermine their children's engagement with learning, looking through lockdowns and beyond with consideration of priorities and values associated with their roles.
- How differences in expectations and practice relating to remote learning were mediated and addressed.
- Strategies for learning implemented during COVID-19 lockdowns and their potential for positive application in a post COVID-19 pedagogy.

EDUCATION DURING COVID-19

In this section, structures which developed because of COVID-19 are discussed and their implications for education are outlined. The focus of the section is the English context but literature relating to work in other contexts is also drawn on to provide insight into stakeholders' experiences within education globally.



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COVID-19: SpLD and Legal Frameworks in an English Setting

The Children and Families Act 2014 brought in substantial changes to the framework surrounding provision for young people with SEND. The previous system saw provision to support young people differentiated according to the type/complexity of need, and associated support required. However, the system of SEND provision as operationalised within current legislative frameworks does not differentiate young people's needs by level or complexity, where general, rather than statutory, provision is in place. However, where young people cannot access education without specialist provision, they may have an EHCP, which details the input needed to help them access the curriculum appropriately. It is important to note that although the incidence of specific learning difficulties (SpLD) such as dyslexia or dyscalculia, is estimated as up to ten percent of the population (Butterworth & Kovas, 2013), only 3.8% of EHCPs highlight specific learning difficulties as a specific area of need (DfE, 2022.). A higher proportion of young people with non-statutory provision have SpLD as their principal area of need (DfE, 2022). Given that the legal requirements for supporting those with an EHCP were relaxed during the 2020-2021 academic years, and the provision outlined in those EHCPs was often not delivered (Ross, 2022; Webster et al., 2022), it is unsurprising that the needs of young people without statutory provision were also frequently overlooked within remote-learning delivery. Despite policy stipulating the importance of families' and young people's views being considered in the design and implementation of support interventions (this remained unchanged during COVID), parents and young people often reported that they were not engaged in decision making processes during COVID-19 (Ross, 2022; Webster et al., 2022).

Expectations: Remote Learning during COVID

During remote learning and initial lockdowns relating to COVID-19 in March 2020 and onwards, the conceptualization of remote learning was relatively unclear. Young people's, families' and teachers' experiences of it varied greatly (Minkos & Gelbar, 2021). A key factor connected to delivery of emergency remote teaching linked to the demographics of a setting and young people's access to devices, technology and the internet (Greenway & Eaton-Thomas, 2020). This was reflected in school-based implementation of learning during the initial lockdown phase with some schools delivering remotely online (Goldberg et al., 2021; Kaiper-Marquez et al., 2020; Misirli & Ergulec, 2021) and others providing work on paper, where digital infrastructure was lacking (Goldberg et al., 2021; Tremmel et al., 2020).

In an English context, there were many families without resources to access and engage with online teaching (Baker et al., 2020). During the initial lockdown period in Spring 2020, this was unproblematic as there were no formal expectations of emergency remote teaching. However, as the likelihood of further lockdown periods increased, the Department for Education released guidelines detailing expectations that schools set remote work to last between 3 and 5 hours daily. This detailed the expectation of live (either synchronous or asynchronous) input from teachers (Carr, 2021). It is important to note that the primary sources which included this guidance appear to have been removed from central government internet repositories and archival versions were not available for checking.

As was noted by (Baker et al., 2020), many families did not have access to sufficient or appropriate resources for their children to be able to access learning in this way, thus increasing the disadvantage experienced by those young people, some of whom already experience substantial barriers to learning. To counter this, Central Government devised a scheme to provide young people with ICT equipment via their school where they did not have it (UK Government, 2022). However, many schools could not secure sufficient equipment, particularly as live lessons were implemented towards the end of initial lockdowns (Staufenberg, 2021). It is clear from discourse relating to 'emergency remote teaching', that its conceptualization by Central Government evolved throughout lockdowns, moving towards a model, which relied on 'digital remote education' (Ofsted, 2021b), whereby learning and teaching largely took place online using ICT. On paper, the government had acted to ensure that all learners could access devices but this was not always the case. Some families were still unable to fully engage with learning due to lack of resources despite assurances that they would have access to appropriate technology (Baker et al. 2020). Access to resources impacted on expectations of remote learning across families and schools (this is discussed in more detail below).

Navigating Mismatched Expectations and Priorities

Here the expectations and conceptualisations of remote learning are addressed, and potential clashes highlighted. This contextualises educators' and teachers' experiences in this study.



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Work undertaken on the dynamics of expectations and navigation of remote learning during COVID-19 has largely found that mothers bore the brunt of closures to childcare settings, schools and lack of access to other informal caregiving arrangements (Clark et al., 2021; Craig & Churchill, 2021; Petts et al., 2021). Largely, mothers were expected to maintain their role as 'mother', whilst concurrently 'teaching' their children at home *and* working in paid employment. What teaching should 'look like' was unclear for families in the initial lockdown period (Greenway & Eaton-Thomas, 2020; Middleton & Kay, 2021; Ross, 2022). This was echoed by teachers and educators; Kim and Asbury (2020) found that teachers were wholly unprepared for remote learning and how to navigate lockdown provision for children, particularly those with SEND. They found that mis-matched expectations were often addressed and mediated well through positive relationships, dialogue and personalized support. The central tenet in addressing those clashes within literature surveyed was dialogue, and relational cohesion and collaboration between educators and families, whether clashes of expectation arose in delivery medium (paper/ICT) (Middleton & Kay, 2021), lack of non-statutory provision for young people with Specific Learning Difficulties/dyslexia (Greenway & Eaton-Thomas, 2020; Ross, 2022), or the challenges teachers experienced with emergency remote teaching and its conceptualization (Kim & Asbury, 2020; Ross, 2022),.

COMMON DISCURSIVE THEMES AROUND COVID-19

In this section a brief overview is given of common themes arising in work relating to COVID-19. These themes arose internationally, and in diverse settings, and continue to resonate within discussions relating to attainment, progress and provision (Webster et al., 2022; Weingarten, 2021). Given that themes of mental health and well-being, and access to ICT are common themes in governmental outputs (Ofsted, 2021b, 2021a) both during and looking beyond COVID-19, consideration of how they were prioritized, valued and supported within emergency remote teaching, and subsequently is important to underpin pragmatic recommendations moving forwards.

Mental Health and Well-Being

The mental health impact of COVID-19 on many groups of people is not fully understood, but substantial work has already been undertaken into the experiences of teachers/educators, parents and young people. It is documented that parents of young people with SEND experience greater stress levels than other parents (Asbury et al., 2021). The effects of COVID on parents' mental health and well-being are widely documented as adverse and disproportionately affecting women, and parents whose children have SEND (Clark et al., 2021; Goldberg et al., 2021; Greenway & Eaton-Thomas, 2020; Petts et al., 2021). Young people's mental health overall was adversely affected by COVID-19, particularly where they experience barriers to learning (Asbury et al., 2021). This effect has been so pronounced for some young people that researchers have argued that the number of mental health professionals in schools should increase to support young people as 'normal' teaching resumes (Ross, 2022; Weisbrot & Ryst, 2020).

Prioritization of young people's mental health may manifest differently for different stakeholders. For example, Bhamani et al (2020) suggested that parents keeping to a strict routine with their children may be helpful for supporting well-being whereas Ross (2022) found that parents/carers valued flexibility to support both their children's mental health and well-being. Asbury et al (2021) noted that choice and personalization of learning were key elements of supporting families' wellbeing, which echoes findings from Minkos and Gelbar (2021), who suggest that flexibility and a trauma-informed approach are key to supporting young people's well-being in schools.

Resources and Technology

An area of substantial challenge for schools and young people during COVID-19 was access to resources and appropriate ICT. Research undertaken by Central Government in England noted that the digital divide meant that access to learning was problematic for young people during COVID-19 (Baker et al., 2020). Gaps in attainment between young people with SEND and other students were found to have increased during lockdowns (Webster et al., 2022) and lack of access to technology and specialist interventions/resources were implicated in this. Moving forwards, educators and parents have argued the importance of sufficient access to appropriate ICT and specialist interventions. Relaxations of duties relating to statutory provision under the Coronavirus Act 2020 ceased at the end of July 2020, which was expected to help meet young people's needs as they transition back to school (Ofsted, 2021a), and beyond. However, young people's needs were not always supported adequately and lack of access to technology continued to be problematic for those trying to access learning (Minkos & Gelbar, 2021; Ofsted, 2021b; Ross, 2022). Despite being prioritised on paper within education discourse, where learners did not have appropriate access to ICT, they often experienced barriers to learning remotely (Staufenberg, 2021;



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UK Government, 2022). Subsequent clashes (paper versus electronic delivery) thus had to be mediated through negotiation and updated expectations, which addressed families'/carers' challenges but also created space for educators to fulfil their professional responsibilities.

THEORISING THE SOCIAL WORLD: VALUES, EXPECTATIONS AND ADDRESSING THE CLASHES

Values, Expectations and Clashes

As has been noted above, the usual ways of working, delivery and engagement with education were wholly upended by COVID-19 and the subsequent lockdowns. Expectations, roles, and both formal and informal structures were changed by the process, evolving as COVID-19 progressed. Formal changes in structures took place in social contexts such as health, law and politics, as well as education, with changes in each context affecting policy, practice and experiences of other contexts. As such, a social model was necessary with capacity to capture those dynamic effects across social settings, whilst simultaneously being able to capture understanding of individuals' sense-making and actions. COVID-19 highlighted the interconnected and intersectional nature of social contexts, and the ripple effects across those social contexts: when changes take place in one there are also impacts on others.

To explore and fully consider cross-context/field structures and changes, habitus clash is a useful concept. Based upon Bourdieu's 'dialectical confrontation' (Bourdieu, 2002), which was operationalised by Ingram (Ingram, 2011), the concept of habitus clash was developed to "explain the time and space within which habituses, practices and values from different (and sometimes opposing) fields intersect" (Ross et al., 2021). This takes place when a social agent experiences discomfort arising from different expectations (habitus) within fields intersecting and impacting on them concurrently (Ross et al., 2021). The actor must consider and make sense of their clash experiences. They must then discern how, if at all, they will embody those different systems within their own habitus and practice. As noted by (Ross, 2022), the habitus clash mirrors the impact of snooker balls in the exploration of Newton's law of Conservation of Momentum:

"... they are repelled instantly or may move together with a change of direction and speed – so also social actors upon experiencing a 'habitus clash' may change their direction, their views and the way that they interact with others implicated in the clash."

In the context of COVID-19 remote learning, as we have noted above there were substantial differences between how teachers/educators and families/carers understood it should be delivered. The priorities of families and educators also differed during COVID-19, which did cause some challenges for delivery of learning and smooth communication between the parties (Bhamani et al., 2020; Ross, 2022). However, challenges in delivery of remote learning and clashes in values/habitus could be addressed through positive interactions and relationship building (Kim & Asbury, 2020). This study explores the expectations of families/carers and educators in addressing the needs of young people with dyslexia/specific learning difficulties during COVID-19, how those expectations differed and how the subsequent value/habitus clashes were pragmatically addressed so that young people were appropriately supported.

This capacity and framework underpins analysis of conceptualisation, values and priorities linked to COVID-19 emergency remote learning, mediation of habitus clashes linked to different priorities/strategies and moving forward with an updated, shared understanding of remote learning.

METHOD

Research Aims

This paper links to data gathered in Summer 2020, where an online survey was run for parents/carers and teachers/educators to discuss their experiences of lockdown teaching and learning, and supporting young people with specific learning difficulties (Ross, 2022). This phase of study aims to gain a deeper understanding of those experiences, how teaching and learning evolved through lockdowns and the return to in-person teaching. Specifically, this paper presents analysis of interviews, undertaken in spring-summer 2021, which explored the following:



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- Parents'/teachers' sense-making and conceptualization of remote learning, and support strategies which empower/undermine their children's engagement with learning, looking through lockdowns and beyond with consideration of priorities and values associated with their roles
- How differences in expectations and practice relating to remote learning were mediated and addressed
- Strategies for learning implemented during COVID-19 lockdowns and their potential for positive application in a post COVID-19 pedagogy.

Pre-Interview Survey Participation

The interviews analysed in this paper form part of a wider project which explored stakeholders' experience of remote learning through COVID-19 via an online survey. Full analysis of the survey results can be found in Ross (2021; 2022). The methodology was limited somewhat at the time due to COVID-19 related lockdown restrictions; the survey was open between April and June 2020, when restrictions were largely still in place. As such online research was necessary. The small-scale survey was in the form of a semi-structured interview and a self-completion questionnaire as described in Bryman (2012). It was constructed in MS Forms and disseminated via social media, and the researcher's professional and personal networks. The survey contained open-ended questions as well as Likert-Scale responses and closed questions.

The survey had 123 responses of whom 42 were parents/carers of children with SEND and the remaining 76 were educators. There were relatively few responses to the survey at the time, likely due to the demands placed on families because of COVID-19. It is unlikely that families whose children had SEND could use what little capacity they had to complete further online 'work'. Even where specific audiences are targeted for purposive sampling, there are often high non-response rates (Bryman, 2012).

On completing the form for the initial survey, participants were asked if they were willing to be contacted to take part in further research relating to the topic. From the initial 123 responses, 34 individuals consented to be contacted further in relation to the research.

Interview Participants and Data Construction

All work in this study was undertaken with full consideration of BERA ethical guidelines (BERA, 2018) and the Teachers' Standards for England (DfE, 2021), as the researcher was employed as a teacher during this project. Participants from this survey were drawn from those who participated in the first part of the project. They had given consent to take part in interviews and further research, as part of their responses to part one (as described above and in Ross (2022)).

Table 1- consenting participants

	State-funded School	Other setting	TOTAL
Educators	10	2	12
Parents	12	5	17
Parent-Educators	3	2	5
TOTAL	25	9	34



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The 34 individuals (see table 1), who had consented to be contacted to participate in interviews following their participation in the initial stages of this project, were all contacted via their preferred medium of phone or email. The contact made summarized the nature of this element of the research, and time commitments implicated in undertaking an interview. Data handling was detailed. A 'participant information sheet' as per guidelines (BERA, 2018; Bryman, 2012) was also supplied, so that participants who chose to participate in further study gave informed consent. The participants who had responded positively to participate in interviews were then selected to be those working in state-funded settings or whose children attended state-funded settings. This was because this is the type of setting that most young people in the UK attend and where most teachers are employed; only 7 percent of children in the UK are educated privately (The Sutton Trust & Social Mobility Commission, 2019). Thus, the interviewees' experiences provide insight into the experiences shared by individuals in state-funded, albeit limited by the small-scale nature of the project. Interviews were organized with 4 women; one other woman did respond but it was not possible to organize a mutually convenient time to hold the interview.

Interviews took place during April and May 2021. Prior to interviews taking place, a telephone conversation or email exchange took place to address queries or worries. It was a time for the interviewer and participant to build a rapport, in line with Bryman's (2012) recommendations for interview practice. An interview schedule was devised and had been discussed with participants during pre-interview discussions so that they were aware of what would be covered during their interview. Full details of the participants and their interviews are in table 2; they are all known by pseudonyms and all identifying information has been removed from any quoted responses.

Table 2- participant information

Name	Position	Role	Additional Information	Interview Duration
Anne	Educator	SpLD Intervention Teacher	Worked across various schools, delivering remote and in-person learning during and post COVID-19 lockdowns Worked to support students with SpLD	56 mins
Carrie	Parent	Full-time worker and Mum	Worked full time at home during lockdowns Husband was also at home Daughter in year 12, studying A Levels and found art was very challenging.	54 mins
Amy	Parent-Educator	Full-time Maths teacher/ Assistant Head Teacher and Mum	Was at home with Husband during lockdowns, both of them working full time in education Mum to two primary-school aged daughters who were at home during first national lockdown and in school during the second national lockdown	47 mins
Julie	Parent Educator	Part-Time Teaching Assistant and Mum	Worked remotely and in-person supporting students with SpLD in intervention groups. Her daughter in Y6 (primary school) during initial national lockdown and then in Y7 (secondary school) during second phase. Julie's daughter had accompanied Julie to work during initial lockdowns.	65 mins (in person)



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A semi-structured program was followed to ensure that topics were covered consistently across interviews, but which allowed flexibly to explore individual's different experiences of emergency remote teaching as per Bryman (2012). Topics covered in interviews included the following:

- Work Practices
- Roles
- Interactions
- Tech/remote learning
- Developments in how remote learning was delivered
- Live lessons and experiences of them
- Challenges across roles as parent/educator
- Children's/Young people's needs
- Children's/Young people's experiences of technology

Three interviews were undertaken remotely, using Zoom and one interview was undertaken in person. The Zoom interviews were recorded. The in-person interview was audio-recorded using a mobile phone. Audio and video files were separated, with audio files being used for analysis purposes to maintain participant confidentiality. All files were password protected where possible, identifying features removed and they are kept on password protected ICT equipment, in line with data protection regulations (Data Protection Act, 2018)

Data and Processing Analysis

Interviews lasted for between 47 minutes (remote) and 65 minutes (in person), as detailed above. They were all transcribed verbatim, without timestamps. Following initial transcription of interviews, they were all then re-played whilst the transcription was read and checked. Where mistakes had been made in initial transcription, they were corrected. Identifying information was also removed from transcripts to maintain participants' anonymity. All participants were supplied with a copy of their transcript and were given the opportunity to comment on its content as part of data triangulation and validation (see Bryman, 2012, p. 391).

Interview transcripts were then read again, and during this process, an initial coding framework was constructed through open coding of data with full consideration of the research questions, in line with Yates' recommendations (Yates, 2004). Interviews were then re-read and the coding framework refined to reflect the emergent themes whilst also reflecting on habitus clashes and where they took place. Updated coding was then applied to transcripts. Emergent themes were noted at this point to inform later and further analysis. All transcripts were then read once more and coding checked. Coding reports for each were then printed out and further analysed highlighting common themes and connecting those themes to areas of tension and habitus clash. The data were then structured so that different experiences and progressions of emergency remote teaching could be presented clearly and related to the different roles inhabited by individuals during COVID-19.

RESULTS

The findings from analysis of these interviews are presented according to the role inhabited by the participants during COVID-19 remote education to reflect their different lived-experiences. While there is a small number of interviews presented here, the cases are both revelatory and exemplifying, as per Bryman (2012). They give insight into a previously inaccessible phenomenon (COVID-19 and remote education during a pandemic), whilst concurrently describing experiences which were shared with many others in their respective demographics. Phrasing in quotations is as spoken but where edits have been made or inserted, this is indicated by square brackets.

PRIORITIES AND EXPERIENCES IN COVID-19 REMOTE TEACHING

As has been noted above, parents and educators sometimes held different priorities in their conceptualization of emergency remote teaching. Here the conceptualization of 'emergency remote teaching' (Misirli & Ergulec, 2021), and associated priorities held by parents, teachers and parent-teachers are presented. The focus is on areas where expectations/priorities did not align, resulting in habitus clashes



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(Ross et al., 2021). This underpins pragmatic steps taken to mediate these clashes, with a view to developing and improving provision for young people with dyslexia/specific learning difficulties post COVID-19 and onwards.

Parents

Anxiety and mental-health challenges were, for Carrie, inextricably linked to her view of remote learning as experienced by her daughter, "It [remote learning] made her really, really anxious because... it was sort of a challenge to keep up... But it was, I think her biggest criticism was the delivery... It was just really kind of just talking at them and not really explaining stuff." Her daughter's experience of remote learning, where no live, spoken interaction took place between teachers and students, led Carrie to view it as as having "no sort of interaction. And they're [students] are just listening really." During the initial phases of lockdown Carrie found that her daughter's mental health suffered because of how remote teaching was delivered. Her daughter was, "almost tutoring herself," and found engaging with learning and her peers very challenging "because... they're not being nice to her." The isolation from her peers that Carrie's daughter experienced, "directly contributed to this challenging experience, due to her being "not at school... not seeing any of her friends".

Carrie felt that there was no personalization or differentiation in delivery which meant that her daughter's needs were not met. She "had to keep contacting them [her daughter's school]" about changes in provision and personalized support. However, this only happened after she "had contact with them quite a few times and kicked up a bit of a fuss about it". The lack of concessions for Carrie's daughter's dyslexia/dyspraxia was unsurprising, given the relaxation of requirements to deliver support for students with statutory provision. Carrie's daughter had no EHCP so provision for her was not statutory. The expectation from educators that young people would use 'chat functions' led to difficulties for her daughter in keeping pace with the curriculum due to her dyslexia. Pace of learning expected by educators appeared to clash with Carrie's hopes for her daughter to be able to "keep up". Her daughter's learning and understanding were important to Carrie. However, when this proved challenging, her daughter's mental health and the importance of personalized provision took center-stage.

As external frameworks for delivery and subsequent school strategies developed during lockdown, Carrie found that the "second stage was a lot better and they sort of embraced it a bit more... we have to be fair to them in that respect. But I think it took them a long time to kind of go, right. OK. This is what we need to do." Personalization of lesson delivery and differentiated approaches facilitated better curricular access for her daughter. The Dyslexia Voices' group in school provided support and encouragement for students, including Carrie's daughter. Mental health was centralized in school provision, which aligned better with Carrie's priorities for her daughter's journey with remote education. Carrie felt that the school refocused its priorities.

Carrie's focus remained her daughter's mental health and, related to this, her ability to engage actively and meaningfully with remote learning. Initial school delivery (where pace of teaching was unrelenting) did not chime with Carrie's priorities. However, as lockdowns progressed, Carrie felt that the school did refocus on mental health and personalized provision. Key to note here is that access to equipment and ICT resources were not highlighted by Carrie as an area of difficulty for her family. For other families, access to resources was problematic (see Baker et al, 2021; Ross, 2021; 2022).

Teachers

Anne's implementation and conceptualization of remote learning differed from other teachers in that she was working as a specialist dyslexia/SpLD teacher in small groups or 1:1, whereas other teachers/educators were working with full classes. She found that there was no formal definition or working conceptualization of remote teaching in her school. She stated that she "trained herself. Completely... I've. In my role, I've had no training. There's been no formalized training, and as regards Zoom, I've sorted it out myself." This also applied to class teachers in her context, who had also "informally trained each other".

Anne described her experiences as a small-group teacher positively. For Anne, technology became the 'default' method for delivery in emergency remote teaching. This meant the challenges some of her students experienced vis-à-vis handwriting were bypassed. Anne noted that for one student this was particularly successful because, "No one was even mentioning handwriting... it was enabling him to spell check it, you know? It just, it just sparked everything for him." Anne's conceptualization of emergency remote teaching as online meant that her whole practice was focused on improving her delivery via online learning platforms (she used Microsoft Teams). Her practice remained 'online' for the duration of COVID-19 lockdowns. However, her priorities and delivery did evolve. She undertook self-



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directed CPD to develop her skills and make changes to her own lessons so that “work I [she] prepare is put on to Teams... And part of the behind putting it on Teams is... so I can still set them work to do when I’m not there”. Anne ensured that even if she was not online, communication between her and students was maintained.

While ensuring high standards of lesson delivery and accessible learning were priorities for Anne during lockdowns, she did find that social-emotional support became more central to her practice in remote teaching. Some students, “confided in [her] via zoom” and parents were “asking [her] advice of ‘how do I keep my child motivated?’” This centralization of relationships/emotional support led to well-being and mental health featuring in her practice as lockdowns progressed, and beyond.

Anne noted that there were some changes in her school made because of her practice and strategic use of technology with students. Following lockdown, the school “bought new laptops for these kids [in her groups] and so this group would give us... access to Teams”. This removed substantial barriers to learning for her students. She felt that these institutional changes were because “people are starting to realize ... these children can produce better work if we provide them with some support.”

Anne did not describe having challenges with parents in her setting and felt overall that she was able to adapt her lesson delivery as lockdowns progressed. Anne did feel that where there were areas of tension, such as student well-being or motivation, she could address those tensions through dialogue, which led to shared understanding of what was needed to support children. Parents sought guidance on this from her and Anne felt confident in working with families, having “come a long, long way” in her lesson delivery from very teacher-talk-led to more student-centered approach.

Parent-Teachers

Amy commented that conceptualization and implementation of emergency remote teaching largely depended on individual members of staff in her school, and was wholly related to their confidence in using ICT. As “someone that’s quite technologically savvy,” she was, “prerecording lessons which were then being posted on the VLE”. However, Amy commented that some colleagues were “setting tasks pretty much ... just be a paragraph with, ‘this is what I want you do to today’”. She noted that there was, “very little teacher input”, particularly during the initial Spring-Summer 2020 lockdown. Amy felt that for some students, accessing learning was subsequently challenging, particularly with finding “instant chat really tricky.” For Amy, lesson delivery that was multi-sensory was a key-element of remote learning so that students with dyslexia (and other difficulties) could access as much as possible. Amy’s priorities within implementation of emergency remote teaching (as a teacher) underpin her view that interaction needed to be built into its delivery. This was so that she could mirror classroom practice as much as possible where, “every so often, I will go over and say, ‘is there anything you need help with?’”, to her students with specific learning difficulties.

As a teacher, Amy noted that that changes to priorities and implementation of remote learning did take place as lockdowns progressed, commenting that,

“by the time we came to the most recent lockdown, the expectation was then that there was some live interaction on a weekly basis with every class. So it might be that it was just one live lesson or you might have had maybe 15 minutes one lesson, 15 minutes another lesson.”

For Amy, real-time interaction was already a priority to ensure that learning was accessible for students. This linked to her prioritizing students’ wellbeing alongside their parents. Amy noted that as well as parents’ worries and concerns around learning, young people’s mental health was an area of substantial concern. She commented she “made it clear to one of [their] deputy heads the other day that we need a full-time mental health nurse in school. That is the bare minimum of what we need”, given the challenges that young people with SpLD experienced during lockdown. The needs of young people and their parents framed the nature of interactions between teachers/educators and families.

Amy is a parent to two primary-school-aged children and found that this substantially impacted on her conceptualization of emergency remote teaching. Expectations in lesson delivery were very problematic for Amy; as a professional she had to support young people. However, this impacted on her capacity to prioritize her own children’s needs, which caused her substantial upset. Via dialogue with their school, expectations did change and relax somewhat during lockdowns in Spring/Summer 2020. She felt that a substantial element of



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challenge that she experienced was due to her “working day shifting completely, whereby “we [her family] would do the majority of [schoolwork] in the mornings”. She noted that as a family, despite understanding the importance of a broad education, they focused on maths and literacy rather than completing all work set by her children’s school. Emergency remote teaching became, for Amy, a balancing act professionally and familywise, with mental-health, well-being and core subjects as priorities rather than academic progress.

It was clear to Julie that in her workplace, “nobody knew what it [emergency remote teaching] was meant to look like]. Julie felt that her workplace prioritized wellbeing and engagement, rather than academic outcomes. Echoing Amy’s focus on well-being and real-time communication with students and their families, Julie’s initial priorities and implementation of emergency remote learning focused on supporting students’ wellbeing. The responses of her workplace wholly reflected this for Julie in that, the school would “.... try and keep in touch with our most vulnerable families.” Similarly, to Carrie, Julie noted that choice and flexibility of activities were key in maximizing students’ outcomes, engagement and well-being in her role as a professional but also as a parent. Julie’s workplace, “made sure that everybody had access. For a couple of our families that didn’t have anything, no wireless. They couldn’t, you know do anything. They had paper packs and would collect them each week,” which exemplified the prioritization of access to resources and flexibility of approach in her place of work

While flexibility of approach and where possible, personalization of support *were* priorities in her workplace, Julie did note that non-statutory interventions were not maintained during the initial lockdown. However, during the second national lockdown, “partway through [lockdown], we started with some interventions and things as well.”. This was done to support children’s learning and to maintain their links to the school. Due to these interactions, Julie found that some students, who had previously not been motivated to read in school, wanted to participate in some small group sessions, “...his friend was doing this in lockdown when he went, ‘Can I come to reading club?’ and I went, ‘Of course you can’”.

Julie found in her daughter’s primary school setting in spring 2020 lockdowns, it “was a dream because we played,” and contact from the school allowed for choice as to how families engaged with learning, prioritizing well-being alongside learning. Choice meant that Julie’s daughter remained engaged in learning during the first lockdown. However, Julie’s experiences as a parent during second lockdown were very challenging, and differed from her experiences as a professional. Julie’s daughter had moved from primary school to secondary school between lockdowns in Spring 2020 and January 2021. Julie noted that her daughter often noticed “my class teacher doing all this lovely stuff and you know, ... [her teacher] spent so long explaining stuff that you’d have like five minutes to do the actual work”. Her daughter became increasingly frustrated because she had interactions with other schools, due to Julie’s professional role. Watching her daughter’s experiences of remote teaching during the second phase of lockdowns in England was very difficult for Julie because, “you know, for a child that has grown up having lots of respect for teachers... loving school, not learning. You know she’s got very disillusioned... it broke my heart.” For Julie’s daughter, and subsequently Julie, her negative interactions with schooling and learning during lockdown were very challenging and affected her overall engagement with school. Her daughter’s wellbeing and engagement were closely linked and where Julie’s daughter was unable to engage effectively in learning, her well-being suffered.

MANAGING HABITUS-CLASHES

In this section, the different habitus-clashes linked to differing priorities and implementation of emergency remote learning are discussed and strategies to address those clashes are drawn from interviews. As common themes in interviews and general discourse relating to COVID-19, access to resources and student well-being/mental health are the areas of focus here.

Student Well-being/Mental Health

During the initial lockdown, Carrie felt that her daughter’s mental health and well-being were not considered fully by her school and, as was noted above, she, “had to keep contacting them [the school]”, to secure changes in provision. Carrie felt that “she had to kick up quite a bit of fuss about it” and reported that her daughter, “said ... we should be praised for our resilience and surviving this situation. And yes we should be getting supported when we come out of this in terms of our emotional state”. Carrie felt that she and her daughter’s priorities did not align with the school and that to counter this, to create shared habitus and values rather than clashes, Carrie had to engage in forceful dialogue with the school. This did link to some positive developments in her daughter’s school such as the founding of a ‘Dyslexia Voices’ group in school to provide support and encouragement for young people with dyslexia.



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Amy noted that her interactions with parents during lockdown periods forge positive relationships and understood their priorities. She stated that, "it's opened us up to a whole world of parents and telling us their problems as well. That's a whole other issue". However, Amy did highlight the benefits of this: tutors and other staff members had the capacity and time to connect with families where this might not have otherwise been possible.

Anne felt that relationships were key to positive interactions with parents. However, even where she did have a previous working relationship with families, as lockdowns progressed, Anne did find that "parents were getting tired of it [lockdown]" and that "there were some parents sort of asking me my advice of how do I keep my child motivated". The interactions that she experienced were in support of both students' and parents' well-being over time. She did this through changes to her lesson plans and delivery to make things accessible as was needed at the time of discussion with families.

Accessing Learning: Resources and ICT

Carrie's daughter's dyslexia and dyspraxia were not considered in remote delivery; she found it very challenging to keep up with learning and could not access resources such as instant chat due to her needs. This impacted Carrie's daughter's ability to keep up with learning, despite the family having adequate access to equipment. Carrie reported awareness of structural changes taking place in teacher training via a "friend who works at one of the big universities... and she's actually said that they're thinking that they need to do some sort of blended learning rather than how they were doing it before". She felt that this would help improve accessibility of learning for young people.

The need for contact between schools and families to secure changes in provision for young people so that learning was accessible was highlighted by Julie, who noted that families were contacted, and even when online participation was expected in the second national lockdown, paper-based materials were supplied to families who needed it. This was following dialogue between the school and those families, some of whom were hard to reach, to ensure that priorities and values, embodied in a shared vision for provision were met.

Strategies Remaining Post-COVID

Anne noticed substantial changes in her interactions with a particular student while she was working with him. Her interactions and understanding of this students' experiences of technology in remote teaching underpinned changes in her school. Anne's interactions with other teachers included providing training in use of technology with students, to support their professional development. Some of the strategies she implemented through remote learning were continued as students returned to school. In particular, the use of assistive technology, continued use of MS Teams for small-group interventions and online discussions with families/parents. Anne commented that as schools transitioned back to 'in-person' instruction, some of her small-group work continued remotely and/or using ICT. This was partly in respect of Anne's peripatetic role which meant she crossed bubbles, and also reflected the need for continuity for children as they returned to school post lockdowns. To support the school in developing their practice, Anne was also "asked to do some staff training... about the use of Teams" focused on supporting both children and reduction of teacher workload.

Julie did note, that despite the high importance placed on academic outcomes, her professional setting did place a strong emphasis on 'making them [students] feel loved when they come back". This largely meant that parents were happy with provision and relationships between the school and those parents were generally positive, according to Julie. She also noted that these same students were keen on continuing their sessions with her following lockdown. One student was very keen to continue and wanted to read with her every day. Julie's interventions and small group activities have continued on return to in-person teaching. Julie commented that, "maths club... that we did once a week in lockdown and now we do twice a week". Julie she does note that she has had some challenges in implementing these changes, due to her role in the school as a teaching assistant, rather than a teacher: she does not have a laptop, and is not included in teacher training or meetings. This has not changed following return to in-person teaching.

Amy feels that moving on from COVID-19, robust mental health support for young people is vital. She feels that those who have "got specific learning or processing difficulties et cetera" have challenges in their mental health which are "compounded on top [of their needs]. That has just meant academics have just stopped". She believes that supporting young people's mental health is vital to underpin their future progress. She was somewhat disappointed that this was unlikely to continue into post COVID-19 schooling due to lack of sufficient resources and time. However, she did discuss increased pastoral support for families with members of her school senior leadership team.



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DISCUSSION

In this section of the paper, the above findings are discussed in detail and grounded in literature. The nature of value and/or habitus clashes between families and educators is discussed and literature drawn upon to contextualize those differences.

Shared Goals via Different Pathways

Accessibility and Delivery

Anne could prioritize students in her lessons developing her practice as lockdowns progressed. Due to the nature of her role, Anne could personalize learning for her students and was able to use technology effectively where this was helpful for them. Shared values and habitus are key in minimizing the risk of habitus clash (Ross et al., 2021). Dialogue and shared values helped Anne to navigate waning student (and parental) engagement and reduced progress, which appeared to avert potential habitus clashes. However, her capacity to undertake this, particularly during initial lockdowns was not commonplace.

The nebulous, unclear nature of emergency remote teaching (Greenway & Eaton-Thomas, 2020; Minkos & Gelbar, 2021) - particularly during the initial phases of lockdowns - has been echoed in findings from this study. The lack of clarity surrounding emergency remote teaching was captured by Carrie, where her daughter's teachers were "just kind of talking at them." The lack of clarity around *how* remote learning should be delivered and what it *should* look like filtered through to schools and families alike with different organizations enacting it differently. Although initially expectations for Carrie were unclear, as lockdowns progressed, her daughter's school delivered lessons that were more accessible for her daughter.

Even within one secondary school, Amy noted that as, "someone that's quite technologically savvy", who spent substantial time creating multi-sensory and personalized lessons, other staff were just writing "a paragraph with, 'this is what I want you to do today'". In these settings, staff members delivered learning and engaged with their students differently, which reflected their different values and practices. For Amy, who was au fait with technology, multi-sensory learning was center stage whereas for others, written input was their preferred strategy. As noted by Amy however, the mode of delivery (at least in the first instance) adopted by educators was not always wholly student focused. This particularly impacted students with dyslexia and specific learning difficulties, with her noting that students were unable to engage with chat functions. Carrie's daughter had also experienced this, which echoes work undertaken by Ross (2021) and Petretto et al (2021). Students with dyslexia were unsurprisingly found to have difficulties accessing wholly written lesson delivery in this study.

Julie noted that in her workplace "nobody knew what it was meant to look like", which allowed her workplace to prioritize families' engagement with school and student well-being. This was also true of her daughter's primary school; Julie could choose fun activities to do with her daughter during initial lockdowns. The priority here was student-wellbeing, and during later lockdowns, academic expectations were brought in, congruent with changes in governmental guidelines (Carr, 2021). Families were also supported with paper resources or electronic materials as needed; there was flexibility of approach which facilitated positive interactions and shared values with families in her professional setting.

Accessibility and delivery of the curriculum were often linked to educator capacity and skillset, rather than student need in the initial phases of lockdowns. Educators' focus was ensuring that curricula were 'accessible' remotely, which largely meant online (Gould, 2020; Zawadka et al., 2021). However, as per the Coronavirus Act 2020, removal of obligations to meet statutory provision requirements, meant other students with SEND were unlikely to have differentiated teaching materials. This was largely the experiences of participants here. Where academic progress was prioritized, families and educators noted that students with SEND often could not access learning. Carrie and Amy linked these challenges in accessing learning to learners' wellbeing suffering, echoing work from Asbury et al (2021) and Skipp et al (2021). However, schools in the initial lockdown could not readily address this. Even Julie's workplace could not implement interventions and support for students with any level of SEND during the first lockdown, which meant that students could not always access learning fully.



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Encapsulating the Clashes

As noted above, common themes arising in this study were wellbeing/mental health, which echoes much other work undertaken (Clark et al., 2021; Goldberg et al., 2021; Webster et al., 2022). There appeared to be little debate around the notion that young people's mental health was adversely affected by COVID 19 (Asbury et al., 2021). However, strategies and priorities in addressing that do appear to differ, with some suggesting that routine is useful for supporting young people (Bhamani et al., 2020) while others suggest that flexibility of approach is vital (Asbury et al., 2021; Minkos & Gelbar, 2021; Ross, 2022). In this study parents and parent-educators did prioritize their children's well-being, but they were also cognizant of the need to support their children's academic outcomes. However, they approached this differently. These different approaches did lead to some points of tension (habitus clashes), which were subsequently addressed to allow families and educators to move forwards together.

Although educators and parents did prioritize engagement with learning and maintaining pace with others, their underpinning motivation differed for different roles. Here Carrie and Amy's focus was on student need when considering the delivery of emergency remote teaching. When Carrie's daughter's needs appeared unconsidered, there was a detrimental effect on her mental health, as she subsequently could not access learning effectively. Much work has noted that students found engagement with remote learning very challenging during COVID-19 and that for students with SEND, these gaps were amplified (Webster et al., 2022). It is likely that the experiences described by Carrie, Amy (in her capacity as maths teacher when considering students with dyslexia) and Julie (in her role as teaching assistant in charge of small groups), are not isolated as they do echo the experiences of others: young people with SEND and specific learning difficulties particularly struggled to access learning (Ofsted, 2021a; Ross, 2022). This is likely in part due to delivery strategies which were written, as noted Julie and Amy. However, that delivery of teaching and expectations surrounding it were nebulous in initial lockdowns led to educators being unsure of how to approach emergency remote teaching. This lack of clarity was then exacerbated by the removal of legal protection for young people with statutory needs (Coronavirus Act 2020). Without support, as was noted here, young people's learning suffered and subsequently they were not able to access the curriculum.

Where learning was not accessible and young people, who were already experiencing challenges, could not access learning and/or disengaged with learning, their progress was impacted, as was the progress of all learners with SEND (Webster et al., 2022). Due to lack of personalized provision in initial lockdowns the impact on students' learning was substantial and their mental health suffered. Educators sought to engage students with learning, realizing subsequently that lack of personalization and interaction in delivery of emergency remote teaching adversely impacted on engagement. This then was connected to deterioration in student wellbeing. Parents' and parent-educators' prioritizing of mental health led them to engage with educators and schools more widely to facilitate personalized provision and active engagement with families as part of development of common values and subsequently shared habitus.

Contact and Mediation of Clashes

The 2015 Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (DfE & DfH, 2015) outlines the importance of dialogue and meaningful participation of all stakeholders in relation to provision for young people with SEND. Given that the needs of young people with dyslexia/SpLD are largely expected to be met in the classroom through high-quality, inclusive teaching, it is unsurprising that removal of the obligation to provide statutory support led to non-delivery of other support during initial lockdowns. COVID 19 enforced change in work practices globally, impacting all elements of society and altering educator's practice almost overnight (Gould, 2020; Zawadka et al., 2021) and family dynamics were equally impacted (Clark et al., 2021; Craig & Churchill, 2021; Petts et al., 2021).

Teachers and families could not engage with each other as previously and their priorities shifted as the pandemic took hold. Different approaches to support mental health and access to the curriculum led to habitus clashes, where families had to have "contact with them [school] quite a few times and kicked up a bit of a fuss" about personalized support and provision. The habitus clashes arising from differing priorities were evident in families and educators discussing provision, with families having to advocate for young people. However, families and educators here also noted that compromises were reached between families and educators, "so also social actors upon experiencing a 'habitus clash' may change their direction, their views and the way that they interact with others implicated in the clash" (Ross, 2022).



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In this study, direction changes were reached through parents and educators engaging in dialogue; all stakeholders tended to prefer real-time interactions where possible. This echoes findings from Ross (2022) and Clarke and Done (2021), who note that engagement with stakeholders is key to developing and implementing support for young people with SEND. This in turn echoes the Code of Practice (DfE and DfH, 2015); dialogue and high-quality, inclusive teaching with appropriate resourcing is key to supporting young people with dyslexia and specific learning difficulties.

Moving on from Pandemic Pedagogy: Practical Recommendations

In this section strategies suggested and implemented in schools, which were discussed in the wider analysis of this paper are briefly summarised. They are not discussed in detail here; the purpose of this section is to delineate these recommendations and as part of the analysis undertaken here, ground them in robust evidence, as discussed above.

- Dialogue and flexibility between educators are vital to ensure that expectations of each party are clear and that a shared vision is developed in supporting young people moving forward. This must be supported through adequate funding/resourcing; mainstream class teachers do not have capacity to do this in their daily roles.
- Young people with dyslexia/specific learning difficulties must be supported appropriately in the classroom and where possible, they should have access to robust interventions and personalized learning via small groups/1:1 provision.
- Without mental health support, young people will find it very challenging to meaningfully engage in learning. Mental health provision in and for schools to support young people is currently inadequate and should be prioritized in funding and provision. Schools need to have access to a broad range of mental health professionals such as ELSAs, counsellors and therapists who have sufficient capacity to support young people appropriately.
- The nature of 'assessment' in schools should be evaluated and the 'soft skills' needed in daily life should be incorporated into pupils' outcomes. This links to adequate consideration of mental health for young people. Holistic (to include social) support for young people should be fully incorporated into school structures for assessment and progress monitoring.
- Teachers' and educators' mental health suffered during lockdowns. They should be supported by adequate provision of access to mental health support.
- Teacher training needs to reflect the digital world that young people operate in; frameworks which consider training in hybrid teaching and learning should be considered, as should training around SEND provision.
- Schools should be supported to share good practice and flexibility of provision should be centralized into policy and practice to incorporate the possibility of:
 - Remote learning for young people who find it challenging to access 'mainstream' learning
 - Teaching students were they 'are' academically rather than were they 'should be' age-wise
 - Flexi-schooling more widely
 - Use of ICT where students prefer with understanding that some students need access to assistive technology to help them access learning e.g. Readers, word processors etc.
- Schools need to have sufficient resources so that staff have time and capacity to contact parents/carers; relationships are key in supporting young people. Without sufficient contact, building positive bridges between home and school is not possible.

CONCLUSION

While this study is a small-scale study, the findings provide useful insight into the experiences of discrete groups of people during the COVID-19 pandemic. As noted above, the interviews here provide revelatory and exemplifying evidence of these individuals' experiences of an otherwise inaccessible phenomenon. That the views held by participants echoed those of other groups, as detailed in the studies outlined here, shows the transferability of the findings to wider educational settings and demonstrates the importance of educators and



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institutions considering the practical recommendations above. While they may not be applicable in all settings, engaging with the recommendations and thus, engaging stakeholders will help them to develop setting-appropriate responses for their students.

This study highlights the importance of the values of the Code of Practice (DfE and DfH, 2015): the engagement with stakeholders but *how* families and young people can meaningfully engage with education settings to develop and implement provision remains challenging. During COVID-19, schools developed innovative strategies to work with families. Further study into how successful these strategies were should be undertaken to help equip schools to foster positive relationships with families, which have proved so important during the pandemic. The prioritization of mental health/well-being concurrently with academic progress may sometimes appear to be contradictory, but as noted here by all participants, they must both be considered and supported adequately so that learners can make holistic progress.

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REGISTERED APPRENTICESHIPS AND YOUTH APPRENTICESHIPS IN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESAN, DIOCESAN- AND PARISH-AFFILIATED HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES: A DESCRIPTIVE SNAPSHOT

Mary Ellen Nourse, Ph.D.
(Boise, ID, USA)

Correspondence should be addressed to: maryellen8694@gmail.com

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Abstract

Academic rigor has been a hallmark of Catholic elementary and secondary schools in the United States. In recent years, Catholic education leaders have been investigating possibilities for inclusivity of less-served populations, particularly students with disabilities—both academic and physical. Also, as Mary McAuliffe states in the Jesuit publication America, “. . . a four-year college is not the only way to help our graduates. . . some genuinely do not wish to pursue a four-year college degree.” Another strong tenet of Catholicism is the dignity of work, including the skilled trades, and the Catholic Church lauds the value of gainful employment. Could the shifting attention of Catholic schools to serve a diverse population, coupled with the Church’s stance on the dignity of work, result in more responsiveness to students who are interested in the skilled trades? Apprenticeships may provide this opportunity.

In this investigation, the researcher examined course catalogs, curriculum guides, course listings, and handbooks of archdiocesan, diocesan, and parish-affiliated Catholic high schools across the United States to determine the number of Registered Apprenticeships and Youth Apprenticeships currently offered at or by these institutions. One-hundred thirty-two dioceses and 26 archdioceses, from all 50 states, were represented in this investigation. Since this was a descriptive study, the analytical procedures of Count and Prevalence were used to examine the data. Of the 549 schools in this study, three offered Youth Apprenticeships. These high schools were in Dioceses in Wisconsin. One school, located in Archdiocese of Cincinnati, offered an Apprenticeship through the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). Therefore, Prevalence was less than 1 percent.

These results suggest questions for future research: What factors motivated leadership in these four schools to offer a Registered or Youth Apprenticeship? To what extent would Diocesan Directors of Education/Superintendents be amenable to establishment of Registered- or Youth Apprenticeships in high schools within their jurisdictions? Has this topic been broached with Catholic education leaders? Registered Apprenticeships and Youth Apprenticeships may be a pathway for Catholic high schools to engage all their students, including those who aspire to employment in the trades after graduation.

Keywords: *Apprenticeships; Catholic education; high school education.*



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INTRODUCTION

Registered Apprenticeships can be found in public secondary schools, post-secondary institutions, and correctional facilities throughout the United States. Do schools with religious affiliations—particularly Catholic high schools—also offer Registered Apprenticeship opportunities for their students? This is the question that formed the impetus for this survey investigation.

This study examined the status of Registered Apprenticeships in selected Catholic high schools, with the main purpose of this primary investigation being to determine if potential exists for broaching the topic of Registered Apprenticeships with Catholic education leaders in dioceses and archdioceses in the United States. This study addressed the two questions listed below.

How many arch diocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated Catholic secondary schools in the United States offer at least one Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeship, State-agency Approved Apprenticeship, or Youth Apprenticeship for students?

Which specific Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeships, State-agency Approved Apprenticeships, or Youth Apprenticeships are offered to students at Catholic high schools that offer at least one Registered Apprenticeship?

Delimitations and limitations

This study focused only on archdiocesan, diocesan, and parish-affiliated high schools. Also, this study considered only Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeships, State-affiliated Registered Apprenticeships, and Youth Apprenticeships. Work-study programs, unpaid internships, and cooperative education programs, although laudable, were outside the scope of this investigation. Cristo Rey High Schools, due to their independent status, were excluded. Statistical analyses included only procedures that are available on Microsoft Excel. Due to the paucity of scholarly research on Registered Apprenticeships in Catholic schools, information was gleaned primarily from academic articles, and government websites and resources.

Assumptions

Three assumptions were posited for this study.

1. Websites of archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated Catholic secondary schools contained accurate, timely information.
2. No major curricular changes were planned for the 2022-2023 academic year at Catholic archdiocesan, diocesan, and parish-affiliated high schools.
3. *Ganley's Catholic Schools in America* provides a complete listing of Catholic archdiocesan, diocesan, and parish-affiliated high schools in the United States, as well as high schools operated by Religious Orders.

Definition of Terms

The field of Career and Technical Education (which includes Registered Apprenticeships) is rife with terms, jargon, and acronyms. Terms and acronyms used in this study are presented in Appendix C.

LITERATURE AND MEDIA REVIEW

This literature and media review focused on three topics for investigation: Catholic schools in 2020-2022, CTE efficacy, and Registered Apprenticeships. Each of these topics was considered separately. As stated in the Limitations section above, a lack of scholarly research exists on the topic of Registered Apprenticeships in Catholic secondary schools. A search of Google Scholar using the search term "registered apprenticeships" AND "Catholic high schools" returned no articles on the specific topic of Registered Apprenticeships in Catholic high schools. A similar search of the [Journal of Catholic Education](https://digitalcommons.loyola.edu/) Digital Commons @ Loyola Marymount University and Loyola Law School database returned zero results. Therefore, this Literature Review featured scholarly articles that reflect limited secondary research.



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Catholic Schools in the United States in 2021-2022

Many Catholic schools across the United States are strapped for money. According to the National Catholic Education Association, “By the start of the 2020 school year, 209 Catholic schools had closed – many because of COVID-19, but others due to declining enrollment and financial instability” (2021). In July 2020, Timothy Cardinal Dolan made the difficult decision to close 20 Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New York (Rivoli, July 2020).

This snapshot of Catholic schools is not totally bleak. Enrollment in some Catholic schools has increased in 2020-2021. The National Catholic Education Association reports that “Some states and cities have seen an uptick in Catholic school enrollment with an influx of transfer students opting for in-person classes and choosing Catholic schools”(2021). One reason may be related to COVID. For example: Boise Public Schools delivered educational services primarily online during the pandemic. Meanwhile, in August of 2020 the six local Catholic elementary/middle schools and Bishop Kelly High School were open. No doubt, these parochial schools were the envy of many area parents of public-school students.

Despite the challenges of financial stability and declining enrollments, Catholic schools across the United States set a goal of academic excellence, *par none*. In the document “Renewing Our Commitment to Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the Third Millennium,” Bishops in the United States affirmed that a Catholic education “... must provide young people with an academically rigorous and doctrinally sound program of education” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops). As Peter Meyer states, “As most educators know, Catholic schools work and have worked for a long time” (2007).

So, what defines “academic rigor” for Catholic schools? Standard 7 of the National Standards and Benchmarks for Effective Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools provides the answer. Standard 7.1 reads: “The (Catholic school) curriculum adheres to appropriate, delineated standards, and is vertically aligned to ensure that every student successfully completes a rigorous and coherent sequence of academic courses based on the standards and rooted in Catholic values” (Center for Catholic School Effectiveness, 2012). Digital literacy is also a “must,” and Catholic students should “. . . become expert users of technology, able to create, publish, and critique digital products that reflect their understanding of the content and their technological skills” (Center for Catholic School Effectiveness, 2012).

A Catholic education should not be limited, however, to students who plan to enroll in a four-year college or university. Standard 7.6 mandates that “Classroom instruction is designed to engage and motivate all students, addressing the diverse needs and capabilities of each student, accommodating students with specific needs as fully as possible” (Center for Catholic School Effectiveness, 2012). As Mary McAuliffe, commenting on her students at Father Judge High School for Boys, observes: “Teachers here (at Father Judge) know that a four-year college is not the only way to help our graduates. . . some genuinely do not wish to pursue a four-year college degree” (2019). McAuliffe goes on to state, “Catholic high schools can better prepare our graduates for the world that awaits them by introducing career and technical education (CTE) programs” (2019).

Catholic scholars are also advocating for inclusion of academically challenged students who wish to enroll in Catholic elementary and secondary schools. The *Journal of Catholic Education* recently published a special issue titled “Inclusion in Catholic Schools” (2020). Similarly, the Catholic Church upholds the dignity of work, including work in the skilled trades. As Pope Francis wrote in *Laudato Si*, “Jesus worked with his hands, in daily contact with the matter created by God, to which he gave form by his craftsmanship” (2014). Article #2427 of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* presents an explanation of the dignity of work: “Work honors the Creator’s gifts and talents received from him” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1997). In both Catholic and public schools, career and technical education can provide a pathway to meaningful, satisfying work for young people. The following section focuses on CTE.

Efficacy of Career and Technical Education (CTE)

A plethora of research studies and professional publications exists on various aspects of Career and Technical Education (CTE). A researcher who enjoys meta-analysis would have a field day with the abundance of research in CTE. The search term “attitudes toward career technical education,” for example, yielded 932 dissertations or other research on some aspect of this general topic (ScholarWorks UMass@ Amherst, 2009). Career and Technical Education programs have one over-arching goal: employability of their graduates. CTE programs are focused.



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For example: A student does not enroll in the Diesel Tech program at XYZ Community College to “try it and see if I like it.” CTE programs also increase students’ understanding in science and math, teach critical soft skills, and help students explore potential career paths (Zibell, 2020). In contrast, some students enter university with no idea what career they want to pursue. A number of these “clueless” students may have been unaware of career opportunities available to them. Today’s cutting-edge, rigorous, and relevant career and technical education (CTE) prepares youth and adults for a wide range of high-wage, high-skill, high-demand careers (Association for Career & Technical Education, 2022).

In what occupations will these jobs be found in 2024? Ed4Career lists these 10 fastest-growing occupations in the United States: Personal Care Aides; Registered Nurses; Home Health Aides; Combined Food Preparation and Serving Workers, Including Fast Food; Retail Salespersons; Nursing Assistants; Customer Service Representatives; Restaurant Cooks; General and Operations Managers; Construction Laborers (2016). In addition, “. . .with a need for 1 million craft professionals by 2023, there has never been a more important time to integrate (CTE) programs into schools,” states NCCER Guest Contributor Kelsey Zibell (2020). With the need for skilled crafts persons, do American secondary institutions consider CTE an integral part of the curriculum? In a 2015 *Education Weekly* article, “Vocational Education on the Right Track,” Walt Gardner states: “I don’t understand why more high schools don’t accord vocational education the respect and status it deserves. The obsession with a four-year bachelor’s degree is shortchanging so many students whose interests and talents are not academic. . . Nevertheless, high school counselors continue to point almost all their advisees toward a four-year college” (2015). Although Gardner references public secondary schools, an assumption could be made that his statement is applicable to Catholic high schools. As Cyrus Habib states in the Jesuit publication *America* “Stop saying ‘college isn’t for everyone’” (2018).

With increasing pleas from industry for career-ready employees, this perception of CTE may be changing. This is particularly true for staff and students of Mercy High School in Detroit, the only Catholic co-educational CTE high school in the nation. Sister Susan Walsh, principal of Mercy, states, “. . .with increased attention on career and technical education from the federal government and a continual pushback from industry leaders against students who graduate from college unprepared for the workforce, the tide is changing around CTE” (Arnett, 2018). Further evidence of a shift in attitude was found in a study by Phi Delta Kappa in 2016. Less than half of the adults surveyed in this study believed that “. . .preparing students academically is the main goal of a public education. . .the survey finds a heavy tilt in preferences away from more higher-level academics and toward more classes focused on work skills. By a broad 68% to 21%, Americans say having their local public schools focus more on career-technical skills or skills-based classes is better than focusing on honors or advanced academic classes.” As Michael Petrilli writes in *Education Next*, “One of the biggest shifts in education reform in recent years has been widening acknowledgment that the ‘college for all’ mantra was misguided. Almost everyone now admits that college, as traditionally defined is not going to be for everyone, and that career and technical programs and trade schools can provide sturdy on-ramps to the middle class” (2020). The Archdiocese of Galveston-Houston also recognizes a need to provide CTE for secondary students in southeastern Texas. Galveston-Houston is currently developing plans for a technical secondary education option for students by looking at the feasibility of a Catholic Career-Technical High School or CCTHS. The Development Committee of the CCTHS Advisory Board has planned an initial curriculum offering based on 10-year job projections for high-wage, high-demand careers within the Houston metroplex, as well as throughout the country” (Archdiocese of Galveston-Houston, 2020).

Registered Apprenticeships

So far, this Literature Review has focused on research related to CTE in general. One important component of CTE at both the secondary and postsecondary levels are Registered Apprenticeships, which for the purpose of this study were categorized into four groups:

1. United States Department of Labor (USDOL) or State Agency-Approved (including trade union apprenticeships),
2. Youth Apprenticeships such as the Wisconsin Youth Apprenticeship Program (2022),
3. Pre-Apprenticeships/Preparation for Apprenticeships, and
4. Military.

Three important notes need to be made regarding these categories:

1. Apprenticeships in the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard comprise approximately 20 percent of all registered apprentices in the United States (Hanson, 2016). Military apprenticeships are offered through the United States Military Apprenticeship Program (USMAP). This research study focused on USDOL- and State Agency-approved Registered Apprenticeships.



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2. Industry-recognized Apprenticeship Programs (IRAPS) were rescinded by President Biden in early 2022. (Maurer, 2021).
3. Pre-Apprenticeships/Preparation for Apprenticeships are programs “. . .or a set of services designed to prepare individuals to enter and succeed in a Registered Apprenticeship program. A pre-apprenticeship program, by definition, has a documented partnership with at least one Registered Apprenticeship” (United States Department of Labor, undated).

Confusion exists regarding the terms “internship,” “apprenticeship,” “work-based learning,” “cooperative education” and “registered apprenticeship.” The Definition of Terms included at the beginning of this proposal suggests that these terms are not synonymous, although they may be used interchangeably in common parlance. One commonality is that all these terms include a work-based component. All these offerings are laudable. This study included only United States Department of Labor; State Agency-Approved, which includes Trade Union; and Youth Apprenticeships.

So, what is different about a Registered Apprenticeship (with capital R and A)? The United States Department of Labor provides this explanation: “Apprenticeship is an industry-driven, high-quality career pathway where employers can develop and prepare their future workforce, and individuals can obtain paid work experience, classroom instruction, and a nationally-recognized, portable credential” (United States Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration, 2022). Apprenticeship programs provide on-the-job learning from an experienced mentor and related classroom instruction on the technical and academic aspects of the job. The training is rooted in industry skill standards and competencies.

A Registered Apprenticeship, approved by the United States Department of Labor/Office of Registered Apprenticeships, or a State agency, is a “learn while you earn” endeavor. A Registered Apprenticeship is linked to a numbered Standard Occupational Code (SOC). Each SOC has a listing of skills, daily tasks, and knowledge required for that occupation. For example: The Robert Janss School at the South Idaho Correctional Institution offered a Teaching Assistant Registered Apprenticeship in 2021. The SOC for this Registered Apprenticeship is 25.9042.00. A Teaching Assistant Registered Apprentice completes 4,000 hours of documented on-the-job training as well as related technical instruction (RTI).

The United States Department of Education Office of Career, Technical, and Adult Education offers more information regarding Registered Apprenticeships. “By offering pathways to career-ready skills, a paycheck, and debt-free college credit, [registered apprenticeship](#) is the gold standard of work-based learning. . .Employers see apprenticeship as a powerful tool for finding and developing talent. Parents and students see the value in a structured, earn-and-learn postsecondary pathway. Academic leaders see apprenticeship as a clear strategy for ensuring their high school and college graduates have the skills and competencies they need for tomorrow’s jobs.” (United States Department of Education Office of Career and Technical Education, 2016). Registered Apprenticeships can also provide a path to financial stability. “The average salary for a fully proficient worker who completes an apprenticeship program is \$60,000” (United States Department of Labor, 2018). Sixty thousand dollars seems a significant amount of change.

In addition to development of a high-demand skill, students who complete a Registered Apprenticeship earn an industry-recognized credential. While a training certificate from Crashing Falls High School may be notable, a Registered Apprenticeship Completion credential is even more impressive. Apprenticeship numbers in the United States continue to grow. The number of new apprentices grew 70% between 2011-2020 (Department of Labor, 2022). Registered Apprenticeships can be sponsored by employers; state agencies; trade unions, such as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; prisons; and educational institutions including high schools and community colleges.

Participation of High School Students in Registered Apprenticeships and Youth Apprenticeships

Youth apprenticeship programs targeted specifically for high school students are a nascent but growing endeavor. Youth apprenticeship programs are particularly applicable in the post-COVID era. “As the United States experiences one of the worst economic crises in modern history, youth apprenticeship is a critical strategy to help young people—who have been disproportionately affected by unemployment and underemployment during the COVID-19 (coronavirus) pandemic—gain meaningful work experiences, earn valuable postsecondary credentials, and access pathways to careers that pay a family-sustaining wage” (Advance CTE, 2020).

A number of students in public high schools across the United States are taking advantage of this opportunity to enroll in Registered Apprenticeships. Over 6,000 Wisconsin high school students participated in the state Youth Apprenticeship Program during FY 21-22.



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(Wisconsin Office of Workforce Development, 2022). In Iowa during the 2021-2022 school year, approximately 140 students from rural and urban high schools participated in the Iowa Works Youth Apprenticeships program (Iowa Works, 2021).

Leaders in Catholic Education in Alberta, Canada, recognize the benefits of Canadian Registered Apprenticeships for Catholic secondary students. For example: High school students who attend Greater St. Albert Catholic Schools in St. Albert, Alberta, are enthusiastically encouraged to consider Registered Apprenticeship Programs (RAPs) when making career plans. As indicated at the Greater St. Albert Catholic Schools website, "The Registered Apprenticeship Program (RAP) allows you, the student, the opportunity to be enrolled in high school, and also work as a paid apprentice. The program is designed to allow students to simultaneously complete high school and 1,000 hours toward the 1,500 required hours for the first- year apprenticeship in a designated Trade" (Greater St. Albert Catholic Schools, 2022). Four Catholic high schools participate in this Registered Apprenticeship Program. Information about RAPs is easy to find at the Greater St. Albert Catholic Schools website; an interested student or parent does not have to maneuver through a layer of hyperlinks.

Are Catholic schools in archdioceses and dioceses here in the United States in this picture? This primary study provided an answer.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section outlines selection of the population and sample, questionnaire design and distribution, and statistical analyses for this study.

Population and Sample

The target population for this study was all archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high schools in the United States. Using information from the Ganley's Catholic Schools website, archdioceses and dioceses across the 50 States were identified that appeared to have at least one archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high school. (Some dioceses, such as the Diocese of Superior, Wisconsin, lack a Catholic high school). Determination of an archdiocesan or diocesan high school proved challenging. For example: If a high school is operated by a Religious Order with the approval of the local Bishop, is this considered to be a diocesan institution? Some high schools were founded by Religious Orders who later pulled out. These high schools may still be "in the tradition of the Salesians/Franciscans/Dominicans" and maintain contacts with the Orders. The criteria that were used to identify archdiocesan, diocesan, and parochial high schools are listed here:

1. Identification as an "Archdiocesan," "Diocesan," "Regional," or "Parish" school;
2. "Unspecified School Affiliation" as indicated by Ganley's Catholic Schools;
3. Listing of "parish feeder schools" or "parish school partners" indicating that the secondary school was multi-parish or diocesan.

Schools that mentioned a specific Religious Order were not included in the population i.e. "De La Salle High School is a school in the Lasallian Tradition." If uncertainty still existed regarding whether a high school was archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated, that school was omitted from this study. Cristo Rey Network high schools were excluded. Exclusion of these Religious Order and Cristo Rey schools was based on the observation that these institutions are not under the purview of the local archdiocese or diocese. This study was concerned only with archdiocesan, diocesan, and parish-based secondary schools.

A convenience sample of archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high schools that had workable links to their websites listed with Ganley's. Schools that did not have valid URLs were excluded to save time and frustration. The National Catholic Education Association reported in 2007 that "... about 40 percent (of Catholic high schools) are sponsored by a diocese, 40 percent by Religious communities, and the remaining were either connected to a parish or sponsored by a private corporation" (Heft, 2011).

440 high schools were included in this study, representing 25 archdioceses and 131 dioceses.



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Data Collection

Data collection focused on Registered Apprenticeships offered at each school included in this study. In the data search for Registered Apprenticeships, data was also collected on Career and Technical education at these schools. Data was mined from three resources available at each school's website: student handbooks, curricula listings, and academic overviews/information. In some cases, these resources were quickly located. In other cases, "digging" and diligence were required to find the information.

For each school, the following information was recorded:

1. Name of the school;
2. Archdiocese or diocese in which the school is located, city, and state;
3. Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeships offered by that particular school. (At several schools, students could enroll part-time in area technical high schools, career centers, or community colleges. Registered Apprenticeships at these institutions were outside the scope of this study).

Four hundred and forty high schools were included in this study, representing 23 archdioceses and 131 dioceses. Lists of these archdioceses and dioceses appear in Appendices A and B.

Analysis

Two tests were used in this study: Count and Prevalence.

Count. Count was an excellent place to start during data analysis. "Count data is common in many disciplines" (UCLA, 2021). Count proved a simple statistical procedure. Count is ". . . just as simple as it sounds; it is a count of how many items or 'observations' you have" (National Emergency Medical Services for Children Data Analysis Research Center, 2010).

Prevalence. Although Prevalence is connected with the medical field, this statistical procedure seemed appropriate for this study. The National Institute of Mental Health (2021) provides the formula:

Prevalence = # of people in sample with characteristic / total # of people in sample.

For my analysis, "# of people in sample with characteristics" was replaced by "# of schools in population with characteristics;" "total number of people in sample" was replaced by "total number of schools in population."

According to the National Institute of Mental Health (2021), Prevalence can be measured and reported in several ways, with **Point Prevalence** being the proportion of a population that has the characteristic at a given point in time.

RESULTS

The results of this study provided answers to the two Research Questions listed at the beginning of this article.

Research Question 1

How many archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated Catholic secondary schools in the United States offer at least one Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeship, State-agency Approved Apprenticeship, or Youth Apprenticeship for students?

Count Statistical Procedure. The Count statistical procedure indicated that four high schools offer for their students at least one Registered Apprenticeship, State-agency Approved Apprenticeship, or Youth Apprenticeship.



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Prevalence Statistical Procedure. The formula for Prevalence is = # of people in sample with characteristic / total # of people in sample. For my analysis, “# of people in sample with characteristic” was replaced by “#of schools in population with characteristic; “total number # of people” was replaced by total “# of schools.” The formula used was

Prevalence = $4/440 = > 0.01$.

Research Question #2

Which specific Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeships, State-agency Approved Apprenticeships, or Youth Apprenticeships are offered to students at Catholic high schools from the convenience sample that offer at least one Registered Apprenticeship?

The research findings indicated that Elder High School in Cincinnati offered an International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Registered Apprenticeship. This was the only specific Registered Apprenticeship listed for any of the four high schools that offered Registered Apprenticeships, State-agency-Approved Apprenticeships, or Youth Apprenticeships. For this study, this IBEW Apprenticeship would be categorized as a State-agency Approved Apprenticeship. Elder High School could be commended for “thinking outside the box” and partnering with a trade union.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

With only 1% of archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high schools offering Registered Apprenticeships, a researcher could ask if Registered Apprenticeships are even on Catholic education leaders’ radars. One Director of Catholic Education for a diocese in the Northwest informed me honestly that she did not know anything about Department of Labor Registered Apprenticeships. Of the four high schools that offered at least one Registered Apprenticeship, State-Agency Approved, or Youth Apprenticeships, three were in dioceses in Wisconsin. St. Mary Catholic High School in Neenah, Wisconsin, participated in the Wisconsin Youth Apprenticeship Program. Pacelli Catholic High School in Stevens Point, Wisconsin, also participated in the Wisconsin Department for Workforce Development Youth Apprenticeship Program. St. Mary’s Springs Academy in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, offered Registered Apprenticeships through Fond-du-Lac Works. St. Mary Catholic is located within the Diocese of Green Bay; Pacelli, the Diocese of Stevens Point; and St. Mary’s Springs Academy, the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.

This number of Catholic high schools in Wisconsin that offer at least one Registered Apprenticeship, State-agency Approved, or Youth Apprenticeship may be greater than three. Other Catholic high schools in Wisconsin may offer Registered Apprenticeships, but this information may have been “buried” somewhere on the respective schools’ websites. These three high schools partnered with the Wisconsin Youth Apprenticeship Program to offer Registered Apprenticeships. The Registered Apprenticeship at the fourth high school was offered at Elder High School, which was indicated in the Results section above. Elder High School, which offered an IBEW Apprenticeship, is located in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. Although this study focused on Registered Apprenticeships, an interesting finding emerged from the data collection. Of the 440 high schools included in this study, most offered at least one robotics course, robotics competition, or robotics club.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The results of this investigation of Registered Apprenticeships in Catholic high schools in the United States suggest avenues for future research.

1. What motivates leadership at the four high schools noted above to make available Registered Apprenticeships or Youth Apprenticeships for students?
2. What are the causes of the low number of Registered Apprenticeships in Catholic high schools? Are the low RA numbers due to lack of time, lack of knowledge, or perceived lack of need by Catholic educators? An attempted survey investigation of Catholic Archdiocesan and Diocesan School Superintendents/Directors of Education in July and August of 2021 yielded one usable response, but perhaps refinement of the survey instrument and methodology might yield valid results.
3. Is appropriation of fiscal resources and staff for Registered Apprenticeships and Youth Apprenticeships a concern?



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4. How many Catholic high schools partner with LEAs that offer Registered Apprenticeships and therefore do not perceive a need to offer Registered Apprenticeships at their campus?
5. Are Registered Apprenticeships offered at Catholic high schools that are administered by a Religious congregation?
6. Are Registered Apprenticeships offered at Catholic high schools that are not archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated, i.e., Cristo Rey High Schools or high schools administered by a Religious congregation?
7. Are pre-apprenticeship/pathways to Registered Apprenticeships programs offered at any archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated Catholic high schools?
8. Of the Catholic high school students participating in a robotics class, club, or competition, what percentage aspire to careers in engineering?

CONCLUSION

Catholic education leaders in archdioceses and dioceses across the United States are increasingly focusing on inclusivity in Catholic elementary and secondary schools. While the term "inclusivity" often refers to minority students, the term also applies to students who either are physically challenged, learning challenged, or both. Some Catholic educators have expanded "inclusivity" to include students who aspire to entering the workforce upon graduation and do not plan to pursue a baccalaureate degree.

Career and technical education provide high school students with hands-on, practical training in high-demand careers. Registered Apprenticeships are an avenue into meaningful, purposeful employment for high school students after graduation. The Catholic Church's emphasis of the dignity of work, coupled with the resolve of many Catholic educational leaders nationwide to address the needs of all students, make the year 2023 a prime time for consideration of the efficacy and value of Registered Apprenticeships for Catholic high school students.



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APPENDIX A

**Archdioceses included in this study with at least one
archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high school**

Archdiocese	State
Mobile	Alabama
Anchorage	Alaska
Los Angeles	California
San Francisco	California
Denver	Colorado
Hartford	Connecticut
Miami	Florida
Indianapolis	Indiana
Dubuque	Iowa
Kansas City	Kansas
Louisville	Kentucky
Baltimore	Maryland
Boston	Massachusetts
Detroit	Michigan
St. Paul/Minneapolis	Minnesota
St. Louis	Missouri

Omaha	Nebraska
Newark	New Jersey
Santa Fe	New Mexico
Cincinnati	Ohio
Portland	Oregon
San Antonio	Texas
Galveston-Houston	Texas
Seattle	Washington
Milwaukee	Wisconsin



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APPENDIX B

**Dioceses included in this study with at least one
archdiocesan, diocesan, or parish-affiliated high school**

Diocese	State
Birmingham	Alabama
Phoenix	Arizona
Tucson	Arizona
Little Rock	Arkansas
Fresno	California
Oakland	California
Orange	California
Sacramento	California
San Bernardino	California
San Diego	California
San Jose	California
Stockton	California
Colorado Springs	Colorado
Bridgeport	Connecticut
Norwich	Connecticut
Wilmington	Delaware
St. Augustine	Florida
Orlando	Florida
Pensacola-Tallahassee	Florida
St. Petersburg	Florida
Venice	Florida
Palm Beach	Florida
Savannah	Georgia
Honolulu	Hawai'i
Boise	Idaho

Belleville	Illinois
Springfield	Illinois
Joliet	Illinois
Peoria	Illinois
Rockford	Illinois
Evansville	Indiana
Fort Wayne-South Bend	Indiana
Gary	Indiana
Lafayette	Indiana
Davenport	Iowa
Des Moines	Iowa
Sioux City	Iowa
Salina	Kansas
Wichita	Kansas
Covington	Kentucky
Lexington	Kentucky
Owensboro	Kentucky
Alexandria	Kentucky 43
Baton Rouge	Louisiana
Huoma-Thibodaux	Louisiana
Lafayette	Louisiana
Lake Charles	Louisiana
Shreveport	Louisiana
Portland	Maine
Fall River	Massachusetts
Chicopee	Massachusetts



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Diocese	State
Springfield	Massachusetts
Worcester	Massachusetts
Gaylord	Michigan
Grand Rapids	Michigan
Kalamazoo	Michigan
Lansing	Michigan
Saginaw	Michigan
Crookston	Minnesota
New Ulm	Minnesota
Winona	Minnesota
Biloxi	Mississippi
Jackson	Mississippi
Jefferson City	Missouri
Kansas City-St. Joseph	Missouri
Springfield-Cape Girardeau	Missouri
Great Falls-Billings	Montana
Helena	Montana
Grand Island	Nebraska
Lincoln	Nebraska
Las Vegas	Nevada
Reno	Nevada
Manchester	New Hampshire
Camden	New Jersey
Metuchen	New Jersey
Patterson	New Jersey
Trenton	New Jersey
Gallup	New Mexico
Las Cruces	New Mexico
Albany	New York

Brooklyn	New York
Buffalo	New York
Bronx	New York
Manhattan	New York
Staten Island	New York (85)
Westchester & Putnam	New York
Upper Counties	New York
Ogdensburg	New York
Rochester	New York
Rockville Centre	New York
Syracuse	New York
Charlotte	North Carolina
Raleigh	North Carolina
Bismarck	North Dakota
Fargo	North Dakota
Cleveland	Ohio
Columbus	Ohio
Steubenville	Ohio
Toledo	Ohio
Youngstown (100)	Ohio
Allentown	Pennsylvania
Altoona-Johnstown	Pennsylvania
Erie	Pennsylvania
Greensburg	Pennsylvania
Harrisburg	Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh	Pennsylvania
Scranton	Pennsylvania
Providence	Rhode Island
Charleston	South Carolina
Rapid City	South Dakota



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Diocese	State
Sioux Falls	South Dakota
Knoxville	Tennessee
Nashville	Tennessee
Amarillo	Texas
Austin	Texas
Beaumont	Texas
Brownsville	Texas
Corpus Christi	Texas
Dallas	Texas
Fort Worth	Texas
Lubbock	Texas
Tyler	Texas
Victoria	Texas
Salt Lake	Utah
Burlington	Vermont
Arlington	Virginia
Richmond	Virginia
Spokane	Washington
Wheeling-Charleston	West Virginia
Green Bay	Wisconsin
La Crosse (131)	Wisconsin



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APPENDIX C

Definition of Terms

ACTE (*Association for Career and Technical Education (Co-op)*) is the national association of career and technical education administrators, instructors, and patrons.

CTE (*Career and Technical Education*): "prepares youth and adults for a wide-range of high-wage, high-skill, high-demand careers." (ACTE Online).

Co-op (*Cooperative Education*): "A structured method of combining classroom-based *education* with practical work experience. A *cooperative education* experience, commonly known as a "*co-op*", provides academic credit for structured job experience." (Georgia Tech, undated).

Diocesan School Superintendent/Director of Catholic Education The individual appointed by his/her Bishop to direct all Catholic schools within the diocese.

Internship A paid or unpaid work experience, usually to gain experience in a particular career field.

IRAP Industry-Recognized Apprenticeship Program.

LEA Local Education Agency.

Parochial School: "private school maintained by a religious body, usually for elementary and secondary instruction. (Merriam-Webster, 2022).

RAP (*Registered Apprenticeship*): ". . . a proven model of apprenticeship that has been validated by the U.S. Department of Labor or a State Apprenticeship Agency" (United States Department of Labor, 2022).

RTI Related Technical Instruction of a particular Registered Apprenticeship.

Secondary School: High school enrolling students in the upper grades, usually grades 9-12 (United States Department of Education, 2008).

SOC Standard Occupational Code.

Voc. Ed (*Vocational Education*): An older term for career and technical education.

USDOL Registered Apprenticeship: "a proven model of apprenticeship that has been validated by the U.S. Department of Labor or a State Apprenticeship Agency." (United States Department of Labor, 2022).

WBL (*Work-Based Learning*): "'umbrella' term used to identify activities which collaboratively engage employers and schools in providing structured learning experiences for students." (New York State Education Department, 2020).



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ST. PAUL AND GODDESSES ALONG THE VIA EGNATIA: PAGANISM AND THE EARLY JESUS MOVEMENT IN ANCIENT MACEDONIA

Valerie Abrahamsen, D. Th.
(Battleboro, VT, USA)

Correspondence should be addressed to: valabrah@gmail.com

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Abstract

The Via Egnatia, one of the major roads of the Roman Empire, was essential to the growth of the Jesus movement, which eventually became Christianity. It was along the Via Egnatia, in part, that St. Paul, his companions and other missionaries traveled to spread the “good news” about Jesus. Archaeological excavations in cities along the Via Egnatia, especially in ancient Thrace and Macedonia, have uncovered evidence that demonstrates the strength and resilience of the traditional deities for centuries after the time of Paul. Despite the patriarchal nature of the new religion – a male God, a male savior, and primarily male leadership – many of the cults that the earliest missionaries encountered would have been female, and many of the leaders in those cults would have been women. Contrary to the nature of the established church that eventually came to dominate the West, in some ways based on distortions of Paul’s views of women, the early Jesus communities would not have succeeded without women or without many goddess-oriented practices that Christianity adopted.

This article will examine several cities along the Via Egnatia that featured cults to female deities. We will highlight cities mentioned in Paul’s genuine letters and the Acts of the Apostles in the New (Christian) Testament and examine literary and archaeological evidence for the relationship between Jesus followers and adherents of these goddesses. We will show that conversion from paganism to the Jesus movement was often complex: pagan worshipers did not necessarily give up their old deities altogether but rather added the new God – and Mary, Jesus’ mother – to their religious repertoire. The persistence of the pagan cults until after the time of Constantine in the early fourth century, the active role of women in the early Jesus movement, and the adoption of pagan practices by Christianity are in evidence along the Via Egnatia and enable us to gain new perspectives on the early Jesus movement and one of its major figures, St. Paul.

Key Words: *St. Paul, Via Egnatia, early church, Jesus movement, ancient Macedonia, Greece, Roman Empire*

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Map Showing the Via Egnatia From Wikimedia Commons 12/15/22,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Balkans_6th_century_-_marked_Via_Egnatia,_Via_Militaris,_Via_Pontica.png

INTRODUCTION

The Via Egnatia, which ran from Constantinople in the East to Dyrrachium, Albania, in the West, was one portion of the approximately 53,000 miles of well-built and -maintained roads of the Roman Empire, built around 130 Before the Common Era (BCE).¹ It was along the Via Egnatia, in part, that St. Paul, his companions and other missionaries of the early Jesus movement traveled, visiting friends and family, preaching in city marketplaces, and dispatching letters to communities that had welcomed them.

The most prominent region traversed by the Via Egnatia and visited by Paul around 50-60 of the Common Era (CE) was Macedonia. Paul mentions Macedonia in several of his genuine letters (epistles) that are contained in the New (Christian) Testament – Romans 15:26, II Corinthians 1:16, 7:5, 8:1, 9:2, 4, 11:9, and I Thessalonians 1:7, 8, 4:10 – and he relates in Rom 15:19 that he traveled all the way to the western province of Illyricum. The two most prominent cities along the Via Egnatia associated with the Jesus movement are Thessaloniki (Salonica) and Philippi, and Paul's letters to the Thessalonians and Philippians are among the earliest surviving examples of literature of that movement.² These two cities are also among the most extensively excavated in Greece and provide important archaeological information about the beginnings of what became Christianity.

¹ Everett Ferguson ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990) 80. See also N.G.L. Hammond, "Via Egnatia," in N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 1118.

² Note that most Christian Testament scholars believe that the second letter to the Thessalonians was not written by Paul.



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In addition to Paul's genuine letters, the book of Acts of the Apostles in the Christian Testament, written around 115 CE,³ mentions Paul in conjunction with four other Macedonian cities: Neapolis (Acts 16:11), Apollonia and Amphipolis (Acts 17:1), and Berea (Acts 17:10, 13 and 20:4). Each of these cities, as well as Pella and Edessa, have been professionally excavated and provide important data about their unique histories, governance, flavor and array of local deities. Even if the passages in Acts about Paul's travels are fictitious, the real Paul may well have visited these cities because they would have been along the route of his attested journeys.

Several important things become readily apparent from this evidence. First, pagan cults were alive and well not only during the early years of the empire as the movement spread but also long afterwards, demonstrating that the new Christian religion did not immediately take hold or dominate the religious landscape. Second, adherents and leaders in the pagan cults were both male and female, and evidence shows that devotees who might have been attracted to the Jesus movement did not immediately give up their traditional deities but rather added Jesus to their pantheon. Several Greek words are variously translated as "Greek," "Gentile," or "nation" (ethnos and Hellene) in English versions of the Christian Testament; unfortunately, the English translations obscure the persistence and importance of pagan deities.

Third, since mainstream or orthodox Christianity eventually became a male-dominated religion – a male God, the male Son of God, and all-male priesthood – it is essential that we examine female deities that were present in the social environment at the time of Paul and note leadership roles that women had in those cults.

Finally, traditional female deities like Artemis/Diana, Isis, Kybele, Demeter, Athena, and others ultimately merged with the figure of Mary, the mother of Jesus, at many sites. This was due in part to the ancient goddesses' descent from the Neolithic (Stone Age) all-powerful nature deity and her connection with women, children, and healing. The veneration of Mary remains strong today in Greece and elsewhere, especially among women; from examining the deities along the Via Egnatia we witness the origins of this development.

Examining the Egnatian goddess cults, in conjunction with some of the earliest texts from the Jesus movement, connects several strands of inquiry that enlarge our understanding of the early Jesus movement and the growth of Christianity: the polytheistic environment in which Paul and the early missionaries worked; the staying-power of goddess worship in antiquity and the importance of the healing, growth and cyclical aspects of those goddesses' cults; the presence of women leaders in both the pagan cults and early Jesus groups; and the growing popularity of Mary among devotees within the male-dominated Christian context.

THE EGNATIA CITIES AND THEIR DEITIES

Cities along the Via Egnatia mentioned in conjunction with Paul have been well excavated and have yielded helpful finds that complement (and sometimes contradict) the literary evidence from the Christian Testament and the early church fathers. Let us explore the archaeological evidence from cities along the Via Egnatia, moving from East to West starting in Neapolis.

The ancient city of *Neapolis*, mentioned in Acts 16:11 and now known as Kavala, was Philippi's port. Neapolis was founded in the middle of the seventh century BCE and, later, was a member of the Athenian League. Some of the finds from Neapolis include sacred hearths, building walls, column capitals and deposits of pottery and figurines, many of which are housed in the Kavala Museum. The fact that the pottery originated in such places as Asia Minor, Lesbos,

³ Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge Press, 2006) 346 and passim.



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Attica, Corinth and the Cyclades attests to Neapolis's strategic location as a trading post.⁴ While few traces of the ancient city remain, a sanctuary to the Parthenos – most likely the Thracian goddess Artemis Tauropolos or Bendis in Hellenized form, the patron goddess of the city – has been excavated.⁵

Philippi was well known in the first centuries of the Common Era because of its association with the battle in 42 BCE between Brutus and Cassius on one side and Antony and Octavian on the other. Octavian won that match and ultimately became Emperor Augustus. Excavations at Philippi have revealed the imperial-era forum, including temples to the emperor and empress, a colossal monument base to the deified Livia (wife of Augustus), and the remains of six early Byzantine basilicas.⁶ So far, no physical evidence has been found attesting to a Jewish community at Philippi (although one may be intimated in Acts 16).

Philippi's major deities were the goddesses Artemis/Diana and the Egyptian Isis and the male divinities Sylvanus, Dionysos and the Thracian Horseman, a popular deity in the second and third centuries CE associated with healing and the afterlife.⁷ Artemis is especially significant and prominent. Along with unidentified priestesses, Artemis is the figure portrayed most frequently on Philippi's unique rock reliefs, carved on the acropolis hill around 200 CE;⁸ the reliefs exhibit a female to male ratio of seven to one,⁹ and it is highly probable that women carved most of them.¹⁰ By the third century, the hill was home to at least two temple complexes – to the wood god Sylvanus and Isis – and an open-air shrine to Artemis. The Sylvanus and Artemis cults were flourishing by the mid- to late-second century, while the temple to Isis appears to have been constructed in the early third.¹¹ It is highly likely that Philippi was a pilgrimage site at various times in its history, possibly for people in need of healing in cultic waters associated with both Artemis and Isis.¹²

Next along the route is *Amphipolis*, located on the eastern bank of the Strymon River. The site has been well excavated, and many of its finds are exhibited in the site museum.¹³ Excavations show that the area has been inhabited from at least the Neolithic era on both banks of the river, with continuous habitation into the Bronze Age.¹⁴ In Hellenistic times (approximately 323-31 BCE), Amphipolis was a principal mint of the kings of Macedon, and under the Romans it was a "free city" and the capital of Macedonia Prima.¹⁵ The city was known for its wine, oil, wood and woolen textiles.¹⁶ From Roman and earlier eras, archaeologists have found revealing graves containing terra-cotta figures, pots and gold jewelry

⁴ Demetrios Lazarides, "Neapolis," in Richard Stillwell, ed., *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) 614.

⁵ Lazarides, "Neapolis," 614.

⁶ Paul Collart, "Inscriptions de Philippes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique* 57 (1933) 340-41; Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship at Philippi: Diana/Artemis and Other Cults in the Early Christian Era* (Portland, ME: Astarte Shell Press, 1995) 11-12.

⁷ Valerie A. Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship* 69-74.

⁸ Artemis and Diana will be used interchangeably. Bendis is the Thracian counterpart of this goddess.

⁹ Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 25-44, has a complete analysis of Philippi and the rock reliefs.

¹⁰ Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 103-27.

¹¹ Valerie A. Abrahamsen, *Goddess and God: A Holy Tension in the First Christian Centuries* (Marco Polo Monographs 10. Warren Center, PA: Shangri-La Publications, 2006) 173.

¹² Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Paul and Philippi: The Archaeological Evidence," in Charalambos Bakirtzis and Helmut Koester, eds., *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998) 44-48; Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 168-72.

¹³ Clyde E. Fant and Mitchell G. Reddish, *A Guide to Biblical Sites in Greece and Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 6-7.

¹⁴ "Amphipolis," Hellenic Ministry of Culture, http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/eh351.jsp?obj_id=2403, accessed June 5, 2014.

¹⁵ Pliny, *HN* 4.38. See also "Amphipolis," *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 54.

¹⁶ J.D. Wineland, "Amphipolis," in David Noel Freedman, ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 216-17 (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

See also Timothy E. Gregory and Nancy P. Ševčenko, "Amphipolis," in Alexander P. Kazhdan, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 80-81.



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in various forms, and the stylobate of a large stoa of the Roman or early Christian era.¹⁷ Fine mosaics of geometric motifs, fountains, plants, fish, birds and animals also decorated the five early Christian buildings that have emerged. The city had two walls in antiquity, one that enclosed most of the city and another that encircled the acropolis. Several buildings that would have existed prior to and during the time of Paul and his contemporaries have been found within the inner wall: a house, gymnasium and sanctuary to Klio, one of the nine muses, from the fourth century BCE; and a house dated to the second century BCE.¹⁸ As was true with many cities in this region, the chief deity of Amphipolis was Artemis Tauropolos or Brauronia; her head was depicted on many coins minted there.¹⁹ Acts of the Apostles is silent on what Paul and his fellow missionaries would have encountered here, but we can be certain that Artemis worshipers would have been present.

Apollonia is approximately 27 miles from Amphipolis and 30 miles east of Thessaloniki. At Apollonia it was the ancient goddesses Demeter and Kore who were the most favored. Their worship in the nearby region of Lete, Mygdonia, of which Apollonia was a part, began in Late Archaic times (800-379 BCE) in an open-air sanctuary. Two temples were then constructed in the second and third centuries CE. Small marble statues from the Hellenistic era attest to worship of the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite and Artemis in addition to Demeter and Kore; Artemis was the daughter of Leto, after whom the city of Lete was named.²⁰ In summer 2000, archaeologists discovered a statue of the goddess Nike of Samothrace, dated to the fourth century BCE, as well as fifth-century BCE fortifying walls, five towers, two pottery kilns and 16 stone slab graves. These finds helped mark Apollonia's location, which had only been scarcely known except for its mention in Acts 17:1. These discoveries enabled the archaeologists to estimate that Apollonia may have had a population as large as 10,000 and to have existed from the fifth century BCE through the eighth century CE.²¹ The evidence from Apollonia and the wider region of Lete point not only to the longevity of these cults but also their persistence well into Paul's time and later.

Thessaloniki had a long and rich history. Founded by the Macedonian king Cassander in 316/15 BCE, it "was a vibrant and politically significant metropolitan center" from its founding into the Byzantine era.²² In Roman times, it was the chief port of Macedonia, the capital of the Roman province and a Roman mint. By about 250 CE, it had been made an official Roman colony. In the Byzantine era, it was the second city of the empire after Constantinople.²³ At least three basilicas were constructed in the city: St. Demetrios, Acheiropoietos, and one under present-day Hagia Sophia.²⁴

Evidence has been found from the Hellenistic and Roman periods for cults of Kybele, Mithras, Dionysos, the emperor, Herakles, Apollo and Aphrodite. Attestation of worship of the Egyptian gods Isis and Serapis, her husband/brother, was especially prominent. A Serapis sanctuary consisting of several rooms dating to the Hellenistic era yielded about 69

¹⁷ Demetrios Lazarides, "Amphipolis," in Stillwell, ed., *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) 52.

¹⁸ Fant and Reddish, *Guide*, 7-8.

¹⁹ "Amphipolis," in Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, Vol. I, 125-27 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1870).

²⁰ <https://www.archaeology.wiki/blog/2022/04/04/archaeological-museum-of-thessaloniki-new-entries-new-approaches/>, accessed October 2022.

²¹ Fant and Reddish, *Guide*, 11.

²² Laura Nasrallah, "Introduction," in Laura Nasrallah, Charalambos Bakirtzis and Steven J. Friesen, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010) 1.

²³ H.G.L. Hammond, "Thessalonica," in N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard, eds., *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 1062.

²⁴ Nasrallah, "Introduction," in Nasrallah et al, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*, 1.



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inscriptions and various statuary depicting Serapis, Isis, their son Horus/Harpocrates, Aphrodite-Harmony and Isis-Kybele. The cult had a metropolitan flavor by Paul's time and a syncretistic relationship to Dionysos.²⁵

Also interesting is the later history of Thessaloniki's city or protector deities. In the second and third centuries CE, long after the time of Paul, the city's patron deity was the Cabiros, a young prince murdered by his two brothers. His image was depicted on coins with the figure of Tyche (Lady Luck) on the reverse. As Christianity took hold, legends about the Christian martyr St. Demetrios described him as a new city protector, replacing the Cabiros. In these legends, the saint was linked to the Lady Eutaxia ("good order") and later with the Virgin Mary, which we will explore more below.²⁶ This mix of powerful male and female deities and personifications as city protectors during the formation of the early church occurs throughout the Mediterranean.

Pella, about 25 miles northwest of Thessaloniki, was a capital of Macedonia from the reign of Archelaos until approximately 146 BCE, when it was replaced by Thessaloniki.²⁷ Pella's inhabitants were proud that their city was the birthplace of Alexander the Great. Pella appears in literary evidence from writers of the imperial and early Byzantine eras: Cicero (58 CE), Dio Chrysostom (c. 40 – c. 115 CE), Lucian of Samosata (180 CE), Dio Cassius (c. 155 – c. 235 CE), and the historian Eusebius (263-339 CE, reporting on the return of Jewish Christians during the Jewish Revolt of 66-70 CE).²⁸

While remains from the time of Paul have been elusive to archaeologists, those from Classical and Hellenistic times attest to the veneration of deities such as Dionysos, Asklepios, the Great Gods, the Muses, Zeus Meilichios and Herakles, and Athena Alkidemos.²⁹ A temple to Demeter and Persephone, probably active between the last quarter of the fourth and the end of the second centuries BCE, has been found northeast of the city.³⁰ This Thesmophorion, excavated in 1980-81 (but not published until 1996), had an altar in the center. Around the altar several vases and ceramic votive figurines were uncovered; they included representations of deities such as Plouton, Artemis, Dionysos and Pan. While this complex is earlier than the imperial era, a terracotta votive figurine of Demeter and Persephone from the Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and Aphrodite has been dated as late as the first century BCE.³¹ Pella might not have been the prominent city that Philippi and Thessaloniki were, but it probably was well known to early Jesus missionaries and adds to our information about the Jesus movement along the Via Egnatia.

Founded by a Thracian tribe about 700 BCE, *Edessa* in Macedonia was the first capital of Macedonia in historical times, until King Archelaos (413-399 BCE) transferred his seat of power to Pella. While it does not appear in the Christian Testament, Edessa is mentioned by a number of ancient writers, including Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch and Ptolemy, and it most likely would have been visited by early Jesus missionaries, if not specifically by Paul and his immediate circle. To date none of the ancient monuments mentioned by ancient authors have been uncovered in the excavations; parts of

²⁵ Holland L. Hendrix, "Thessalonica," in David Noel Freedman, Editor-in-Chief, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York and London: Doubleday, 1992) Vol. 6, 523-25. See also M. Vickers, "Thessalonike," in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 912-13..Religious syncretism can be defined as "fusion of diverse religious beliefs and practices" (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/religious-syncretism>, accessed October 2022).

²⁶ Hendrix, "Thessalonica," Vol. 6, 525.

²⁷ N.G.L. Hammond, "Pella," in Hammond, N.G.L. and H.H. Scullard, eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 795.

²⁸ G.A. Williamson, tr., *Eusebius: The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965) 111.

²⁹ Ph. M. Petsas, "Pella," in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 685-86.

³⁰ <http://www.my-favourite-planet.de/english/europe/greece/macedonia/pella/pella-01.html>, accessed October 2022. Fant and Reddish do not include Pella or Edessa.

³¹ <http://www.my-favourite-planet.de/english/people/d1/demeter.html#pella-thesmophorion>, accessed October 2022; see also <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pella>.



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the city walls and gates, towers, marble architectural fragments, inscriptions and sculpture have been found, many of which date from the Roman era and are housed in the Edessa and Thessaloniki Museums. An ancient Christian basilica and portions of other Byzantine monuments have also been found,³² as have remains to sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Kybele (Mother of the Gods) and of Demeter and Persephone.³³

The town of *Berea* (alternate spellings: Beroea, Veria, Veroia) lies somewhat south of the Via Egnatia near Edessa and is mentioned in Acts 17:10-13. The Acts story puts a positive spin on Paul and fellow missionary Silas' success in converting both Jews and pagans – women and men – to the Jesus message. This theological perspective obscures the picture that emerges from the archaeological evidence. First, the city has been inhabited for at least 10,000 years,³⁴ and epigraphic evidence has been found for cults to Herakles, Asklepios, Hermes, Zeus and others.³⁵ During the first century CE, Berea was favored by several emperors, and it “became an international city of varied races and religions,”³⁶ so ancient pagan deities were long entrenched and would have been encountered by Paul and other Jesus missionaries.

At the far western end of the Via Egnatia is the ancient region of *Illyricum*, which now lies mainly in Albania. Several cities in this area have been excavated in recent years; since Paul does not mention any particular cities in his brief mention at Rom 15:19, we can look at a sampling to see what the general atmosphere may have been before, during and shortly after his time. *Apollonia* (not to be confused with the Apollonia in Greece that we have discussed above) was named after the god Apollo. In addition, a rectangular monument dedicated to the Nymphs (female water deities) had been built in the middle of the third century BCE, the city's zenith. Cicero described Apollonia as “a great and important city,” and Octavian, the future emperor Augustus (63 BCE - 14 CE), studied rhetoric there,³⁷ so the city was definitely known at the time of Paul. Epigraphic evidence attests a statue of Aphrodite predating the Roman period. The nearby necropolis contains Greek tombs dating to the sixth century BCE and Roman-era tombs shaped like small temples.³⁸

Amantia was founded around the middle of the fifth century BCE and was the historical capital of the ancient Greek tribe of the Amantes. Its best-preserved monument is its stadium, built in the first half of the third century BCE and able to accommodate approximately 4,000 people. Outside the city's walls was a colonnaded Doric-style temple dedicated to Aphrodite. “The city remained a small urban centre and was the seat of a bishopric in early Christian times. The temple of Aphrodite was demolished, and a Christian basilica was built near the ruins using its materials.” Amantia may have been abandoned by the end of the sixth century CE.

Other cities in Illyricum similarly boasted Christian basilicas in the Byzantine era and were seats of bishops, showing not just the spread of Christianity to all corners of the Mediterranean region but also the persistence and importance of ancient religion and religious practice for millennia. As excavations continue, we will undoubtedly glean additional information about the religious landscape that shaped the early Jesus movement and its successors.

³² Ph. M. Petsas, “Edessa,” in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 292-93.

³³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archaeological_Museum_of_Pella, accessed 10/4/2022.

³⁴ <https://greekcitytimes.com/2018/11/21/visiting-veria-greeces-beautiful-historical-town/>, accessed 10/4/2022.]

³⁵ Ph.M. Petsas, “Beroia,” in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 150-51.

³⁶ Fant and Reddish, *Guide*, 39.

³⁷ <https://www.worldhistory.org/article/1522/illyria---exploring-ancient-albania/>, accessed October 2022, and <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5885/> (March 2014), accessed December 2022. See also P.C. Sestieri, “Apollonia,” in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 70-71.

³⁸ Sestieri, “Apollonia,” in Stillwell, *Princeton Encyclopedia*, 71.



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WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE JESUS MOVEMENT

As we have seen, Paul and other early missionaries of the Jesus message would have encountered pagan deities and their worshipers in every city they visited. Both women and men were those worshipers.

As Christianity developed, the "orthodox" church began to restrict leadership roles to men. Male church leaders supported these restrictions using several arguments, starting with passages in the Christian Testament that they understood as authoritative. Wives were instructed to be subject to their husbands (Eph 5:22-24 and Col 3:18), and women must keep silence in church (I Tim. 2:8-15); the letters from which these passages come – Ephesians, Colossians and I Timothy – were traditionally attributed to St. Paul. However, careful modern scholarship has shown that these letters were written after Paul's death and thus written by authors other than Paul.

Church fathers furthered the early attempts to restrict women's leadership roles. Tertullian (155 – 245 CE) was one of the most vociferous, making a number of arguments that have had centuries of influence on Christianity and the West: every woman carries the curse of Eve, as originator of sin; woman is a source of temptation; it is among heretics that women teach, dispute, heal and, perhaps, baptize; and it is better for a man not to marry, because it is tainted with sexual lust.³⁹ Augustine (354-430), Jerome (342-420) and Ambrose (339-97) developed similar rationales,⁴⁰ which led, by the time of Pope Gregory VII (p. 1073-1085), to the exclusion of women "from every level of church governance" and from ministries that they had served for centuries.⁴¹

These negative sentiments were not universal in the early Jesus movement, and Paul is a major case in point. Contrary to traditional perspectives by church authorities about Paul and the women around him, some of the most important passages in Paul's authentic letters demonstrate not only his high regard for women but also the various leadership roles they had. His letter to the Romans is known as the most doctrinally significant of the letters.⁴² Paul probably wrote or dictated it in early spring 57 CE, and chapter 16 of that letter mentions 10 named and unnamed women (approximately one-third of the 35 people mentioned in the letter). We know a little about a few of them: Mary (verse 6) exercised a leadership role;⁴³ the mother of Rufus (verse 13) showed Paul generous hospitality;⁴⁴ and Julia (verse 15), wife of Philologus, and Nereus' sister (also verse 15), were probably all members of a small Roman house church.⁴⁵

Recent scholarship has greatly expanded our knowledge about several of the other women in Rom 16.

- *Phoebe* (verses 1-2) was probably a Gentile, not Jewish. She may have been given the great responsibility of carrying Paul's letter to the Romans to the Romans; thus she could well have functioned as the authoritative interpreter of Paul's message and his personal envoy.⁴⁶ Her role was deacon in the Jesus group at Cenchreae, Corinth's eastern port city. Deacon was a ministry of preaching and teaching – a leadership role over the whole group. Paul also designated Phoebe as a *prostatis*, meaning leader, president, presiding officer, guardian or patron. The emphasis is probably on patronage, and Paul was greatly in her debt.

³⁹ <https://womenpriests.org/tradition/tertul-terullian/>, accessed October 2022.

⁴⁰ Trevor Beeson, *The Church's Other Half: Women's Ministry* (London: SCM Press, 2011) 7-8.

⁴¹ Rebecca Moore, *Women in Christian Traditions* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2015) 77.

⁴² <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Letter-of-Paul-to-the-Romans>, accessed October 2022.

⁴³ Jouette M. Bassler, "Mary 7," in Carol Meyers, Toni Craven and Ross S. Kraemer, eds., *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge, England: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000) 124.

⁴⁴ Jouette M. Bassler, "Mother of Rufus," in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture*, 469.

⁴⁵ Jouette M. Bassler, in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture* – "Julia," 106-07, and "Sister of Nereus," 470.

⁴⁶ Elizabeth A. McCabe, *An Examination of the Isis Cult with Preliminary Exploration into New Testament Studies* (Lanham/Boulder/New York: University Press of America, 2008) 75.



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Phoebe was one of Paul's coworkers, just like the men in the circle, and she had some level of wealth and independence – she did not seem to be judged by men in her life.⁴⁷

- *Prisca/Priscilla* (verse 3). Priscilla is the diminutive form of Prisca. She is cited six times in the Christian Testament – twice in Paul's letters, several times in Acts 18, and once in II Timothy. She is always mentioned with Aquila, her husband, and both were probably tentmakers. She was "a very important, well-traveled missionary and church leader whose work on occasion intersected with that of Paul." Husband and wife were forced to leave Rome because of Emperor Claudius' edict expelling all Jews (49 CE). They were already active as missionaries in the Jesus movement before Paul met them in Corinth. Their roles would have included preaching, teaching, and presiding, and they carried out their work in a house church setting. Jesus followers in that house would have included slaves, freedmen, freedwomen, and workers. The leader was most likely Priscilla, since she is the one listed first several times. It was after Prisca and Aquila moved back to Rome when the edict was lifted in 54 CE that Paul wrote to them. They must have been relatively well off and may have been patrons or benefactors of Paul, but their work could be risky. Priscilla's memory lasted down through the ages.⁴⁸
- *Junia* (verse 7) is particularly important and intriguing. Previous modern Biblical scholars misinterpreted the name Junia as masculine, although the church fathers had attested her as a woman. However, in ancient inscriptions, the male name Junias is unattested while the female Latin name Junia occurs over 250 times in Greek and Latin inscriptions from Rome alone. Based on this passage in Rom 16, we can glean that she held a leadership role and may have done this within the Jewish community before becoming a Jesus follower. Her circle would have included both men and women. Junia had been in prison, perhaps for her work on behalf of the mission. She may have been a freedwoman or the descendant of a slave freed by a member of the Junian clan. Significantly, Junia is the only woman called an apostle in the Christian Testament, which accounts for the assumption on the part of earlier scholars that she had to have been a man. As an apostle, she must have claimed to have seen the post-crucifixion Jesus and been engaged in missionary work,⁴⁹ and the role of apostle has not traditionally been seen as legitimate for women.
- *Tryphaena and Tryphosa* (verse 12). The names of these paired women derive from a Greek verb having sexual overtones ("to live luxuriously," etc.), so they may have been sex workers in the same brothel before joining the Jesus movement. They were probably slaves or freedwomen with the same patron and life partners functioning as a missionary pair.⁵⁰
- *Persis* (verse 12). The phrase "the beloved Persis" indicates Paul's high esteem for this woman, since Paul uses "the" with "beloved" rather than "my," as he does elsewhere. Paul's reference to Persis as having "worked hard in the Lord" is parallel to how Paul refers to his own apostolic labor and that of leaders within local congregations; that is, Persis should be counted among the other (mainly male) leaders of the movement. Thus, Persis "was clearly a pillar, if not one of the founders, of the Roman church."⁵¹ Persis, like Phoebe, may have worked alone as a missionary in the movement (although neither woman probably would have traveled alone). Persis and the other women of Rom 16 reveal "the importance of geographical mobility

⁴⁷ Jouette M. Bassler, "Phoebe," in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture*, 134-36.

⁴⁸ Jouette M. Bassler, "Prisca/Priscilla," in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture*, 136-37.

⁴⁹ Bernadette J. Brooten, "Junia," in Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan, eds., *Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 405.

⁵⁰ Mary Rose D'Angelo, in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture* – "Tryphaena," 165-66, and "Tryphosa," 166.

⁵¹ Jouette M. Bassler, "Persis," in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture*, 134.



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(for purposes of both trade and religious conviction) to the expansion of the Pauline mission.⁵² Like many of these other women, Persis was unlikely to have been born Jewish,⁵³ which coincides with Paul's primary mission to non-Jews. Persis may have been a slave or freedwoman.⁵⁴

When we look specifically at Paul's relationship with women in conjunction with the Egnatian communities, we find the missionary pair of Euodia/Evodia and Syntyche mentioned in Paul's letter to the Philippian community, Phil 4:2-3: "I beg Euodia, and I beg Syntyche, to agree together in the Lord's fellowship. Yes, and you too, my loyal comrade, I ask you to help these women, who shared my struggles in the cause of the Gospel, with Clement and my other fellow-workers, whose names are in the roll of the living" (New English Bible). Scholar Mary Rose D'Angelo makes several fascinating observations: "Evodia and Syntyche can be seen as a missionary couple, partners in the mission, rather than as individual members of Paul's missionary team. They may in fact have been independent of Paul. . . . Second, . . . the 'religious conflict' is a dispute not between Evodia and Syntyche but between Paul on the one hand and the two women missionaries on the other."⁵⁵ Evodia and Syntyche are thus on par with the heterosexual missionary pairs of Prisca and Aquila, Andronicus and Junia, Philologus and Julia, and Nereus and his "sister" in Rom 16.

While we know of no specific women leaders in the Thessalonian community, we can assume that there probably were, given the other examples we have cited.

Paul and other male missionaries would have interacted with and known about women leaders in the pagan cults, especially goddess cults – it was normative. We know that priestesses historically served many of the goddesses in the Egnatian cities – Artemis at Neapolis, Philippi, Amphipolis, and Greek Apollonia; Aphrodite (sometimes with the Mother of the Gods/Kybele) at Greek Apollonia, Thessaloniki, Pella, Edessa, Apollonia in Illyricum, and Amantia; Demeter and Kore/Persephone at Greek Apollonia, Pella, and Edessa; and Isis at Philippi, Greek Apollonia, and Thessaloniki. In addition, throughout antiquity, the cult of Dionysos attracted female worshippers – maenads – who played major roles in the cult's initiation rites;⁵⁶ maenads would have been present at Philippi, Thessaloniki, and Pella.

When these women learned about and were attracted to the Jesus movement, they would have expected to be included in similar ways that they had been included in the traditional cults. Bishop Atto of Vercelli, writing in the tenth century but commenting on the early church, noted that because women knew both pagan rites and philosophical teachings they would have converted easily to the new movement and held leadership roles: "*presbyterae* [women presbyters] assumed the office of preaching, leading, and teaching."⁵⁷

Paul, Artemis and Mary

Now that we know more about the cities along the Via Egnatia visited by early Jesus missionaries, and witness the active involvement of women in those cities' pagan cults, we can turn our attention to certain specific female deities. This is

⁵² Margaret Y. MacDonald, "Reading Real Women through the Undisputed Letters of Paul," in Ross Shepard Kraemer and Mary Rose D'Angelo, eds., *Women and Christian Origins* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 207.

⁵³ Ross S. Kraemer, "Jewish Women and Christian Origins," in Kraemer and D'Angelo, *Women and Christian Origins*, 43.

⁵⁴ Bassler, "Persis," in Meyers et al, *Women in Scripture*, 134.

⁵⁵ Mary Rose D'Angelo, "Women Partners in the New Testament," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 6 (1990) 76. See also the discussion in Bernadette J. Brooken, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 59f.

⁵⁶ Lynn R. LiDonnici, "Women's Religions and Religious Lives in the Greco-Roman City," in Kraemer and D'Angelo, *Women and Christian Origins*, 93.

⁵⁷ Ilaria Ramelli, "Theosebia: A Presbyter of the Catholic Church," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2010) 87, n. 24.



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important for the history of Christianity for two reasons: first, it enables us to argue clearly that people revered goddesses before, during and after the time of the early Jesus movement; and second, it shows the trajectory of goddess worship from Paul's time into the early Byzantine era.

One goddess in particular appears prominently along the Via Egnatia: Artemis/Diana. As we have noted, evidence for her cult has been found at Neapolis, Philippi, Amphipolis, and Greek Apollonia. A descendant of the ancient all-powerful nature goddess, Artemis was associated with the hunt, healing, the protection of women in childbirth and of children, and the birth-death-regeneration cycle.⁵⁸ Yet her cult was virtually erased from the Christian Testament texts.

Artemis does manifest herself as a major competitor to the Jesus movement and Paul in Acts 19:25-41 – at Ephesus in Asia Minor. The confrontation between Jesus followers and Artemis worshipers in this passage revolved around finances: the town's silversmiths feared loss of income if Artemis devotees converted to the new movement.⁵⁹

The Acts accounts may be fictitious but do suggest an early concern on the part of Jesus missionaries that Artemis posed challenges, perhaps both because of the goddess' popularity and the leadership roles of women in her cult. Starting around the time of the circulation of Acts in the early second century, veneration of Mary, the mother of Jesus, began to grow throughout the empire. The non-canonical *Protevangelium (Gospel) of James*, written around the second half of the second century, focuses primarily on Mary.⁶⁰ In fact, it was the *Protevangelium* that elevated "Mary in the popular mind into the realms of the great virgin-mother goddesses of the Greco-Roman world,"⁶¹ such as Artemis.

Other texts about Mary appeared in subsequent centuries. The Dormition narratives, for instance, that relate stories about Mary's death and bodily assumption into heaven had taken hold by at least the fourth century. In one version, when Jesus (in heaven) learned that Mary was dying, he came down to take her back to heaven with him.⁶² The explicit linking of Mary with her heavenly son further shows that some communities viewed Mary in the same way that they viewed their traditional goddesses.

The Third General Council of the church – held at Ephesus in 431 CE⁶³ – declared Mary "Theotokos," God-bearer, most likely before the Artemis cult there had completely died out. Significantly, the Ephesian statue of Artemis, now housed in the Louvre in Paris, is unlike any other Artemis statues from the ancient world; rather than clad as the virgin hunter, her torso is covered with breasts.⁶⁴ Thus, if as this suggests she was viewed as mother, "she was the unchallenged goddess [of Asia Minor], ruler of all. . . . [I]t can be no accident that popular legend eventually insisted that the Virgin

⁵⁸ See Abrahamsen, *Goddess and God*, 176-81, for a fuller discussion.

⁵⁹ Artemis of the Ephesians also figures in an apocryphal story about St. John the Evangelist. In the second-century account in *Acts of John* 40-42, hostility against Artemis is palpable. John prays, "May the deity of this place, which has deceived so many, now also give way to your name, and thus show your mercy on this place!" Her altar splits into many parts, the oblations fall to the ground, seven of the idols are destroyed, and half of the temple plunges to earth. When the roof comes down, the priest is killed, leading the Ephesians to worship John's God and plead for his mercy. See *Acts of John* 40-42 as cited in David R. Cartlidge and J. Keith Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001) 182. See also Knut Schäferdiek, "The Acts of John," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed., *New Testament Apocrypha. Vol. Two: Writings Relating to the Apostles: Apocalypses and Related Subjects*, revised ed. (Cambridge: James Clarke and Co., Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 152-212.

⁶⁰ Cartlidge and Elliott, *Art and the Christian Apocrypha*, 3, 29-32.

⁶¹ John Van den Hengel, "Miriam of Nazareth: Between Symbol and History," in Amy-Jill Levine ed., with Maria Mayo Robbins, *A Feminist Companion to Mariology* (London and New York: T & T Clark International, a Continuum imprint, 2005) 134-35.

⁶² Ally Keteusz, "Dormition Urtext? Oldest Dormition Wall Painting Combines the Great Angel and Women with Censers," in Mary Ann Beavis and Ally Keteusz, eds., *Rediscovering the Marys: Maria, Mariamne, Miriam* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2020) 190.

⁶³ "Ephesus, Council of (431)," in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 462.

⁶⁴ Or possibly testicles (Christine M. Thomas, "On Not Finding Small Finds: Spatial Discourse in Early Christianity at Ephesos and Elsewhere," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Boston, MA, November 1999).



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Mary had died at Ephes[us], and that her house was indeed still to be seen high in the rugged mountains southwest of Artemis' shrine."⁶⁵ In some sense, then, Mary had become exalted as the new Artemis, at Ephesus and elsewhere throughout the empire – Artemis and Mary had merged in people's minds.

Isis and Mary at Philippi

The Egyptian goddess Isis was a relatively new deity in the empire, often worshiped along with her husband/brother Osiris/Serapis and her son Horus/Harpocrates. Isis became popular throughout the empire in large part because her cult addressed the personal needs of people, as opposed to the cult of the emperors whose primary concern was the peace and prosperity of the empire. Isis would have met a devotee's needs around what happens after death, personal safety and security, and other challenges of everyday life.⁶⁶

Like Artemis/Diana, Isis was a healing deity that was linked to women and children.⁶⁷ The Isis temple at Philippi, which dates to the second or third century CE, was built very close to the Artemis reliefs that are carved on the acropolis hill, probably because of the healing springs there (now long gone).⁶⁸ Interestingly, three or possibly four inscriptions from Philippi that honor Isis (or Isis and Serapis), dating to the third century CE, were offered by men,⁶⁹ revealing not only the longevity of this cult well after the time of Paul but also its attraction to both men and women.

Healing was believed since prehistoric times to be accomplished through water and milk – mainly mother's milk – both of which continued to be associated with Graeco-Roman goddesses. The image of Isis suckling Horus connects the elements of the ideal mother who nourishes her child, the healing and health-promoting powers of her milk, and the curative properties of water. This image was adopted by Christians as Mary nursing Jesus.⁷⁰ The connection with water was evident at Philippi, with the female deities linked to water and healing; Philippi in fact emerged over time as a pilgrimage site for people in need of healing in those waters.⁷¹

One significant find from Philippi was an altar inscribed to "Queen Isis," discovered near one of Philippi's city gates. A dove and cross, Christian symbols, were carved on one side; nothing was defaced. This altar, probably dating to the third century CE, had been moved – with some difficulty – to this location sometime in antiquity, probably in the face of some impending doom. This altar and its inscription indicate that Philippians were appealing to Isis for the well-being of the colony.⁷² The title "queen," "originally given to Juno, Isis and many others. . . came to Mary quite naturally in iconography and mosaics," such as Mary enthroned beside Christ in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome. Imagery and symbolism merge: "Mary reigns with Jesus."⁷³

Near the Isis altar, notably, archaeologists uncovered a fifth- or sixth-century inscription to Jesus, "born of the Virgin Mary," asking for the city's protection from some unknown peril.⁷⁴ Thus the women and men of Philippi were

⁶⁵ Vincent Scully, *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods*, revised ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979; first printed 1962) 90.

⁶⁶ McCabe, *Isis Cult*, 55-56.

⁶⁷ Lilian Portefaix, *Sisters Rejoice* (Uppsala: Coniectanea Biblica; New Testament Series 20, 1988) 81-82, 117-19.

⁶⁸ Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 138.

⁶⁹ Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 35.

⁷⁰ Robert J. Miller, *Born Divine: The Births of Jesus and Other Sons of God* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 2003) 300-01; see also Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 138.

⁷¹ Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 45-48, 129-31.

⁷² Denis Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* (Athens and Paris: BCH Supplement 8, 1983), 189-91; Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 187-88.

⁷³ Van den Hengel, "Miriam of Nazareth," 135.

⁷⁴ Paul Collart, 'Le sanctuaire des dieux égyptiens à Philippes', *Bulletin de Correspondance Héliénique* 53 (1929), 69-100; Abrahamsen, *Women and Worship*, 185-86.



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simultaneously venerating Isis, Jesus and Mary in the early Byzantine era and viewing them as deities that protected the entire city. In the goddess-dominated atmosphere of the community, the recitation of the formula “born of the Virgin Mary” in this short petition parallels how Mary and Jesus were viewed throughout the empire at this time.

Isis and Mary at Thessaloniki

As we noted above, Isis became a prominent deity at Thessaloniki as Christianity developed, and the city had a significant sanctuary to Isis and Serapis in the Hellenistic era. Later, in the second and third centuries CE, devotees were worshiping gods as city or protector deities. Thessaloniki’s patron deity was the Cabiros, a young prince murdered by his two brothers. Later legends about the Christian martyr St. Demetrios (early fourth century CE) portrayed the saint as a new city protector, replacing the Cabiros. In the St. Demetrios legends, Lady Eutaxia, the female personification of civil order, was always present with the saint.⁷⁵

According to archaeologist Charalambos Bakirtzis, St. Demetrios shared the basilica with Mary in a similar way that Serapis shared a temple and altar with Isis.⁷⁶ Ever-present Lady Eutaxia (“good order”) was equated with the goddess Fortune (Tyche) of the city.⁷⁷

Other important links between the traditional pagan deities and the Christian pantheon throughout the empire are noteworthy. The images of Isis nursing Horus and Mary nursing Jesus, mentioned above, were especially significant for women: mother (Isis, Mary), son (Horus, Jesus), and mother’s milk (nursing). These connections converge by the end of the sixth century CE at Thessaloniki: the city was providing free medical care in the basilica of St. Demetrios. Thus treatments at the hospital in the basilica, and the stress on health and healing in the cults we have been examining, paralleled those practiced in the local Serapis sanctuary at Thessaloniki.⁷⁸

Moreover, a “recurring theme in the Christian mosaics in [the St. Demetrios basilica] is children... [This] depiction of children ... has to do with its curative properties...” An inscription thanking the Mother of God for a healing leads Bakirtzis to conclude that “the basilica of St. Demetrios, as a Christian healing center, replaced the [Asklepios sanctuary] and the Sarapeion as the main healing centers of Roman and Late Roman Thessalonikē.”

Finally, many of the Christian mosaics at St. Demetrios depict children, and an inscription connected with one of these mosaics gives thanks to Mary, the Mother of God, for an act of healing. This indicates, therefore, that the Christian basilica had effectively replaced the Asklepios and Serapis sanctuaries as the primary healing center of the region.⁷⁹ At Thessaloniki, we have moved over time from Isis, Serapis, Horus, healing and children; to St. Demetrios, Lady Eutaxia and city protection; to Mary, the mother of Jesus/God, and children; to St. Demetrios, Mary, children and healing.

CONCLUSIONS

Examining the deities that were venerated in the cities along the Via Egnatia in the early years of the Jesus movement, and tracing the development of Christianity in these locations into the early Byzantine era, is instructive for many reasons. The influence of St. Paul in the history of Christianity, and even of the West in general, begins with the texts of the New (Christian) Testament: the authentic letters of Paul, those attributed to him but written after his death, and the very influential Acts of the Apostles. For centuries the narrative of the Christian “winners” is that Paul’s mission in

⁷⁵ James Skedros, “Civic and Ecclesiastical Identity in Christian Thessalonikē,” in Nasrallah et al, eds, *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*, 257.

⁷⁶ <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/demetrios-thessaloniki>, accessed October 2022.

⁷⁷ Hendrix, “Thessalonica,” Vol. 6, 525.

⁷⁸ Charalambos Bakirtzis, “Late Antiquity and Christianity in Thessalonikē: Aspects of a Transformation,” in Nasrallah et al, eds., *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē*, 401.

⁷⁹ Bakirtzis, “Late Antiquity,” 402-05.



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spreading the “good news” of Jesus of Nazareth met some level of opposition but was basically successful in a short period of time and led directly to “orthodox” Christianity. That “brand” of Christianity effectively deprived women of leadership roles for centuries; even now, some branches of Christianity still deny women access to the priesthood.

When we closely examine archaeological evidence from the Egnatian cities, along with related literature, a larger and even more egalitarian picture emerges. Paul and other early missionaries of the Jesus movement labored closely with devotees to both male and female deities, and they knew that women served as leaders in many of those cults. Evidence from the authentic letters of Paul and contemporary letters from other authors demonstrates that the early missionaries often revered and respected women who joined the Jesus groups. Those women held titles such as apostle, deacon, and coworker, with many of them providing financial and other support to the Jesus missionaries.

Many of the deities long worshiped in the Egnatian cities had healing and health as major components; the goddesses descended from the Neolithic all-powerful nature deity whose healing was equated with and accomplished by water and mother’s milk. As the cult of Mary, mother of Jesus, grew in the Egnatian cities and throughout the empire, healing and health imagery was often borrowed by Christianity in the form of Mary nursing Jesus. Mary became revered, even until today in some circles, because people could relate to and draw strength from her presence, just as they and their ancestors would have done with female deities.

Archaeological evidence shows both the persistence and resilience of many of the pagan cults and the reason for this: they answered people’s needs and, for the most part, they were not annihilated by the growing Christian religion, at least not until well into the Byzantine era. The religious environment of the Egnatian cities was vibrant, diverse, and generally cooperative for centuries. Many converts added Jesus as an object of devotion to their religious repertory; Christianity was thus not an exclusive belief system that it came to be. The Jesus story attracted pagan devotees because it met personal and community needs and because its rituals and practices bore similarities to traditional, familiar ones.

As archaeological excavations continue in the cities along the Via Egnatia – places known to and visited by Paul and other early Jesus missionaries – more artifacts will be revealed and will even further illuminate the history of Christianity and the West.

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The best essays in 2021 were the following, and we are delighted to be able to reprint all three of them, with the kind permission of both author and publisher in each case.

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Janet Smith (2020), "Crossing the Border of Citizenship: Helen Taylor, the Independent Radical Democrat Candidate for Camberwell North, 1885," *Open Library of Humanities* 6(2), 19. <https://doi.org/10.16995/olh.540>

Phillip Reid (2020), "Conveyance and Commodity: The Ordinary Merchant Ship in the British Atlantic, 1600–1800," *Cultural Economies in the Atlantic World: Objects and Capital in the Transatlantic Imagination*. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003025436>

RUNNER UP:

Evan Dutmer (2021), "Teaching as Consolatio: Re-imagining the Teacher-Student Dynamic in Times of Emergency." *Teaching Classical Languages* 11(2): 15-32. <https://tcl.camws.org/sites/default/files/TCL%2011.2%2012-27-2020%20Teaching%20as%20Consolatio%20Re-Imagining%20the%20Teacher-Student%20Dynamic%20in%20Times%20of%20Emergency.pdf>



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Crossing the Border of Citizenship: Helen Taylor, the Independent Radical Democrat Candidate for Camberwell North, 1885

Janet Smith, Ph.D.

(Brighton, Sussex, ENGLAND)

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Abstract

'Until 1918, in principle, and 1928 in practice, women's political activity in Britain was defined as beyond the frontier of formal citizenship' (Abrams and Hunt, 2000). This article explores the campaign of one such frontier woman, Helen Taylor, to become the first woman MP. Taylor accepted the nomination of Camberwell Radical Club to stand as the Independent Radical Democrat candidate for Camberwell North in the November 1885 election. The radicals of Camberwell were, thereby, directly challenging the 1832 Reform Act which had legally excluded women from full citizenship.

This article locates Taylor in the historiography of resistance to elite political culture, by radical clubs, in 1885. Links were made between Taylor's candidature and that of previous non-elite candidates, namely the attempt of Daniel O'Connell, David Salomon and Charles Bradlaugh to breach the frontier of full citizenship for Catholics, Jews and atheists in previous elections. The Liberal Party had become more centralised through the power of local Liberal Associations and committees based on the Birmingham caucus model (Lawrence, 1998; Parry, 1993). This led to some radical clubs challenging the Liberal establishment 'wire pullers' and standing their own candidates, creating triangular contests between the Liberal, Independent/Radical and Conservative candidates (Owen, 2008). This article further explores the anomaly of all three Camberwell North candidates openly supporting Home Rule, in an election where the contentious Irish question has been identified as being avoided by the majority of candidates (Biagini, 2007). In Camberwell North this saw two factions of Irish nationalism endorsing separate candidates.

The provenance of Taylor's feminism, socialism and anti-imperialism is also examined, which rescues the campaign from being the actions of a well-connected upper middle-class eccentric. The only previous detailed exploration of Taylor's candidature claimed it was the idiosyncratic whim of a political maverick whose manifesto would need explaining to the electorate (Pugh, 1978). On the contrary, Taylor's candidature and manifesto were located in contemporary socialist, radical and liberal politics and no such explanation would have been necessary. It was very much of its time.

INTRODUCTION

Following the centenary of the Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918, which granted women over the age of 21 the right to stand for election as Members of Parliament, there has been great interest in the first women to do so. The most renowned are Constance Markiewicz, the first woman to be elected, and Nancy Astor (see [Thane, 2020](#)), the first woman to take her seat. However, over 30 years before these firsts, another, now forgotten, woman blazed a trail for women's equality. Her name was Helen Taylor and she made history when she accepted the nomination as the Independent Radical Democrat Candidate for Camberwell North in the general election of November 1885.

Few previous studies have focused on the campaign of the first woman parliamentary candidate. Evelyn Pugh ([1978](#)) reinstated this long-forgotten episode into the historiography, examining the events of Taylor's candidature in great detail. However, Pugh, whose research focus was John Stuart Mill, failed to acknowledge that both Taylor's actions and manifesto were firmly anchored in national and local liberal, socialist and radical politics of 1885. Pugh portrays Taylor as an individualistic political maverick rather than rooted in any political tradition. She ignores Taylor's influential position in radical and socialist circles in 1885 and the challenge that her candidature made both to the 1832 Reform Act (which had legally excluded women from full citizenship) and to elite Liberal politics. Thus, Pugh claims that Taylor's election manifesto was idiosyncratic when, in reality, it reflected the



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political ideology of the radical clubs, and advanced liberalism and the new socialism of the Social Democratic Federation. This would have been recognised by voters. For example, Pugh wrongly asserts that Taylor's election manifesto would have needed to be explained to the public. She cites Taylor's demands for free elementary education as an example. This ignores increasing support during the 1880s for free state primary education. Taylor had been an elected member of the London School Board for nine years where demands for the abolition of school fees, the school 'penny,' had been hotly debated. Taylor, herself, had put forward a number of motions in the school board chamber for their abolition. In 1885, her final motion had only been defeated on the casting vote of the Chairman ([School Board Chronicle, 1881, 2 April](#)). Thomas Gautrey, a London teacher, claimed that Taylor's 'impassioned speech' in the school board debate of 1885 was a turning point in the campaign for free education. 'Free schools became from this time an election cry at both Board and Parliamentary Elections' ([Gautrey, 1936: 86](#)). The London electorate would have immediately understood where Taylor was politically located on seeing free education in her manifesto, as they would with her other demands. In not recognising that Taylor's political pledges stemmed from contemporary radical, socialist and liberal politics Pugh reduces the manifesto to that of an eccentric. Pugh's article does, nevertheless, stand as an important well-detailed study which reintroduced the episode into the historiography.

Taylor's candidature is also included in the entry on her by Philippa Levine in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography ([Levine, 2004](#)). Levine devotes a paragraph to the campaign and although she does not reference Pugh's previous study, she does acknowledge that Taylor's manifesto was rooted in radical politics and that she stood as a candidate against the official Liberal, in protest at the Liberal Association withdrawing support for W. A. Coote as their candidate and replacing him with Richard Strong. A third, short study ([Smith, 2019](#)), written for the Women's Legal Firsts project, concentrates solely on the legal challenge made by Taylor's candidature to the 1832 Reform Act. The campaign is put forward as an example of one of a number of challenges which were made to that Act, by supporters of women's suffrage, during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The aim of this study is to examine in more detail the candidature of Taylor as a legal challenge to the 1832 Reform Act. Taylor is seen as one of countless women, throughout history, who crossed the boundaries of acceptable behaviour in their struggle to breach the frontier of full citizenship ([Abrams and Hunt, 2000](#)). It will also place Taylor in the history of resistance to the dominant political culture of previous non-elite candidates: O'Connell, Bradlaugh, and Salomon. These men attempted to breach the frontier of full citizenship for Catholics, atheists, and Jews in previous elections by challenging the hegemony of political power. It will illustrate that Taylor was one of a number of non-elite candidates, supported by the Radical clubs, who stood against the official Liberal candidates at this election. By 1885 the Liberal party had become more centralised with the formation of local Liberal Associations and selection committees based on the Birmingham caucus model ([Lawrence, 1998; Parry, 1993](#)). These selection committees, organised by the official Liberal caucus, were made up of elected members from the local wards ([Owen, 2008: 216](#)). Resistance to the Liberal 'wire pullers' by local grassroots radicals in the clubs led to them standing their own candidates. This resulted in triangular contests between radical, liberal, and conservative candidates in a number of constituencies at the general election of 1885 ([Owen, 2008](#)). Finally, the provenance of Taylor's feminism, radicalism, socialism and anti-imperialism will be examined to show that her manifesto was grounded in the radical politics and utopian socialism of mid nineteenth century Britain and the new socialism of the 1880s. This rescues the candidature from the ahistorical claim that it was merely the actions of a well-connected upper middle-class eccentric. On the contrary, her manifesto, would have been understood by the electorate as an expression of contemporary progressive ideology.

HELEN TAYLOR

Helen Taylor was born in London in 1831. Her mother was the feminist philosopher Harriet Taylor and her father John was a wholesale druggist. The Taylors attended meetings of the reforming Unitarian circle of William Fox where the intellectual Harriet met and fell in love with the economist and philosopher John Stuart Mill. John Taylor sanctioned an arrangement which saw his wife, Harriet, and Helen leaving the marital home in London and living in Walton, Surrey, with discreet visits from Mill. Mill and Harriet Taylor married in 1851, two years after John Taylor's death. Harriet had nursed her husband with great care over the final months of his life in 1849. Helen had maintained a good loving relationship with her father, after the separation of her parents, and made regular visits with her mother to stay with her father and two brothers in London ([Robson, 2004](#)). Harriet and Mill collaborated on political and social campaigns surrounding women's rights until her own death in 1859. After her mother died, Taylor worked with Mill in promoting women's suffrage. It has been recognised that she wrote many of his letters and that he owed much of his text *The Subjection of Women* ([1869](#)) to both her mother's earlier published work, *The Enfranchisement of Women* ([1851](#)) and to his step-daughter ([Packe, 1954: 225](#)). In his *Autobiography* ([1873](#)) Mill asserted that it was Taylor who had suggested this essay and that she had written parts of it ([Packe, 1954: 224](#)). 'Surely,' he wrote, referring to Helen coming to live



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and work with him, 'no one ever before was so fortunate after such a loss as mine, to draw another prize from the lottery of life' ([Mill, 1873: 254](#)). Mill and Helen Taylor were among the suffragists who set up the London National Society for Women's Suffrage in 1867 and who had organised a petition demanding votes for women. Mill had presented the petition to Parliament in 1866 when he was the MP for Westminster (1865–8). Taylor was grief stricken when Mill died unexpectedly in 1873. She began to carve out a campaigning and political life for herself beyond women's suffrage, determined to carry on the work of her mother and step-father. In August 1872, Helen wrote, 'I feel as though a torch has been left in my hands and I want to keep it alight till I can hand it on to someone younger than myself' (Helen Taylor, August 1872, Bertrand Russell Archives, box 0791294, no. 128499).¹

In 1876 Taylor was elected to the London School Board, on a Liberal ticket, as one of the members for Southwark, a borough with a poverty rate of 67.9 percent at this time ([Booth, 1892](#)). Elected School Boards were established to administer the system of state elementary schools, which were themselves established throughout Great Britain following the 1870 Forster Education Act. Women could both sit on the boards as elected members and vote in elections under the same rules as men. Taylor served three elected terms, being returned top of the poll in 1879 and 1882. She was popular among Southwark residents for her work on their behalf. She championed the rights of both working-class girls and boys to a decent education which, she believed, should be both free and secular. She also campaigned for educational endowments to be used for the schooling of the working-class for which they had been intended. She campaigned for equal access to education and equality in the curriculum for girls, equal pay for women teachers, and an end to physical punishment in schools. She was a constant thorn in the side of the Liberal board members, refusing to follow the official party line in the chamber and voting for each motion on its merits. This led to her standing as an Independent Radical candidate in 1879 and 1882, during which campaigns the Liberals tried to unseat her ([Hollis, 1989](#); [Martin, 1999](#); [Smith, 2018](#)). Taylor was also in dispute with the Liberals in the 1880s for her involvement in the Irish Land War as a member of the Ladies' Land League. She supported the fight of the Irish tenants for fair, secure tenancies and opposed Gladstone's Coercion Acts in Ireland. She championed Irish Home Rule and was a well-known campaigner for land nationalisation as an executive member of both the Land Nationalisation Society and the English Land Restoration League ([Smith, 2017](#)). She was a founder and executive member with Henry Hyndman of the Democratic Federation, in 1881, which was renamed the Social Democratic Federation in 1884 after embracing Marxism. That same year she left the party, as did many other members, after a series of arguments with the autocratic Hyndman. She was so well-known by the late 1880s that the local press heralded her arrival in Preston to speak on land reform as a visit by one of 'the foremost women of her time' ([The Lancashire Evening Post, 1886, 19 October: 2](#)).

RUMOURS OF A FEMALE CANDIDATE, 1878

Taylor's candidature had a long gestation. In 1878 British newspapers reported that a woman had been chosen by Southwark Liberals as their prospective parliamentary candidate to contest the next general election. The local radical Liberals and the press linked Taylor's attempt to achieve full citizenship rights for women with David Salomon's campaign to become the first Jewish MP ([Pall Mall Gazette, 1878, 9 August: 7](#)). Salomons, a leading Jewish campaigner for Jewish emancipation, had been elected in 1851 as the Liberal MP for Greenwich, London. On swearing the oath of abjuration, required on entering Parliament, he omitted the Christian references and was ejected from the building. A few days later he again refused the full oath, took his seat and voted in two debates before being ejected by the sergeant-at-arms and permanently excluded and fined £500. A campaign resulted in the law requiring Christian affirmation being amended in 1858. This allowed Jewish MPs to take their seats ([Hyamson, 1939](#)). The Pall Mall Gazette expected that Taylor would 'make frequent attempts to take her seat, and although she would doubtless as often be removed by the sergeant-at-arms it would enable her to make a strong protest against the exclusion of women from parliament' ([Pall Mall Gazette, 1878, 9 August: 7](#)). The Saturday Review likened the possible candidature of Taylor to the election of Daniel O'Connell as MP for Clare, Ireland in 1828. A Roman Catholic, O'Connell refused to swear the Oath of Supremacy which required allegiance to the monarch as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. The resulting barring of Parliament to O'Connell led to such political pressure for change that the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in 1829. O'Connell took his seat on being re-elected later that year ([MacDonagh, 1991](#)). The Saturday Review was certain that although she could not 'take her seat if she were elected; she might at least be in the proud position of being able to knock at the door of Parliament. It was thus that O'Connell was returned for Clare and Alderman Salomon for Greenwich, and so great was the noise they made when knocking that the door was at last opened to them' ([The Saturday Review, 1878, 17 August](#)). For some reason, perhaps because she had only recently been elected to the London School Board, Taylor did not accept the candidature. Not until 1885 would she become the Independent Radical Democrat candidate for the newly formed constituency of Camberwell North.



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ELITE LIBERALISM IN THE 1885 ELECTION

The Liberals had been in government since 1880 and had faced a series of challenges to their foreign policy in the East and in their dealings with Ireland from ultra-radical socialists like Taylor. There had been opposition and mass demonstrations against the Coercion Act 1881 which Gladstone had introduced in Ireland to deal with the agrarian unrest which had begun in 1879. Radicals, within the Democratic Federation and the clubs, had supported the Irish peasant in the fight against Anglo-Irish landlords for better tenant rights. They saw it as a fight for decency and they called for Irish Home Rule as the only ethical way forward to improve living conditions for the Irish people (Biagini, 2007: 58). Charles Stewart Parnell, the leader of the nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons, and his fellow nationalist MPs were campaigning for Home Rule within and outside Parliament. Parnell was exasperated with Gladstone's slowness to put Irish self-government on the parliamentary agenda. In the election of 1885 Parnell called upon Irish electors in Britain to only vote for those Liberal candidates who supported a Home Rule Bill. Biagini notes that Home Rule did not become a big issue during the campaigning for candidates but acknowledges that Helen Taylor, in Camberwell North, was one of the exceptions (Biagini, 66).

Liberal foreign policy in Egypt and Sudan was attacked by radicals and socialists. The invasion of Egypt in 1882 had been supported by the majority of Liberals; only 8 MPs had voted against the invasion, but radicals, including Taylor, opposed it. Gladstone saw military involvement in Egypt as necessary to promote English liberal democratic values in the region. Gladstone also believed that Britain needed to stop France dominating Egypt, otherwise France would increase its power and influence in the area (Parry, 2006: 346–9). The death of General Gordon, regarded by many in Britain as a Christian martyr, had caused a sharp decline in the Liberal government's popularity. He had died in January 1885, in Khartoum in the Sudan where he had been sent to evacuate British soldiers and civilians during a Sudanese revolt. He had been besieged almost a year despite public pressure at home for Gladstone to send troops to rescue him. He died before help arrived and Gladstone was blamed for his death. The Liberal government fell on 8th June 1885 after being defeated on an amendment to the Budget Bill and Lord Salisbury headed an interim Conservative government until the election in November (James, 1957; Parry, 2006).

Joseph Chamberlain's 'Unauthorised Programme' was of great influence on Liberal candidates and voters during the 1885 election. Chamberlain, the Radical Liberal MP for Birmingham, was the founder of the National Liberal Federation in 1877. This had united local Liberal Associations, strengthening central control of the party. The 'Unauthorised Programme,' far more radical than the existing policies of the Gladstone government, called for free education, land reform, dissolution of the Church of England, graduated taxation, death duties, male suffrage and elected county councils. His support for municipal socialism resounded with progressive voters in London who were campaigning for a unitary authority for the metropolis. (None of this was new. Taylor herself, had been involved in these campaigns for a decade.) Chamberlain, however, boosted these causes and two thirds of Liberal candidates stood on his 'Unauthorised Programme' in 1885 (Blaxill, 2015). Where Chamberlain deviated greatly from Taylor's ideology was in his opposition to Home Rule for Ireland.

A NON-ELITE INDEPENDENT RADICAL DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE FOR CAMBERWELL NORTH, 1885

Camberwell North was a new constituency created in 1885 following the Boundary Commission's decision to 'group together, as far as practicable, the inhabitants following similar pursuits' in the Southwark parliamentary divisions south of the Thames. Many inhabitants worked in the tanning industry or on the river as boatmen and lightermen (Pelling, 1967: 51). Radical clubs had emerged from the growth of radicalism within the London vestries after the 1832 Reform Act. This was a reaction to the increasing Whig centralised control of liberalism. Vestry radicalism was an alliance of middle-class liberals, the radical working-class and 'romantic elites' who resisted centralisation through localist politics. Working-class republican radicalism had been marginalised by liberalism from the days of the Palmerston administration (1855–1865) when the Liberals gained a reputation for good reforming government (Weinstein, 2011: 43 and 63).

The 1867 borough franchise resulted in an increased need for professional politics. Many constituencies had small majorities and, without organised party canvassers and a bureaucracy which could create a register of supporters and get out the vote on election day, seats could be lost on a small swing to the rival candidate (Parry, 1993: 221). By 1886, when the Liberals had 339 MPs, 110 were landowners, 164 from the middle-class professions and a mere 12 MPs were working-class (Parry, 1993: 19, 224). The centralised control exerted by The National Liberal Federation and the 'wire pullers' of the local Liberal Associations led to resistance to the caucus by grassroots radicals (Parry, 1993: 274). There were two radical clubs in the constituency: Camberwell Radical Club on Peckham Park Road, and North Camberwell Radical Club on Gloucester Road. Taylor was the President of the former which had been established in March 1885 (South London Press, 1885, 28 March: 4). Davis' study of London's radical clubs



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throws light on the political atmosphere in Camberwell during the election of 1885. Radicals felt that the local Liberal Associations, with their candidate selection committees based on Chamberlain's Birmingham model, were undemocratic; resistance to the caucus was centred among the working-class artisans and their middle-class supporters in the local radical clubs. A total of 78 new radical clubs were formed between 1884–8 in London. From 1885, however, rather than continuing to be centres of advanced working-class republicanism, organising public lectures and mass protests for political reform, they were beginning the drift into places of entertainment and drinking, familiar to us as contemporary working-men's clubs. They did, however, before their political decline, successfully pull London liberalism to the left. As a result, Labour politics did not wield influence in the capital until 1918, unlike in other industrial areas of Great Britain. In 1885 opposition to official Liberal candidates by radical club members in London was due not to differences in ideology but from members' resentment towards the power of the local Liberal Associations, which allowed such associations to foist a Liberal candidate on the local community ([Davis, 1989](#)).

In May 1885, Charles Ammon, the secretary of Camberwell Radical Club, wrote formally to Taylor asking her to accept the nomination as the Independent Radical Democrat Candidate for North Camberwell:

...at the selection meeting for a suitable radical candidate to represent North Camberwell, it was carried unanimously amidst the greatest enthusiasm that our President Miss Taylor be invited to come forward and contest the division (Camberwell Radical Club, 22 May 1885, MTC 18: 5).²

Taylor accepted but declared that if a working-class man should present himself as a candidate she would step aside and support his campaign ([Englishwoman's Review, 1885, June](#)). Francis Soutter, a local radical activist and campaigner for Labour representation in parliament, was her political advisor during the campaign. He recorded that Taylor decided to accept the candidature because the local Liberal Association had passed over their original choice of preferred candidate, a working-class compositor and Camberwell vestry member, William A. Coote ([Soutter, 1923: 92](#)). In the final ballot of the Liberal candidate selection committee, Coote had received 17 nominations and Richard Strong, a local magistrate, had received 73 ([South London Press, 1885, 20 June: 4](#)). Coote, an evangelical Christian, was a prominent social purity campaigner. Taylor was a member of the Moral Reform Union and both were active campaigners for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. These Acts had been introduced in the 1860s to control venereal disease amongst the armed forces. Women suspected of being prostitutes, who lived near certain garrisons and ports, could be forcibly detained and medically examined. Men, however, were not subject to this degrading treatment. The Acts had been suspended in Britain and Ireland in 1883 and would be repealed in 1886, although the campaign continued after that date for their repeal in parts of the British Empire including India and Hong Kong (see [Walkowitz, 1980](#)). The campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts during the 1870s, led by Josephine Butler, and the successful winning of their suspension, led to sex no longer being a forbidden topic and emboldened campaigners to demand a change in men's sexual behaviour and a purification of society ([Bland, 95: 97–101](#)).

Josephine Butler and Bramwell Booth of the Salvation Army approached journalist W. T. Stead who agreed to conduct a six-week survey of prostitution in London. His study exposed child prostitution in the capital and shocked readers when it was published, in July 1885, in the Pall Mall Gazette under the title of Maiden Tribute in Modern Babylon ([Bland: xiv](#)). The National Vigilance Association (NVA) was formed, in August 1885, in response to Stead's journalism, and Coote became the Honourable Secretary. The sole aim of the NVA was the enforcement of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of July 1885 which had raised the age of consent from 13 to 16 ([Attwood, 2015: 326](#)).

Radicals in Camberwell, angry at the caucus for forcing Richard Strong upon them, looked for another candidate and chose to put up Taylor against the establishment's Liberal choice. Radical clubs throughout the country were using the same strategy, putting forward grassroots candidates to represent the working-class of the constituency against the choice of the local Liberal selection committees. This resulted in triangular contests between the Radical/Independent, Liberal, and Conservative candidates, much to the horror of the Liberal party, who feared the split in the progressive vote would lead to a Conservative victory ([Lawrence, 1998](#)). Far from being the actions of a maverick, Taylor's candidature was one of a number of similar challenges being made by community activists to the Liberal hierarchy. Owen ([2008: 220](#)) identifies 18 triangular contests in the election of November 1885, but does not include the attempt of one in Camberwell North. All nine such progressive vote splitting contests in London produced a Conservative win (Owen: 216). In Nottingham West, Taylor's former Social Democratic Federation colleague, John Burns, stood as the radical club's 'anti-party candidate' and was attacked by Liberals for vote splitting. These independents were, however, often not anti-Liberal, they were anti-caucus as in Sheffield Central. Here Mervyn Hawkes stood as an anti-caucus independent candidate, supported by the radical clubs of the city, after having being rejected by the Liberal selection committee (Owen: 221–229).



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The British press acknowledged Taylor's position as an anti-elite candidate, noting her popularity among the electorate where she was known for her work on behalf of the working-class on the London School Board:

That the great majority of the Radical working men will support her need hardly be doubted. On the other hand, there is a section of Liberal less advanced, and perhaps more fastidious, who may decline to sanction so startling an innovation, to say nothing of their dread of a politician of the most extreme type ([Liverpool Mercury, 1885, 30 May: 5](#)).

Many Liberals feared that Taylor would hand victory to the Tory candidate, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. There were calls for the 'wilful woman' who would divide the Liberal vote to withdraw ([Leeds Mercury, 1885, 11 November: 4](#)). 'After all,' wrote one newspaper, alluding to Taylor's long-running battles with the Liberals over Ireland and within the School Board, 'the stoutest Liberal would probably prefer to see Mr Blunt rather than Miss Taylor in the House of Commons' ([Sheffield Independent, 1885, 24 October: 9](#)).

Taylor's candidature was also a direct challenge to the 1832 Reform Act by Camberwell Radical Club. Charles Ammon, quoted earlier, had indicated that it was a test of the legality of the Act. Her campaign, for full citizenship rights for women, places her in the tradition of other non-elite candidates challenging laws which barred them from being MPs; O'Connell, Salomons and Bradlaugh. The press made a direct link between Taylor and Bradlaugh. Bradlaugh, an atheist, had been first elected as a Liberal MP in 1880. He had been barred from Parliament for refusing to swear the Christian Oath of Supremacy. He would finally, after winning a number of by-elections and being disqualified on each occasion he refused the oath, be allowed to affirm allegiance to the Queen in 1886 as an atheist. One newspaper, on Taylor's campaign to enter parliament, sarcastically asked: 'Is it fair on Mr Bradlaugh to take the wind out of his sails in this fashion?' ([Huddersfield Chronicle, 1885, 1 June: 4](#)). Before 1832, women had not formally participated in elections as candidates or voters; this was merely through social custom, although they had campaigned for male candidates and sometimes had even cast a vote. Chalus' study ([2005](#)) of elite women of the eighteenth century identifies the influential role that women played in electoral politics as active supporters, organisers and canvassers for their husbands and male relatives. Women landowners, including Georgina, the Duchess of Devonshire in 1754 and Lady Susan Keek in 1784, had controlled seats through their patronage and influence over voters and, in effect, voted by proxy. Involvement in election politics had not been restricted to aristocratic and upper-class women. In 1868 working-class women attended the nomination procedure in Rothesay, Scotland, and put up their hands to vote for the Liberal candidate ([Gleadle, 2001: 113](#)).

Women had also voted by clerical error. Once their names were erroneously on the electoral register they could not be turned away. In 1867, Lily Maxwell voted in the Manchester parliamentary election for the liberal candidate, Jacob Bright. Her name had been put on the register by mistake and she cast her vote as a rate paying shopkeeper. This error had been discovered by Bright and Lydia Becker, the secretary of the Manchester branch of the National Society for Women's Suffrage ([Rendall, 1999](#)). However, the 1832 Reform Act explicitly referred to those eligible to take part in elections using male pronouns. John Stuart Mill had attempted to have these restrictive pronouns replaced by the word 'persons' during the parliamentary debates on The Representation of the People Act 1867 but had been defeated. Although used in the wording of the 1867 Act, 'persons' was used alongside male pronouns, which left its meaning open to the question: did this or did this not include women? Reformers campaigning for the same change at the time of the Representation of the People Act 1884 had also suffered defeat. Taylor and her supporters based their belief as to the legitimacy of her candidature on Section 4 of the Interpretation Act 1850, known more commonly as Lord Brougham's Act. This had decreed that, unless it was stated clearly that men only were being referred to, masculine pronouns legally included women. In 1867 many women suffragists had registered to vote citing the 1850 Act. A court case, *Chorlton v. Lings*, had followed which judged the suffragists' claim unlawful. Persons, it was decreed, did not include women. (The information on legal aspects of the challenge is taken from [Smith, 2019](#)). There had, however, been some advancement in women's rights during the last few decades. The Municipal Franchise Act 1869 had granted women ratepayers the vote in local elections. Women had been standing as candidates for the local School Boards since their creation in 1870 and they had been legally able to stand as Poor Law guardians for decades under the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act ([Gleadle, 2009](#)).

Taylor emphasised the importance of her candidature for the advancement of women's rights throughout the campaign. In an interview with a reporter from the *Pall Mall Gazette* she stated that it would be 'a great impetus to the general advancement of women' and that it would make women's suffrage seem moderate in comparison ([Pall Mall Gazette, 1885, 21 November: 2](#)). Taylor explained that her candidature was the only way to get the question of equal rights for women 'into the public domain...I feel I am acting as a pioneer and I expect at the next election there will be many women candidates for Parliament.' She claimed that there was strong support for her candidature among women, and insisted that there was no law against a woman candidate and that she expected her nomination to be accepted by the Returning Officer. When asked in which class there was most support for women's rights, Taylor had replied that it was amongst 'respectable working men.' She believed that they valued women's



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work both inside and outside the home, because working-class women, their own wives, sisters and mothers, had always worked out of economic need ([Pall Mall Gazette, 1885, 21 November: 2](#)).

TAYLOR'S RIVAL CANDIDATES

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, the Conservative candidate, was a 45-year-old retired diplomat. A writer and poet, he was interested in the Islamic world and was the author of a book entitled *The Future of Islam* ([The Times, 1885, 25 November: 3](#)). Blunt was fiercely anti-imperialist, having lived and worked extensively in the Middle East and India. In 1882 he had been banned from Egypt for four years for his support of Urabi Pasha, an Egyptian nationalist. He had opposed Gladstone's invasion of Egypt that year, as had Taylor. Blunt had also opposed the presence of British soldiers in the Sudan and was, like Taylor, a supporter of Irish Home Rule ([Blunt, 1906](#)). In 1888 he would serve a prison sentence in Ireland for chairing an anti-eviction meeting in Galway.

Blunt was standing as a Tory Democrat. Although Randolph Churchill is synonymous with the term 'tory democracy', he only referred to it in two public speeches and an article. He defined it as popular support for Tory progressive social reforms combined with support for the monarchy, House of Lords and Church of England. He saw it as a means of winning working-class support for the Tory party. It was the press who created the link between Churchill and tory democracy ([Quinault, 1979: 143–163](#)). Churchill, when asked by Blunt to define the term, said: 'To tell you the truth I don't know myself what tory democracy is, but I believe it is principally opportunism. Say you are a Tory Democrat and that will do' ([Blunt, 1906: 407](#)). The success of securing working-class support for the Conservatives in London was more down to popular grassroots conservatism, with local activists campaigning on local working-class issues, rather than nationally-promoted tory democracy ([Windscheffel, 2007: 48](#)). Blunt had been undecided as to which party to stand for, although he was, by birth and inclination, a Tory. He defined himself as a Tory Democrat, Tory Socialist and Tory Home Ruler. He called for 'fair trade not free trade' to protect British workers from cheap foreign imports, thus promoting popularist conservatism amongst the workers of Camberwell ([Blunt, 1906: 407](#)). A supporter of the church, House of Lords, and the monarchy, he, a catholic, opposed secular state education (the School Board system which Taylor had devoted nine years to). He supported Indian self-government and the restoration of the Egyptian National Party and blamed Disraeli for the imperialism within the party ([Blunt, 1906: 408](#)). Blunt and Parnell had met earlier in the year to discuss the forthcoming election and Parnell had explained how he could not offer the Englishman a safe Irish seat because of the jealousy which would ensue among the Irish National Party. He had, nevertheless, promised that if Blunt stood as a Conservative in an English seat, he would endorse his candidature and secure the Irish vote for him, in recognition of his support for Irish tenant farmers ([Longford, 1979: 216](#)). Randolph Churchill was the President of the North Camberwell Working Men's Conservative Association ([Morning Post, 1885, 22 September: 3](#)). He supported Blunt's candidature and advised him to stay silent on his support for Home Rule until after the election. Blunt ignored the advice and stood as a Home Ruler on which Churchill blamed his defeat ([Blunt, 1906: 413](#)).

Richard Strong, the Liberal candidate, was the son of a City of London flour factor. He was 52-years old, a Justice of the Peace and a governor of Dulwich College ([Debretts Guide to the House of Commons, 1886: 144](#)). He was firmly of the Liberal establishment – embedded in the caucus so reviled by the radicals in the clubs – as chair of the Lambeth Liberal Association. A supporter of the 'Unauthorised Programme,' whilst at the same time vocally supporting Gladstone, he campaigned for the abolition of the House of Lords, free education and municipal reform. Unlike Taylor, he did not support secular education but supported Church Schools ([South London Press, 1885, 21 November: 2](#)). He, like Blunt and Taylor, also did not stay silent on Ireland. He declared, at his selection meeting, that he supported Irish Home Rule ([South London Press, 1885, 25 July: 10](#)). As the eventual winner, he would sit as an MP only until 1886 when the seat would be won by John Richards Kelly, the Conservative candidate. (This 1886 election followed the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and disarray in the Liberal party as the anti-Home Rule Liberal Unionists split from the party). In 1889 Strong would be elected to North Camberwell as a councillor on the newly created London County Council, on which he would serve five terms until 1904 ([Jackson, 1965: 282](#)).

TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGN

In the autumn of 1885 Taylor announced that she was standing down from the London School Board, after nine years, 'to concentrate her energies upon her nomination as Parliamentary candidate for North Camberwell' (School Board Chronicle, 1885, 17 October). Taylor, aged 54, suffered from recurring ill-health. The hours needed to devote herself to school board duties were long. The weekly board meetings in 1882–3 had averaged four hours and thirty-seven minutes ([School Board Chronicle, 1883, 6 October](#)). On top of this were many hours devoted to constituency work and her public speaking as a member of the burgeoning land movement, women's suffrage and moral reform. Taylor issued a manifesto which was distributed as a handbill:



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To the Electors of North Camberwell

A fair day's wages for a fair day's work

6 hour working day which will give work to men where now there is none

Local government cooperation and workshops under elected managers

Restoration of the land

Direct taxation and graduated income tax, none under 300 and rising by degrees to 19 shillings in the pound

No wars that are not voted for by the people

Free justice

Restoration of the endowments for free clothing, food and education

Free education

Home Rule and legislative independence for Ireland (Election Leaflet, MTC, box 7).[3](#)

Far from being eccentric, the manifesto was a summary of Taylor's political beliefs and her radical heritage as the step-daughter of John Stuart Mill. It contained a mix of long held radical concerns (the misappropriation of educational endowments and land reform), utopian socialism (worker's cooperatives), the 'unauthorised programme' (free education, local government, and graduated income tax), and the socialism of the Social Democratic Federation (reduced working hours, land nationalisation, free justice, free education, and Home Rule). Like her rival candidates, and against the national trend, she openly supported Irish Home Rule. The press labelled Taylor a Radical Socialist ([North Eastern Daily Gazette, 1885, 2 June: 4](#)). Taylor saw herself as continuing the work of her step-father, who had laid down 'those principles of socialism which she hoped the people of England would soon be prepared to carry out' ([Pall Mall Gazette, 1885, 21 November: 2](#)). Taylor had arranged the posthumous publication of Mill's articles on socialism in *The Fortnightly Review* in 1849. She always insisted that he had been a socialist. Mill had moved to the left after the French Revolution of 1848 and the establishment of French worker cooperatives. Left-leaning Harriet Taylor had influenced his support for utopian socialism and the cooperative ideas of Owen, Fourier and Saint-Simon. Mill believed worker-controlled cooperatives should be tried, though he was against state control of the market and violent revolution (see Persky on Mill's move to the left: [Persky, 2016: 141–151](#)). Mill's socialist credentials have been dismissed as a phase, or merely utopian or market socialism, but this overlooks the radicalism of his support for the cooperative movement ([McCabe, 2020: 5](#)).

Taylor, therefore, straddled two worlds: that of earlier radical Chartism and utopian socialism, and the new socialism of Henry Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation. She had been a founder member of its precursor, the Democratic Federation, in 1881. The first members of the Democratic Federation were followers from the radical clubs of London, of the late chartist James Bronterre O'Brien. He had advocated that land nationalisation should be one of the first Acts of the new parliament after the hoped-for passing of the charter ([Bevir, 1992](#)). It was not until 1884, when the Democratic Federation embraced state ownership of the means of production and became the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), that 'the O'Brienites attached aspects of vulgar Marxism to their earlier beliefs' (Bevir: 219). Shortly afterwards Taylor left the SDF, 'taking her working-class followers with her' ([Wolfe, 1975: 106](#)). She could not accept Hyndman's violent class-war rhetoric or his autocratic manner. Like her step-father, Taylor opposed violent revolution:

She was in favour of a republic but did not approve of anything other than peaceful means. She strongly disapproved of the use of rifles whether in the hands of monarchists or republicans ([Freeman's Journal, 1882, 2 June: 3](#)).

Before leaving the SDF she accused Hyndman of emulating the worst excesses of the capitalist press through his anonymous articles, attacking named individuals, in the party newspaper *Justice*.[4](#) Disaffected revolutionaries, including William Morris and Eleanor Marx, also left and formed the Socialist League. Hyndman's opposition to women's suffrage would have been a further source of conflict between himself and Taylor. Karen Hunt's ([1996](#)) post-1886 study of the SDF examines the experiences of women in the organisation and its ambivalence to women's rights which hindered their involvement and agency in the movement. The woman question was left to individual conscience and not enshrined in policy.



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Taylor was presented to the electorate as the local candidate. Voters were reminded in the election literature that she had been a Southwark Member of the London School Board in this part of London for almost a decade:

The People's Candidate

Vote for

Miss Taylor

The Tried Friend

Of

The People

And

Their Children (election leaflet, MTC, box 7).⁵

Although many of her policies were also in the 'unauthorised programme', it was clear that Taylor's politics were to the left. The press reported that 'even Mr Chamberlain will not satisfy her' after she accused him of being 'hopelessly given over to Toryism' ([The Star Guernsey, 1885, 23 July: 4](#)). Taylor's electioneering met with much opposition and often resulted in rowdy, violent meetings as supporters of the Liberal candidate, Strong, tried to disrupt proceedings. On one occasion 'a chair came hurtling through the air' towards the platform ([Soutter, 1923: 94](#)). One press report described the 'utmost disorder' that erupted when she appeared on the platform accompanied by such 'loud cheers and groans' that she was unable to speak for five minutes: 'A free fight then ensued and the ladies had to beat a hasty retreat to the ante room' ([Lloyds Weekly Paper, 1885, 1 November: 7](#)). At one meeting, hearing that 'the platform was to be stormed,' Francis Soutter placed 40 volunteer stewards in front of the platform to protect Taylor and a further 40 around the room ([Soutter, 1923: 94](#)). Taylor had faced the same hostility from the Liberals during school board elections, which Soutter blamed on her independence in the board chamber where she voted on policies on their merits and 'her habit of calling a spade a spade utterly regardless as to whether the said spade's political bent was Tory or Liberal' ([Soutter, 1924: 147](#)). She had been a prominent anti-coercion campaigner, attacking Gladstone's policies in Ireland. She had been accused, during the Irish Land War, of having called Gladstone a 'dastardly recreant' who had forsaken the true policy of liberalism for 'personal ambition and jealousy' ([Birmingham Daily Post, 1881, 17 October: 5](#)). Taylor had denied the accuracy of the quote but did admit she had called him 'a dastard and a recreant...and believe that half of England would echo those words if polled' (Helen Taylor, undated, MTC, file 18, no. 27).⁶ A letter signed from 'a Liberal elector, Peckham' called Camberwell Radical Club a 'mischief- brewing clique' for 'the atrocity' of putting up Taylor as a rival candidate to Strong ([South London Press, 1885, 29 August: 10, 11](#)). She also faced the animosity of those opposed to women's suffrage. She was attacked as 'an unsexed female agitator' ([Yorkshire Gazette, 1885, 29 October: 8](#)). It is clear that Liberals feared Taylor's popularity with the voters in a triangular contest, and did not underestimate the number of votes that might be lost to her and the possibility of it resulting in a Conservative win. The working-class electorate, which the Reform Act of 1867 had increased, had grown further following Charles Dilke's Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act 1878. This had enfranchised male residents dwelling in houses of multiple occupation. Such men were no longer classed as lodgers if they occupied a room and the landlord was not residing in the same house. The Franchise Act 1884, however, had had little effect on voting rights in boroughs like Camberwell; its impact had been seen in county seats ([Davis and Tanner, 1996: 308, 314](#)).

Taylor was endorsed by former SDF colleagues. W. B. Parker was standing as the SDF candidate in another triangular contest against the caucus 'wire pullers' in Central Hackney. He addressed one of her election meetings ([Reynolds Newspaper, 1885, 15 November: 8](#)). John Burns of the SDF, the grassroots candidate in the triangular contest in Nottingham, also endorsed her candidature and arranged for her to speak on his behalf in Nottingham. He believed that 'this will strengthen materially my candidature for the West Division' (John Burns, 9 October 1885, MTC, file 22, no. 34).⁷ Taylor was popular nationwide amongst the working-class for her work for the burgeoning land movement, which she had promoted at meetings up and down the country for the last five years.

Taylor's direct challenge to the 1832 Reform Act divided the women's suffrage movement. The Englishwoman's Review, though recognising that it showed growing support by men for full political participation for women, doubted that it would further the cause of women's suffrage. Rather it showed that 'men shall be allowed to appoint what candidate they choose whoever that candidate might be' ([Englishwoman's Review, 1885, June](#)). Taylor received a letter, signed 'AAW', which feared that the press



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coverage surrounding her candidature would 'do much to injure the prospects of the Women's Suffrage Bill' which was due its second reading in the House of Commons. It would have been far better to wait for the successful passing of the bill and then present herself as a candidate, for 'we feel anxious about any step that will endanger it' (A. A. W., 14 June 1885, MTC, file 13, no. 36).⁸ Sylvia Pankhurst recalled how her father, Dr Richard Pankhurst, had spoken at one of Taylor's hustings in support of 'that very drastic lady', despite the women suffrage societies keeping their distance, fearful of being implicated in a foolish attempt at challenging the law:

They considered it injurious to the suffrage cause. The fact that Helen Taylor cast off the trammels of skirts and wore trousers was an added and most egregious offence in their eyes. Even Mrs Pankhurst was distressed that her husband should be seen walking with a lady in this garb ([Pankhurst, 1932: 27, 71](#)).

It was most likely the divided skirt of the Rational Dress Society that Taylor was wearing, but she made more cautious women suffragists very nervous that their cause would be brought into disrepute by Taylor transgressing Victorian ideas of respectability.⁹

Taylor had been in conflict with the more conservative members of the women's suffrage movement since the formation of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage (LNSWS) in 1867. Historians have blamed Helen and Mill's uncompromising and autocratic leadership for ultimately splitting the movement (Holton, 1973; [Worzala, 1974](#)). It is true that her unwillingness to compromise was a destructive force which split the conservative London and more Liberal Manchester branches of the LNSWS, although Lydia Becker in Manchester also found her impossible to work with ([Holton, 1995: 281](#)). It must be acknowledged, however, that the animosity of some suffragists to Taylor was political. Taylor's politics was too extreme for the more conservative suffragists. There were irreconcilable political divisions in the movement. Conservatives such as Emily Davies and Frances Power Cobbe wished to exclude married women from suffrage against the wishes of the Liberals, including Mill, Helen Taylor and Clementia Taylor ([Caine, 1992](#)).

Many British suffragists disapproved of Taylor's involvement in the Irish Land War as a member of the Irish Ladies' Land League ([Smith, 2016](#)). This had been formed, at Michael Davitt's instigation, to support the tenant farmers evicted for withholding their rent after the male Land League was proscribed by the British government and its leaders jailed. Taylor's friend, the suffragist Priscilla McLaren, wrote warning her that many in the women's rights movement feared she was bringing the cause into disrepute through her support for this Irish nationalist organisation. 'I hear now and then darker surmises of how much you and some others will retard our suffrage movement by signing yourselves up with the Land League question' (Priscilla McLaren, 15 March 1881, MTC, file 13, no. 234).¹⁰ Anna Parnell, sister of Charles Stewart Parnell, was the president of the Ladies' Land League and a friend of Taylor's. She was a fierce opponent of the British Empire and wrote scathing poetry mocking its supposed civilising effect (Smith, 1916). The Victorian women's suffrage movement has been dismissed as imperialist, basing its demands for equal citizenship in terms of rights within a civilised British Empire ([Burton, 1994](#)). This claim has been challenged by those who have identified that Victorian feminism was multi-faceted and included anti-imperialist feminism ([Ware, 1992](#)). Radical anti-imperialists, like Taylor, linked imperialism with a negation of true English values of liberty and English moral worth, views which they often combined with anti-militarism. Anti-imperialists opposed both the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and the Coercion Acts in Ireland as immoral and a threat to democracy and, therefore, against true English liberal values ([Matikkala, 2011](#)). Taylor often spoke in such terms throughout her campaigning life, particularly at this time in regards to the invasion of Egypt and military involvement in the Sudan. During the Irish Land War, she had linked the Irish struggle for land with that of past fights in Italy and France against tyranny, claiming that only Turkey had a more repressive government than Britain ([Freeman's Journal, 1881, 3 November: 6](#)). Richard Cobden's early nineteenth century anti-imperialism had greatly influenced Taylor's generation. Cobdenite anti-imperialism argued that taxation which could have improved society at home was wasted in foreign expansion, maintained by an expensive British army ([Turner, 2008: 7](#)). Taylor, like Cobden, was a lifelong pacifist and internationalist.

Ethel Leach, a fellow suffragist and Ladies' Land League member, and an elected member of the Great Yarmouth School Board, did support Taylor and became her election agent and appeared alongside her on election platforms ([Englishwoman's Review, 1885, October](#)). Taylor also received the support of the idiosyncratic campaigner and suffragist Jessie Craigen. Craigen and Taylor had been colleagues in both the Ladies' Land League and the Social Democratic Federation. At one time they had been very close but they had become estranged after an argument ([Holton, 1996: 139](#)).¹¹ Craigen established the 'Miss Taylor Election Independent Aid Committee', distributed a handbill and organised her own independent election meetings. Craigen's election literature clearly stated that her committee was 'not in communication with Miss Taylor herself or her committee in any way.'¹² Craigen referred back to pre-Reformation times when, she claimed, both Henry III and Edward III had summoned



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abbesses to Parliament. This, she claimed, validated Taylor's candidature in English law. No statute existed, she argued, that banned women from Parliament; neither was there anything in common law to forbid it. Craigen referenced Taylor's campaigning for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts as a reason to elect her to the House of Commons, a subtle reminder that Coote had been usurped as Liberal candidate by Strong:

In that House womanhood has been outraged by laws which, with cold brutality, made the daughters of the poor mere animal instruments to gratify the lusts of men. That degrading insult to us is still on the statute book. Send up a woman from North Camberwell to give utterance in the senate, for all womanhood in the land, to the hot shame and anger which every woman feels at it. Give womanhood a voice in the House of Commons to demand the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act (Jessie Craigen, 1881, MTC, box 7).¹³

Henry George, the American political economist, endorsed Taylor. This increased the prestige of her campaign, for George was renowned throughout the English-speaking world for his advocacy of a single tax on land, which, he argued, should replace all other taxation. This would open up access to the land to a greater number of working people. Landlords would no longer be able to profiteer from tenants and their unearned profit from land ownership. Land, now idle, would be available for use, as it would be unprofitable to the landowner to keep it unused and incur taxation on it ([George, 1881](#)). Many of the increasingly literate working-class had read his influential book, *Progress and Poverty* ([1881](#)), printed in affordable cheap editions, or had attended the meetings of The English Land Restoration League which promoted his ideas. George himself had toured Great Britain to spread his philosophy, sharing speaking engagements with Taylor with whom he and his family had stayed upon first coming to Britain in 1881. Taylor was on the executive of the English Land Restoration League as well as the Land Nationalisation Society. Despite believing the single tax would never work and that land nationalisation was the only remedy, Taylor and many land campaigners were members of both organisations. They considered both the ELRL and the LNS to be working to the same end – the land for the people. George wrote from New York that he believed that her election would further the cause of women's rights (Henry George, 25 September 1885, MTC, file 17, no. 23).¹⁴ One of the most famous men of the age, he had been converted to openly supporting women's rights by Taylor, noting: 'It is only of late years and largely since I first met you that I have come to realise the importance of women taking their part in politics' (Henry George, 17 September 1885, file 17, no. 88).¹⁵ George had considered Parnell ending the Land War as a betrayal of the land movement. He had written, in 1882, to Patrick Ford, the editor of the *Irish World*, that 'Parnell seems to me to have thrown away the greatest opportunity any Irishman ever had. It is the birth right for the mess of potage' ([Henry George, jr., 1900: 337](#)). He would have been aware that Parnell was supporting the Conservative candidate and, by openly favouring Taylor, the most renowned of land reformers was sending a strong message about the Irish leader's land policy.

Taylor's Irish nationalist support came from those members of the Land League who had been side-lined by Parnell as too extreme after he accepted Gladstone's 1881 Land Act. This paved the way for peasant ownership of their farms and smallholdings and the end of the Land League. Both Davitt and Anna Parnell were revered amongst the Irish working-class in Britain as two of the leading Irish nationalists of the time. Davitt had spent seven years in Dartmoor prison for gun running to Ireland as a member of the revolutionary Irish Republican Brotherhood. He had set up the Land League to protect the peasants from being evicted from their homes, as they had been in the famine of 1845, when another famine in Ireland looked likely in 1879. He had been introduced to the British land movement by Taylor and was on the executive of the Land Nationalisation Society. They had worked closely together, since 1882, inciting land agitation throughout Great Britain ([Smith, 2017](#)). He had come to believe that the only way that Ireland would win her freedom was by, peaceably, obtaining the support of the British working-class. Davitt had been marginalised within the Irish nationalist organisations by Parnell for his advocacy and work for nationalisation of the land over peasant proprietorship ([King, 2016](#)). Anna Parnell had worked closely with Taylor during the Land War as members of the Ladies' Land League. This organisation had run the Land War after the leading men, including Davitt and Parnell, were imprisoned by Gladstone. The Ladies had supported the evicted tenants at court hearings, attended the evictions, raised funds and organised and built the Land League huts to house those evicted by bailiffs during the 'no rent' campaign. Anna was so incensed by her brother's actions in calling off the campaign that it is reputed she never spoke to him again ([McL. Coté, 1991](#); King, 2006; [Moody, 1974](#); [Moody, 1984](#)). Michael Davitt and Anna Parnell believed that, in accepting the Treaty of Kilmainham in 1882, Parnell had missed an opportunity to achieve Irish independence. Ireland had been ungovernable during the land agitation, perhaps on the brink of an end to British rule. With Parnell supporting Blunt in Camberwell they were sending a signal to the elite constitutionalists of the Irish Nationalist Party. The press believed that Taylor's support for Home Rule would win her the Irish vote, 'which is by no means numerically insignificant in the division', as noted by the press ([Morning Post, 1885, 1 October: 3](#)). She had been a high-profile anti-coercion campaigner. Parnell was instructing the Irish in Britain to vote Conservative except in



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the case of a few named Radical and Liberal candidates who had not shared the Government's intransigence over Home Rule or its meddling in Irish education, and who had opposed the anti-democratic coercion laws.

In no case ought an Irish Nationalist to give a vote in our opinion to a member of that Liberal or Radical party, except in those cases which courageous fealty to the Irish cause in the last parliament has given a guarantee that the candidate will not belong to the servile and cowardly and unprincipled herd that would break every pledge and violate every principle in obedience to the call of the whip and the mandate of the caucus ([Buckingham Advertiser and Free Press, 1885, 28 November: 6](#)).

Davitt wrote a letter of support to Taylor, offering to take the chair at an election meeting if he could find the time to leave his work in Dublin. This was made into a handbill for distribution amongst the Irish voters. It stated that he was 'satisfied that Ireland would not have a truer friend or a more staunch supporter in Westminster than you (Michael Davitt, 12 November 1885, MTC, file 13, no. 195).¹⁶ He, too, saw it as an important step in women crossing the frontier into full citizenship, stating that Taylor's candidature would further the cause of women's suffrage (*Ibid*).¹⁷

Anna Parnell had proved herself a capable leader when left to run the Land War in the absence of the male imprisoned leaders. A leading contemporary Irish nationalist, Andrew Kettle, regarded her as more able than her brother. He believed she was better able to understand the economics of landlordism and how Irish independence could be achieved, noting, 'Anna Parnell would have worked the Land League revolution to a much better conclusion than her great brother' ([Kettle 1958: 48](#)). Anna Parnell wrote to Taylor from Dublin, pledging her support, openly countering her brother's endorsement of Blunt. Taylor's campaign released the letter to the press. It urged the Irish community in Camberwell to remember the sacrifices that Taylor had made during the Land War on their behalf. It recalled the 'distressing drudgery' of her physical effort at evictions when she had opposed the bailiffs, risking imprisonment herself. It asserted that 'the most enthusiastic and self-sacrificing patriot could have done no more for Ireland than you did' (Anna Parnell, 5 November 1885, MTC, file 18, no. 98).¹⁸

Anna travelled over from Dublin to appear with Taylor at an open-air election meeting. The two women shared a platform in front of a crowd of working people, many of them Irish. Taylor called for the creation of an Irish Parliament, and was 'loudly cheered' for doing so and claimed that women were in the same position that Catholics had been in fifty years earlier, before O'Connell achieved Catholic emancipation. Anna appealed to the Irish electorate to vote for Taylor and again reminded them that she had made a significant contribution to the success of the Land League and had even physically erected Land League huts herself (*Freemans Journal*, 1885, 24 November: 3). The Land League was an Irish nationalist organisation and support for it was support for the nationalist cause, as Anna was implicitly reminding those present. Katherine Tynan, the poet, recalled in her memoirs that that many joined the Land League only because they saw it as a means of achieving independence: 'The Land League in those days was the expression of the Nationalist spirit in Ireland. I think a good many of us felt the uninspiringness of it but there it was' ([Tynan, 1913: 81](#)). In Camberwell North, if not elsewhere at this election, three Home Rulers were openly fighting to secure the Irish vote.

Disappointingly, but predictably, all this campaigning and support were to be in vain. On the first day of the election, 24 November 1885, the Presiding Officer refused to accept Taylor's nomination papers as valid ([Smith, 2019](#)). She presented her papers in person and protested vehemently at the decision, declaring his actions were illegal. Wilfrid Blunt described the scene: 'Helen Taylor presented her papers...She was quickly demolished by Sandy Face who read out the Franchise Act' ([Longford, 1979: 221](#)). 'Sandy Face' referred to the complexion of the Presiding Officer. The official maintained that, under Section 4 of the Ballot Act, candidates were referred to as 'his' and 'him' and, therefore, women were excluded. The English Woman's Review supported Taylor's view that in many other Acts masculine pronouns did actually include women in the meaning and scope of the Act ([Englishwoman's Review, 1885](#)). The Leeds Mercury, however, had previously stated that it would be ridiculous to change constitutional law through 'the action of a knot of Radical socialists' ([Leeds Mercury, 1885, 21 November: 6](#)). The Standard declared that Taylor had shown a lack of knowledge of 'the elementary rules of grammar in the differentiation between masculine and feminine genders' ([The Standard, 1885, 2 December: 3](#)).

There were those who continued to maintain that Taylor had a legal right to stand for parliament. John Chapman, of the National Liberal Club, believed that the refusal of the Presiding Officer to accept her nomination was 'an abuse of his rightful authority' (John Chapman, 5 December 1885, MTC, file 4, no. 55).¹⁹ The Law Journal concluded that Taylor should have sought legal advice before submitting her papers. The Returning Officer may have been legally obliged to accept them, despite her name being on them, if they had been submitted by a third party '...but she preferred boldly to avow her sex' ([The Times, 1885, 27 November: 7](#)). Here is seen Taylor's lack of ability to compromise. She argued with the Presiding Officer over her nomination papers rather



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than have someone present them on her behalf, because she felt she was morally right. With the triangular contest avoided, Richard Strong was returned as the Liberal member for Camberwell North, a victory for the caucus. Defeat for the Liberal party had been averted until the following year after Parliament's rejection of Gladstone's Home Rule bill which split the party.

CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on Taylor's campaign not as an historical curiosity, but as an example of the contemporary politics and issues surrounding the 1885 election in Camberwell North. It is an example of the triangular contests which occurred during that election as radical clubs kicked back against the 'wire pullers' of the Liberal party hierarchy. Taylor was presented to the electorate as a true grassroots candidate. This was a direct response to radicals in the constituency, having had the Liberal candidate, Strong, imposed on them. They had seen their first choice of candidate, W. A. Coote, unsuccessful in the candidate ballot of the official Liberal selection Committee. Taylor was President of the Camberwell Radical Club, a local campaigner and a well-known, popular school board member. She was indeed 'The People's Candidate,' despite her privileged position in society. Her grave in Torquay bears evidence of this with its inscription: 'She fought for the People.' The support for Taylor by the radical wing of Irish nationalism, Davitt and Anna Parnell, illustrates the power struggle taking place in the Irish nationalist movement. Both Davitt and Anna had opposed Parnell calling off the Land War and been side-lined by him. Parnell had closed down the Ladies' Land League and marginalised Davitt for his support for land nationalisation. Davitt and Anna publicly supported Taylor as their own non-elite candidate, in opposition to Parnell supporting Blunt, in a battle against the 'wire pullers' of their own movement. The candidature of Taylor was also a test of the 1832 Reform Act and a campaign against the legal barriers barring women from full citizenship. This dismayed more cautious suffragists. Finally, analysing Taylor's manifesto, in the light of the provenance of contemporary radical and socialist thought, has shown that it would have been instantly recognisable to the electorate and not extraordinary or idiosyncratic in any way. After the campaign Taylor continued to work for land nationalisation and the Moral Reform Union. She made what peace she could with the Liberal Party by campaigning as a member of the Women's Liberal Federation, as one of the suffragists within it. During the 1890s she spent less and less time campaigning and more and more time at her house in Avignon, France, which she had shared all those years ago with John Stuart Mill. Her health declined during the decade and by the early years of the twentieth century she was a frail, confused old lady, shuffling among the leaves of her garden in the South of France (Diary of Mary Taylor, MTC, file 58, no. 4).²⁰ In 1905 her niece, Mary Taylor, persuaded her to return to England. She died in Torquay, aged 75, in 1907, eleven years before the election of the first woman MP, Constance Markiewicz. Taylor's campaign to enter the Houses of Parliament as the first woman MP faded from the historical record until Pugh's article in 1978. Her candidature, and her other political and social campaigning, passed swiftly from the record of the fight for women's citizen rights and the history of the struggle for workers' rights. Perhaps the main reason for the amnesia, other than the fact that she left little in the form of writing except a few lectures and political tracts, is that her campaigns, such as land reform and moral reform, died with her, as did the political ideology of her step-father which had informed them. Land as a politically important question faded with the First World War. The school boards were replaced by the county councils; the London School Board was dissolved in 1903 when the London County Council took over the running of the capital's state school system. Although she had been so active in such modern relevant campaigns such as equal pay for women, equality in the classroom for women teachers and girl pupils and an end to corporal punishment, the demise of the school boards led to a lack of continuity in the campaigns for these causes. The Liberal Party itself, with which Taylor had such a strained relationship, had a final flourish in the early twentieth century, with the introduction of pensions for all, but declined as the working class attached its allegiance to the new Labour Party after the First World War. When she died the secretary of the Land Nationalisation Society, Joseph Hyder, wrote to Taylor's niece, Mary, that 'Her death snaps another link with the past' (Joseph Hyder, undated, MTC, file 29, no. 297).²¹ As her own generation passed away, the memory of how influential and active she had been in the last decades of the nineteenth century was forgotten. One person, however, did remember and recorded the importance of the part Taylor had played in the struggle for women's rights. The final word is, therefore, given to her erstwhile political advisor and friend, Frank Soutter. He included Taylor's parliamentary campaign in his 1923 memoirs and emphasised the importance of acknowledging those who had, in previous generations, played their part in the long struggle for women's suffrage and full citizen rights:

In this, the day of its almost complete success, we shall be the better for recollecting the labours of our predecessors. In the heyday of our prosperity it is well to remember that we often reap where others have sown; and of no movement is this more true than it is of that for the equality of sexes before the law ([Soutter, 1923: 98](#)).



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NOTES

1. H. Taylor to Lady Amberley, August 1872, McMaster University, Bertrand Russell Archives, box 0791294, no. 128499. [\[^\]](#)
2. Camberwell Radical Club to Helen Taylor, 22 May 1885, London School of Economics (LSE), Mill Taylor Collection (MTC), file 18, no. 5. [\[^\]](#)
3. [Cuttings and leaflets connected with the election of 1885, LSE, MTC, box 7.](#) [\[^\]](#)
4. H. Taylor to H. Hyndman, undated drafts, LSE, MTC, file 18, no. 27. [\[^\]](#)
5. [Cuttings and leaflets connected with the election of 1885, LSE, MTC, box 7.](#) [\[^\]](#)
6. H. Taylor to G. T. Day, draft letter, no date, LSE, MTC, file 18, no. 17. [\[^\]](#)
7. J. Burns to H. Taylor, 9 October 1885, LSE, MTC, file 22, no. 34. [\[^\]](#)
8. A. A. W. to H. Taylor, 14 June 1885, LSE, MTC, file 13, no. 36. The signature is unclear and is most likely 'AHW,' the suffragist and School Board member, Alice Hare Westlake. [\[^\]](#)
9. Ada S. Ballin in the *Science of Dress* (1885) observed that divided skirts might be made so artfully that an outsider would not know the difference between them and an ordinary skirt ([Cunningham, 2002: 68](#)). Taylor's were less successful. [\[^\]](#)
10. P. McLaren to H. Taylor, 15 March 1881, LSE, MTC, file 13, no. 234. [\[^\]](#)
11. Holton in her 1996 study, '[Silk dresses and lavender kid gloves](#)', identified Craigen's relationship with Taylor as an example of Victorian romantic friendship between women. Holton believed that the argument resulted from Craigen criticising Parnell for ending the Irish land agitation and accepting Gladstone's Kilmainham Treaty. Far from being annoyed at Jessie's attack on Parnell, Taylor would have agreed that Parnell had betrayed the Irish Land League at a time when Ireland was ungovernable and self-rule arguably a possibility. The better tenancies which followed still left many Irish landless. Helen's political colleagues in both the land nationalisation and Irish nationalist organisations felt the same sense of having been betrayed by Parnell, including Michael Davitt, Anna Parnell and Henry George. [\[^\]](#)
12. [Cuttings and leaflets connected with the election of 1885, LSE, MTC, box 7.](#) [\[^\]](#)
13. *Ibid.* [\[^\]](#)
14. H. George to H. Taylor, 25 September 1885, LSE, MTC, file 17, no. 23. [\[^\]](#)
15. H. George to H. Taylor, 17 September 1885, LSE, file 17, no. 88. [\[^\]](#)
16. M. Davitt to H. Taylor, 12 November 1885, LSE, MTC, file 13, no. 195 [\[^\]](#)
17. M. Davitt to H. Taylor, 12 November 1885, LSE, MTC, file 13, no. 195 and handbill, [Cuttings and leaflets connected with the election of 1885, LSE, MTC, box 7.](#) [\[^\]](#)
18. A. Parnell to H. Taylor, 5 November 1885, LSE, MTC, file 18, no. 98. [\[^\]](#)
19. J. Chapman to H. Taylor, 5 December 1885, LSE, MTC, file 4, no. 55. [\[^\]](#)
20. Diary of M. Taylor, LSE, MTC, file 58, no. 4. [\[^\]](#)
21. J. Hyder to M. Taylor, undated, LSE, MTC, file 29, no. 297. [\[^\]](#)

COMPETING INTERESTS

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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CONVEYANCE AND COMMODITY: THE ORDINARY MERCHANT SHIP IN THE BRITISH ATLANTIC, 1600–1800

Phillip Frank Reid, Ph.D.
(Wilmington, NC, USA)

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Principal motivations for undertaking the enterprise that became the British Atlantic world were the desires for wealth, imperial prestige vis-à-vis rivals, and religious chauvinism. Principal means available were the royal treasury, a sophisticated, if risky, system of private credit, kin and religious networks strong enough to withstand transatlantic stretching, the ability to navigate vessels out of sight of land, and vessels capable of making ocean crossings while carrying enough people, and their necessities, to make such crossings both possible and worthwhile—at least potentially.

Without sufficient numbers of affordable, seaworthy vessels capable of transporting people and goods across a dangerous ocean at tolerable risk, such an enterprise would not have been possible. This technology, whose basic form was roughly a century old when the English imperial venture moved westward beyond Ireland, would prove adaptable enough to meet the needs of an empire expanding demographically, geographically, and economically for two centuries. No dramatic technological rupture occurred in the merchant ship in that long period. When we delve into the reasons for that, and explore the adaptations mariners did make to the vessels, along with the changes in markets and business networks and concentrations of wealth connected to them, we gain a richer understanding of how this world worked, how it responded to its endemic challenges as well as to changes in those challenges, and how it approached the use of technology.⁸⁰ When we consider that all of the people and goods and ideas of the Atlantic world came together, voluntarily or not, for better or for worse, aboard the ordinary merchant ship, we can begin to explore how all the networks holding together this new world intersected in the complex web of the ship's rig. People who had never met each other—in many cases, had never even heard of each other's existence—met, traded, exchanged ideas, had sex or killed each other because some of them were transported somewhere else on a ship. The biological, cultural, political, and economic ramifications of those encounters were the creation story of the Atlantic world, a story loaded with opportunity and promise and fraught with anxiety, pain, and disaster. Europeans transported their notions of power and hierarchy and their material culture aboard ship. Non-Europeans, whether African or American, first encountered those alien cultural tropes aboard ship; the first non-Europeans carried aboard ship were captive prizes brought home as exotic curiosities and trophies of successful adventures.

As the Atlantic economy developed, and slave-raised crops began to displace cod as the top New World commodities, the trade in captured Africans grew concomitantly. The first encounter between the wretched survivors of the Middle Passage, cleaned and oiled for presentation, and those who would buy them and use them usually took place on the deck of a ship. And yet, the merchant ship would prove problematic to the imposition and preservation of such black-and-white dichotomies; Atlantic merchant crews were typically polyglot and multicolored, despite the predilections of exclusivist mercantile economic “theory” and despite the rapid and deep development of racism. Some of the Africans stacked in chains belowdecks on their first Atlantic

⁸⁰ See Phillip Reid, “A Very Good Sailer: Merchant Ship Technology and the Development of the British Atlantic Empire, 1600–1800” (unpublished PhD dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2017).



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crossings—and their sons and grandsons—later found themselves free to move about the decks of ships they operated as sailors or masters, even if they were not free in the eyes of the law or the minds of their “masters” ashore.⁸¹ Merchant ships were not only the means of transporting the wealth of the elites, and the elites themselves. They were also the means of stealing that wealth, of smuggling wealth between people and places outside the law, and of escape from bondage, servitude, and unhappiness.⁸² The merchant ship was both the tool of the established order and routinely transgressive of it.

While the foregoing establishment of the merchant ship as a main stage for the acting-out of world-creation in the early modern Atlantic is important, it leaves the ship as just that—a stage, a passive setting for the actions of people and a vessel for the transport of goods.⁸³ To move beyond that requires moving into the history of technology, a field concerned with the human use of ideas, skills, and materials to manipulate the physical environment. What the activity of technology looks like in a given society is as ideologically-determined as any other aspect of that society, so that understanding the culture well enough to understand the ideologies at work in it is required for understanding its technology.⁸⁴ In turn, that society’s use of technology affects it in ways both foreseen and unforeseen, and historians of technology attempt to trace connections between those causes and effects.

AN EVOLUTIONARY TECHNOLOGY⁸⁵

The merchant ship in the British Atlantic exhibited strong continuities throughout the period, as well as some significant adaptations and the relative ascendance and descendance of certain types relative to others. While there is still work to do in interpreting all of that in historical context, what we can state with confidence tells us much about how the merchant ship served as an intersection of all the elements of this new world, from the physical to the personal to the commercial, and how it played a part in those networks not just as a conveyance, but as a commodity. To understand how those networks developed and changed over time, and how the merchant ship continued to connect them even as they grew and multiplied, it is helpful to start at the beginning of Atlantic colonization.

The earliest merchant ships employed in the enterprise of the British Atlantic were the fishery transports serving the seasonal Newfoundland Grand Banks cod fishery, and the small galleons sent out on reconnoitering missions.⁸⁶ These ships had to be stout

⁸¹ On black mariners, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Michael J. Jarvis, *In The Eye Of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680—1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman’s Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁸² The literature on smuggling and the circumvention of mercantilist maritime protectionism is illuminating and fascinating, and historiographically impressive given the intrinsic difficulty of studying illicit activities. See Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (Leiden: KITLV, 1998); “Inter-Imperial Smuggling in the Americas, 1600—1800,” in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault, eds., *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 141—80; Thomas M. Truxes, *Defying Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); Victor Enthoven, “That Abominable Nest of Pirates: St. Eustasius and the North Americans, 1680-1780,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 10:2 (Spring 2012): 239—301; and Alan Karras, “Transgressive Exchange: Rewriting Atlantic Law in the Eighteenth-Century Caribbean,” paper presented at Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., February 12-15, 2003.

⁸³ Having said that, one Atlantic history in particular is exceptionally helpful in understanding communication by ship: Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic, 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community* (Oxford UK: Oxford University Press, 1986).

⁸⁴ The intellectual underpinnings of this approach may be traced from Eric Schatzberg’s *Wings of Wood, Wings of Metal: Culture and Technical Choice in American Airplane Materials, 1914—1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), to Marshall Sahlins’ *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), Paul Ricoeur’s *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, ed. George H. Taylor (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), and Clifford Geertz’s *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁸⁵ Economic and technological historian Joel Mokyr uses the terms “macroinvention” and “microinvention” to distinguish revolutionary from evolutionary technology in his *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), Kindle Edition, location 299.

⁸⁶ On the cod fishery, see Peter E. Pope, *Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill:



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enough and capacious enough to survive the unforgiving North Atlantic sea conditions and to carry enough men and fish to make the voyage worthwhile. Like almost all ships that served the British Atlantic throughout this period, though, they would be considered small to a modern eye. Their hulls were well-rounded, for capacity and sea-kindliness, not maximum speed. Their rigs carried a combination of *square* (actually trapezoidal) and *lateen* (triangular) sails, the combination hit upon in the fifteenth century by Iberian, Basque, French, and later northern European mariners and shipwrights as a versatile hybrid of two traditions, both of which served widely in the ancient Mediterranean. The single large square sail had been in use on northern European merchant vessels since ancient times as well. For long-distance ocean work, a rig made up of several, not one, square sails, with a lateen sail as a *mizzen* (aftermost) sail, allowed for efficient downwind sailing, in which the wind pushes on the sails from behind, and the vessel sails in the same direction to which the wind is blowing, more or less. It also allowed for better maneuverability than relying on steering gear alone; the lateen mizzen served as a wind-rudder of sorts, allowing easier balance of the overall sail plan and less effort for steering, especially in harbors and river mouths and other restricted areas where the ship had to maneuver in fairly close quarters. With the rig split into several sails, instead of one or two, the crew could adjust the *sail plan* (what sails were up, and how much of each sail was presented to the wind) according to conditions—which, in the Atlantic, changed frequently on most routes, most of the time.

These ships were not built from plans. The exact form of the curves that determined the hull's shape were determined largely by the experienced eye of the shipwright. Artisanal craftsmen acquired sophisticated skills in an apprentice-journeyman-master system, usually without any academic instruction or reliance on written references. The work was performed and supervised by a few highly-skilled craftsmen rather than divided up into discrete semi-skilled tasks. That is how technology was developed, implemented, and disseminated in the ancient and early modern worlds.

While there were identifiable characteristics of design and construction associated with the traditions of specific European competitors, shipwrights moved around the Atlantic world like other Europeans, and ships did so as a matter of course.⁸⁷ Maritime predation was a major component of the chronic imperial warfare in the Atlantic, and took place on a large scale, with thousands of ships captured in major wars. There was little way that techniques and preferences were going to remain unknown to foreigners. Archaeologists have recently made strong cases for the blending of typically-Dutch characteristics with those of English and French building traditions.⁸⁸ That is not surprising, given the pre-eminence of Dutch merchant shipping in the seventeenth century and the large numbers of Dutch ships captured in the Anglo-Dutch Wars sparked, to a large extent, by English commercial jealousy. Dutch emphasis on economy of construction, aided by their simple building techniques, wind and water power, and access to affordable timber, had them turning out unarmed or lightly-armed—and thus relatively lightly-built—merchantmen with high capacity-for-size.⁸⁹ These ships, along with Dutch credit and access to markets, allowed the Dutch to consistently undercut the shipping rates of their rivals. Indeed, the Dutch merchant fleet was instrumental in creating and sustaining not just the Dutch Atlantic, but the Iberian, French, and English Atlantics as well—a fact which infuriated the governments of their rivals, and garnered grudging respect from proponents of English maritime trade.⁹⁰ By 1700, with the supply

University of North Carolina Press, 2004). For a study of a small early seventeenth-century English galleon by the ship historian who helped design a currently-operational replica of her, see Brian Lavery, *The Colonial Merchantman Susan Constant 1605* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1988).

⁸⁷ For details on distinctive design and construction features of specific European peoples, see R. C. Anderson, "Comparative Naval Architecture, 1670—1720, Part I," *Mariner's Mirror* 7:2 (1921), 38—45; "Comparative Naval Architecture, 1670—1720, Part II," *Mariner's Mirror* 7:6 (1921), 172—81; "Comparative Naval Architecture, 1670—1720, Part III," *Mariner's Mirror* 7:10 (1921), 308—15.

⁸⁸ See Warren Riess with Sheli O. Smith, *The Ship That Held Up Wall Street* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2015), and David Moore, "Anatomy of a 17th Century Slave Ship: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the *Henrietta Marie*" (unpublished MA thesis, East Carolina University, 1989).

⁸⁹ For an expert English-language introduction to Dutch building, see Albert (Ab) Hoving, *17th Century Dutch Merchant Ships: Text, Photos, and Plans for the Ship Modeler* (Florence, OR: Sea Watch Books, 2014).

⁹⁰ See Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches*, already cited; and *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).



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of captured Dutch merchantmen dwindling, English, French, and English American shipwrights were building vessels exhibiting typical characteristics of both their own traditional practices and those of the Dutch.⁹¹

Among those traditional practices for the English were stout construction and stout armament—the latter of which required the former, as the weight and recoil of cannon placed significant strain on the ships' timbers. That made English ships expensive, but they were favored for the dangerous Mediterranean trades, bedeviled as they were by the state-sponsored corsairs of the North African coast (the notorious "Barbary pirates"). To a significant extent, the preference carried over into Atlantic service, where the arming of merchant ships, and the stoutness of construction necessary to allow it, persisted as the rule rather than the exception throughout the period. It only waned after 1750, as the Royal Navy proved able to project its power much more effectively westward and southward. The fact that the ordinary merchant ship of, say, 1740 still resembled a small warship as much as it did, reflected the risks of its operating environment, and provided one means of response to some of those risks. Indeed, perhaps the most common hull type of the British Atlantic merchantman in the eighteenth century was called at the time "frigate-built," as it incorporated prominent design and construction features of the frigate, a small warship enjoying wide favor in both the British and French navies.⁹²

English and American owners did, however, adopt some general modifications to their ships along Dutch lines, it would seem, making them somewhat more capacious for their size, and reducing *draft* (depth of the hull below the waterline) somewhat in the process, which had advantages in negotiating river mouths and sounds partially obstructed by sandbars, as was common on both the east coast of North America and the coast of the Netherlands. An unarmed merchant ship of, say, 1760 would have reflected the influence of improved Royal Navy protection, in both patrols and convoys, as well as the growth of the marine insurance market.⁹³ To some extent, too, the Navigation Acts, that set of protectionist trade laws intended to drive the Dutch out of English imperial markets, may have blunted market pressures toward cheaper ships—though not enough, it would seem, to prevent some significant attempts at economy, especially later in the period as markets grew.⁹⁴

When we consider where ships were built, and for whom, in the British Atlantic, and how that changed—and did not—over time, we reveal an important example of overall economic trends in the Atlantic empire—trends that would ultimately have profound political ramifications. The earliest ships were built in England. The ships sent out to scout the coasts and islands for possible settlements were chartered—leased—by royally-chartered monopoly companies. Within a decade of establishment, though, New England had a shipbuilding industry, and it only grew over time. Before the English shipbuilding industry had even caught up to the Dutch, it faced competition from within its own empire. Still, the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries reflected the inequalities of wealth and relative positions within credit and business networks between England-based and colonial-based interests. Typically, the larger vessels built before 1750 in English-British America were built for English owners looking to save money by having vessels built in America—savings they were likely to realize. Smaller vessels, intended for coastal and island trade, were usually owned by British Americans. After 1750, this imbalance of ownership of larger vessels was no longer. By 1767, perhaps a third of British ships were American-built.⁹⁵

⁹¹ See Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (St. John's, Canada: International Maritime Economic History Association, Research in Maritime History Number 48, 2012), 47. This is the most important book on its subject.

⁹² For descriptions of defining features of the main types of eighteenth-century merchant hulls, see David R. MacGregor's summary in *Merchant Sailing Ships 1775-1815: Their Design and Construction* (Watford UK: Argus Books, 1980), 20, derived from Frederik H. af Chapman's *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria*, an English translation of which, currently in print, is *Architectura Navalis Mercatoria: The Classic of Eighteenth Century Naval Architecture* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006).

⁹³ Christopher J. French posits the increased effectiveness of convoys in "Productivity in the Atlantic shipping industry: a quantitative study," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17:3 (Winter 1987): 613—38. On insurance, see A. H. John, "The London Assurance Company and the Marine Insurance Market of the Eighteenth Century," *Economica* n.s. 25 (1958): 126—41.

⁹⁴ Davis writes that the stifling of foreign competition effected by the Navigation Acts removed any motivation to experiment with cheaper *fluit*-like cargo carriers in the transatlantic trades—see 57. The continued reality of maritime predation, though, would have pressured strongly against it anyway.

⁹⁵ Alan McGowan, *The Century Before Steam: The Development of the Sailing Ship 1700-1820* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1980), 26—7.



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One reason for the early emergence of the British American shipbuilding industry was that, while the eastern seaboard had what seemed like limitless supplies of suitable timber, it was not cost-effective to ship sufficient quantities of timber back to England for ship construction. It was, however, cost-effective to build the ships in New England (and, later, in the Delaware Valley), despite high labor costs in British America. Colonial shipbuilding reminded maritime interests in England that connections between the home island and its possessions across the sea were real, for better or for worse. The Thames shipbuilding lobby and its supporters railed and petitioned against American shipbuilding, arguing—rightly—that it violated the principles of how empire was supposed to work, with colonies supporting, not competing with, the industries of the mother country by supplying it with raw materials and with markets for the finished products. Colonial shipbuilding turned this on its head. An American-built British ship was a tangible example of the limits of mercantilist theory in the real world of early modern empire-building. British merchants, however, continued to order more and more ships from American yards. Merchants in London and Liverpool and Bristol wrote to correspondents in the colonies, inquiring after prices and builders and placing orders. Transfers of credit, money, and goods followed those letters. The ultimate result of those mostly intangible networked transactions was the construction and launch of a new ship from a New England or Delaware Valley yard.

The shipwright might have to negotiate further with the prospective owners, though, even after he had agreed to undertake the job. Owners generally wanted the most capacity they could get out of a vessel. The shipwright was happy to deliver that, so long as the owners' specifications did not contradict his principles of sound design and construction. If they did, he might well insist on a modification to the original agreement to accommodate his own building standards.⁹⁶ After all, it was his reputation, as much as theirs, that would go down the ways when the ship was launched, and follow the vessel from port to port. Reputation was important to those serious about building and sustaining their businesses, and reputation would get around through the maritime networks of merchants, masters, and sailors.

After the long-distance financial transactions were set in place, the building of a ship would draw together a local network of craftsmen; the principal shipwright was in charge, but he did not do all the work himself. Riggers and block-makers, caulkers, masons (to build brick ovens), glaziers, sailmakers, painters, and chandlers—all might present their bills for goods and services before the ship was finished.⁹⁷

It was unlikely that either the shipwright or any of the other tradesmen and local merchants involved in the ship's construction would be paid entirely in currency. Shipbuilding agreements typically specified a price per ton, expressed in pounds sterling or dollars, along with what part was to be paid in currency and what part to be paid in goods. Pounds sterling were in perennial short supply, and the most common substitute for them was "West India goods"—sugar products. Shipbuilding was an important New England industry from the earliest decades, but it was not the top New England industry of the eighteenth century. That distinction belonged to rum distilling. The produce of the cane, grown in the Caribbean islands, was a form of currency in itself, with sugar and molasses in constant demand on the eastern seaboard. Since the 1640s, when the New England colonies were still new, the English West Indies had been producing sugar, beginning on Barbados. As sugar production ramped up, the average size of ships produced in New England decreased, as the industry focused on turning out vessels for trade to the islands, whose ports were scattered and where individual cargoes were likely to be small (though valuable).⁹⁸ The connections between New England-built ships and West Indian sugar were strong and lasting. As the sugar planters turned the maximum amount of land over to sugar production, they needed lumber for building and provisions for food and other supplies. Those commodities, in large part, were produced in the eastern seaboard colonies and brought to the islands in American-built ships, which traded not just with the British islands, but with those of the French, Dutch, and Spanish, whose islands were also producing sugar. As the

⁹⁶ This led to a modification of specifications, insisted upon by the shipwright, in a ship being built for Daniel Flexney in London by Charles West of Philadelphia. Letter, John Reynell to Daniel Flexney, John Reynell letter book 1738-1741, Coates and Reynell Family Papers, 1677—1930, Coll.I 140, Series 1, Volume 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹⁷ Chits for payments due all these tradesmen and more may be found in the individual collections comprising the Brown Family Business Records, John Carter Brown Library. See Bibliography.

⁹⁸ Charles Carroll, "The Forest Society of New England," in Brooke Hindle, ed., *America's Wooden Age: Aspects of its Early Technology* (Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1985), 32—3.



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sugar islands needed inter-island shipping, it was common for owners to instruct the master to sell the ship, too, if he could get a good price for her. The ship, then, as well as her cargo, was a salable commodity.

As sugar eclipsed Virginia tobacco as the chief export commodity of English America, it provided the opportunity for New England and the Delaware Valley to develop a thriving maritime economy—one that would mature into a fully-developed network of commercial enterprises that did not fit comfortably into a traditional mercantilist model of empire.

That economy, of course, depended on the African slave trade. Merchant ships of what to us would be of decidedly modest size eventually transported around twelve million Africans across the Atlantic. Most of the survivors ended up on sugar plantations in the West Indies, where their life expectancy was short, and what they could expect in that short life was nothing anyone would want. While the experience of the merchant ship for mariners was as a workplace of hard, dangerous labor, the experience of it by African prisoners, chained belowdecks for most of the passage, was as an infernal conveyance of abject terror and unimaginable misery.⁹⁹ For perhaps one in seven of them, it was the last place they would ever see. For those who survived, the ship, while not the site of their first encounters with Europeans, was the site of extended contact and interaction, as the passage took several weeks or even a few months, depending on conditions. That contact and interaction were, of course, an experience of unremitting brutality, and a foretaste of more of the same for those who reached their unknown destinations.

Cargoes of slaves were only loaded after some significant modifications to the interior of the ship had been made by the ship's carpenter and his mate. Those included flat platforms with iron ringbolts for the prisoners to lie on, with the chains of their manacles passed through the ringbolts. They included temporary *bulkheads* (analogous to walls) belowdecks to keep the prisoners locked in and separated by gender. They also included *barricadoes*, barricades on deck behind which the crew could take shelter and fire on the prisoners in the event of an uprising.

It is significant that these rather major modifications were usually erected for a specific voyage and dismantled after the surviving prisoners were off-loaded at the American destination. It is an important example of the fact that, as a rule, ships throughout this period were not specialized in the way that most of ours are; they were not configured to carry one type of cargo all the time. That reflects the nature of British Atlantic markets and goods, and allowed the ship a versatility that helped her owners mitigate commercial risk and take advantage of frequently-unpredictable market opportunities.¹⁰⁰ That slaver, once the carpenter and his mate had removed all the specialized structures of the recently-completed nefarious enterprise (and the ship had been washed, hosed, and pumped out belowdecks, to flush out the filth and stench), would be ready to carry other cargoes to her next port-of-call—usually, naturally enough, the sugar produce of the islands, which the survivors of her slaving voyage were doomed to cultivate and process for the rest of their short, wretched lives.

While it is true that merchant ships in the eighteenth-century Atlantic were built to carry general, mixed cargo (with the exception of dedicated fishing vessels), they were usually put into service on a specific route, and that route frequently featured a consistent export commodity, such as tobacco. Those commodities did create pressure for two types of specialization: containers for transport, and sizes of ships. Tobacco (and sugar, and rice) were transported in wooden casks or barrels (the components of which were also common salable commodities carried aboard merchant ships). The sizes of those barrels were roughly standard in the British Atlantic, and had been for centuries, thanks to the wine trade with Iberia and France. Once plantation products had become major commodities, they were being transported in *hogsheads*, a size of cask long used for wine. Tobacco, though, was a dried leaf, not a liquid like wine or a dense granular substance like sugar. During the eighteenth century, it was packed more and more tightly, so that it was more efficient and cost-effective to transport. That was not only a commercial consideration; these ships used their cargoes for *ballast*—the weight carried low in the hull that provided stability at sea, counteracting both the tendency to roll in the waves and to *heel* (lean over) as the wind exerted more pressure on the sails. In that sense, then,

⁹⁹ For important recent work on the experiences of African prisoners and mariners on slave ships—and on the ships themselves—see Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007); Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and their Captive Cargoes* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Robert Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage Through the World of the Slave Trade* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

¹⁰⁰ On commercial risk, see Phillip Reid, "Something Ventured: The Ordinary Merchantman of the British Atlantic as a Technology of Risk Mitigation, 1600-1800," *Journal of Transport History* 38:2 (December 2017): 196—212.



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cargoes were an integral part of the ship, and the safety and comfort of that ship at sea depended heavily on the proper stowage of a proper mix of cargo. Crews knew how to arrange casks in the hold by weight, and to make sure they did not shift in a seaway—which could, in a worst-case scenario, cause the ship to capsize—and that they provided properly-balanced stability for the ship. Thus, a ship’s master needed to find cargo suitable not just for profit, but for a safe voyage.

Perhaps the most important difference in doing long-distance business then and now is that in the eighteenth century, communication only moved as fast as the fastest ship. Information received by merchants from their contacts around the Atlantic might well be useless once it had been received. Owners sent their ships to markets loaded with goods they hoped would sell profitably and where they hoped masters could procure a profitable cargo for the next leg or return voyage. They relied on correspondence with other merchants and on the trust they placed in the master as their employee (and perhaps partner) to increase the likelihood that the voyage would make rather than lose money. The more complete and competent the information network that intersected aboard a ship, the higher that likelihood.

The records make clear that there was a rough standard size for a certain type of vessel engaged in a certain trade in the eighteenth century. Those standard sizes increased modestly over time—but only modestly. At the same time, the population and markets of the British Atlantic grew dramatically, especially after the 1750s and the British victory over France in the Seven Years War, when the British American economy matured. The reconciliation between those two seemingly contradictory facts is that the size of the merchant *fleet* increased to keep up with demand. The size limitations on merchant ships were imposed by the risk environment, not by technological capability.¹⁰¹ Larger ships are more expensive to build; merchants were making money in shipping. As the business grew, and as risks were mitigated at least somewhat, owners felt more comfortable (and were better-able) to invest in slightly larger vessels. At the same time, the evidence as a whole points toward a general increase in capacity-for-size (though we still have work to do on that).¹⁰² This was probably one of the motivations for adopting the Dutch influence, and it made for a more efficient commercial conveyance for owners, as it increased the amount of cargo the ship could carry without appreciably increasing the price of the ship, or the cost of the labor needed to operate her.

As sizes of typical merchant ships increased, even modestly, though, that trend exerted pressure to modify the ships’ sailing rigs to some extent. In general, we observe a trend toward more and smaller sails as the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth and as the eighteenth progressed. That is one of the most obvious differences between a typical merchant ship of, say, 1650 and one of 1750. Mechanical advantage—the ability to magnify human muscle power by mechanical assistance—was strictly limited. It consisted of block-and-tackle pulley systems, which can at most multiply human effort by a factor of three before becoming cumbersome and slow to operate. A larger ship needed more sail area to move her at the same speed. Once the mechanical advantage of tackles had been maximized, though, the only way to handle a bigger sail was with more people. Owners, however, were motivated to keep crew sizes as constant as possible even while increasing the capacity of the ship. The only viable solution was not bigger sails, but more, smaller ones. It might have been more work to have to adjust more sails each time the rig needed adjusting, but it was work the crew was physically capable of doing. Ton-per-man ratios—the number of tons of ship per sailor aboard—did, in general, increase in the eighteenth century—again, especially after 1750. Split rigs were the only way that was possible with even modestly larger ships.

With increases in ton-per-man ratios and a movement toward more complex sail plans but smaller individual sails, scholars need to undertake a comparative labor study of earlier and later ships, in an effort to determine whether later eighteenth-century economization efforts placed more work on the individual sailor, less work, or just somewhat different work. Comparing those findings to what the documentary evidence tells us about wages and crew sizes should be revealing.

To complicate this issue, we are obliged to note that, in the mid-eighteenth century, as rigs generally grew more complex, two-masted rigs on middling-sized ocean-going vessels increased in popularity vis-à-vis three-masted rigs.¹⁰³ That would seem to contradict the aforementioned trend. Clearly, the move here was toward simplicity, with its attendant reduction in rigging costs,

¹⁰¹ See Davis, 55-76.

¹⁰² See John McCusker, “The Tonnage of Ships Engaged in British Colonial Trade During the Eighteenth Century,” in *Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 26-47.

¹⁰³ See Davis, 73—4.



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but in general, these later rigs were more complex than earlier ones. The issue bears technical investigation, but it is likely that the split-rig trend allowed a two-masted rig on this size of vessel to carry comparable sail area to an earlier three-masted rig without employing sails too large and powerful for the crew to handle. Indeed, this set-up might reveal itself to have been ideal for the size, in that it mitigated the disadvantage of the more complex rigs—more sails and lines to work for the same sail area. This is conjecture. Moving beyond that, by calculating sail areas and relative power as well as relative workloads from reliable documentary and archaeological evidence, could tell us more than we currently know about how and why these people made significant alterations to their technology.

It should be evident from the foregoing that the merchant ship was an intersection of economic forces such as labor supply and cost, merchants' capital resources, and technological ingenuity. It was also an intersection of cultures. That may seem removed from rigging, but in fact it is not. The labor culture of the eighteenth-century sailor incorporated a tolerance for personal physical risk and hardship much higher than ours.¹⁰⁴ That stemmed from a different set of expectations and acclimations, of course; early modern peoples were accustomed to discomfort, effort, sickness, pain, and death in everyday life that we are not—at least in the affluent societies of our world. They performed hard labor in grueling conditions—or so it would seem to us—as a matter of course, whether that meant splitting fence rails with a maul, chopping sugar cane, or climbing the rigging of a sailing ship rolling in a seaway to haul in a heavy sail. What is revealing about shipboard technology in the period, though, is that it did not incorporate safety precautions that were easily within the technological and economic reach of maritime interests. That does not mean that no one was interested in safety at sea, but it is telling that the public agitation for safer ocean navigation had to do with technology external to the ship—primarily lights and hazard markers—rather than such contrivances as we take for granted, such as life buoys, harnesses, and *jacklines* (ropes or cables run between strong points on deck, to which sailors' harnesses are clipped, to keep them from going overboard). It would be reasonable to posit that, as unorganized labor in a hierarchical world of strictly limited opportunity, subject to the will and interest of capitalists, sailors had to accept whatever conditions they found aboard. That, however, they did not. The literature is replete with examples of the ways in which mariners typically exerted their wills and made clear what they would and would not accept. They expected fair treatment from ships' owners and their fellow mariners, including masters. Fair treatment from owners generally included a sound ship, properly fitted-out, manned, and provisioned. Fair treatment from their fellow mariners meant fairly- and evenly applied discipline and, for masters, adherence to the stipulations of their contracts. Admiralty law included protections for sailors as well as masters and owners, and sailors' grievances were routinely brought to court.

Sailors expected no "fair" treatment, though, from the sea. The work culture of those who embraced the life and committed to it at least for some period of time was based on a distinctive brand of fatalism, combined with an acceptance of risk and consistent display of fortitude in the face of danger. Musing on the possible reasons for the absence of watertight bulkheads in British Atlantic merchant ships, Benjamin Franklin acknowledged the role of mariners' culture in such matters when he wrote that " ... our seafaring people are brave, despite danger, and reject such precautions of safety, being cowards only in one sense, that of fearing to be thought afraid."¹⁰⁵ Eighteenth-century sailors routinely demanded better pay, better food, fairer discipline, and their fair share of rum. They would never have demanded watertight bulkheads, life buoys, harnesses, or jacklines. In fact, at times their officers had to restrain them from "skylarking," a form of play in which young sailors who had learned the rigging

¹⁰⁴ The literature on the social and labor history of early modern seafarers is extensive. For the Atlantic merchant service in this period, we are even fortunate enough to have some published primary sources. Some important examples are Robert Barker, *The Unfortunate Shipwright Or Cruel Captain* (London, 1795, Google Books digital facsimile); Edward Barlow, *Barlow's journal of his life at sea in king's ships, East & West Indiamen & other merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, two volumes, transcribed by Basil Lubbock (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1934); and Samuel Kelly, *Samuel Kelly: An Eighteenth Century Seaman*, ed. Crosbie Garstin (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925). Important secondary sources include Bolster, already cited; Peter Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650—1775* (London: Methuen, 1998); Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Daniel Vickers with Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ "A Collection of Papers on Naval Architecture," Part I, Paper IV, Society for the Improvement of Naval Architecture, reprinted in London by *European Magazine*, Pamphlet Vol. 744, No. 3, Library of the American Philosophical Society, 23—4.



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amused (and impressed) themselves and each other by climbing and swinging through the rigging in the manner of other primates, incurring significant—and unnecessary—personal risk in the process.

We need to consider one more convergence of external forces for which the ship was a nexus: the natural forces of the ocean. It might seem more logical to have done that at the beginning, as those forces were in place and constant before the enterprise of the British Atlantic commenced. Considering it here instead helps to emphasize a constant that none of the adaptations to the merchant ship or the conditions of her service could alter: the limitations on ship performance imposed by the Atlantic itself.

The most important of such limitations was on speed. While we would do well to analyze more data, the work already done makes a strong case that typical passage times on Atlantic commercial voyages did not increase in this two-century period.¹⁰⁶ At first glance, that would seem to point toward technological stagnation. Yet speed, in the regular merchant service, was not a primary objective, because it was too costly, given other imperatives and the operating conditions these ships had to contend with.

While the most capacious shape for any given length, breadth, and depth is a box, a sailing vessel must be at least somewhat hydrodynamically-efficient in shape to make any way through the water, and it must have some curve in its bottom to be stable enough for ocean work. That means that its shape is fundamentally a compromise between the demands of the owners for cargo capacity and the physics of ocean sailing. Structural considerations came into play as well; full ends increased buoyancy and helped resist *hogging*—the drooping of the ends of the ship relative to her midsection, due to insufficiently-supported weight. Full ends also contributed to capacity—but not to speed. Speed was, in fact, a fairly low priority in the design of the ordinary merchant ship, relative to capacity, seaworthiness, structural integrity and longevity, and an easy motion in a seaway. The shipping industry did not suffer as a result, especially in the Atlantic, because sailing conditions were fickle enough to cancel out a “good day’s run” with another day of calms or storms. Ships’ logs make this clear. A clean, well-rigged and well-sailed merchant ship of ordinary size could maintain a speed of ten knots in the right conditions.¹⁰⁷ A ship at that speed could have completed a 3,000-nautical-mile Atlantic crossing in 12.5 days. The right conditions, though, never lasted, and a typical voyage took more like three weeks on the short side, and six to eight on the long side. The continents surrounding the Atlantic generate powerful air masses that collide and conflict with the moist maritime air of the ocean. Coastal junctures of contrary currents, such as the Grand Banks and Cape Hatteras, create their own volatile weather systems. The Atlantic gyre, the roughly spiral clockwise movement of water around the basin, leaves a large area of light, fickle breezes and calms in the middle of the North Atlantic. After contending with the surface manifestations of these forces, the average speed of the average ship for a transatlantic passage was more like two or three knots. A slightly faster hull design, then, would have cost owners capacity for what normally would have amounted to no real gain. It may be—though this must be tested—that the modest size increase we have noted helped offset any cost in speed exacted by greater capacity-for-size; as, by a principle of hydrodynamics, a longer ship is a faster ship, all other things being equal.¹⁰⁸ If so, that was a net win for owners.

The limitations of the ordinary merchant ship in this period are obvious to us. It seems like modest technology, in every way, from its size to the materials from which it was made, and its modest capacity, to its speed, or lack thereof. Yet there is no evidence that these limitations hindered the development of the world it served. When the British Atlantic shipping industry needed more carrying capacity to meet the demands of growing populations and their markets, it did not scrap its old models for new ones. It built more of what it was already building, because it worked.

¹⁰⁶ James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton analyzed a limited data set to reach the conclusion that passage times remained constant. Their argument is convincing, but it would be useful to expand their study. See Shepherd and Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 197, table 17. Speed data, though, are fraught with problems, as Howard I. Chapelle (in a book published prior to Shepherd and Walton’s but not cited by them) discusses at some length in *The Search for Speed Under Sail, 1700-1855* (New York: Norton, 1984), originally published in 1967.

¹⁰⁷ An accessible and legible example is the logbook of the *George* (ship), 1805-1806, Am. 6823, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁸ The principle has to do with the fact that a displacement hull—one that cannot plane on top of the water—cannot escape the wave it creates with its own bow.



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Some strong forces remained mostly constant throughout the period in the Atlantic, from the weather to the hazards of the coasts to the maritime predation that accompanied chronic warfare. Some materials remained in ready supply, along with the skills and equipment needed to harvest, process, and use them—wood, natural-fiber rope, canvas, pine tar and pitch, the saw and the adze, the inherited craft of plank-on-frame carvel construction. Yet those materials and skills could have produced much larger and much faster ships than they did. It is the constancy of the risk environment—commercial and physical—that determined the material form and composition of the ordinary merchant ship more than anything else. It is probable that modest alterations of that risk environment, from the expansion of insurance and the improvement of naval protection in the later eighteenth century, to the accumulation of more capital by successful owners, encouraged the modest adaptations we have noted, intended to improve efficiency and contain costs.

It is not to minimize the cost of its success to judge the British Atlantic to have been a successful enterprise—on a grand scale. The revolution of the late 1770s that rocked the empire was itself largely a result of that success; colonial outposts had begun making their own way—and making their own ships—almost as soon as they had established their settlements, and by that time, the British American economies, and their polities, had matured past the point at which its elites were willing to live under the old terms of colonial dependency. Carrying that success, literally and figuratively, was the ordinary merchant ship, a valuable commodity loaded with other valuable commodities.

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TEACHING AS *CONSOLATIO*: RE-IMAGINING THE TEACHER-STUDENT DYNAMIC IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY

Evan Dutmer, Ph.D.
(Culver, IN, USA)

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this essay, I argue that the massive change in educational circumstances brought on by the Covid-19 pandemic requires a similarly drastic shift in pedagogical approach from classics teachers. In particular, I argue that classicists of all kinds have much to gain from incorporating texts from (i) an ancient literary tradition, i.e., the genre of the epistolary *Consolatio* in ancient philosophy (especially Stoicism and Epicureanism), to help both themselves and their students regain a sense of purpose and relevance in their classical studies, and including (ii) teaching practices informed by contemporary research in social and emotional learning (SEL), to craft a sort of 21st century *consolatio* for our students.¹ Together, I think these can help us to reimagine our teaching roles during this time of unprecedented emergency as one of *consolator-discipulus* (*consolatus*) rather than just *magister-discipulus*.

This proposal is borne of the deleterious mental health effects of the pandemic—that they stand to raise student and teacher anxiety, depression, and economic insecurity to critical levels—and the drastic changes in the material circumstances of teaching (i.e., the widespread shift to online asynchronous learning with partial or no access to synchronous real-time interaction).² It also comes as a result of my lived experience as a high school teacher of Latin:

¹ Covid-19 brought renewed interest in Stoicism to popular audiences. As a small sampling, consult these two pieces in *The Guardian*: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/mar/18/remaining-calm-in-adversity-what-stoicism-can-teach-us-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic>; <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/apr/25/stoicism-in-a-time-of-pandemic-coronavirus-marcus-aurelius-the-meditations>. Lucretius (and Epicurus by extension) was mentioned (by Stephen Greenblatt, author of *The Swerve*) in *The New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/culture/culture-desk/invisible-bullets-what-lucretius-taught-us-about-pandemics>.

² For a psychiatric perspective on the current Covid-19 crisis, see Galea et al. 2020 and Amsalem et al. 2020. For a popular summary of the situation and possibilities and limitations of online education, see Benedict Carey's June 13 piece in the *New York Times*: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/13/health/school-learning-online-education.html>. For the clear social-pedagogical risks associated with asynchronous online education, see this special issue in *Science*: <https://science.sciencemag.org/content/363/6423/130>.



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My students, suffering under the uncertainty, stress, and death of the pandemic, were desirous of some amount of solace, perspective, or consolation from me, ancient literature and philosophy, or both.

In other words: I ask that we re-imagine our role as educators during this period (and, frankly, in succeeding ones) according to Stoic models of the teacher as “co-learner” or, especially, as fellow *proficientes* (‘ones making progress’), so that we can best meet the emotional needs of our students and of ourselves.³

As part of that aim of effective, emotionally uplifting co-learning in a consolatory spirit, I draw from contemporary research into the importance of emotional cultivation and regulation in the classroom to guide teaching practice. In particular, I incorporate teaching activities that build on an understanding of Mayer and Salovey’s Four Branch Model of Emotional Intelligence and which follow the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence RULER approach.⁴

I pair my proposal with some practical suggestions for how we might implement it. In particular, I draw from student-centered, reflection-based asynchronous and synchronous classwork in my Beginning Latin courses this term that encourages solitary student emotional growth and reflection, virtual Harkness discussions in my classes on ancient Stoic texts, and journaling assignments on negative and/or unsettling emotions.

Together, I hope this proposal and practical suggestions show a way forward for classics teachers (and especially Latin instructors) in this time of emergency: As crafters of a distance *consolatio* for our students for the foreseeable future, as we *all* aim to recognize, understand, and regulate our emotions in extreme circumstances.

2. THE CONSOLATORY GENRE IN ANTIQUITY: COMFORTING AT A DISTANCE

As my rural, boarding US high school went online in March 2020, I, like so many, was shocked by the sudden “asynchronization” of the teaching and learning experience and the sudden exit of students from our campus. There was grief in this adjustment. My students were angry, confused, frustrated, and scared. Consequently, they reported being distracted and annoyed in most of their classes—“disengaged,” “unstimulated,” “preoccupied,” “depressed,” “anxious,” “panicked.” Even as a teacher with extensive online experience, I was at a loss for how to replicate a formerly in-person class in a new online environment—especially one that was abruptly ended by calamity.

One afternoon during a Zoom meeting, one of my students asked: “How did ancient teachers teach during pandemics?” This question fascinated me. I knew of no specific “learner’s texts” composed, say, during the Antonine Plague, but I immediately thought of the ancient epistolary tradition—the art of writing letters to be widely read—and in particular

³ Stoic philosophy sharply distinguished between the *proficiens* “one making progress” or *discipulus* “student” and the sage (*sapiens*, wise person), the entirely self-sufficient and wise Stoic philosopher. The wise person was immensely rare—Socrates is generally the only person held to have been a sage—and so the importance of cultivating co-learning (as Seneca recommends in his *Letters*) between *proficientes* at various points of the journey toward self-sufficiency and understanding was vital. Indeed, in Alexander of Aphrodisias’s *De Fato*, Alexander says that the Stoics held the wise person to be as rare as a phoenix. (Alexander, *De Fato* 196.24–197.3, Long and Sedley 61N)

⁴ SEL (Social Emotional Learning) represents a vast and diverse array of approaches and pedagogical/developmental theories. I choose one long-lasting one here—Mayer and Salovey’s Four Branch Model of EI (1997)—but there are numerous models and frameworks that can be implemented into classroom practice. A helpful schematization of Mayer and Salovey (and numerous other frameworks), can be found at this webpage of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University: <http://exploresel.gse.harvard.edu/>. For a summary of the Yale Center’s RULER skills-method, see <https://www.rulerapproach.org/about/what-is-ruler/>.



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thought of Seneca's *Epistulae ad Lucilium* and his *Consolationes* (themselves composed as letters), two texts that served a pedagogical purpose for the philosopher in his interactions with his students, friends, family, and the wider public.⁵

These texts did, in a sense, have a ready-made distance curriculum: contained in them were the essential elements of a Stoic regimen for moral self-improvement and emotional regulation.⁶ In this way they do resemble the sort of missives, we, too, now must send out to our students when we write up an asynchronous lesson: we put before our students carefully crafted lessons which are meant to be completed on their own time, at their own pace, and whenever and wherever they can work on them. Seneca so often in the *Letters* points to their inherent educative quality, and takes pains to relay what lessons either he or a friend or Lucilius learned in their progress toward ethical wisdom any particular day.

The educative purpose of the *Letters*—and its built-in pedagogical theory of asynchronous co-learning toward our better selves—is made explicit throughout the text, but in a memorable example, Seneca writes:

Adsero te mihi; meum opus es. Ego quom vidissem indolem tuam, inieci manum, exhortatus sum, addidi stimulos nec lente ire passus sum, sed subinde incitavi; et nunc idem facio, sed iam currentem hortor et invicem hortantem.

I claim you for myself; you are my work. When I saw you character, I laid down my hand upon you; I urged you; I applied the spurs and didn't let you go on easily, but kept on you continually. And now I do the same, but now I urge on the runner, who, in turn, urges me on. (*Letter 34*; my translation)⁷

Seneca here makes clear that this process of learning—and especially the learning toward emotional regulation in service of the philosophical life—is cooperative, shared undertaking.

The *Consolationes*, in particular, resonated with me as I read them again during the pandemic. It's not just that they resemble distance education lessons in their distinctly pedagogical orientation. They deal with the very subjects which my students (9th graders) were asking about: Death, grief, anxiety, disease, how to handle our emotions, and how to endure through calamity and misfortune.

I realized that a unique opportunity had arisen. I decided to incorporate ancient consolatory texts into my 9th grade Latin I curriculum as we finished the 2020 school year. I did this through both graded, proficiency-appropriate Latin texts from Senecan originals and through English translation.⁸ I used these as an introduction to the Senecan Stoic moral education program—and its direct applicability to the lives of my students as they themselves navigated the tragedy of the Covid-19 pandemic in Spring 2020.

⁵ For more on the ancient art of letter writing, consult Morello and Morrison 2007. For the consolatory genre in particular, Graver 2002 is a helpful summary of the genealogy of the genre after Crantor. For the late antique tradition in consolatory writing, especially in Early Christian authors, see Scourfield 1993, Moreschini 2014, Lerer 1985, Gregg 1975.

⁶ For more on this practical dimension of Stoic thought (and especially in the thought of Seneca), see Setaioli 2014 and Konstan 2015.

⁷ Also cited in my essay, "Teletherapeia: Ancient Consolation in the Distance Latin Classroom," in *In Medias Res* (5.29.2020): <https://medium.com/in-medias-res/teletherapeia-ancient-consolation-in-the-distance-latin-classroom-d54934e715be>. Translations throughout are all my own, though I did consult Graver and Long 2015. My approach to the *Letters* is inspired by recent work into its performative-educative features—see especially Schafer 2011.

⁸ I don't spend much time here on how I adapted Seneca's original Latin (at an ACTFL "distinguished" proficiency reading level) for novice proficiency readers. Consult my article in *In Medias Res* (5.29.2020) for more on that process, especially the section, "Tiered Adaptations": <https://medium.com/in-medias-res/teletherapeia-ancient-consolation-in-the-distance-latin-classroom-d54934e715be>.



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Let's take a look at some of the texts from Seneca's *Letters* and the *Consolationes*. I'll show how I aimed to engage students in active synchronous and asynchronous reflection on these texts as a lead-up to my concluding sections on a sort of 21st century *Consolatio* for my students through SEL.

3. STOIC *CONSOLATIO* IN THE FACE OF MISFORTUNE: HOW I TAUGHT SENECA TO NINTH GRADERS IN THE MIDST OF A PANDEMIC

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophical schools—especially those in the Hellenistic periods and later—emphasized the power of their teachings to provide, in one way or another, some amount of therapy in the face of misfortune or calamity in this life. They (ostensibly) taught followers of their sect how to control and regulate their emotions, endure difficulty, and to not fear death. Ancient Hellenistic schools—Stoics, Epicureans, Skeptics—all similarly claimed to provide their followers with a sort of psychic repose and balance only achievable through their teachings—so-called *ataraxia*, a kind of philosophical bliss and contentment.⁹

Stoic consolation in the face of misfortune centered on one of the core teachings of Stoic philosophy: that virtue *alone* is good. This had an important corollary: that vice *alone* was bad. This meant that many apparent evils—like natural disasters, death, war, disease, and plague—were only “bad” in a qualified sense. The Stoic typically consoled another person on temporary misfortune by an appeal to this *real* sense of good and evil. As long as your character remains intact, you've not really suffered an irreparable misfortune.

I presented this to my students through simple, declarative Latin sentences and phrases in a PowerPoint presentation before we read from Seneca in adapted Latin and my translations. Here's an example in Figure 1:

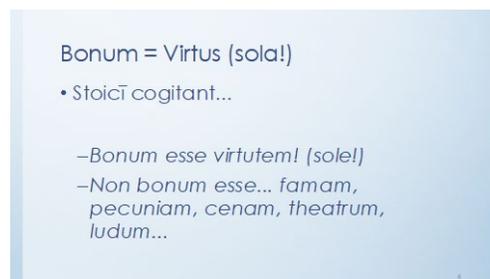


Figure 1.

Emotions (Gr. *pathe*, Lat. *perturbationes animi*, after Cicero), on the prevailing Stoic view, were especially dangerous for the person trying to lead a good life. They often mislead a person into thinking things that were only apparently bad were *really* bad. This led some Stoics to be suspicious of the emotions in general, and gives us our everyday meaning of the word “Stoic” as someone who is steely and calm in the face of trying circumstances.

⁹ As a classic introduction to a now large and robust literature on the therapeutic dimension of the Hellenistic schools, consult Nussbaum 1994. Also Nussbaum 2001 and Hadot 1995.



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Grief (*dolor* in Seneca's Latin) was a typical target of Stoic attention and philosophical consolation, especially when tied to the natural passing of friends and relatives. Not only did it reflect a misunderstanding of what is really bad—we should grieve, for instance, that they were a *bad* person, not that they passed away—but it also inhibited one's getting on with being a good person by distracting the mind and the senses.

Again, I gave my students a rough approximation of this view in simple, declarative Latin before we moved on to our selections from Seneca (see Figure 2).



Figure 2.

Despite the prevalence of this type of argument in ancient Stoic circles, a common recent (and ancient) criticism of these arguments is that they are so coldly philosophical so as to be almost inhuman.

Seneca, cognizant of these concerns throughout the *Letters* and *Consolationes*, produces careful, nuanced treatments of the emotions, how they figure into a human life, and the reasons why the Stoics might encourage us to move on constructively from them. Knowing that some of my students were already reading popular appropriations of the Stoics online which often cleaved to the rigid Stoic view of the emotions (examples abound from a simple Google search), I wanted to introduce them to this more humane approach to Stoic philosophy.

In particular, I wanted to draw from some of Seneca's discussion of *dolor* in the *Consolatio ad Polybium*. In it, Seneca consoles Polybius, a member of the Emperor Claudius's court, on the death of his brother. In this selection, Seneca says that he does not recommend total abstinence from emotions, but rather wants to show Polybius how to give them their proper place in a well-functioning human emotional life:

Numquam autem ego a te, ne ex toto maereas, exigam. Et scio inveniri quosdam durae magis quam fortis prudentiae viros, qui negent doliturum esse sapientem. Hi non videntur mihi unquam in eiusmodi casum incidisse, alioquin excussisset illis fortuna superbam sapientiam et ad confessionem eos veri etiam invitos compulsisset.

Satis praestiterit ratio, si id unum ex dolore, quod et superest et abundat, exciderit; ut quidem nullum omnino esse eum patiat, nec sperandum ulli nec concupiscendum est. Hunc potius modum servet, qui nec impietatem imitetur nec insaniam et nos in eo teneat habitu, qui et pia mentis est nec motae. Fluant lacrimae, sed eadem et desinant, trahantur ex imo gemitus pectore, sed idem et finiantur; sic rege animum tuum, ut et sapientibus te adprobare possis et fratribus.

But I'll never demand from you that you not grieve at all. I know that there are some people whose wisdom is more harsh than strong, and who think that the wise person should never grieve. These



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people seem to me to have never suffered mishap like this, as if they had, fortune would have knocked out their proud wisdom and compelled them to admit the truth.

It's enough that reason should remove what is excessive and overabundant; it shouldn't be hoped or wished that reason should make it so we don't suffer grief at all. Rather let reason conserve a sort of moderation, which imitates neither impiety nor insanity, and let it hold us in that place that is characteristic of an affectionate (rather than disturbed) mind. Let the tears flow, but also let them stop; let groans be led out from deep in the chest, but also finished; thus control your mind, so that you may get praise from both the wise and your brothers.¹⁰ (*Consolatio ad Polybium* 18.5–7; my translation)

It's important to note a few of Seneca's important adaptations of the "hardline" Stoic view (which, it should be noted, wasn't universal among earlier ancient Stoics, either). Seneca strongly recommends *against* bottling up our emotions or pretending not to feel them. He in fact says that those who recommend such a course haven't truly suffered loss or misfortune. Their cold philosophy, he says, will be forced to confess the truth upon meeting true and devastating loss. He clarifies that the purpose of reason is not to "eradicate" emotion but to regulate it.

This position is much more in keeping with contemporary approaches in emotional regulation (both in the behavioral sciences and in SEL pedagogies). It served helpfully in introducing my students to some of the strategies for emotional regulation I'll mention in my next section.

I conjoined our reading this passage with a short Harkness discussion on the value or disvalue of grief in the face of misfortune.¹¹ I asked students to discuss the following question: "Should we grieve the 2020 school year?" This required students to connect their own experiences as students during the ongoing pandemic with Seneca's reflections as to the purpose served by grief. It also presented students with an excellent opportunity to both share their emotions in a constructive way (in a group discussion among peers), but also gain perspective on those emotions by responding to the contributions of their peers. In this way our Harkness discussion on whether we should "grieve" the 2020 school year became an exercise in emotional co-regulation (again, a theme I'll return to in Part 4).

I'd like now to introduce a few more passages from Seneca I shared with my students and suggest some ways we might engage with them in activities which aid students in processing difficult emotions and emotional regulation.

The first comes from the first of Seneca's *Letters*. In it, Seneca urges Lucilius to use his time wisely and seize every moment.

Free yourself for yourself, gather and save your time... Persuade yourself that what I write is true: Certain moments are ripped from us, some carried off, some glide away... Therefore, Lucilius, do as you write you are doing: hold on to every hour... While life is put off, it runs by. Nothing is ours, Lucilius; only time is ours. (Letter 1 *Translations mine*).

I read this with my students at the end of one of our synchronous Zoom class periods. I then had them reflect on this with one-sentence responses to the following prompts: "What does time feel like right now? Does it feel like life is being put off? How can we make this time *ours*?" I was impressed with the quality and sincerity of the answers I received.

We then began the next class day with a short discussion on what the passing of time felt like during the pandemic. Students talked about how it *did* feel like life was being put off; that they hadn't really even experienced the year; that

¹⁰ For my graded adaptation of this text, see Dutmer 2020, "Teletherapeia".

¹¹ For more on the student-centered Harkness discussion method, consult this section of the Phillips Exeter Academy website: <https://www.exeter.edu/programs-educators/harkness-outreach>.



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it felt like this time had been taken away from them. Some expressed feeling frustrated that this had happened to them; others that they felt their first year in high school had been wasted; others expressed fear that they would never make up the time; others a sense of gratitude of the opportunity to slow down and for their own and their family's health. All the while students constructively responded to each other, and worked together to think of ways that they could make this time at least somewhat more bearable. In a memorable moment, one of my students mentioned how this could be a good time to start and tend a garden. Another said they wanted help from classmates in choosing a new hobby.

Together, students recognized their emotions, gave them names, talked about how to work through them, and even brainstormed ideas for how to translate some of that energy into other positive, creative, affirming activities.

Next I had students read this passage from Seneca's second letter, where he recommends to Lucilius that he always "consume" media with an eye toward how it might benefit him as a person (a thoroughly foreign idea to many of my students!):

So always read the tested authors, and when you want to move on to others, return to the first authors. Every day acquire some help against poverty, something against death, something against other misfortunes, too; and when you have gone through many of these writings, pick one which you'll digest thoroughly that day. I do this, too; from the many things I read, I hold on to something. (*Letter 2*)

I paired this with an asynchronous reflection activity. I asked students to do the following:

Read an article (try Teen Mental Health or Go Ask Alice! at Columbia University) or watch a video on YouTube (especially TED Talks) on dealing with misfortune, bad luck, or loss or working through negative/challenging emotions. What did you learn? What's something you'd like to remember? Write down at least one thing—something that helps you emotionally in the face of misfortune. Keep this in your journal. Next week you'll "return to the tested authors". You'll see whether the advice stands up!

Then, I had students hold on to this resource as part of their weekly asynchronous portfolios. This gave students a start on a database of helpful resources for them—one that they could build on each week we were together.

One of the recurrent topics in students' emotional self-reports each week was sadness that they couldn't be with their friends and family as we transitioned online. I, too, felt this deeply. I found a selection from Seneca that spoke to this—when he urges Lucilius to adopt a different perspective with respect to their being far away and having to write to each other. It, paradoxically, suggests that the distance between the two of them contributed little to a "distance" between them, but rather brought them closer. Here's the passage:

But place (*locus*) contributes little toward tranquillity; it is the mind which must make all things agreeable to itself... Why are you not where you want [to be]? Send your thoughts there... A friend should be held in spirit. This friend is never absent. Everyday he can see whomever he wishes. So, study with me, eat with me, walk with me. I see you, my Lucilius, and I even hear you. I am with you so much that I wonder whether I should begin to write you notes (*codicillos*), and not letters (*epistulas*). (*Letter 40*)

To reflect on this passage, I asked students to think about a close friend. I then asked them whether they had been closer or more distant with them since the beginning of online learning. As students had returned to different places around the globe, their answers were not universal. Having a quick share-out on this yielded interesting results. In particular, some students who felt especially wistful for our campus were comforted knowing that some students were now closer to their families than they had been for some time (we have numerous Chinese national students in our campus community). I then asked students to write a note (*codicillus*) to a dear friend (not an *epistula!*) to try to encourage closeness even during social distancing.



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As the weeks moved on in my experiment to incorporate not only SEL into my daily interactions with students (whether synchronously or asynchronously), I was touched by the notes that came in from students who remarked that they felt i) that they were being heard and ii) that these daily and weekly reflections on their emotions were helping.

This inspired me to share with them this last passage from Seneca's *Letters*. In it, Seneca remarks on something wonderful: he notices that he's starting to change. This moment—emotional and mental growth—is of course powerful and immensely life-affirming. I wanted to share this moment with my students in the very moment of their own powerful, life-affirming, touching growth in the midst of one of the most challenging moments they'll ever face:

I think, Lucilius, I'm not only being improved, but that I'm being transformed. But I don't promise or even hope that there's nothing left in me that needs to be changed. I have many things which ought to be compacted, thinned out, or accentuated. And this itself is evidence that my soul has been transformed into something better, because it sees vices that it didn't know about previously. (*Letter 6*)

These readings and activities grow out of a deep commitment I have to attending to my students not just as learners of the "content" of Classics—that I teach them Latin or about the peoples and cultures of the Ancient Mediterranean—but out of a deep, abiding concern for their growth as flourishing, emotionally healthy people. This I have in common with Seneca. In Letter 39, he warns Lucilius against "cramming" the teachings of philosophers through compendia without having applied those teachings to his own life. Seneca knew that learning takes place in an individual, and that emotional health is vital to whether any lesson is internalized.

These concerns I share too with the numerous educators and researchers working in Social Emotional Learning. In the next section, I'll provide more of the contemporary theoretical basis and inspiration for my discussion of Seneca and the consolatory genre this spring.

4. *CONSOLATIO* FOR THE 21ST CENTURY STUDENT: SOCIAL EMOTIONAL LEARNING IN THE CLASSICS CLASSROOM

Social Emotional Learning (or SEL) represents a broad, diverse array of non-academic or non-content skills, knowledge, and behaviors that individuals must acquire to be successful, engaged, flourishing members of society. Consequently, the term has had a broad (and at times confusing) application. According to the Ecological Approaches to Social Emotional Learning (EASEL) Laboratory at Harvard University, SEL has its genesis and continued application in a number of closely related 21st century learning initiatives:

Social and emotional learning (SEL) has often been used as an umbrella term to represent a wide array of non-academic skills that individuals need in order to set goals, manage behavior, build relationships, and process and remember information. These skills and competencies develop across our lives and are essential to success in school, work, home, and community...

In some respects, the term SEL serves as an umbrella for many subfields with which many educators, researchers, and policy-makers are familiar (e.g., bullying prevention, civic and character education and development, conflict resolution, social skills training, life skills, "soft" or "non-cognitive" skills, 21st century skills)¹²

¹² Explore SEL 2020, <http://exploresel.gse.harvard.edu/about/>.



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Despite difficulties in defining the bounds of SEL, there is widespread agreement among educators, researchers, policy-makers, and parents that inculcation of these skills is a vital function of the 21st century educational program.¹³

As I noted in my introduction, the Covid-19 crisis will in all likelihood put student, teacher, administrator, and parent stress at all-time highs. The need for SEL—and its focus on Emotional Intelligence and a healthy regulation of emotion—will, consequently, become even more critical for educators and the populations they serve.¹⁴

Further, SEL, I contend, serves many of the same functions that Seneca’s *Letters or Consolations*. It identifies common, shared emotions that cause us distress; it gives us an explanation as to why we might feel those things (whether the explanation is reasonable or unreasonable); it gives us a name for those emotions—for example, *dolor* or “grief”; it helps us express them in a way that is socially constructive; and, ultimately, gives us a framework for regulating and processing those emotions in a way that amplifies their positive attributes while dampening their negative consequences. In short, it does the very things that I noted above in Seneca’s description of “grief with reason” in the *Consolatio ad Polybium*.

In structuring my reflections and activities with students on Stoic and Epicurean consolatory writing, I adapted the RULER Method as developed at the Yale Center for Emotional Intelligence.¹⁵ This method can be implemented schoolwide with the right institutional backing—I simply implemented it individually on an exploratory, experimental basis. The RULER Method provides a helpful, skill-based framework for thinking about how to implement Emotional Intelligence-informed teaching in the classroom with this helpful mnemonic:

RULER is:

- Recognizing emotions in oneself and others
- Understanding the causes and consequences of emotions
- Labeling emotions with a nuanced vocabulary
- Expressing emotions in accordance with cultural norms and social context
- Regulating emotions with helpful strategies¹⁶

I used RULER to help give order to my activities in Section 3 a consistent form. Every activity didn’t need each of the elements of RULER, but I was surprised at how many activities that required students, in one way or another, to reflect on their emotions (whether in writing or in speaking) and say something about them to their peers practiced all of the skills contained in RULER. In fact, students were enthusiastic in offering constructive, helpful advice to each other, building on the second “R”—“Regulating emotions with helpful strategies.”

RULER (and other SEL pedagogical frameworks, besides) can of course be implemented *without* choosing texts and readings that have a specific “consolatory” dimension.

However, I was impressed by the positive reception such a pairing of pedagogical activities and practices derived from the RULER method and the texts from Seneca received. Students remarked in their reflections that studying ancient consolation and thinking, reflecting, sharing, and discussing explicitly and directly their emotions made them feel that the class was one of the most supportive and encouraging environments they had in the transition to online teaching.

¹³ Chang 2006 provides a helpful sampling of some of the critical literature in support of SEL and the teaching of Emotional Intelligence in schools in her Introduction.

¹⁴ Brackett and Cipriano 2020

¹⁵ RULER builds on the Four Branch Model of Emotional Intelligence popularized in Mayer and Salovey 1997.

¹⁶ To learn more about the RULER approach, consult the official website at <https://www.rulerapproach.org/about/what-is-ruler/>. It should be noted that I have only applied this approach on a singular, ad hoc basis. My institution is not a RULER-affiliated school. Hence, we have not instituted the “RULER Tools” schoolwide.



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Students at the end of term wanted to discuss who felt Stoicism was more consoling and who felt Epicureanism was more consoling. I had numerous students remark that their Latin class made them feel “heard”, “supported”, and “seen as people”. Similarly, students said that I and the class were “helpful,” “encouraging,” “nurturing,” “open,” “exciting,” “energizing,” “respectful,” and “inclusive.” Recall that when I first began compiling responses from my students, they said that they felt “unstimulated,” “depressed,” and “anxious.” Students specifically noted that journaling about their emotions, openly talking about the situation we found ourselves in, and connecting as peers and with an adult helped them process these powerful feelings.

In sum, SEL helped both to amplify my use of consolatory texts from antiquity *and* to serve as consolatory pedagogical practice itself. Students in my classes were engaging in emotional regulation and processing both in form (as SEL practices were intentionally incorporated into my daily and weekly teaching practice) and content (as we explored the ancient consolatory genre together).

5. CONCLUSION

In this essay, I advanced a twofold thesis. I argued that due to the circumstances of the Covid-19 pandemic and the incredible stress this places on educators and the communities they serve, classics educators should i) draw classical texts that serve to help students in their processing difficult, trying emotions attendant with the period and ii) inform this incorporation of (specifically) the consolatory genre with a pedagogy informed by contemporary SEL and its focus on healthy emotional regulation as central to an individual’s well-being and flourishing.

As classics instructors, we have a wealth of texts from which to draw to meet this dual purpose. Seneca, in particular, I’ve hoped to show, is a powerful author for high school consumption, though I’d contend there are many others.

We and our students will continue to face this, together. SEL shows a way forward for classics that is responsive, inclusive, cooperative, and restorative.

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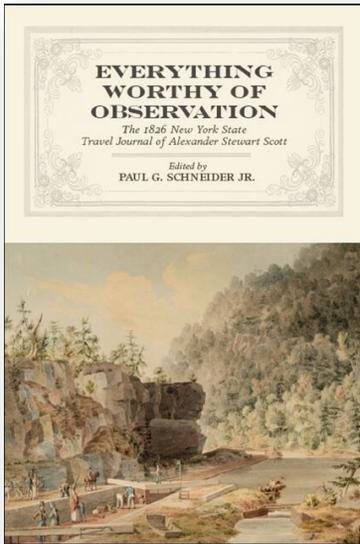
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BOOK REVIEWS



Everything Worthy of Observation: The 1826 New York State Travel Journal of Alexander Stewart Scott

Paul G. Schneider Jr., ed.

Albany: State University of New York Press, 2019

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[Everything Worthy of Observation: The 1826 New York State Travel Journal of Alexander Stewart Scott \(Excelsior Editions\): Amazon.co.uk: Schneider, Paul G.: 9781438475158: Books](https://www.amazon.co.uk/Schneider-Paul-G-9781438475158-Books/)

Review by Annie Rehill, first published online 1 March 2022.

In 1826, British Canadian Alexander Stewart Scott traveled by steamboat on the St. Lawrence River from his hometown of Quebec to Montreal, and from there to La Prairie. A stagecoach then delivered him to Saint-Jean-de-Richelieu, from where another steamboat set off down Lakes Champlain and George. Scott then traversed upstate New York by carriages and boats for two more months, visiting family and meeting new

people all the while—and keeping a journal. In 2015, Ph.D. candidate Matthew DeLaMater (now an adjunct professor at SUNY New Paltz) discovered the journal in New York State Library’s Manuscripts and Special Collections. He approached independent historian Paul G. Schneider Jr., who was based in Saratoga Springs and ideally positioned to undertake an in-depth study of this nineteenth-century primary source material. Working with DeLaMater and a team of librarians and



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other academics, Schneider transcribed, annotated, and contextualized the manuscript, in a project that led eventually to publication by SUNY Press. Schneider's knowledge and collaborative spirit frame the work and flesh out Scott's world throughout.

This was a world fraught with ubiquitous danger that seemed almost taken for granted by those who navigated it, even among the more comfortable socioeconomic classes of which twenty-one-year-old Scott was a part. As the starkest example of this, Schneider writes in the afterword that Scott died at age forty-one in a theater fire in Quebec while attending the presentation of an illuminated diorama—with his fifteen-year-old daughter, who also perished. The tragedy occurred in 1846, twenty years after Scott's New York journey.

His journal describes pervasive hazard as a matter of course, including close calls while passing under bridges of the Erie Canal, and one especially worrisome moment when Scott slips and slides along wet rocks to get as close as he can to Niagara Falls. Writing in his hotel of his preparation for the venture, he says he was "determined to see everything about the Falls at all worthy of a stranger's observation" (p. 71), the phrase that inspired Schneider's title for the edited journal.

To walk under Niagara Falls at Table Rock, Scott has to go "down to the Beach by a spiral stair case of about 140 steps and from there close to where the water falls into the River below—(a perpendicular height of 150 feet)." Edging "close to the stream" as he follows the guide, Scott's fear is palpable in his description of "the spray":

so blinding that for the first two minutes I could not distinguish a step of my way—if it had not been for shame I would have turned back—the noise of the Cataract is most awful, and I should think could not fail of inspiring with a reverential dread for the God of Nature even "the most desperately wicked." . . . The least slip of the foot here and we are irretrievably lost, nothing to prevent one from plunging right into the abyss into which the water falls and which is not more than twenty yards down—the principal difficulties this length in, are, the want of air and

dangerous walking—the path way is upon the side of an almost perpendicular rock, and the only way of getting on is by fastening the feet upon the out jutting parts of it, which from the continual moisture is by no means easy to do (p. 73).

After this hair-raising walk, Scott has dinner and departs for Buffalo, the next leg on his journey. His trip took place just fifty years after the United States had been established, twenty-two years after Lewis and Clark traveled to the Pacific Northwest (1804), and the same year that James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* appeared. The well-read Scott refers to the latter in a critical comparison with Sir Walter Scott, a reaction that Schneider elaborates and contextualizes in his introduction (p. 5).

As a historian steeped in his region's storied past, Schneider brings to Scott's journal an extensive introduction (30 pages); an afterword with information on what became of Scott after he stopped writing the journal; two appendices, the first identifying some of the people mentioned in the journal, the second recreating the record of expenses that Scott kept at the back of his journal; ample and helpful notes; and a decent index, although I did find myself adding to it in the margins as I read. The endnotes, organized by chapter, provide not just information about the references, but also often deeper understanding and background.

The illustrations are numerous and very useful, in that they flesh out the period and those who inhabited it, enhancing Scott's written descriptions. Schneider also helpfully includes several maps, but two more would have been most welcome—one for an overview of the region as a whole; another to trace the entire Erie Canal, which features prominently in Scott's journey. The canal was built between 1817 and 1825, meaning Scott traveled along it just one year after its completion. More history and information on the canal would also have been appropriate in the introduction, though Schneider does include the main facts (p. 13) as part of his overview of the Lake Champlain/Lake George regional development.



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Schneider's introduction also brings Scott to life for the reader, summarizing his situation in life and his mentality and views in the context of his time and place as well as his family's background and situation. The historian's perspective deepens the reader's understanding of the travel narrative that follows, despite a few undergraduate-level observations such as defining what "provenance" means (p. 24). This section features quite a bit of speculation on the editor's part, educated guesses that are necessary in the absence of evidence—but this fact needed to be stated only once. This this could indicate simply a lack of confidence on Schneider's part, for which there is no need, as the suitability of his credentials to study and present the work is clear. Finally, the concluding paragraph of the provenance section, which explains how Schneider came across the manuscript in the first place, would have been more helpful placed closer to

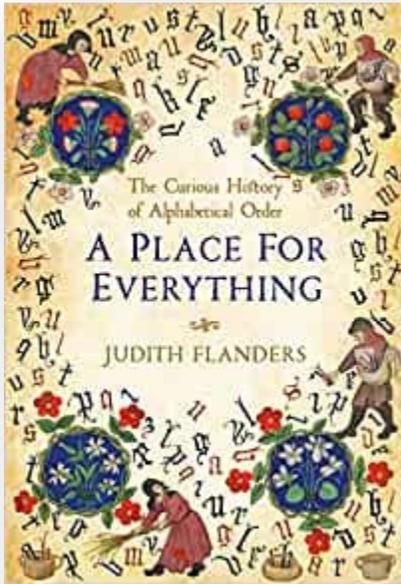
the beginning. Instead, the reader wonders throughout the section about a question that could have been dispensed with quickly.

These are minor quibbles. Overall, Schneider offers a useful and intriguing contribution to the ready availability of early American primary sources. One aspect of the book is noteworthy for scholars who toil away independently. Schneider, an NCIS member who, as a retired museum professional, already worked with and was known to local historians, collaborated with an academically affiliated team to comb through and explain a piece of history that had been hiding since 1954 in the New York State Library's special collections. The project must have been exciting, and its fruit adds to knowledge not only about travel in the still-young United States, but also about socioeconomic conditions in upstate New York and the Canadas.

Dr. Annie Rehill (Ph.D. Modern French Studies, MFA) specializes in the literature and history of Francophone Canada, focusing on intercultural expressions and implications.



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A Place for Everything: The Curious History of Alphabetical Order

Judith Flanders

New York: Basic Books, 2020

ISBN 978-1-5416-7507-0.

235pp. + Bibliography, Index, time-line. Illus.

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[A Place For Everything: The Curious History of Alphabetical Order: Amazon.co.uk: Flanders, Judith: 9781509881567: Books](https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/9781509881567)

Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 23 March 2022.

"Everything has a history": so said the mysterious "they." In *A Place for Everything: The Curious History of Alphabetical Order* (2020) social historian Judith Flanders presents a case in point. What could be more obvious and taken-for-granted than alphabetical order? This is as natural as a-b-c—except that it isn't. In this wide and deep-ranging panoramic study, Judith Flanders takes the reader across continents, civilizations, cultures, and centuries as she traces how and why alphabetical order came to be the favored form for organization, storage and searching.

The book is divided into ten chapters (please note her form of ordering): Antiquity, Benedictines, Categories, Distinctions, Expansion, Firsts, Government, History, Index Cards, then skipping to Y2K. This book presents a deep dive into the concepts and applications of different forms of ordering, sorting, distinguishing, categorizing, and storing information.

The alphabet as an ordering tool, as demonstrated by the chapter headings in this book.

On a deeper level, this book is less about alphabetical order and more about the development of different methods and concepts of information storage, retrieval, ordering and the development of appropriate tools towards those various ends. She points out the role of cultural perceptions and beliefs in perception, ordering and categorizing. For example, Flanders notes the symbolism of numbers:

Numbers more generally also represented more than mere quantity. Three was a key number, representing as it did the holy Trinity; six was perfect, because God created the universe in six days; the number seven was important, too, for God rested on the seventh day; ten stood for the number of commandments; forty for the



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days Christ spent on earth after the Resurrection. (p. 32)

Flanders warns readers against present-day self-congratulation in a footnote to the above-quoted section: "(d)octors in the West today routinely prescribe drugs for three or seven days—those numbers of the Trinity and the Sabbath—even though evidence from clinical trials suggests that two or eight days works every bit as well" (p. 32n), referenced by a 2006 paper in the *British Medical Journal*. (p. 270n, 11).

Hierarchical ordering tied in with prevailing world views. Thus, "beginning with God, then angels, then, dealing with subjects that arose as it followed the order of the six days of creation, before returning to a hierarchical arc with man, the soul, the body, and the natural world." (p. 67-68).

In discussing the book most frequently used in English—*Roget's Thesaurus*, Flanders notes that "[b]ased on an eighteenth-century view of the natural-history classification system, its layout is organized by phyla, classes, order, and families—a system that is impenetrable to the great majority, if not all, of its modern-day users. The alphabetical index, which all twentieth- and twenty-first-century editions of *Roget* contain, is considered so necessary today that it typically occupies more than half the book." (p. 229).

Flanders demonstrates various forms of ordering and categorizing that existed before, during, and after the "triumph" of alphabetical order. The Dewey Decimal System, for example, orders by subject, and utilizes other forms within the main subject heading. She also points out how he baked misogyny and allegiance to Christianity into the system): under religion (numbers 200+), Dewey allotted numbers 200-289 for Christianity, and just number 297 for Islam "Women, meanwhile, are patronizingly categorized alongside etiquette." (p. 217n).

She demonstrates how various ordering systems had cognitive side-effects, and physical ones. in the form of technological changes. Thus, the vertical or hanging file first made its appearance in 1893 (p. 219). This method of information storage could be used in any type of ordering system. Ordering problems led to desk

designs, and spindles for storage of individual items of information. To this Flanders could have added different kinds of storage system for books, a subject nicely covered by engineering historian Henry Petroski in his *The Book on the Bookshelf* (1999).

Along the way there are all manner of fascinating digressions: the word "criss-cross," for example, came from "Christ's cross," a wooden panel setting forth the alphabet, numbers, and the Lord's Prayer, often with a cross at the top. Students would say "Christ's cross me speed" before reciting the alphabet as early as the 15th Century C.E.; in a footnote Flanders comments that "Over the centuries the phrase was reduced first to 'Christ's cross,' then in nineteenth-century dialect, to 'criss-cross,' to mean the alphabet, which was probably reinforced by the convention whereby those who could not write signed documents with an 'x,' or crisscross." (pp. 124-125, 125n). She talks about everything from Babylonian inscriptions to Sumerian cuneiforms, from the development of telephone systems and switchboards to the appearance of telephone directories years later, and alphabetically tabbed paper dividers.

In discussing the organization of encyclopedias in an alphabetical system, she writes:

But until the alphabet became the encyclopedia's principal organizing system, these works could not be seen as truly modern. Nor because one system of organizing is better than any other, but because the use of alphabetical order, once more, marks a transition in worldview. Just as the spread of alphabetically organized dictionaries and indexes had indicated a shift from seeing words purely as meaning to seeing them as a series of letters, so too the arrival of alphabetically ordered encyclopedias indicated a shift from seeing the world as a hierarchical, ordered place, explicable and comprehensible if only a person knew enough, to seeing it as a random series of events and people and places. (p. 186).

There is nothing inevitable about alphabetical order. Flanders notes that the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* " . . .



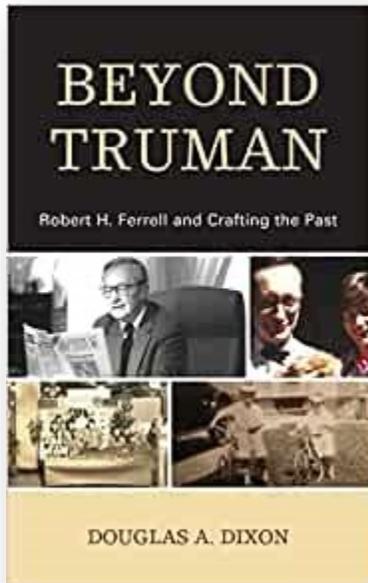
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returned to the Middle Ages in 1974, when it divided its content into a 'Macropaedia,' a 'Micropaedia,' and a 'Propaedia.'" To make all this useful to readers "required a two-volume alphabetical index." (p. 196n). Flanders discusses the challenges posed by languages written in ideograms, such as Chinese. Japanese has three writing systems: the ideogram-type kanji (where symbols represent words or concepts), and two alphabetical scripts, both of which are written according to syllable-plus-vowel: *hirakana* and *katakana*, the latter often used for foreign names. (p. 231). Thus jazz guitarist Herbie Ellis becomes in *katakana* "he-ru-bi e-ri-su". While in 1921, the International Olympic Committee mandated that countries would appear in the opening ceremony in alphabetical order. But whose alphabet? Further mandates amending that decision occurred in 1921, 1964 and 1988. In the Beijing Olympics of 2008, the host country used a system going back to the fourth century. (pp. 227-228).

This book fits in well with the work of sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel, author of books such as *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (1985); *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Social Structure of Irrelevance* (2015); and *Taken for Granted: The Remarkable Power of the Unremarkable* (2018). He has made it his mission to bring the background into the foreground: what role does the frame play in defining the picture? *The Seven Day Circle* discusses the seven-day week as a social construct.

Judith Flanders' *A Place for Everything* deserves a place on your bookshelf. Informative, witty, thought-provoking and well-researched, this book makes the reader more aware and conscious of the what, why and how of categorizing, ordering, and understanding.

Dr Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies) is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. 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 was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut from 2012-2022. He presently is translating Volume 1 of the memoirs of Rudolf Rocker (*The Youth of a Rebel*) from Yiddish to English.



Beyond Truman: Robert H. Ferrell and Crafting the Past

Douglas A. Dixon

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Review by Gloria Montebruno Saller, first published online 21 April 2022.

In his book *Beyond Truman: Robert H. Ferrell and Crafting the Past*, Douglas A. Dixon provides a personal and professional portrait of his mentor. Dixon wrote this book for several reasons. First, he wanted to understand how Ferrell approached the past and “evaluate his work against that of emerging conceptions of the fields” (127). Dixon was also interested in exploring “how Ferrell’s experience, scholarship, and professional approach fit in with the evolution of professional practice among more celebrated past masters during his lifetime” (127). On a personal level, Dixon was interested in learning more about Ferrell the man, the teacher, the husband, the historian, the activist, thus getting to a better understanding of how Ferrell’s life experiences “might inform his craft and topical orientation” (127).

The book is organized in three parts and each part comprises two chapters. Part One, “Three Vignettes,” details Ferrell’s undergraduate and graduate education, with emphasis on his unexpected

admittance to graduate school at Yale in the department of history. Dixon then describes Ferrell’s WWII experience as a lowly enlistee who was dispatched to Cairo, Egypt and besides enjoying traveling the Middle East, North Africa, England, and France, he did not see much action during the three years he was enlisted. In letters to his parents, Ferrell launches into descriptive and lengthy accounts of the historical sites he visited. The third vignette of Part One is a description of Ferrell’s encounter with his future wife, Lila Sprout, who was one of his undergraduate students at Michigan State College in fall 1952.

In Part Two, “Beginnings and Scholar-Activist,” Dixon first looks at Ferrell’s early years: birthplace, religious formation, boyhood activities, which “provided the geological formations mixed with personality that crystalized into Indiana University’s distinguished historian” (49). In other words, to understand Ferrell, one must understand the man and his times. Rooted in northern Ohio culture, Ferrell made his own many of



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his parents' lessons, values, and biases. And although "the history of his early years could not predict later thoughts and actions," it did provide "a framework to understand who he would become and how he would engage the historian's craft" (66). Ferrell was an activist "as scholar, teacher, and private citizen" (71). In Chapter 4, "Dear Senator Taft, 'Heads Ought to Roll,'" Dixon provides a rounded description of Ferrell as an activist on multiple fronts. For example, as a teacher, he was an advocate of reforming the education system from within (85). When describing Ferrell as an activist scholar/historian, Dixon invites his readers to go beyond the decades old "history and objectivity" debate and consider how Ferrell's historical interest in Truman's presidency happened by chance (75) and colored his profession as a historian. Yet, was Ferrell always objective in his multi-faceted portrayal of the thirty-third US President? According to Dixon, not always.

Part Three, "Distinctions," comprises a chapter on "Ferrell-related historiography, his world of historians, his times and contributions" (Chapter 5), and the last concluding chapter, "Then and Now," which Dixon uses to explain the reasons behind writing this book.

From Dixon's book, we also learn Ferrell was a very prolific author: he wrote or edited 60 books and most of them after he retired. Dixon uses a postmodern approach in his description of Ferrell as a historian. As much as Ferrell himself despised and denigrated the postmodern canon and tenets, Dixon in a crafty way intertwines empiricist historiography with postmodern historiographical strategies to provide us with an intriguing personal and professional portrait of his mentor. Dixon accessed Ferrell's personal letters and

Papers; he interviewed Ferrell's daughter, family members and friends. As he writes in his "Introduction," his book does bring to the fore "in a personal way the ongoing struggles that producing history can present to the storyteller" (xviii).

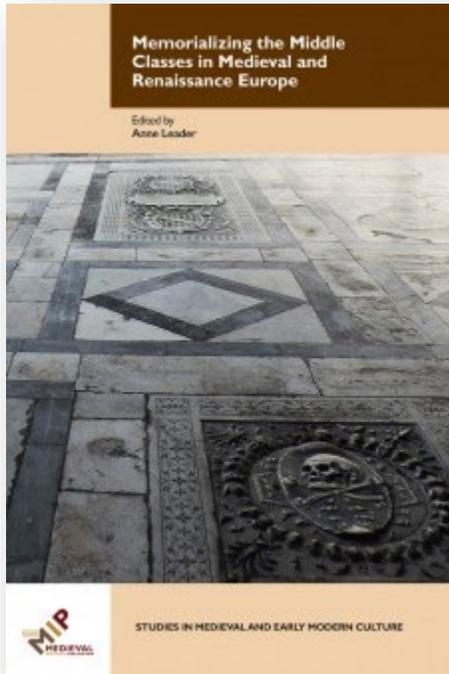
Dixon's book is the first on Robert H. Ferrell, distinguished professor of history at Indiana University, and it is a tribute to his mentor who was, in his words and in the words of many of his former students, not only a skilled historian but also a great and effective educator.

In his attempt to mix and blend personal anecdotes with records of professional pursuits and achievements; and in his attempt to engage with current and past historiographical methodologies of inquiries, Dixon weaves a somehow intricate web of information on Ferrell, thus leaving this reader wondering whether the book could benefit from a more cohesive and effective organization. For example, why conveying in the last chapter of the book the reasons behind writing this monograph? Moreover, why isn't Chapter 3, the chapter describing Ferrell's childhood, at the beginning of the book? And then there is Chapter 5, "Traditionalists, Debunkers, and Revisionism." This chapter is a book proposal and constricting so much information in about thirty pages does not do justice either to the field of history itself or to Ferrell's contributions to history and historiography. Although this is not a text for a general audience, US historians, graduate students of US history, and Ferrell's friends and foes will enjoy reading this book.

Dr. Gloria Montebruno Saller (Ph.D. East Asian Languages and Cultures) is a Research Scholar in Japan Studies. Her current research focuses on the history of Japanese and Japanese American Atomic Bomb survivors residing in the United States and their social activism through CABSUS (Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors, United States) and ASA (American Society of Hiroshima-Nagasaki A-Bomb Survivors). Currently, she serves as the Honorary Director and Historian of the American Society of Hiroshima-Nagasaki A-Bomb Survivors in Los Angeles, California.



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Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe

Anne C. Leader (ed.)

Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2018.

ISBN 978-1-58044-345-6.

330pp. inc. Index, Notes, maps, Bibliography. B & W Illus.

Hardback £95. Cloth \$110.

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Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 18 May 2022.

Memorializing the Middle Classes in Medieval and Renaissance Europe meets at the junction of history, archaeology, and classics, examining memorial culture to investigate the entry of what is described as the "middle classes" into the reaches of high society, in a highly nuanced manner. The authors in *Memorializing the Middle Classes* all present compelling cases in an awesome display of very specialized areas of knowledge. All are worth reading and pondering. This is not a book for casual reading; those unfamiliar with the language of church architecture, for example, should have dictionaries at hand.

The book consists of twelve chapters; in which the authors take readers from Pisa to Breslau/Wroclaw, Florence, London, Northern Italy, Castile/Flanders/Burgundy, Tuscany, Venice, Strasbourg, Cyprus and Bruges. Just as varied as the locations are the forms of

memorialization: sarcophagi, epitaphs, altars, sepulchres, tombs, particular image types, chapels, panel paintings, and food offerings (obits). But the essays in this book deal with more than the "what", "how" and "where": concentrating on social mobility, these papers deal with the "who."

The authors focus on instances of mixed memorialization: sites in which space is shared among different social strata. These scholars investigate how the resting places of the dead serve the vital social needs of the living. Thus, a merchant family memorializing in the same way as a noble family expresses, if not actual equality, than aspirational equality. Rich in artistic, archaeological and historical details, each chapter presents case studies of social mobility as experienced in those societies among particular groups of people.



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The *dramatis personae* are the monarchy, the nobility, the Church, and what the authors have defined as “middle classes”—neither nobles, monarchs or church personnel, nor peasants or artisans. Even though the phrase “middle classes” is used, this represents a time before the formation of classes as we know them. The word and concept of an elite or status group captures their social position perhaps better than the rather vague “middle.” In these societies, monarchs, nobles and knights (willingly or not) shared power or employed members of the elites as diplomats, high members of the church, tax collectors and other administrative figures. Wealth could serve as a means of becoming a member of the nobility. The glue holding these societies together was, however, various forms of dependence, duty, and obligation, and not economic relations. Marxian ideas about the relationship of various actors to the means of production as the basis of societal organization are of little use in societies which did not define themselves in economic terms. Struggles in these societies did not take an economic form; rather, they concerned status, prestige and influence. While merchants engaged in trade, those in the ruling positions avoided it, even if they had bought their way into the nobility through their commercial activities.

The authors of these papers move from analyzing artifacts or assemblages of artifacts to understanding or interpreting them in a relational manner: what does it mean for the burial site of person (or family) x to be in proximity with that of person (or family) y ? What connections can be drawn between the particular features of the funerary monuments to x and y ? What do these forms of memorialization say about the existing and possible relationships?

This book connects well with the work of sociologist Norbert Elias. The deep dive into the minutiae of funerary iconography, the placement of tombs, sarcophagi and memorial plaques in relation to those buried inside and outside a church, is similar to the analysis of the architecture and layout of Versailles by Elias in *The Court Society*.¹²⁵ By careful attention to the

geography of Versailles, placement of particular rooms for those in charge of various tasks, and their distance from others, along with contemporary records (including those living at Versailles), Elias made a very convincing case for a topology of shifting power alliances within the court of Louis XIV. This combination of attention to the layout and the perspectives of those involved at the time worked to make *The Court Society* particularly persuasive. Non-nobles and non-aristocrats handled administrative functions, such as tax collection and foreign relations. Nobles filled all manner of service functions (other than handling finances) for their master, including being in charge of his night shirts and day clothes. Where you lived and what you did, your proximity to the top, expressed shifting power relationships. Those who have read *The Court Society* will immediately see how social patterns outlined by the authors in this book were also current in the France of Louis XIV.

Editor Anne Leader’s “Introduction” sets forth the main themes and briefly discusses each paper. In “Recycling for Eternity: The Reuse of Ancient Sarcophagi by Pisan Merchants, 1200-1400,” Karen Rose Matthews discusses one feature of funerary commemoration—burial in ancient sarcophagi—and what this form of recycling signified. She outlined the geography of burial practices in Pisa: in cathedrals and churches, on the grounds of churches. As significant as placement was their encasement: old sarcophagi. By using old sarcophagi—especially “Roman objects from distant locales” (p. 31)—they demonstrated their wealth and position, as well as associating themselves with bygone glories:

“The openness of ancient Roman sarcophagi as *spolia* [ancient Roman spoils] meant that they could be filled with a variety of associations, alluding to multiple pasts simultaneously. The elite merchant families that used them as burials purchased and owned a piece of the Roman past, and their personal acquisition of Roman spoils paralleled the widespread use of ancient

¹²⁵ Elias, Norbert, *The Court Society* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1969, 1975, 1983).



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Roman objects in the most important religious monuments in Pisa." (p. 42).

Those familiar with Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* will recognize the mechanism at work.¹²⁶ This is especially true of the many instances of new nobles acquiring coats of arms, many of which implied a longer lineage than actually existed.

In "Nuremberg Merchants in Breslau (1440-1520): The Commemoration as Assimilation," Agnieszka Patala examines the memorialization practices of a particular group in Breslau/Wroclaw—merchant families who originated in Nuremberg—whose memorials and memorial placements not only celebrated their success, but served as a means of identity, staying together as Nurembergers in death as in life. She presents a geography of memorial, noting where people were buried, entombed, or placed on church walls, floors, etc. She notes the practice of a family having multiple sites.

"Anne Leader's "The Sepulchralization of Renaissance Florence" presents a geography and topography of memory. She notes the multitude of burial places: under Church floors, on walls, in tombs, on Church grounds, and elsewhere. Sometimes the final resting place was a distance from the home parish of the decedent—which meant the prestige of a long funeral procession."

"The desire of individual Florentines to commemorate themselves transformed their cityscape. Stone monuments kept the dead ever present, at least in theory, on the minds and in the prayers of the living. Poignantly however, many markers designed for permanence, have not survived.... [O]thers were sold off by impoverished descendants to newcomers eager to take on the rights to a prestigious burial spot, like the butcher-turned-baker Bellacci family . ." (p. 96).

Christian Steer takes readers across the Channel in "Under the tombe that I have there prepared':

Monuments for the Tailors and Merchant Tailors of Medieval London." This paper significantly complicates the view of guilds as precursors to labor unions. While there were both craft and merchant guilds, Steer examines the membership of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist (founded 1327) and the Merchant Taylors' Company (chartered 1503). Most of the Fraternity's members worked in other areas or were members of the royalty, nobility, and knights. From 1398-1445, when it was known as the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, "almost 68 [percent of members were not themselves tailors." (p. 109) Among their number were nobles and knights, marblers and merchants. Among its members was the first Speaker of the House of Commons, Thomas Chaucer, son of Geoffrey Chaucer. These organizations, in addition to setting prices and wages, provided mutual aid and spiritual support. They also served as the springboard to administrative offices. Steer and other authors note the popularity of various religious orders, which would recite prayers in the name of those deceased for specified periods of time, serving the dead and the living—the latter through the prestige of being able to afford this particular luxury, and (more importantly) because this represented good works which could only redound to the benefit of those doing the memorializing when they appeared for holy judgment. Providing memorial and burial spaces and services acted as an important method of revenue production for the churches and orders involved. Scholars of this period have special problems, due to the destruction of religious artifacts during the Reformation, and the loss of artefacts during the Great Fire of London in 1666.

In "'Middle-Class' Men Who Would Be Nobles in Fifteenth-Century Castile, Flanders, and Burgundy," Ann Adams and Nicola Jennings consider the cases of men who entered the nobility, and "used material display as part of carefully crafted commemorative strategies in their bids to be remembered as noble" (p. 157). One of them started off life as a "new Christian," that is, a Jew who converted in the face of persecution and restrictions. He ended up in royal service.

¹²⁶ Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1984).



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Ruth Wolff's "Tombs and the *imago doctoris in cathedra* in Northern Italy, ca. 1300-1364" discusses a repeated motif of "a male figure resting on a throne-like chair (*cathedra*) with armrests and backrest, and a desk in front of him with an opened book. The figure's right-hand is always raised in a gesture seen as a sign of teaching . . ." (p. 130). It turns out, however, that not all of those whose tombs had this decoration were teachers or doctors of law. Some worked as notaries or physicians; another, the son of the poet Dante Alighieri, had written a study of his father's "Divine Comedy." (pp. 141-146).

Sandra Cardarelli considers the opposite problem in "Remembering the Dead, Planning for the Afterlife in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Case of Cione di Ravi": downward mobility. The title says it all in Meredith Crosbie's "Noble Aspirations: Social Mobility and Commemoration in Two Seventeenth-Century Venetian Funerary Monuments." The decedents had purchased their way into the nobility; they arranged for their monuments to be placed opposite those from old noble families. Crosbie analyzes the placement of various aspects of the plinths, obelisks and carvings of the new and old nobility inferring an equality of status.

In the final chapter, "The Knight and the Merchant: Familial Commemorative Strategy in the Wake of the Flemish Revolts ca. 1482-1492," Harriette Peel examines four memorials in a single church: two commissioned by a salt merchant (Jan van de Velde), the other two from a ducal courtier, Lodewijk de Baenst. The families were not related. Nevertheless, they were "stylistically, compositionally, and iconographically alike . . ." (p. 297).

Throughout the book, the writers keep their collective eyes open on issues of gender. While noting that for the most part, women are not named in funeral inscriptions, being identified in terms of their kinship to a father, husband, etc., nevertheless they were not absent from tomb engravings and other means of visual remembrance. In "The Panel Painting as a Choice for Family Commemoration: The Case of Fifteenth-Century Patrons on Cyprus," for example, Barbara McNulty notes a recurring motif: figures incised with their arms crossed over their chest, indicating that the person so depicted had died. Panel paintings mixed

cross-armed figures with others who were still alive. McNulty describes the clothes and colors in these panel paintings. "By making the deceased present for the bereaved, these family portraits not only provided an opportunity for intercessory prayers but also allowed members of the family, especially young girls whose potential for marriage alliances went unfulfilled, to contribute to their family's social self-fashioning." (p. 287).

For this reviewer, one of the most interesting chapters is "Commemoration through Food: Obits Celebrated by the Franciscan Nuns of Late Medieval Strasbourg," by Charlotte E. Stanford, which moves into a totally different realm of commemoration in what Stanford described as "the economy of salvation." (p. 255). Rather than memorializing through physical forms of remembrance, Strasbourgers did so through food gifts for female religious orders. Today an "obit" refers to an expanded death notice with details of the decedent's life. In medieval times, an obituary list contained the names of those for whom prayers would be recited. This represents an interesting exercise in the shift of meanings over time—from a list with a particular function, to a mere list. Stanford discusses that function:

"The efficacy of prayer, and especially prayers by holy women, above all mendicant women, was particularly attractive to a small but enthusiastic group of supporters in late medieval Strasbourg.... The importance of daily prayer has sometimes been overshadowed by scholarly emphasis on masses. While masses were significant—and indeed, could be requested even at convents where hired priests performed the sacraments—the salvific power of nuns' prayers was also highly desired . . . [N]oted mystics like Mechtild of Magdeburg were credited with having released thousands of souls from purgatory through their prayers." (p. 256-257).

While memorials referred to women largely in kinship terms, rather than as named individuals, this paper presents an interesting twist.



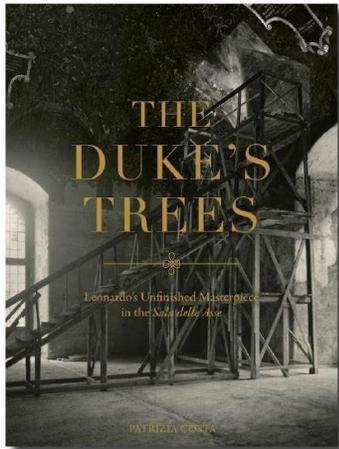
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These papers drive home the intense religious beliefs of those times: religion did not represent something separate and compartmentalized. The rivalries between various religious orders as they sought to supply memorial spaces and services point to tensions and factions within the Church, as riven with contests for power and influence as the societies in which the Church was embedded.

All chapters have plentiful photographs and maps—but none in color! Given the significance of color and the existence of sumptuary legislation—authors note

how those depicted are dressed—color plates would have enhanced this study. Given the expense of this volume, that should have been possible. Color or black-and-white, however, reading *Memorializing the Middle Classes* is a fascinating exercise, as we observe how scholars use many tools and methodologies to introduce readers to a world very different from our own.

Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies) is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. 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 was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut from 2012-2022. He presently is translating Volume 1 of the memoirs of Rudolf Rocker (*The Youth of a Rebel*) from Yiddish to English.



The Duke's Trees: Leonardo's Unfinished Masterpiece in the Sala delle Asse

Patrizia Costa

Pittsburgh, PA.: PC Press, 2021.

ISBN 9781736707401

239pp, USD 90.

Review by Janis Bell, followed by the author's response.

First published online 1 December 2022.

This lavishly produced volume testifies to the inexhaustible interest in Leonardo da Vinci, for whom

some 250 new publications in the quincentennial of his death in 1519 only seems to have spurred the desire



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for more. On heavyweight glossy paper, with high quality color illustrations, including several two-page spreads, the volume can hold its place on any art lover's coffee table and provide countless hours of enjoyment to those who like to browse as well as those who read from cover to cover.

The subject of the volume is an unfinished mural painting in the Ducal Palace of Milan known as the *Sala delle Asse*. The room gets its name from the boards that formerly lined the walls of the room to provide insulation. The work has been known for over a century, but as the author points out, what we know is not Leonardo's original painting but a nineteenth-century overpainting. Luca Beltrami (1854-1933), a prolific art historian, specifically requested the restoration as part of his effort to save the Ducal Palace of Milan from an angry public who wished to see the building razed. Yet in his zeal to transform a fragmentary ruin into an impressive decoration of intertwined tree branches, leaves, and knots rising to form a dense canopy, Beltrami instructed his restorer, Ernesto Rusca, to completely fill the spaces with leaves, branches, and knots. Costa's unique approach to the problem of the *Sala delle Asse* is to give equal time to Beltrami and Leonardo on the principle that Beltrami's role historically shaped the reception of the work for over a century, and still colors our understanding of it today.

The study is divided into two halves. The first focuses on Beltrami, including biographical details and the history of his Leonardo studies. Costa rightly faults him on two accounts: for suppressing the work of German art historian Paul Müller-Walde, who spent nine years working in Milanese archives and at the Sforza Castle; and for failing to adequately document the state of the painting before the restoration. Costa attempts to reconstruct Muller-Walde's work but, without having discovered his personal archive of letters, can only speculate on what he might have accomplished and why Beltrami perceived him as a threat. Part I ends with a discussion of Rusca's repainting and the negative reception which it met almost immediately. Considering that Beltrami's ahistorical approach has been much criticized, Costa takes a surprisingly accepting view with language that seems designed to evoke sympathy for Beltrami's choices: "Instead of making a slavish attempt at historical accuracy, he

[Beltrami] moved forward with a bold and self-assured homage to the sacrifices of the Milanese who funded the work and were denied the congenial and communal result they were apparently promised" (p.26).

Part II then turns to the fifteenth century history of the painting and its patron, Duke Ludovico Sforza. Costa emphasizes the duke's support of the silk industry, including legislation requiring private landowners to plant mulberry trees, the regulation of quality, both of the silk and the gold threads with which it was often woven, and the restriction of foreign imports. Although Rusca's restoration obscured the specific details of the botanical species, *Morus alba*, Costa cited early documents that referred to the room as "of the mulberries," and the consensus of art historians is that the trees are the kind of mulberry used for breeding silkworms. Yellow ropes twisted into elaborate decorative knots tie the branches to one another making a visually dense ornamental pattern blending human ingenuity with the fecundity of nature. The final chapter investigates the importance of knot designs in Leonardo's oeuvre (there are multiple designs on pages of his autograph notebooks in addition to engravings celebrating his art academy) and proposes that Donato Bramante, an architect, painter, and perspective expert working in the Milan at the same time was a source of inspiration for these motifs.

The scholarly apparatus to the volume is substantial: an appendix includes a register of documents from 1468 to [after] 1903, transcribed in the original language with an English summary and a brief bibliography. Most of the documents were previously known, but the author wished to bring them together in one place in the hope of facilitating future research on the *Sala delle Asse*. However, despite the author's thorough compilation of documents, and her careful attention to the hypothesis and suggestions of previous scholars, the volume fails to contribute significantly to the scholarship on Leonardo. This is partly due to the inexplicable omission of a detailed analysis of the restoration undertaken in recent years by the Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Lombardia together with the Soprintendenza dei Beni Storici, Artistici, et Etnoantropologici di Milano, and the help of the



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Florentine center for restoration studies, the Opificio di Pietre Dure, which began in 2013 and opened to the public in 2019. After devoting nearly half of the volume to discussion of Beltrami's restoration, any reader would be curious as to how much of Rusca's overpainting was removed and what was left of the original campaign by Leonardo and his assistants.

A scholarly volume of this scale ought to include recent bibliography of note. Given that there is often a lag of two years between the delivery of the finished manuscript and its appearance in print, it is not surprising that the author does not take into account the most recent work on the *Sala delle Asse* by Jill Pederson (Harvey Miller, 2020), although I suspect she would have welcomed Pederson's focus on the importance of Bramante, a relationship to which Costa devotes considerable attention. More surprising is the omission of Carmen Bambach's monumental *Leonardo Rediscovered* (Yale, 2019)—to name only one example from the prolific quincentennial year—that has received considerable acclaim. The two-volume study of the *Sala delle Asse* by Claudio Salsi and Alessia Alberti (*La Sala delle Asse del Castello Sforzesco: Leonardo da Vinci. All'ombra del Moro*, Milan, Silvana Editoriale) contains additional essays and the catalogue of the exhibition, *Intorno alla Sala delle Asse. Leonardo tra natura, arte, e scienza*, held in the summer of 2019; this volume should have engaged the author's attention, if only in notes to confirm or dispute her own findings.

I also found jarring Costa's dismissal of Leonardo's interest in Dante (p.117) which, while probably less important than his interest in other writers, nevertheless engaged his mind and his hand (he sketched Dante's portrait on Windsor RL 12459); there is more than one booklist of Leonardo's library holdings, and there is ample evidence of Leonardo's familiarity with the *Convivio* and the *Divine Comedy*; (the bibliography on his reading of Dante is concisely summarized in *La Biblioteca di Leonardo*, ed. by Carlo Vecce, Giunti, 2019). Poetry played an important role at the Sforza court, where Leonardo engaged in disputes with those who advocated for the superiority of poetry over painting, his persuasive arguments in favor of painting recorded in the *Prima parte* of the Book on Painting that his student, Francesco Melzi, compiled

after his master's death; and his praise of the beauties of landscape stand out as some of the most evocative passages of his pen.

Barring such inaccuracies and omissions, Costa's volume does offer a thorough overview of the issues involved in studying a work of considerable historical complexity. To her credit, she does not skip over disagreements, taking each head on and seeking – if not to resolve them – to elucidate why a clear solution cannot be found. While reluctant to engage in issues relating to the quality of its workmanship – issues that have led scholars to assign its execution to workshop assistants, this reader was disappointed by the absence of focus on the roots and rocks drawn and brushed directly on the wall, passages showing strata of rock that recall Leonardo's geological explorations. Despite the author's frequent acknowledgement of Leonardo's botanical interests, I found myself longing for more depth in this area, both to understand how this elaborate arboreal invention arose from his understanding of the growth patterns of trees and branches, and how his studies of light on green leaves against the sky, or against a dark ground of branches, might have manifested in a more magnificent image than the overpainted work we know today. Costa's suggestion that the patches of sky between the tree trunks would have included distant vistas of mountains (p. xl) is an intriguing thesis that deserves to be further developed. To her credit, Costa did expand discussion of the elaborate knots to the broader interest in knot designs at the time and their appearance in other Milanese decorations and well as in frescos such as Raphael's *Dispute over the Sacrament* in the Vatican. She also noted the existence of a room in the Visconti palace decorated with trees that could have served as a precedent for Leonardo's arbor of mulberries in the *Sala delle Asse* (p.113).

At the beginning, Costa proclaimed her plan to eschew the solitary genius approach to art history in favor of examining a broader social, political, and historical context, hoping to open further discourse on the painting in the absence of documentation that could resolve disagreements. This she has managed to do, at least for this reader, who was pleased to discover a rich, recent bibliography on the *Sala delle Asse* (much of it stimulated by the restoration), expanding on the



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themes of nature and gardens, commerce and agriculture, showing how much the art historical study of objects benefits from cross-disciplinary studies.

Janis Bell gained her Ph.D. from Brown University in 1983, on “Zaccolini’s *Prospettiva del colore* and the Heritage of Leonardo.” Since then, she has researched Leonardo da Vinci’s theory of aerial perspective and the reception of Leonardo’s writings in the 16th and 17th centuries. She also explores the relationship between theory and practice, particularly in regards to color.

Response by the author

This note is in response to Janis Bell’s thoughtful review of my book, *The Duke’s Trees: Leonardo’s Unfinished Masterpiece in the Sala delle Asse* (2021) for which I am grateful, knowing what an investment of time it is to write academic reviews and to do them well. In the essence of time—the editor of the NCIS has informed me of a pressing deadline for publication—I will limit my response to what Bell calls “jarring” and “surprising” omissions, while remaining appreciative of her assessment of what the book gets right. Indeed, my book went to press before the release of Jill Pederson’s 2020 book *Leonardo, Bramante, and the Accademia: art and friendship in fifteenth-century Milan* and Carmen Bombach’s 2019 *Leonardo Rediscovered*. Therefore, it was not possible to engage with their interpretations or findings. There will be opportunity for this in future writings, and I would welcome the possibility of a conference on the *Sala delle Asse*, when it reopens to the public. By then, even more studies will have joined our enthusiastic scholarly cohort and it will be a pleasure to reflect on the *Sala* as a collective.

Comments on the restoration are, however, another matter. Bell is right to suggest that I could have said more, but it seemed premature at the time, and I did not see the results myself until summer 2022 because of the pandemic. The restoration is ongoing. The Castello Sforzesco published reports of preliminary findings in 2017 but these address the bottom half of the *Sala* only (where the monochrome paintings are located). Restorers are now working on the top half, where the bulk of Leonardo’s heavily retouched

paintings are located (the trees, foliage, golden cord and shields). I did review all the reports so far and corresponded with the Castello about them. This was to make sure that my analyses were in line with their findings. I also gave them a close-to-finished draft of

my manuscript in 2017 (upon ask) when they started working on volume II (*All’Ombra del Moro*) with Silvana Editoriale (shared knowledge is power). The monochromes are exceptional because they are the only original evidence of drawings on a wall by Leonardo, and it is likely that these were untouched over the centuries. As such, all present and future interpretations of the *Sala* must contend with these findings. I would not have been able to speculate on the intended iconographic plan as I did without considering, for example, the small townscape on the south-west wall. The restoration is also starting to reveal a painting technique like the one for the *Last Supper* and this, of course, is very exciting. It should confirm Leonardo’s hand beyond the archival documentation on which the attribution has rested all this time.

Specialists of Leonardo are familiar with Edmondo Solmi’s 1908 compilation of literary evidence for Leonardo’s knowledge of Dante. For me, there were also long discussions on *Dantism* in graduate school with Dennis Looney, a renowned Dante scholar whom I was fortunate to have on my dissertation committee. Still, a connection between Dante and the *Sala*’s iconographical program never came together in my



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mind—at least not yet. I appreciate that Bell sees it differently. Dante was certainly a huge influence on Bramante, whom Gasparo Visconti described as “poeta non umile” and “sviscerato partigiano di Dante.” Bramante emulated Dante’s writing style, he admired his experimentalism of language and, according to Isabella d’Este, spent long evenings reading the *Commedia* to Pope Julius II. The cult of Dante was omnipresent in the Florence of Leonardo’s youth. It was an important emblem of cultural unity and consciousness, it shaped aesthetic views, and it fueled moral and ethical convictions. Every Florentine who could read and afford to buy one of the 1200 *Divina Commedia* copies printed in 1481 with Cristoforo Landino’s scholarly commentary took turns reciting the beautiful canti. For much of the Quattrocento, a knowledge of Dante’s work became a powerful means for artists and men of letters to legitimize their intellectual ambitions. Their competency was rewarded with humanists’ recognition and lucrative commissions. For example, Alessandro Botticelli (a friend of Leonardo’s) had a deep and abiding interest in Dante and, according to the anonymous author of the 16th century *Codice Magliabechiano*, “painted and worked with stories of Dante on vellum for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco di Medici, which was held to be a marvelous thing.”

Scholar after scholar, including Paül Muller Walde, Peter Meller, Carlo Pedretti, Martin Kemp and Carmen Bombach to name a few, have drawn connections between the *Commedia*, the *Convivio* and Leonardo’s allegorical drawings. There are also Dante verses, sometimes word for word, on folios dating to Leonardo’s Milanese period. From these practices, the jump to persuasive comparisons for all of Leonardo’s oeuvre is to be expected. What painting of the great master has *not* been matched to imagery from the *Purgatorio*, *Inferno* or *Paradiso*? Ernst Gombrich likened the compositional arrangement of the *Last Supper* to the double movement of water when a circular vase is struck, as in the dialogue between Saint Thomas Aquinas and Beatrice. Italian literature specialist Renè Stella and Martin Kemp have separately argued that the Mona Lisa’s silent laughter and potent glare follow Dante’s tenet that the soul operates in two places of the face: the mouth and the eyes. For the *Sala*

delle Asse, Jeanette Zwingenberger recently proposed (in *L’énigme des images*, another book I did not have the opportunity to read before mine went to press) that the golden rope of the *Sala* refers to Dante finally arriving in Paradise and perceiving the loving bonds of his beloved. These literary connections are fascinating and important. They point to a Leonardo who was immersed in the literary traditions of his time. But they are not enough to establish an iconographical program for the *Sala*.

Dantesque qualities, on the other hand, *can* be read in the *Sala*—they are inevitable—and we can also learn a lot from putting the *Sala* into systematic dialogue with the *Dantismo* of Leonardo’s time. This dialogue could also extend to the period under Luca Beltrami, when the poet reemerged as a prominent figure during the cultural and political controversies in Milan from the early Risorgimento to World War I. But I never thought to go so far as to interpret the *Sala* as Leonardo’s paradigmatic tribute to Dante. Dantean symbolism could have occurred unconsciously, but I don’t see Leonardo attaching his aspirations for the *Sala* on Dantean themes as a way of relating with the humanist culture of Milan.

Leonardo famously referred to himself as “omo senza lettere.” Scholars have assumed that he was describing his lacking a formal education (he didn’t know much Latin) or that he was expressing his humility before the exceptional studies he took on later in life. But it may also have been a way to defend his intellectual credentials, artistic competence and respectability without attachment to a great poet or literary figure (as in “under no influence”). In discussing Leonardo’s book list of ca. 1495 in the *Codice Atlantico* (f. 559r), Carlo Vecce argued that despite the absence of books on Dante from the list, Leonardo surely owned an edition of the *Commedia* and the *Convivio*: “non poteva mancare Dante, e soprattutto la *Commedia*, col commento del Landino, e il *Convivio*.” Alessandro Parronchi suggested that the reason for the absence was because at the time of the inventory, the book was not on the shelf but on the nightstand: “la mancanza del Dante in questo elenco non è indicativa. Forse il Dante non figura ... perché al momento in cui lo stese non era nella scaffale ma sul comodino.” In other words, Dante was such a favorite that Leonardo did not



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bother to list it. Dante is also missing from the 116 volumes listed in the 1503-1504 inventory in the *Codex Madrid II* (Ms. 8936, f.2v). It is largely believed that Leonardo compiled this list in conjunction with a move. It was titled "ricordo de' libri ch'io lascio serrati nel cassone" and "in cassa al munisterio" (perhaps the convent of S. Maria Novella where Leonardo was working on his cartoons for the Battle of Anghiari). Because the books were under lock and key (*serrati nel cassone*) it seems reasonable to conclude that the list was intended to reduce further the possibility that any would go missing. Where was Dante this time? On the nightstand once more? Leonardo included his "abaco" (an ordinary math manual typically used by merchants) and his Bible (another library staple) but, surprisingly, not Dante. Ovid, Petrarch, Burchiello, Livy are, instead, all there. It now seems appropriate to share another story from the same *Anonimo* who described Botticelli's obsession with Dante. He wrote about an encounter that seemingly occurred between Leonardo and Michelangelo when the two masters were working alongside one another in the Palazzo Vecchio (Leonardo on the *Battle of Anghiari* and Michelangelo on the *Battle of Cascina*). A group of educated men, once engaged in a conversation outside the Palazzo Spini, glimpsed Leonardo passing by and pressed him to elucidate a few difficult lines of Dante. When Michelangelo then turned up, Leonardo declined their request, deferring, with sarcasm, to his working companion and rival. Why didn't Leonardo take the opportunity to impress the men with a witty line or two? Perhaps it was the "omo senza lettere" way of saying, "Michelangelo needs the exercise in cultural self-legitimization more than I do."

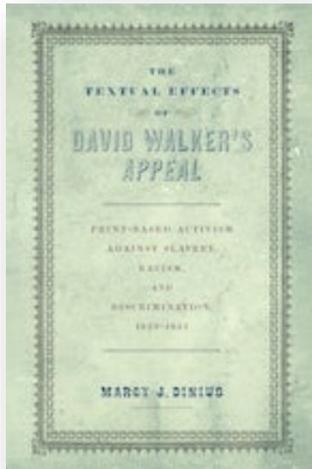
Lastly, I welcomed Bell's suggestion that my book "can hold its place on any art lover's coffee table" even though I am aware that in academia, the term is often used pejoratively to indicate a superficial approach to

a subject. The layout was a deliberate choice. Despite receiving offers from several academic and university presses, I decided to go the self-publish route to break free from the standard series format that has become typical for my field and to include many more illustrations. The esteemed Gillian Malpass offered precious advice about the production process. I worked with British designer Paul Sloman, who has designed books for Yale University Press, Rizzoli, Thames & Hudson as well as art museums. Sloman embraced the challenge of working with two periods—the Renaissance and the late-19th-early-20th-century—and created a visual language that honors both. It was important to me that the book offer high resolution spreads and color details. These convey the *Sala's* exceptional design and splendor. Despite its unfinished condition, the *Sala* is Leonardo's largest wall painting in a prestigious court setting. The elegant knots Sloman designed for the section dividers (a tribute to Leonardo) are one of my favorite things. Any shortcomings to the approach of subject are, of course, mine alone.

Much gratitude goes also to NCIS for the favorable stance taken towards authors replying to reviews. These exchanges can be productive and interesting, especially if the reader is moved to want to know more about the subject. Just today, and serendipitously so, a friend shared a beautiful essay entitled *Anatomy of a Book Review(er)* by James E.G. Zetzel sent to her by the the Bryn Mawr Classical Review. The essay offered a precious reminder of the momentum that reviews provide for moving the subject forward: "Scholarship is a collaborative enterprise, not in the sense of being done by committee, as far too much scholarship now is, but in the sense that one' person's ideas or discoveries almost inevitably start from something someone else has said. And a review can provoke that."



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The Textual Effects of David Walker's Appeal: Print-Based Activism against Slavery, Racism, and Discrimination, 1829-1851

Marcy J. Dinius

Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022.

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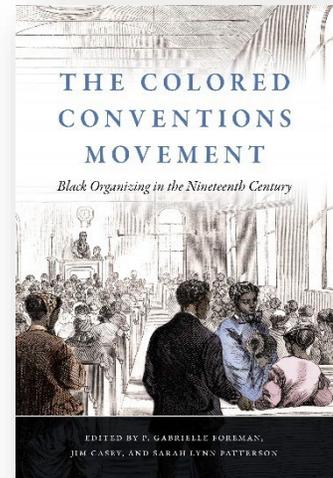
The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century

P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey and Sarah Lynn Patterson (eds.)

Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021.

ISBN 978-1-4696-5426-3

350pp



Review by Shelby Shapiro, first published online 5 November 2022.

Both the volumes under review concern the struggles of Black people in the United States before and after slavery ended during the Civil War. In *The Textual Effects of David Walker's Appeal: Print-Based Activism against Slavery, Racism, and Discrimination, 1829-1851* Marcy J. Dinius uses one of the most stirring and important clarion calls for revolt, David Walker's *Appeal*

to the Coloured Citizens of the World (1829) and a number of pamphlets published in its wake.

P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey and Sarah Lynn Patterson are the editors of a collection of papers, *The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century*, centered around a movement



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which began before the first Abolitionist organizations were founded, and which continued into the 1890s. The Colored Conventions also happen to be one of the most ignored aspects of American history in general and Black history in particular.

In The Textual Effects of David Walker's Appeal: Print-Based Activism against Slavery, Racism, and Discrimination, 1829-1851, Marcy J. Dinius first examines successive editions of the *Appeal*, and then turns to five other pamphlets which sought to extend, elaborate or amend it:

- Maria Stewart's *Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality: The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build* (1831) targeted free Black women.

- William Apes (or Apess), in "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man" (1833) presented Walker's arguments as seen and extended through Pequod eyes.

- William Paul Quinn's *The Origins, Horrors, and Results of Slavery* (1834) circulated the *Appeal* throughout what then constituted the American West.

Henry Highland Garnet, in his "An Address to the Slaves" (1848) reprinted the *Appeal* and expanded it.

- Paola Brown's *Address on the Subject of Slavery* (1851) put the *Appeal* into a Canadian context following passage of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Arguably Chapter 1 – centered on the *Appeal* itself – is the most interesting and accessible). She points out the lack of copyright, and, as well as examining Walker's use of punctuation and typography, emphasizes the importance Walker placed on grammar. She notes the format of the *Appeal*: a Preamble followed by four Articles, echoing the Declaration of Independence. Walker's punctuation and typography served as a road map, analogous to rhetorical marks, on how to read the *Appeal*, especially to an illiterate audience. Finally, the *Appeal* served as weapon against Thomas Jefferson's racist *Notes from Virginia*.

One of the most interesting and problematic aspects of Dinius's chapter on William Apes concerns Apes' approach to Jefferson's *Notes*. Walker excoriated

Thomas Jefferson's "enlightened" views on racial hierarchy, particularly Jefferson's "speculation" that Black people were innately inferior to Whites and were more closely related to "Orang-Outangs" (*Appeal*, 12). Dinius notes that Apes accepted "Jefferson's racial theories as established fact, rather than debunking them as the product of subjective bias" (TE, 131).

In looking at Apes's use of Jefferson's *Notes*, Dinius writes

"Following Walker, Apes holds White Christian Americans to their best sacred and secular principles. In doing so, he only continues the important reform mission of Walker's *Appeal* after Walker's death but also extends it to apply to Indigenous people. At the same time, *repurposing Walker's powerful appeal to advocate for Indigenous Americans effectively allowed Apes to do what Walker might and should have done himself more powerfully and fully.*" (emphasis added, TE, 114).

From a distance of more than 190 years and a social world away from a country filled with slaves, slaveholders and slave-catchers, a 21st century professor of English employed at a university who received a grant to publish *her* book criticizes a 19th century activist for not doing what he "*might and should have done himself more powerfully and fully.*"

Dinius compares the approaches of Walker and Apes: "That Apes argued against discrimination against Indigenous people by drawing on, rather than contradicting, Jefferson's hierarchy of the races in the United States further suggests that Apes saw equal opportunity in the influential arguments of both Walker's *Appeal* and Jefferson's *Notes* for invoking aspects of each that would help him make his best case to White Christian Americans." (TE, 114). This reviewer can only repeat the old Yiddish line that "yes, and if my grandmother had a beard, she'd be my grandfather."

Reading Dinius led this reviewer to *The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century* (TE, 272n7), edited by P. Gabrielle Foreman, Jim Casey and Sarah Lynn Patterson. A mostly ignored historical phenomenon, the Conventions occurred from the 1830 until the 1890s and involved



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thousands of people from coast to coast; it embraced many voices and different solutions to the myriad problems facing Black people in America. Among the sixteen papers in this collection, the authors discuss the role of women in general, and specific women in particular; the routes to Conventions followed by various delegates; the Black press, and the world of print; boarding houses and sociability; debates over citizenship and colonization; and the collective nature of the Conventions.

Reading *The Colored Conventions Movement* put some of the issues raised in *The Textual Effects* into context. For example, throughout her book, Dinius raises questions concerning authorship. What did it mean or imply when Walker's words were employed by others without attribution? She cites Michel Foucault for the proposition that "'texts, books, and discourses really began to have authors' in the early modern period, 'to the extent that authors became subject to punishment, that is, to the extent that discourses can be transgressive' . ." (TE, 194).

In many ways, however, authorship is a "so what?" issue. She notes that Apes and Walker used variants of the same phrase, "by the inches," referring to the relentless cruelty of the slavery system. But she also notes that Walker "may have drawn it from Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* . . ." (TE, 122). Apes, in his pamphlet, restored "Shakespeare's original wording . . ." (TE, 122). The historian Lawrence W. Levine noted the immense popularity of Shakespeare, cutting across class, racial, ethnic and economic lines. Lacking further evidence, it remains open how or to whom Apes was alluding by using that phrase. Shakespeare's phrases have seeped into popular culture and discourse.

The Colored Conventions Movement: Black Organizing in the Nineteenth Century, a production of the University of Delaware's Colored Conventions Project, presents readers with a collective case study in the possibilities of digital scholarship. However, the Project is much more than a book of papers. It is also a web site (ColoredConventions.org) with exhibits and links to deal with all aspects of the Conventions, from gathering Minutes from disparate locations, to collecting the names of participants and their families, their backgrounds, addresses, the kinds of homes they

inhabited, the foods they ate, and how delegates reached their destinations. It is a prime example of digging "narrow but deep." The mainly crowdsourced Project is a conscious expansion of knowledge, the product of many individuals who gathered and collated all manner of data, from many spaces and places. The papers in this volume deal with topics as disparate as the collective writing practices of the Conventions, the presence of Underground Railroad figures, the Black press, and the various networks of activism and agitation.

The Colored Conventions Movement utilizes modern technology both to assemble data and distribute it to provide a comprehensive look at the Colored Conventions, and also represents the possibilities inherent in collective scholarship. *The Colored Conventions Movement* presents sixteen essays on different aspects of the Conventions and their interactions with Black America, revealing a broad historical, political, social and economic vista. The open-ended nature of the Colored Conventions Project will hopefully lead to many more as yet unconsidered aspects of social networking, for example, the role of the Prince Hall Masons (and other fraternal or secret societies), the various Black churches (Baptist, A.M.E., A.M.E. Zion), and a deeper consideration of transportation networks (horseback, steamboat, railroad).

By reading *The Colored Conventions Movement* we learn about collective authorship practices in publishing material put out under the auspices of the Conventions. Struggles over issuing a new edition of Walker's *Appeal* under the imprimatur of the Convention led to Henry Highland Garnet's decision to print, in 1848, his own "Address to the Slaves," which appended his (Garnet's) own writing to a reprint of Walker's *Appeal*. This Garnet did after opposition by, among others, Frederick Douglass, to reissue the *Appeal* as a Convention document.

The Textual Effects is not an easy read; its intended audience consists of academics with specialities in Black history, literary studies and interpretation. In stark contrast, *The Colored Conventions Movement* is meant for all interested readers, who do not have to be specialists to follow the arguments. The authors did not



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“dumb down” their analysis or conclusions, but have rather made their papers truly accessible. Dinius has done a service in making readers aware of authors who followed in the wake of David Walker.

Unfortunately, much of what Dinius writes falls into the realm of pure speculation. There are repeated uses of phrases such as “it may be possible” and “is probable”: which can also mean “may not,” in the absence of other evidence. In writing about Paola Brown’s *Address on the Subject of Slavery* (1851), Dinius refers to people such as Brown, no longer living in or under slavery as “self-liberated and relocated enslaved and free Black people” (p. 200)—a long literary freight train to carry the concepts of “escaped” and “runaway.” Dinius and many of the authors in *The Colored Conventions Movement* use the current term “enslaved persons” instead of “slaves,” maintaining that the former phrase gives humanity to the latter. This, I fear, misses the point of slavery: supporters of the system of slavery and White supremacy saw Black people as property, not persons—property without the rights, privileges or any of the attributes of humans. This was the clear implication of Thomas Jefferson’s *Notes*. In the third edition of David Walker’s *Appeal*, Walker used the term “slave” or “slaves” no less than fifty times; only once, in

Article IV, does he employ “free or slave persons of color.” (Hinks, 56). David Walker did not need to resort to linguistic legerdemain to emphasize the inhumanity of the system.

In her Conclusion, Dinius considers a copy of the *Appeal* owned, read, and notated by W. E. B. DuBois. Dinius works to draw conclusions from DuBois’s corrections to his copy of the text, the first edition of the *Appeal*. These she interprets as Du Bois’ correction of a typesetter’s mistake (exactly what might be expected of someone who served as editor of *Crisis* magazine). There are those who are compulsive picture-straighteners (I plead guilty) without regard to the artist, the picture, the style, or even whether the picture appeals to them. If this is the sum total of Du Bois’s involvement with the *Appeal*, so what? It was not until I read *The Colored Conventions Movement* that I learned about Othello Burghardt of Great Barrington, Massachusetts attending the 1847 Colored Convention in Troy, New York. (CCM, 27), long before the birth of Du Bois, his famous grandson.

The Colored Conventions Movement deserves wide circulation and emulation. May this volume be the first of many to come out of this exciting Project!

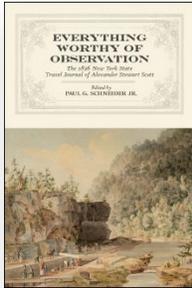
In the interests of full disclosure, this reviewer attended graduate school with two of the authors, Psyche Williams-Forsen and Cheryl Janifer LaRoche. I was honored to be among the readers for LaRoche’s path-breaking study, *Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance* (University of Illinois 2013).

Shelby Shapiro (Ph.D. American Studies) is an Independent Scholar who obtained his Ph.D. 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 was Associate Editor of Records of the State of Connecticut from 2012-2022. He presently is translating Volume 1 of the memoirs of Rudolf Rocker (*The Youth of a Rebel*) from Yiddish to English.



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OBITUARIES



We were sorry to hear recently about the death of **PAUL G. SCHNEIDER, JR.** (1945-2020). Ohio-born Paul G. Schneider, Jr. earned a B.A. in History from Hiram College, and an M.A. from the Cooperstown Graduate Program in 1968. After a stint in Vietnam with the U. S. Army, he went to work at an Ohio historical society. In 1972, he went to the New York State Bureau of Historic Sites, first as collections manager, and then as its first head of Protective Services.

After 28 years, he began working full-time with his own consulting service, Heritage Protection. In 2019, SUNY Press published his first book, *Everything Worthy of Observation: The 1826 New York Travel Journal of Alexander Stewart Scott*, a review of which is featured in this issue of TIS. He died suddenly in December 2020.

Paul G. Schneider, Jr. was active on the Board of the Cooperstown Graduate Association and was a proud member of NCIS, contributing regularly to our Facebook page. He is survived by his wife of 38 years, Robin Campbell.

We were also sad to learn of the passing of **JEFFREY BABCOCK PERRY** (1946-2022) on September 24 after a long illness. He played basketball and baseball at Princeton where he graduated in 1968, continuing his education at Harvard, Rutgers and Columbia, earning a PhD in American History in 1987.

Jeffrey was an independent, working-class scholar who wrote about two of the most important thinkers on race and class in the twentieth century: Hubert Harrison, “The Father of Harlem Radicalism” and Theodore W. Allen who pioneered his class struggle based “white skin privilege” analysis in 1965 and wrote *The Invention of the White Race*. Jeffrey authored a major two-volume biography of Harrison, the second volume of which, *Hubert Harrison: The Struggle for Equality, 1918-1927* (Columbia University Press, December 2020) was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize.



He is survived by his wife of 48 years, Becky Hom, daughter Perri Hom, son- in-law Eric Shaw, and sisters Pam Buco and Debbie Giblin.