

# TIS The Independent Scholar

A peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal

ISSN 2381-2400

## Volume 2 (September 2016)

### General Editor

Shelby Shapiro

[tis@ncis.org](mailto:tis@ncis.org)

### Humanities Editor

Amanda Haste

[amanda.haste@ncis.org](mailto:amanda.haste@ncis.org)

### STEM Editor

Joan Cunningham

[jcunningham@ncis.org](mailto:jcunningham@ncis.org)

OPEN  ACCESS

[CONTENTS](#)

[FROM THE EDITOR](#)

[ABOUT THE AUTHORS](#)

[CRITICAL ESSAYS](#)

[BOOK REVIEWS](#)

[NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS](#)



**Disclaimer** Although the articles presented in *The Independent Scholar* have been subjected to a robust peer review process to ensure scholarly integrity, the views expressed by contributors are not necessarily those of the TIS editorial board or of NCIS.

# ***The Independent Scholar***

## **Volume 2 (September 2016)**

### **CONTENTS**

<b>FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP</b>	1
<b>CONTRIBUTORS</b>	2
<b>CRITICAL ESSAYS</b>	
<a href="#"><i>A Case Report of Therapeutic Massage to Relieve Axillary Web Syndrome, a Restrictive Soft Tissue Condition Caused by Breast Cancer Surgery</i></a>	3
JOAN E. CUNNINGHAM & PAUL A. LEWIS	
<a href="#"><i>Getting the Message Across: Translating Meaning for an Academic Readership</i></a>	18
AMANDA HASTE	
<a href="#"><i>They Came Here to Fish: Early Massachusetts Fishermen in a Puritan Society</i></a>	28
SERENA NEWMAN	
<a href="#"><i>How Experience Becomes History: The Secrets Revealed, and Created, by a File from the FBI</i></a>	47
BORIA SAX	
<b>BOOK REVIEWS</b>	
<a href="#"><i>For the Union and the Catholic Church: Four Converts in the Civil War</i></a> , Max Longley	57
VICTORIA M. BRETING-GARCIA	
<a href="#"><i>Paranormal: A New Testament Scholar Looks at the Afterlife</i></a> , Valerie A. Abrahamsen	59
CAROL RIZZOLO	
<a href="#"><i>Surviving the Twenty-First Century: Essays by William Eaton</i></a> , William Eaton	61
DAVID SONENSCHNID	
<a href="#"><i>The Kosher Sutras</i></a> , Marcus J. Freed	63
LINDA ZUCKER	
<b>BACK IN THE DAY</b>	65
<a href="#"><i>Galileo Linceo</i></a>	
TONI VOGEL CAREY	
<b>OBITUARY - Elizabeth Eisenstein</b>	69
<b>ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN PRIZE – Announcement of the 2016 Winners</b>	70

## FROM THE EDITOR'S LAPTOP



Welcome to Volume 2 of *The Independent Scholar* (TIS), the peer-reviewed open-access online journal of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS). The 2015 NCIS Conference at Yale University, New Haven, which celebrated the 25th Anniversary of NCIS, is the “gift that keeps on giving,” with three of the four peer-reviewed articles in this present number derived from papers delivered at Conference; our next issue may well feature still more of them. Even if you were at the Conference, it would behoove you to read these expanded versions of the papers delivered at Yale.

The papers contained in this volume, and the reviews of four books by NCIS members, exhibit the enormous range of scholarship within NCIS. We are delighted to be publishing our first STEM article, a fascinating account by Joan Cunningham and Paul Lewis of using massage to reduce and hopefully resolve a painful condition arising from breast cancer surgery. This is followed by three expanded conference papers. Amanda Haste discusses the problems of translation within scholarly work: her article highlights many of the hazards and choices faced by many of us in the course of our research, whether we are accomplished linguists or – more usually – linguistic amateurs faced with the challenge of getting the full meaning of foreign-language source material over to our readers. Serena Newman then examines Church and Court records in Colonial Massachusetts to test the stereotype/paradigm of fishermen as the original ‘wild ones’, demonstrating through her painstaking original research the unreliability of the conventional wisdom. The final conference-derived paper is Boria Sax’s meditation on memory and history, in which he examines the heavily-redacted FBI files of a Soviet spy, searching for the truth behind that which is obscured from view.

From this issue onwards, we will be adding a new feature, “Back in the Day,” which reprints papers which appeared in TIS’s predecessor, *The Independent Scholar Quarterly* (TISQ). Unlike TIS, papers appearing in TISQ did not undergo the rigorous peer review process of TIS. This issue features Toni Vogel Carey’s short article on “Galileo Linceo,” originally printed in TISQ 24: 3 (November 2011).

Also in this issue is an obituary for Professor Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein, and the announcement of the winners of the 2016 Elizabeth Eisenstein Essay Prize, which attracts an award of \$350 for the winner and plenty of kudos for any runners up.

TIS is a highly collaborative enterprise. While the undersigned serves as editor, Board members Joan Cunningham and Amanda Haste are the Science and Humanities Editors, respectively. NCIS Communications Officer Tula Connell and Webmaster Ed Walls continue to work the web magic, and special thanks go out to the person most responsible for formatting the journal, bit by bit (or should we say “byte by byte”?) Catherine Prowse. Crucially, our small army of anonymous peer reviewers toil away in obscurity; each paper printed undergoes at least two peer reviews and, without the critical work of the reviewers, there would be no journal.

We look forward to your feedback on this current issue. Papers and book reviews for the next issue are already in the pipeline, and we invite NCIS members to submit papers for peer-review, and their own recently-published books for review, at any time over the coming months. The next formal Call for Papers (CFP) will go out in January 2017.

SHELBY SHAPIRO, General Editor

## CONTRIBUTORS

**Joan E. Cunningham** is a cancer epidemiologist, recently retired from academia and now an independent scholar living in San Antonio, Texas. She holds a BSc (Honours) in Biology and MSc in Zoology, both from the University of Guelph (Ontario, Canada), and a PhD from the University of Texas School of Public Health (Houston, Texas). Her previous work has included aquatic eco-embryology, cancer immunotherapy and breast cancer epidemiology. An active peer reviewer, her current research includes racial disparities in breast cancer and clinical trials to reduce suffering caused by anti-cancer therapy.

**Amanda Haste** is a British independent scholar and translator based in the south of France. As a translator she specializes in academic translation, and is also adjunct faculty at Aix-Marseille University (France) where she teaches courses in Practical Translation, Literary Translation and (thanks to her Ph.D. in Musicology) Translation for Musicians and Musicologists. As an independent scholar she has published widely and is an invited lecturer and active peer reviewer. Her research interests include music, language and identity. <http://ncis.academia.edu/AmandaHaste>

**Paul A. Lewis** holds a BA in Math and Commerce from York University (Toronto, Canada), and is a Registered Massage Therapist, a Combined Decongestive Therapist, and a Reflexologist in Mississauga, Ontario, Canada with over 20 years experience in healthcare. He provides collaborative treatments with medical and chiropractic doctors using the method he designed specifically for soft tissue issues involving restricted range of motion and pain. With a black belt in Aikido, he also speaks Japanese and teaches massage in Canada, US, Europe and UK.

**Serena Newman** holds a Master's Degree in History from the University of Mass., Amherst, and specializes in Early American and Constitutional History. She has taught as Adjunct Faculty in History and Government, and has been a community college tutor; for several years she has been a Reader with the College Board AP History Exams, and has also worked for Pearson Evaluation Systems with Teacher Licensure Exams, and as a substitute paraprofessional in public school Special Education. Her publications include journal articles and a number of book reviews.

**Boria Sax** holds a PhD in History and German from SUNY, Buffalo and is an award winning author and lecturer. He teaches at Mercy College, and has worked as a consultant on human rights for Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, and Human Rights Internet. He has published in the fields of scholarship, poetry, reference, translation, memoirs, and two of his scholarly books have been listed among "outstanding academic titles of the year" compiled by the journal *Choice: Animals in the Third Reich: Pets, Scapegoats, and the Holocaust* (Continuum, 2000) and *The Mythical Zoo: An Encyclopedia of Animals in Myth, Legend, and Literature* (ABC-CLIO, 2002). [www.boriasax.com](http://www.boriasax.com)

**Toni Vogel Carey** gained her PhD (with Distinction) in Philosophy, specialty in Ethics, from Columbia University, and publishes on philosophy and the history of ideas. She has presented her work widely in the USA, Canada, England, Scotland and the Netherlands, has published in scholarly journals and is a regular contributor to the British magazine *Philosophy Now*. Previously Assistant Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University and at State University of New York at Stony Brook, she is now an independent scholar; her paper "Town-Gown Collaboration: The Example of Eighteenth Century Scotland" appeared in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 1 (December 2015). <http://tonivogelcarey.com>

# A CASE REPORT OF THERAPEUTIC MASSAGE TO RELIEVE AXILLARY WEB SYNDROME, A RESTRICTIVE SOFT TISSUE CONDITION CAUSED BY BREAST CANCER SURGERY

Joan E. Cunningham, PhD (Texas, USA)<sup>1</sup>

Paul A. Lewis, BA, RMT, CDT (Toronto, Canada)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Independent Scholar, NCIS; and Cancer Epidemiologist*

<sup>2</sup> *Independent Scholar, NCIS; and Owner/Lead Therapist, Paul Alexander Lewis Services, Inc.*

Correspondence should be addressed to: [jcunningham@ncis.org](mailto:jcunningham@ncis.org)

Date submitted: 9 March 2016

Date accepted: 18 May 2016

## **Abstract**

**Background:** Axillary web syndrome (AWS) is a not-uncommon consequence of axillary (underarm) surgery conducted as part of breast cancer staging. The abnormal cord or web of fibrotic tissue may appear within a few weeks or months after surgery, readily palpated along the inner aspect of the arm from axilla to elbow and even wrist, causing tightness when the arm is raised or extended. This limits range of motion (ROM) of elbow and shoulder joints, often with associated pain and discomfort. No standard of care has been established. Current treatments focus on physical therapy and other manipulation-based methods to variable effect, and often require numerous sessions. **Method:** We describe the presentation and treatment of a young woman with breast cancer who developed AWS of the left upper extremity following ipsilateral simple mastectomy plus axillary surgery. At presentation, self-reported pain upon arm extension was 5/10 (0 is no pain, 10 is severe pain), and shoulder ROM was 140° (normal is 180°). Cording was clearly evident and taut from axilla to elbow and elbow to wrist. She received two sessions of therapeutic massage using dynamic angular petrissage, a treatment approach developed by one of us (PL). This incorporates petrissage and non-petrissage techniques with purposeful, controlled passive-relaxed movement of the affected arm, by the

therapist, through all possible angles of the client's ROM. Using the arm as a lever, stretch and tension of soft tissues including the cord were modified while defined therapeutic techniques were applied. Care was taken to loosen the tension of the cord without breaking it. **Results:** After two treatment sessions within four days, plus prescribed home-care exercises, the client was free of ROM restrictions and movement-associated pain. The cord was apparent only upon hyperextension of the arm and caused no pain. Treatment did not cause the client additional pain or discomfort. Three months later, she was free of any AWS signs or symptoms. **Conclusions:** We propose that dynamic angular petrissage may be used to efficiently and safely eliminate the cording tautness, pain, and restricted mobility of AWS. In our hands it has also proven helpful for other conditions characterized by pain and restricted ROM caused by soft tissue adhesions or contractures, such as Guillain-Barre syndrome. This treatment approach can be readily taught to massage and other manual therapists, and is amenable to clinical research.

**Keywords:** axillary web syndrome; cording; axillary surgery; breast cancer; massage therapy; dynamic angular petrissage; soft tissue restriction

**NB:** A glossary of key terms is given at the end of this paper.

## INTRODUCTION

Therapeutic massage can be of considerable benefit for a wide variety of soft tissue conditions in which the client has functionally restricted movement. Mechanisms by which this may be achieved include the mechanical, physiological and psychological and their interactions. Mechanically, adhesions and fibrosis that constrain movement can be disrupted, blood flow increased to ischemic tissue, reflex dilation of blood vessels stimulated, lymphatic drainage improved, and muscle spasms reduced by stimulation of proprioceptors. Each of these effects induces physiological changes persisting beyond the massage session. Psychologically, massage reduces stress, anxiety and depression and gives the client a general feeling of well-being; these benefits are most pronounced in clients who have experienced tissue trauma or pathology. Together, these processes combine to favourably impact pain and promote healing.(1)

We have found the combination of manual massage techniques and passive-relaxed movement (that is, conducted by the therapist, unaided by the client) of the affected limb relieves locally impaired range of motion (ROM) and associated pain. This approach has proven effective in our hands (second author, PL) where a single limb is involved as in the case described in this report, as well as for the soft tissue pain and debilitation associated with paralysis or paresis, where the client is unable to move of their own volition (active movement).

Axillary web syndrome (AWS) is a not-infrequent complication of surgery to the axilla, such as for breast cancer staging and regional disease control.(2-11) This condition, considered a variation of Mondor's disease,(4) manifests as cording or webbing of the affected arm, with externally visible and palpable rope-like structures (cords) evident under the skin of the inner arm. The cords may extend from the site of incision (surgical trauma), along the medial aspect of the arm to the antecubital fossa of the elbow and even into wrist and thumb (Figure 1A).(4-6,12) Etiology is unclear, but the cords are thought to involve angiolymphatic and fibroblastic structures, exacerbated by surgical trauma and the tightness of the surrounding tissue.(2-8,13-15) In the context of breast cancer, risk for AWS appears to be greater with axillary dissection (removing a few, several or many lymph nodes) than with axillary sentinel lymph node

biopsy alone (removing only specific nodes receiving lymphatic drainage from the breast), although not all investigators agree.(16-17) Generally speaking, risk is elevated if more nodes are removed (greater surgical trauma), in women of younger age, those with lower body mass index (leaner physique), and/or if the surgical procedure includes mastectomy.(5) While recovery from AWS can be spontaneous after some weeks or months, the experience of physical therapists strongly indicates that AWS may persist chronically, with associated pain and disability.(2,5,10,18-22)

No standard of care for AWS has been established, although various non-invasive, surgical and pharmacologic approaches have been investigated.(5,22) Current treatments focus on manual approaches including massage and physical therapy, usually as conservative treatments given in several sessions over weeks or even months with varying degrees of success in symptom reduction and cord resolution.(5,8-10,19-21,23) A notable exception is application of firm digital pressure to rupture the cord: this is reported to relieve pain and movement limitations in a single session,(24) but patients were apparently not followed for possible negative consequences or durability of response.

In this retrospective case report, we describe the application of a novel therapeutic massage technique, dynamic angular petrissage, in two sessions to completely relieve the signs (cording) and symptoms (pain and restricted ROM) of AWS in the case of a young woman who had recently undergone simple mastectomy and axillary dissection for breast cancer.

## DESCRIPTION OF CASE

**Client:** The client provided consent for her clinical information, photos (including one photo provided unsolicited by the client), treatment, outcomes, and candid comments to be included in this report.

The client was a 45-year-old Caucasian woman residing in Toronto, Canada who presented with visibly evident cording of the upper left extremity from axilla to wrist (Figure 1A), accompanied by movement-associated pain and restricted ROM. She reported having had a left simple mastectomy combined with axillary surgery (sentinel node biopsy plus axillary dissection that included removal of breast tissue, underlying fascia and skeletal muscle of the

axilla) for breast cancer, 6.5 weeks earlier. She had not received any radiotherapy or chemotherapy. Despite receiving basic rehabilitative post-surgery physical therapy care, for several weeks she continues to experience movement-associated pain and diminished ROM. Massage treatment given by one of us (PL) 4.0 weeks after surgery provided considerable improvement, and no cording was noted at that time. However, cording soon became apparent extending from the axillary surgical scar through the entire length of the arm. When her surgeon could offer no treatment suggestions, she again sought massage treatment.

At presentation, the client described "pain, tightness, a 'tugging' under the skin [of her left arm] and a visible ropey tightness ... . This 'rope' extends all the way down my arm, especially with pain at the elbow and again at the inner wrist. When I press anywhere on this pathway down the arm, there's a stinging tight pain. ... [The rope] originates near a bubble of stitched skin at my axilla". Her therapeutic objectives were to regain freedom of movement of shoulder, elbow and wrist; to be free of movement-associated pain; and to be free of the cording and associated interference with normal activities, in particular self-care such as underarm shaving.

**Treatment Principles:** Soft tissue problems suitable for massage intervention often involve adhesions, fibrosis, ischemia, inflammation, muscle atrophy, edema and/or stimulated pain trigger points. Conditions involving restricted ROM, as seen in AWS, are particularly amenable to massage when the appropriate techniques are combined with passive movement of the affected joint(s) and tissues(s).

To this end, one of us (PL) has developed a therapeutic treatment approach termed dynamic angular petrissage. It uses specific established, evidence-based manual massage techniques of petrissage (e.g. Swedish methods such as light muscle stripping, kneading, pincer grasping, c-scooping) and non-petrissage (such as stretching and myofascial release) techniques(25) in an innovative manner that incorporates purposeful and directed passive-relaxed movement ("dynamic") of the affected limb through the available range of motion. As shown in a demonstration video,(26) by carefully moving the limb with hand A through different angles ("angular") the therapist is able to gently lengthen and relax the target tissue, from proximal to distal (i.e. segmentally).

At the same time adhesions and other restrictions (lesions) are gradually released by hand B. The intent is to gradually release any constrictions on the fascia, muscles and connective tissues without engaging the stretch reflex (protective contraction), and to thereby interrupt the deleterious cycle of pain, fear of pain, and physical guarding against anticipated pain. This in turn facilitates an alternative proprioceptive environment that allows (rather than forces) tissues associated with the cord to release. The goal is to reduce all sources of tension and thus regain the original resting length of the tissue. This treatment approach can have immediate and powerful effects on muscle and connective tissues, and can be effectively applied to soft tissue injuries in both acute and chronic situations.

Once the soft tissue lesion (muscular knot, adhesion, or as in the case of this client, the cord) has been identified and localized, digital pressure is applied with thumb, hand and/or fingertips of hand B to the proximal aspect (closest to the body) of the lesion. Digital pressure is maintained at the barrier (the point where tissue resistance increases in response to temporarily sustained pressure) and the tissue is gently kneaded (petrissage) with hand B. Simultaneously the tissue is lengthened by moving the limb with hand A in a passive manner. That is, while hand B gently kneads (petrissage) the soft tissue, simultaneously hand A manipulates limb position and angle to passively increase (lengthen) and decrease (shorten) tension on the target tissue. As the barrier releases, both the kneading hand (hand B) and limb position (controlled by hand A) are readjusted to adapt to a new barrier. In this way the limb serves as a lever, changing the working tension on the tissues between the limb and hand B in a controlled, passive manner. Utilizing the muscle's line of pull and attachment—changing the lever angles—simulates the natural movement of the limb.

Should the client experience discomfort at a specific angle or position, the applied pressure or stretch is reduced; the same target area may then be addressed from a different angle without discomfort. The therapeutic purposes of this treatment method are to reduce soft tissue restrictions that compromise movement and generate associated pain, and to reduce the time spent in rehabilitation and speed recovery, all the while treating within the client's improving ROM and comfort zone. In this way, as the

treatment session progresses the comfortable ROM is gradually extended.

**Therapeutic Intervention - Session One:** (90 minutes) Functional assessment is used to assess the client's ability to functionally move and to determine the source of the presenting issue(s). The tests assist the therapist to determine the course of action required to address the source of the issue(s) and reduce or eliminate the symptoms, and also support the rationale for the areas addressed, the techniques used and client positioning.

Assessment measures used with this client are detailed elsewhere.<sup>(27)</sup> Briefly, she was examined to identify the locations from which pain and restrictions originated. Assessment included visual inspection of client posture; palpation of upper extremities, shoulder and neck; active-free ROM testing of the upper extremities (observing movement as performed by the client unaided by the therapist); passive-relaxed ROM testing (movement performed by therapist unaided by the client); measuring her ability to move the extended arm forward from a resting position paralleling the body to a position directly above the head (glenohumeral (GH) flexion) with normal being 180° as measured with a goniometer; client self-rated movement-associated pain on the 0 to 10 Oxford Numeric Pain Rating Scale where 0 is no pain and 10 is severe pain;<sup>(28)</sup> visual inspection and palpation of cording for extent, tautness, and texture; visual inspection and palpation for evidence of lymphedema; and client query of any additional signs and symptoms.

Consistent with the client's history and complaint, she was observed to have slight anterior rotation of the left shoulder (Table 1). Bilateral active-free functional testing and palpation of upper extremities including neck and shoulder revealed high resting tension of the left levator scapula restricting cervical movement to the right, and restricted ROM of the GH joint in abduction and during flexion (maximum 140° flexion as compared to the normal of 180°). Pain on movement was self-rated by the client as 5/10. Active-free ROM testing of elbow and wrist revealed restricted extension of these joints also, with self-rated pain levels 4/10 and 2/10, respectively. She stated the restrictions and pain were due to the cording, which was clearly evident in abduction as a rope-like structure from axilla to antecubital fossa of the elbow, and as a finer dental floss-like structure

from elbow to the radial side of wrist (Figure 1A). Visual inspection and palpation of shoulder and arm revealed no evidence of lymphedema (a known complication of axillary surgery), and the client denied observing any lymphedema signs or symptoms.

The treatment plan was designed to reduce the pull of the cord on musculature, adhesions, and underlying structures from axilla to wrist and thereby reduce the tension of involved tissues and restrictions on ROM (a detailed treatment protocol is provided elsewhere<sup>(27)</sup>) An important consideration was to avoid tearing the cord, which might initiate a local inflammatory process and conceivably increase risk for lymphedema, particularly if the cord is indeed primarily lymphatic and relevant to lymphatic drainage of the arm.

With the client in a supine position, integrative lymph drainage techniques were applied to neck and shoulder areas with preventive intent. Treatment then addressed all accessible structures that may have directly or indirectly contributed to the client's signs and symptoms, particularly interrelationships between clavicle, GH and scapulothoracic joint which are critical in helping with full functional ROM.<sup>(29)</sup> Light effleurage strokes were applied to neck, shoulder, and pectoral regions to warm and prepare the tissues.

Methods of dynamic angular petrissage were then applied to the ipsilateral (left side only) pectorals, deltoids and sub-scapularis, bilateral (left and right) cervical and upper trapezius, and ipsilateral biceps, triceps, forearm extensors, and forearm flexors. Long petrissage strokes and/or short segmental strokes were used in the dynamic and angular manner described above to gradually and segmentally lengthen the target tissue; by this method, movement of the joints beyond the presenting limitations was gently achieved.

The scapula was then mobilized along with gentle oscillations to the sternoclavicular joint and acromioclavicular joint with the purpose of structurally assisting scapulothoracic movement; similarly, to assist with GH joint ROM, gentle traction was applied (to slightly loosen the joint and decompresses the articular surface) prior to posterior glide mobilization (to assist with ease of movement of the GH joint during flexion) and then long axis traction (to assist with abduction). Oscillations, traction with posterior glide mobilization, and long axis traction were all applied at Grade 1 levels (i.e., gently) utilizing



available joint play to loosen the capsule without stretching any tissues beyond existing laxity.(30) Finally, light effleurage was applied to the entire limb and neck area, working from distal to proximal.

The client was instructed in home care exercises specifically designed to mobilize and lengthen the tissues associated with the GH joint, including chest muscles, rotator cuff, and shoulder, interscapular, back, cervical, and elbow and wrist muscles. These exercises included "L"-circles (with elbow bent and forearm raised to form a capital letter "L" the fingers are placed on top of the shoulder at the acromion and the elbow is moved in a circle, leading a circumduction at the GH joint), and wrist and elbow extensor exercises. They were to be repeated several times per day.

In post-treatment assessment, the client self-reported movement-associated pain at GH joint, elbow, and wrist as 0/10 (complete resolution; Table 1). Active-free GH ROM was improved by 30°, to 170°. Hyperemia (increased blood flow) was observed in treated areas as superficial redness. Whereas on pre-treatment palpation the cord was prominent and distinct from the other tissues, post-treatment the cord felt as part of the arm structure and was visibly reduced but not torn or ruptured (Figure 1B). The client reported she did not feel any pain during treatment. One day later, she called to report the axillary cording was only half as initially prominent: "The whole web or cord system seems to have relaxed to the point where I can basically move my arm how I want, with little-to-no pain." The most "annoying" pain had been at wrist and elbow "and these are where I'm feeling a massive relief." In all, the client described improvement in her condition as 70%. For the first time since detection of AWS she was able to shave her underarm area.

**Therapeutic Intervention - Session Two:** (60 minutes): The client returned four days later, reporting she had practiced the home care exercises as instructed, that she had full ROM of her arm with no pain (0/10) or distress on GH flexion or abduction, that extension of wrist and elbow were also without pain (0/10) or restrictions, and that minimal residual restriction of extension remained only upon her customary hyperextension of elbow and wrist. On bilateral active-free testing (i.e. performed by the client), she had full ROM with no restrictions; neither the rope-like band from axilla to antecubital fossa, nor

the dental-floss-like structure from elbow to wrist, were evident. Residual cording could be detected visually and on palpation only on hyperextension of elbow and wrist (Figure 1C). No signs of lymphedema were observed, nor did the client report any symptoms.

After assessment and integrative lymph drainage, with the client in a supine position, light effleurage warm-up strokes were applied to neck, shoulder, and pectoral regions. Therapeutic massage using methods of dynamic angular petrissage was applied to the same areas and structures as in Session One. During the final 25 minutes of the session, other areas of the body were treated as requested, including abdominal region, legs and lower back. The client was instructed to continue home care exercises.

In post-treatment assessment with active-free functional testing of shoulder, elbow, and wrist, the cord was residually apparent in the axilla, but the client reported that she did not feel any restriction during extension or even upon hyperextension (Figure 1C; Table 1). ROM of the GH joint was unrestricted. She self-rated her pain levels associated with movement after treatment as 0/10 in GH joint, elbow, and wrist. She again reported that she did not feel any pain during treatment.

**Short-term Follow-Up:** The client telephoned (unsolicited) 8.5 weeks after Session One to report that the cord was now localized to just the vicinity of the scar and that movement was without pain (Table 1), and emailed a photo (Figure 1D, taken in a mirror).

**Three-Month Follow-Up:** The client returned for scheduled follow-up 14.5 weeks after Session One, with no further intervention other than home care exercises. Active-free ROM testing revealed no movement restrictions, and no palpable or visible signs of AWS (Figure 1E; Table 1). The client reported that she remained free of movement-associated pain (0/10 at GH joint, elbow, and wrist) and of AWS restrictions or cording, and had not experienced any treatment-related pain or negative consequences following her therapy. She was free of any signs or symptoms of lymphedema.

## DISCUSSION

In our experience, post-surgical mastectomy patients can experience a variety of issues—singly or in combination—including pain and altered sensation in

the hands and in the surgical site, restricted range of motion and secondary lymphedema, all of which can benefit from therapeutic massage. A commonality is trauma resulting in soft tissue damage, scarring and consequent restrictions of normal tissues.

Therapeutic massage using the dynamic angular petrissage treatment approach specifically addresses soft tissue restrictions, and is based upon the therapist's detailed knowledge of all structures and functions involved. Indeed, for this client with AWS, unlike with some other standard massage and physical therapy approaches used for this condition,<sup>(5)</sup> particular care was taken to ensure that the cord was not ruptured, as determined by lack of a sudden change in cord tension or audible popping sound. This avoided possibly initiating a local inflammatory process or damaging lymphatic tissue, which could conceivably interfere with healing and increase the risk of lymphedema.<sup>(5)</sup> Until the etiology and pathophysiology of AWS and also of lymphedema are better understood, such caution may be prudent.

The highly controlled soft tissue stretching-and-relaxation methods of dynamic angular petrissage were applied while simultaneously carefully assessing for any pathologic resistance from non-contractile elements (e.g., fascia, tendons, ligaments, scar tissue, adhesions and of course the AWS cording). Technique combinations and applied intensities (speed of movement, degree and duration of pressure, amount of drag) were modified according to the conditions of the tissues being worked and the desired restriction release. During treatment, changes in tautness, texture, and attachment of the AWS cord to surrounding tissues were readily evident by palpation. Although the precise etiology and pathophysiology of AWS are unclear, tightness of surrounding tissue may exacerbate emergence and tautness of the cord.<sup>(5)</sup> We therefore suggest that the pressure and manipulations released any adhesions and other soft tissue constrictions<sup>(25)</sup> associated with the cord, rendering it both less obvious and restricting of movement.

The client described here experienced clinically meaningful relief from signs and symptoms of AWS, and reported rapid, substantial and permanent reduction in movement-associated pain from 5/10 to 0/10 (Table 1). In appreciation, she provided unsolicited interim follow-up and self-photos, and

gladly consented to have her case reported in the literature in the hopes that other women with AWS may benefit from this treatment approach.

The mechanisms by which therapeutic massage relieves chronic pain are poorly understood, involving a combination of physical, physiological and psychological factors.<sup>(1,31-32)</sup> With the release of restricting soft tissues (here involving the cord) the anticipated pain associated with movement may have become less threatening to the client, thereby interrupting the deleterious cycle of pain, fear of pain, and physical guarding against anticipated pain which may have created tensions in the entire shoulder girdle and forearm and maintained and tightened the cord once it arose. We propose that the application of massage techniques directly released the involved tissues and interrupted the cycle of pain, facilitating an alternative proprioceptive environment that allowed (rather than forced) the tissues associated with the cord to release. In this regard, the importance of keeping the movement and pressure within the client's comfort zone may be critical to treatment success.

The second author (PL) is currently using the passive-relaxed dynamic angular petrissage therapeutic approach to successfully treat other AWS clients as well as clients with other conditions in which soft tissue adhesion or contracture causes pain and restricted ROM, including those with paralysis or paresis or who are otherwise unable to actively participate in physical rehabilitative efforts.

#### FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Because dynamic angular petrissage can be readily taught and applied according to a defined protocol, application in therapeutic massage practice and unbiased testing via clinical trials of efficacy in the context of AWS and other soft tissue contractures is anticipated to be both feasible and valuable. One painful and highly debilitating condition in which the client responds positively in our hands (PL) to dynamic angular petrissage is Guillain-Barre syndrome, characterized by rapid and severe onset, and progressing quickly to bilateral paralysis and medical emergency. Although massage cannot prevent Guillain-Barre syndrome, given the therapist's scope of practice it is possible (after Intensive Care Unit [ICU] care is complete) to maintain, rehabilitate and augment physical function in a person who is

rendered dysfunctional by this debilitating condition. With the recent appearance and ongoing geographic spread of the Zika virus and its very likely causal link to Guillain-Barre syndrome,(33) efficacy trials of dynamic angular petrissage for this condition in particular may be especially relevant.

#### CONCLUSION

Axillary web syndrome is not rare, and no standard of care has yet been established. In this case, two treatment sessions of dynamic angular petrissage (with added home care exercises) resolved all of the client's signs and symptoms and without causing the client any additional discomfort.

Given these results, coupled with long-term (3-month) continued efficacy and absence of any evident negative consequences, we suggest that dynamic angular petrissage has the potential to be of considerable use in the treatment of AWS and other soft tissue problems characterized by reduced ROM and associated pain.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to thank Ms. Susan Bassonette (RMT) and Mr. Bruce McKinnon (RMT) for their encouragement during the development of this treatment approach. Mr. Thomas Klie-Cribb (RMT) contributed the concept that massage may facilitate creation of an alternative proprioceptive environment, thus interrupting the cycle of pain, fear of pain, and physical guarding. We also thank the client described in this case report for her willingness to provide contextual information and permission to use photographs (including the self-photo she provided prior to final follow-up visit). This case report was a Silver winner in the Massage Therapy Foundation 2014 case report contest. We thank the Foundation, and particularly Dr. Niki Munk, for editorial assistance in preparing the previous manuscript for publication.(27)

**Conflict of Interest Notification:** The authors have no conflict of interest regarding this work. The treatment method described was developed by the second author (PL) but is not proprietary. No outside funding sponsorship was provided.

**Copyright:** The authors retain full copyrights. This manuscript is published under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 License.

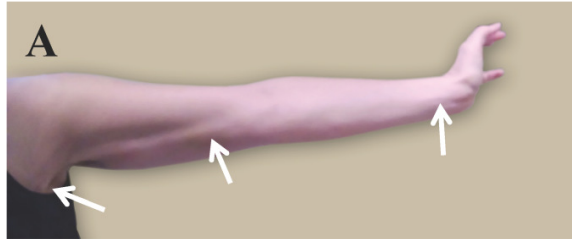
**Therapist Background and Experience:** All treatment was provided by the second author, Mr. Paul Lewis, BA, RMT, CDT. Mr. Lewis is a Registered Massage Therapist in private practice in Canada, with six years of clinical experience at the time of this case. He is registered in Canada with the College of Massage Therapists of Ontario (CMTO), in the US with the American Massage Therapy Association (AMTA), and in Great Britain with the Federation of Holistic Therapies (FHT). A graduate of the Sutherland-Chan School and Teaching Clinic in Toronto, Canada, his experience includes ambulatory care clinics; spinal cord rehabilitation; high-risk pregnancy and postpartum; management of breast implants, TRAM reconstruction, lumpectomy, mastectomy, and post-radiation massage; lymphatic movement and drainage; combined decongestion therapy, and sports massage and reflexology.

#### WORKS CITED

1. Rattray F, Ludwig L. *Clinical Massage Therapy: Understanding, Assessing and Treating Over 70 Conditions*. Elora, ON: Talus Inc.; 2000. Ch 2.
2. Moskovitz AH, Anderson BO, Yeung RS, Byrd DR, Lawton TJ, Moe RE. Axillary web syndrome after axillary dissection. *Am J Surg*. 2001;181(5):434-439.
3. Rashtak S, Gamble GL, Gibson LE, Pittelkow MR. From furuncle to axillary web syndrome: shedding light on histopathology and pathogenesis. *Dermatology*. 2012;224(2):110-114.
4. O'Toole J, Miller CL, Specht MC, Skolny MN, Jammallo LS, Horick N, et al. Cording following treatment for breast cancer. *Breast Cancer Res Treat*. 2013;140(1):105-111. doi:10.1007/s10549-013-2616-9
5. Yeung WM, McPhail SM, Kuys SS. A systematic review of axillary web syndrome (AWS). *J Cancer Surviv*. 2015;9(4):576-598. doi:10.1007/s11764-015-0435-1
6. Leduc O, Sichere M, Moreau A, Rigolet J, Tinlot A, Darc S, et al. Axillary web syndrome: nature and localization. *Lymphology*. 2009;42(4):176-181.
7. Leidenius M, Leppanen E, Krogerus L, von Smitten K. Motion restriction and axillary web syndrome after sentinel node biopsy and axillary clearance in breast cancer. *Am J Surg*. 2003;185(2):27-30.
8. Reedijk M, Boerner S, Ghazarian D, McCready D. A case of axillary web syndrome with subcutaneous nodules following axillary surgery. *Breast*. 2006;15(3):410-412.
9. Lauridsen MC, Christiansen P, Hessov I. The effect of physiotherapy on shoulder function in patients surgically treated for breast cancer: a randomized study. *Acta Oncol*. 2005;44(5):449-457.

10. Torres Lacombe MT, Mayoral Del Moral O, Coperias Zazo JL, Yuste Sánchez MJ, Ferrandez JC, Zapico Gofí A. Axillary web syndrome after axillary dissection in breast cancer: a prospective study. *Breast Cancer Res Treat.* 2009;117(3):625–630. doi:10.1007/s10549-009-0371-8
11. Yang EJ, Park W-B, Seo KS, Kim S-W, Heo C-Y, Lim J-Y. Longitudinal change of treatment-related upper limb dysfunction and its impact on late dysfunction in breast cancer survivors: a prospective cohort study. *J Surg Oncol.* 2010;101(1):84–91.
12. Tilley A, Thomas-MacLean R, Kwan W. Lymphatic cording or axillary web syndrome after breast cancer surgery. *Can J Surg.* 2009;52(4):E105–E106.
13. Shoham Y, Rosenberg N, Krieger Y, Silberstein E, Arnon O, Bogdanov-Berezovsky A. [Axillary web syndrome—a variant of Mondor's disease, following excision of an accessory breast [in Hebrew]. *Harefuah.* 2011;150(12):893–894.
14. Alvarez-Garrido H, Garrido-Rios AA, Sanz-Munoz C, Miranda-Romero A. Mondor's disease. *Clin Exp Dermatol.* 2009;34(7):753–756.
15. Josenhans E. Physiotherapeutic treatment for axillary cord formation following breast cancer surgery. *Pt Zeitschrift für Physiotherapeuten.* 2007;59(9):868–878.
16. Husted MA, Haugaard K, Soerensen J, Bokmand S, Friis E, Holtveg H, et al. Arm morbidity following sentinel lymph node biopsy or axillary lymph node dissection: a study from the Danish Breast Cancer Cooperative Group. *Breast.* 2008;17(2):138–147.
17. Wernicke AG, Shamis M, Sidhu KK, Turner BC, Goltser Y, Khan I, et al. Complication rates in patients with negative axillary nodes 10 years after local breast radiotherapy after either sentinel lymph node dissection or axillary clearance. *Am J Clin Oncol.* 2013;36(1):12–19. doi:10.1097/COC.0b013e3182354bda
18. Johansson K, Ingvar C, Albertsson M, Ekdahl C. Arm lymphoedema, shoulder mobility and muscle strength after breast cancer treatment? A prospective 2-year study. *Adv Physiother.* 2001;3(2):55–66.
19. Kepics JM. Physical therapy treatment of axillary web syndrome. *Rehabil Oncol.* 2004;22(1):21–22.
20. Severeid K, Simpson J, Templeton B, York R, Hummel-Berry K, Leiserowitz A. Lymphatic cording among patients with breast cancer or melanoma referred to physical therapy. *Rehabilitation Oncol.* 2007;25(4):8–13.
21. Wyrick SL, Waltke LJ, Ng AV. Physical therapy may promote resolution of lymphatic cording in breast cancer survivors. *Rehabilitation Oncol.* 2006;24(1): 29–34.
22. Pappo I, Wasserman I, Stahl-Kent V, Sandbank J, Halevy A. Mondor's disease of the axilla: a rare complication of sentinel node biopsy. *Breast J.* 2004;10(3):253–255.
23. Fourie WJ, Robb KA. Physiotherapy management of axillary web syndrome following breast cancer treatment: discussing the use of soft tissue techniques. *Physiotherapy.* 2009;95(4):314–320.
24. Salmon RJ, Berry M, Hamelin JP. A novel treatment for postoperative Mondor's disease: manual axial distraction. *Breast J.* 2009;15(4):381–384. doi:10.1111/j.1524-4741.2009.00741.x
25. Rattray F, Ludwig L. *Clinical Massage Therapy: Understanding, Assessing and Treating Over 70 Conditions.* Elora, ON: Talus Inc.; 2000. Ch 3, 4.
26. Video of dynamic angular petrissage (Search term: Dynamic Angular Petrissage (DAP): Treatment Sample): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1UvexuhMIe>. Last accessed 5/14/16.
27. Lewis PA, Cunningham JE. Dynamic Angular Petrissage as Treatment for Axillary Web Syndrome Occurring after Surgery for Breast Cancer: A 27 Bodywork, 2016; June 9(2). In press.
28. Acute Pain Management: Operative or Medical Procedures and Trauma, Clinical Practice Guideline No. 1. AHCPR Pub. No. 92-0032; Feb. 1992. Agency for Healthcare Research & Quality, Rockville, MD; pp 116-117. Scale available at: [http://www.physio-pedia.com/Numeric\\_Pain\\_Rating\\_Scale\\_-\\_cite\\_note-x20-1](http://www.physio-pedia.com/Numeric_Pain_Rating_Scale_-_cite_note-x20-1); last accessed 07 Sep 2016.
29. Peat M. Functional anatomy of the shoulder complex. *Phys Ther.* 1986;66(12):1855–1865.
30. Magee, DJ. *Orthopedic Physical Assessment, Enhanced Edition, 4th edition.* Edmonton: Saunders Elsevier; 2005. p.291–295.
31. Lidbeck J. Central hyperexcitability in chronic musculoskeletal pain: a conceptual breakthrough with multiple clinical implications. *Pain Res Manag.* 2002; 7(2):81-92.
32. Roberts L. Effects of patterns of pressure application on resting electromyography during massage. *IJTMB* 2011; 4(1):4-11.
33. Cao-Lormeau V-M, Blake A, Mons S, Lastère S, et al. Guillain-Barré syndrome outbreak associated with Zika virus infection in French Polynesia: a case-control study. *Lancet* 2016; 387:1531-39. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(16\)00562-6](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(16)00562-6)

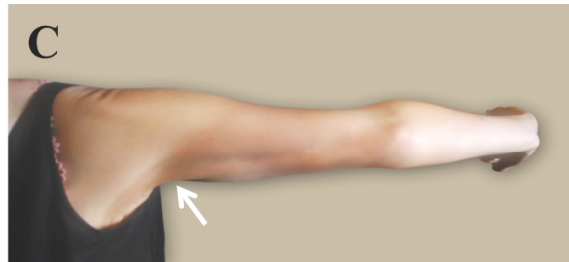
**Figure 1.** Cording Before and After Treatment Using Dynamic Angular Petrissage.



A) Before first treatment: cording (arrows) is clearly seen from axilla to elbow and wrist.



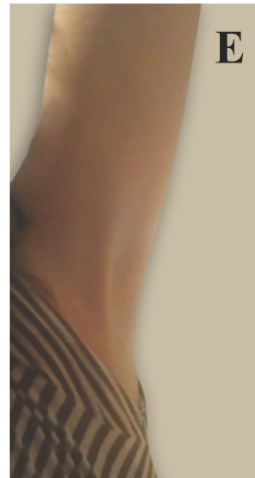
B) Immediately after first treatment: cording prominence (arrow) is reduced, and range of motion increased.



C) Before second treatment: cording (arrow) is visible only on hyperextension.



D) At 8.5 weeks after first treatment: cording (arrow) is localized to vicinity of the surgical scar, seen on full extension. (Photo was provided by patient, taken using a mirror.)



E) At 14.5 weeks after second treatment: cording is no longer visible, even on extension.

**TABLE 1: Summary of Left Upper Extremity Baseline and Outcome Measures**

Assessment	Anatomic Site	Session One (Week 0)		Session Two (Week 0.5)		Phone Call (Wk 8.5)	Follow-Up Visit (Wk 14.5)
		Pre (Baseline)	Post	Pre	Post		
Stance and Posture (visual inspection)	Shoulder	Slight anterior rotation	No apparent anterior rotation	No apparent anterior rotation	No apparent anterior rotation	--	No apparent anterior rotation
Active-free ROM functional testing (movement performed by client)	Cervical	Restricted abduction and rotation to left	No restrictions	No restrictions	No restrictions	--	No restrictions
	GH joint	Restricted flexion and abduction	Somewhat restricted flexion and abduction	Full flexion and abduction, no restrictions	Full flexion and abduction, no restrictions	--	Full flexion and abduction, no restrictions
	Elbow and wrist	Restricted extension	Somewhat restricted extension	Full extension; Some restriction on hyper-extension	Full extension, even on hyperextension.	--	Full extension, even on hyperextension
Passive-relaxed ROM testing (movement performed by therapist)	GH joint	High resting tension of LS, restricted ROM on abduction and flexion	--	Not assessed*	--	--	Not assessed*
	Elbow and wrist	Springy end-feel, restricted ROM	Normal end-feel, no restrictions	Normal end-feel, no restrictions	Normal end-feel, no restrictions	--	Normal end-feel, no restrictions
Movement-associated pain (self-rated, using pain scale)	GH joint	5/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10
	Elbow	4/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10
	Wrist	2/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10	0/10
GH flexion (goniometer)	GH joint	140°/180°	170°/180°	Not measured*	Not measured*	--	Not measured*
Cording (visual inspection)	UOQ to AF	Prominent (Fig.1A)	Less prominent (Fig.1B)	Minimal (Fig.1C)	Residual in axilla only	Axillary scar area (Fig.1D)	None (Fig.1E)
	Elbow to wrist	Prominent	Less prominent	None	None	None	None
Cording (palpation)	UOQ to AF	Prominent, taut, rope-like	Diminished	Minimal	Residual only	--	None

Assessment	Anatomic Site	Session One (Week 0)		Session Two (Week 0.5)		Phone Call (Wk 8.5)	Follow-Up Visit (Wk 14.5)
		Pre (Baseline)	Post	Pre	Post		
	Elbow to wrist	Prominent, taut, floss-like	Diminished	Minimal, only on hyper-extension	Residual only	--	None

AF = antecubital fossa; GH = glenohumeral; LS = levator scapula; ROM = range of motion; UOQ = area of chest wall where breast upper outer quadrant was prior to mastectomy (see arrow, Figure 1A); Wk = week.

\* Active-free results showed no restrictions at GH joint, therefore goniometer measurement was not taken and passive-relaxed assessment was not needed.

## GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Abduction	Movement of a body part away from the midline or resting position; in this case, the client has restricted ability to lift the arm from its resting position out to the side and up alongside the ear.
Acromioclavicular joint	Synovial joint between the acromion (highest bone of shoulder) and the clavicle.
Acromion	Highest bone or top of the shoulder girdle.
Active-free	Active movement by the client, free from any intervention by the therapist.
Adhesions	Non-elastic scar tissues that form in response to inflammation, infection, surgery, etc., abnormally joining other tissues and/or organs together
Angiolymphatic	Comprised of blood vessel and lymphatic vessel elements.
Antecubital fossa	Shallow depression of the forearm, just below the elbow.
Anterior rotation, shoulder	The shoulder is pulled forward on the chest, suggesting problems with GH joint stability or tension.
Articular surface	Surface of bone or cartilage that makes normal direct contact with another skeletal structure, in this case the GH joint.
Axilla	Underarm, armpit
Axillary dissection	Surgical removal of lymph nodes from the axilla, used to determine whether breast cancer cells have spread to lymph nodes.
Axillary web syndrome (AWS)	Abnormal cord or web of tissue extending under the skin from the axilla along the underside of the arm, that sometimes develops after axillary surgery.
Barrier	During massage, the increase detected in tissue resistance in response to temporarily sustained pressure.
Breast cancer staging	Determine whether the cancer has spread (in this case from the breast), and if so where it has gone in the body. Methods include imaging and surgery.
Capsule	The envelope surrounding a structure, in this case the membrane enclosing the synovial GH joint.
Cervical	Pertaining to the neck.
Circumduction	Circular movement of the upper arm around the shoulder (GH joint).
Constrictions, soft tissue	See Soft Tissue Restrictions
Contractures	Shortened and hardened soft tissues, often caused when normally stretchy (elastic) tissues are replaced by non-stretchy fibrous tissues. Often leads to deformity and rigidity of joints.
Digital pressure	Pressure applied using the fingers (digits), thumb or other part of the hand.
Distal	Located away from the center of the body, generally referring to part of a limb or muscle.
Dynamic angular petrissage	Treatment developed by one of the authors (PL), incorporating specific movements of a joint so as to control muscle length and tension, while simultaneously performing massage techniques to gradually release soft tissue constrictions.
Edema	Excess fluid in a tissue, causing swelling.
Effleurage	Soothing, stroking movements used to warm up the muscles and other soft tissues prior to deep tissue work using petrissage.



Etiology	Set of causes, or manner of causation, of a disease or condition.
Extensor exercises	Contracting the muscles to extend the joint.
Fascia	Band or sheet of connective tissue, which encloses or separates specific muscles or internal organs. May also serve to attach or stabilize muscles or organs.
Fibroblastic	Comprised of fibroblasts (cells of connective tissue fibers, and in this usage non-elastic).
Fibrosis	Scarring and thickening within an organ or tissue, due to growth of non-elastic scar-like tissue (fibrous; fibrosis).
Fibrotic tissue	Non-elastic connective tissue, formed in response to injury or healing.
Flexion, GH	Forward and upward movement of the upper arm.
Glenohumeral, GH joint	Shoulder ball-and-socket joint formed between the humerus (upper arm) and scapula (shoulder blade).
Goniometer	Simple instrument to measure or define an angle, as to measure joint range of motion or flexibility.
Guillain-Barre syndrome	A rare disorder in which peripheral nerves are attacked by the immune system, causing weakness, tingling and paralysis which can be life threatening.
Hyperextension	Extension of a body part beyond the normal range of motion.
Ipsilateral	Same side (of the body), in this case the same arm as the axillary web syndrome
Ischemic	Having inadequate blood supply.
Laxity	In this case, the at-rest tension within a joint.
Levator scapula	Muscle attached to the upper side of the neck and the scapula (shoulder blade), which functions to hold the scapula in its proper position.
Long axis traction	Moving the bone of a joint away from and parallel to the joint surface; in this case moving the humerus down from the acromion towards the hip (parallel to the long axis of the body).
Lymph drainage, integrative	Manual massage techniques specifically designed to accelerate normal functioning of the lymph vessel system.
Lymphedema	Abnormal localized fluid retention and tissue swelling caused by a compromised or damaged lymphatic system, such as in this case damage to axillary lymph nodes and vessels.
Manual massage	Manipulation of soft tissues, using the hands.
Mastectomy	Surgical removal of the breast.
Mobilized	Using manual movement of a joint or muscle, to improve ease of movement.
Mondor's disease	Cord-like inflammatory condition of veins close to the skin, thought to involve clotting and be caused by trauma.
Non-petrissage	Massage techniques including stretching and myofascial release.
Oscillations	Rhythmic movement about a central point, in this case tiny movements at the specified joints.
Pain trigger points	Hyperirritable spots located in taut muscle that cause pain and tightness, often experienced in another location.
Palpable	Able to be touched or felt by the hands, as in palpation.
Palpated	Examined by touch.

Paresis	Slight or incomplete paralysis, with weakness or reduced muscle power.
Passive-relaxed movement:	Movement performed on a joint by the therapist, while the muscles of the joint are relaxed. In this case changing the position of the arm, with the client neither contributing to the movement nor resisting it.
Pathophysiology	Disordered physiological processes associated with disease, injury or healing.
Petrissage	Massage techniques (e.g. kneading, rolling and other techniques) applied with pressure to compress underlying soft tissues.
Posterior glide mobilization	To physically move the convex surface of a joint posteriorly, along the concave surface; in this case to move the head of the humerus towards the back within the GH joint.
Preventive intent	Conducted specifically to prevent a condition or disease, in this case to prevent development of lymphedema.
Proprioceptors	Sensory receptors that tell the central nervous system about the position and movement of the various parts of the body (proprioception).
Proximal	Located towards the center of the body, generally referring to part of a limb or muscle.
Radial side, of wrist	The thumb side of the wrist.
Range of motion (ROM)	The movement potential of a joint. ROM may be limited by problems affecting the joint itself or associated soft tissues (muscles, tendons, etc.)
Resting tension	The partial contraction of a muscle during the resting state.
Scapulothoracic joint	The site where the scapula (shoulder blade) glides against the rib cage; not a true joint, but a point of physiologic articulation.
Segmentally	Bit by bit, a section at a time.
Sentinel lymph node biopsy	Removal of the first (sentinel) lymph node to which lymphatic fluid drains from the vicinity of the cancerous tumor, to see if cancer cells have spread to the lymph nodes.
Simple mastectomy	Surgical removal of the breast including nipple, areola and most of the skin, but not underlying muscle.
Soft tissue	Non-bone tissue, such as muscle, skin, fatty tissue, fascia, tendons, ligaments, scar tissue.
Soft tissue restrictions	Restrictions of range of motion or position caused by soft tissue injury, scarring or disorder. This includes adhesions, fibrosis and increased static muscle tension.
Sternoclavicular joint	Synovial joint between the sternum (breast bone) and clavicle.
Stretch reflex	Reflexive muscle contraction that occurs in response to stretching within the muscle, to regulate muscle length.
Supine	Lying face upwards.
Traction	Sustained pull applied to a limb, joint or muscle.
Working tension	The tension created within a muscle by actively manipulating it.

## GETTING THE MESSAGE ACROSS: TRANSLATING MEANING FOR AN ACADEMIC READERSHIP

Amanda Haste (Marseille, France)

*Independent Scholar, NCIS  
Adjunct Faculty, Aix-Marseille University*

Correspondence should be addressed to: [amanda.haste@ncis.org](mailto:amanda.haste@ncis.org)

Date submitted: 29 April 2016

Date accepted: 1 June 2016

### **Abstract**

*This paper, based on a presentation given at the 2015 NCIS Conference at Yale University, explores the transmission of meaning through the experience of researchers working in an Anglophone environment, but who need to use primary and secondary source materials which are, in their original form, in a language other than English.*

*Many researchers use foreign-language resources as the basis of their research, while others may use them only occasionally, but in all cases the scholar needs to ensure that, when writing for a cross-cultural academic audience, they communicate their message in its entirety. Ensuring that the full import of the source text is transmitted to the reader is particularly important when analysis hinges on double meanings, word-play, and implicit cultural references with which they may not be familiar. This paper therefore uses numerous examples of translation in academic work to illustrate the mechanics and best practice of translating meaning, and concludes by considering complex cultural references and multiple layers of meaning when writing for a cross-cultural academic audience.<sup>1</sup>*

---

<sup>1</sup> NCIS members can access practical information on translation issues in academic work, including free resources such as on-line dictionaries and translators' forums. This resource "How not to lose it in translation" is currently to be found at <http://ncis.org/members-only/2015-conference-resources> but please note that, once the current website redevelopment is completed, all the 'how-to' resources relating to the 2015 conference will be moved to a dedicated 'Resources' page in the NCIS Members' Area of the website.

**Keywords:** *Translation; meaning; linguistic; cultural.*

### INTRODUCTION

As academics, we encounter a wide range of primary and secondary sources, in which language of the source text (ST) can often present issues for our readers. Our research may involve exploring aspects of our own ethnicity, for which written sources and/or ethnographic data or oral histories are in our mother tongue, or at least in a language historically used to fulfil a cultural or religious function (e.g. Hebrew for a Jewish scholar). Alternatively we may be involved in researching different historical periods whose language we do not speak or read in our everyday lives. For instance, medieval scholars or those studying early Western Christianity, or indeed law, need Latin, and there are archaic forms of our own language (the Middle English of Chaucer is a very different animal from modern British English). Certain regions will also have their own indigenous or immigrant-borne languages: it would be challenging, to say the least, to research eighteenth-century Pennsylvania without encountering documents written in Pennsylvania Dutch,<sup>2</sup> or at least using Low German terminology, and we may even have to deal with indigenous languages which only exist in oral form.

Even if we do not consider ourselves to be linguists, our work is often enriched by using the literature in non-English languages, no matter what the discipline:

---

<sup>2</sup> A local variant of Low German or Deutsch.

on proof reading my own doctoral thesis, I realized that I had incorporated my own translations of texts in French, Italian, German, Greek and Latin...and this was not in linguistics, but in musicology. My work would have been the poorer without these references, as I felt I needed to refer to the European (and particularly German) literature on musicology, and to the medieval liturgical texts whose musical settings I was discussing. I was lucky in that my skills were just about equal to the task, but as scholars we cannot guarantee proficiency in all these fields.

As a professional translator specializing in translating and copy editing academic texts, I have recently been called upon to transcribe and translate seventeenth- and eighteenth-century convent diaries from an English convent in Bruges; correspondence between French mercenaries operating within Indian tribes in 1760s Louisiana; and letters between French merchants trading in New Orleans. All these assignments have been for scholars who, although knowledgeable in their own fields, were not confident in either their own linguistic skills or their ability to interpret the local variants, but who needed to access the information locked away in these documents.

But whether we have a full enough understanding of the grammar and syntax of a language to produce our own translations, or arrive at a full understanding by consulting friends and colleagues with the language skills we lack, or outsource this to a professional the most important consideration is how to get our message across. We may have a thorough, deep understanding of German, French, Polish, Chinese, Arabic or Yiddish, but when writing in English we must always negotiate our own level of understanding with that of our readers. Their cultural experience may differ widely from our own, so this poses the question of the level – and form – of explanation that the author needs to provide in order to ensure that the reader can comprehend the full weight of their message.

This paper uses numerous examples of translation in academic work to illustrate the mechanics and best practice of translating meaning. These include consideration of the target audience, the presentation of source material such as quotations or ethnographic data (to translate or not to translate), and explaining the subtleties of meaning to non-native speakers. Ensuring that the full import of the source text is transmitted to the reader is particularly

important when analysis hinges on double meanings, word-play, and implicit cultural references with which they may not be familiar. The paper concludes by considering complex cultural references and multiple layers of meaning when writing for a cross-cultural academic audience.

#### WRITING FOR YOUR AUDIENCE

When writing up or presenting our research, this consideration of our target audience is of crucial importance. While we ourselves must by definition have a certain level of linguistic competence, can we assume a similar level among our target audience? This is a similar problem to the one we face every time we present our work, in which there may be an asymmetrical relationship between the researcher's deep knowledge of their subject and its specialized terminology and that of the reader. For instance, I generally preface my work on monastic life with a brief outline of the daily monastic schedule, and will explain the basic terms pertaining to religious life. However, when I was honored with a keynote lecture for HWRBI (the History of Women Religious in Britain and Ireland) I was able to dispense with this in the sure knowledge that my listeners were all specialists in religious life. Similarly, when we use non-English sources, we need to think about how much information will be needed by the reader or listener for them to decode the meaning. This information can be broken down into several distinct linguistic and contextual elements: lexis (vocabulary), grammar, pronunciation, and historical and cultural context.

#### LEXIS

Lexis, or vocabulary, concerns the content: the words and phrases that make up a language. In some highly technical disciplines, such as the STEM fields, translating these terms into English is relatively straightforward process, and in fact can be considerably helped using CAT (computer-aided translation) tools, such as Trados, which are basically substitution software. The following extract, from a French article on using multifractals in calculating tropical rainfall, is a case in point, as many of the technical terms [here given in bold in both the source text (ST) and translation target text (TT)] can simply be replaced with the standard English mathematical terminology:

Les **processus monofractals et multifractals** sont ainsi apparus comme pertinents voire incontournables pour une **représentation stochastique multi-échelle des champs pluviométriques** [...]

Diminuer la résolution ne simplifie pas l'observation et souvent des **lois puissances** sur la **description du signal (probabilités, moments, coefficients d'ondelettes)** sont observées [...]<sup>3</sup>

**Fractal and multifractal processes** have also emerged as pertinent and even essential in terms of providing a **stochastic multi-scaling representation of the rain-fields** [...]

Reducing the resolution does not simplify the observation procedure, and one can often observe the effect of **power-laws (probability, moments, wavelet coefficients)** on the **wave description** [...]<sup>4</sup>

This particular article is destined to be published in a geophysical journal, for which one can assume a specialist readership fluent in the language of mathematics. However, this is not always the case and key terms will need to be defined. For example, here is an extract from a paper, also in French, which describes bilingual learning on the island of St Martin in the West Indies. Although this article is now published in a linguistics journal, the destination journal has an international readership who will not necessarily be familiar with the French education system. The original source text (ST),<sup>5</sup> in which I have picked out certain characteristic terms (given in bold), reads:

*L'île franco-néerlandaise de Saint-Martin, COM depuis 2007, se caractérise par une situation de multilinguisme (français-anglais-espagnol-créole) et pose la question des stratégies pédagogiques et*

<sup>3</sup> Didier Bernard, "Multiscaling properties of tropical rainfall: Analysis of rain gauge datasets in the Lesser Antilles island environment" (work in progress).

<sup>4</sup> Transl. Haste.

<sup>5</sup> Olivier-Serge Candau, "Les enjeux de la Réforme française du Nouveau Lycée à St Martin: Effets de contextualisation sur les enjeux didactiques en milieu plurilingue." (*Se construire dans l'interlangue: perspectives transatlantiques sur le multilinguisme*, ed. F. Bonet, Falandry, S. Durrans and M. Jones (Lille, France: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2015) 25-34.

didactiques à adopter dans le cadre de l'enseignement du français. Le seul **lycée** public de la partie française applique non sans difficulté les réformes de l'**Hexagone** dont celle du «**Nouveau Lycée**» de la **rentrée 2010**. Ces mesures visent à mettre en place de nouveaux dispositifs pédagogiques d'accompagnement de l'élève par les équipes éducatives recouvrant l'**AP et le tutorat**.

However, these key terms (my bold text) are not easily deciphered by the non-French reader in a straight translation such as this:

The French-Dutch island of Saint-Martin, COM since 2007, is characterized by a multilingual environment (French-English-Spanish-Creole) and presents the question of which educational and didactic strategies to adopt for French language teaching in these linguistic circumstances. The only *lycée* on the French part of the island has struggled with the reforms in the Hexagon including the "*Nouveau Lycée*" of the *rentrée* 2010, which introduces new educational measures such as AP and *tutorat*.<sup>6</sup>

Such a translation does not provide the reader with the context they need to understand the educational environment on St Martin, and unless they happen to be already familiar with the vagaries of the French *Éducation nationale* [national education system] on which the schooling on St Martin is based, much of this introduction is lost. In order to communicate the full meaning, some extension and elaboration is necessary:

- acronyms need to be expanded,<sup>7</sup> and the context glossed where necessary.

- terms understood in France need to be clarified.

These include *lycée* (school for 16–18-yr-olds),

<sup>6</sup> Transl. Haste.

<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that an acronym must match the translation, so that 'French Overseas Collectivity' would become FOC if restated as an acronym. Alternatively, the original can be given and explained, as in 'COM (*collectivité d'outre mer*) [French Overseas Collectivity]' after which the acronym COM could be used throughout without further explanation.

*l'Hexagone* (a commonly used term for the roughly hexagonal mainland France) and *rentrée* (the start of the school year).

- the term AP appears throughout the article and, as *tutorat* is part of AP the relationship needs to be explained. AP and *tutorat* have thus been conflated, as there is overlap between them.

All this information needs to be conveyed in terms which will be understood by the target audience, in American English as required by the journal. This means using appropriate equivalents: for example, *lycée* is thus equated to 'public high school,' which exists in the USA but not in England; I would use the term 'sixth form college' for a British audience, or simply refer to a 'state school for 16- to 18-yr-olds' as the age range of the pupils is important to this study. The full translation (below) provided for the Anglophone reader therefore gives us a clear picture of all these elements, so there are no gaps in the reader's understanding of the situation:

The French-Dutch island of Saint-Martin, **which became a French Overseas Collectivity in 2007** [...]

[...] The only **public high school** of the French part of the island has struggled with **French national reforms**, especially that of **the "Nouveau Lycée" [New High School]** introduced in **September 2010** [...]

[...] new educational measures such as ***accompagnement personnalisé* [AP], which provides a personalized program for the pupils through individual support and mentoring.**<sup>8</sup>

If this linguistics article had been published in France, terms such as *lycée*, *Hexagone* and *rentrée* could have been left intact (although of course, in those circumstances, it is unlikely that it would have needed to be translated out of French in the first place!). Likewise, an author of an article on French literature destined for a journal such as *The French Review* can safely assume that the readership will be familiar with the French language, so only regional variants or dialects need be explained. This explains why, in the following extract from an excellent article by Amy

Lynelle on "Choucounè," a poem in Haitian Creole by Oswald Durand, the standard French lexis is not translated. Even so, the Creole terms are translated and/or explained (glossed), because the readership is presumed to be familiar with the lexis of standard French, but not with that of Creole:

This contention, which is partly based on the placement of "Choucounè" within *Rires et pleurs*, does not diminish Durand's creativity. Located in the second book of the collection subtitled *Fleurs des mornes, Refrains, Nos payses, Contes créoles*, "Choucounè" is only one of two poems written in Haitian Creole [...]. Although other poems surrounding "Choucounè" are written in French, they likely originated in the oral Creole tradition before Durand appropriated them in his own poetry [...]. Moreover, Durand's "La guêpe et le maringouin," in French in *Rires et pleurs*, is also found in his journal *Les Bigaïlles*, but in Creole, preceded by "Cric! Crac!" – traditionally associated with storytelling.<sup>9</sup>

If that same article were to be published for a general audience, however, a higher degree of translation would be needed if the readership were to understand the thrust of the argument. If you, the reader happens to understand French, so much the better, but if you do not, this lack of comprehension of the lexical content means you would have little chance of a nuanced reading.

There are also languages such as German in which composite nouns are often used to describe complex abstract ideas. These may be crucial to your own research, as in this text in which the beneficial effects of music are explored by the German music therapist Isabelle Frohne-Hagemann,<sup>10</sup> as summarized by Brynjulf Stige:

[...] according to Frohne-Hagemann, this third road to growth, health, and healing is situated on the borderline between education and

<sup>8</sup> Transl. Haste.

<sup>9</sup> Amy Lynelle, "The Chains of Pitit Pierr': Colonial Legacies and Character Linkage in Oswald Durand's *Rires et pleurs*," *The French Review* Vol. 88, No. 3 (March 2015): 165.

<sup>10</sup> Isabelle Frohne-Hagemann, *Fenster zur Musiktherapie: Musiktherapie-theorie 1976–2001* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001) 109-111.

therapy, and could aim at counteracting the experience of "Entfremdung" (estrangement) that life in society may have created in the individual [...] The fourth road described by Frohne-Hagemann is the experience of solidarity, metaperspective, and engagement. She stresses quite clearly the danger of becoming "ignoranten Weltverbesserer" ('ignorant menders of the world'), and advocates that determined attempts of developing metaperspectives are necessary in order to counteract this.<sup>11</sup>

Stige recognises that *Entfremdung* is a key concept in Frohne-Hagemann's work, so offers a translation (estrangement) to ensure that the reader understands it. He also offers an explanation of the phrase *ignoranten Weltverbesserer* ('ignorant menders of the world'); however this is a 'calque' or word-for-word translation which the reader must interpret into an idiomatic definition before continuing. The options might include "ignorant do-gooders," "ignorant world savers" (apparently often used in comics) or "starry-eyed idealist," all of which carry very different inflections of meaning and (short of asking the originator of a phrase) there is no certainty that your solution has not added an additional layer of unintended meaning. So maybe Stige's *calque* – a literal word-for-word 'loan translation' – provides an escape clause which does not run the risk of overtranslating, in other words adding information which was not implicit in the original.

There is also another element at play here, and that is the paradox of 'foreign-soundingness'.<sup>12</sup> David Bellos reminds us that removing all traces of 'foreignness' has been criticized by some critics as "ethnocentric violence"<sup>13</sup> and that "an ethics of translation [...] should restrain translators from erasing all that is foreign." He asks: how can "the foreignness of the foreign best be represented in the receiving language?"<sup>14</sup> and cites the response of Jean d'Alembert, mathematician,

philosopher, and co-editor of Diderot's *Enclopedie*, in 1763:

The original should speak our language [...] with a noble freedom that allows features of one language to be borrowed in order to embellish another. Done this way, a translation may possess [...] a natural and easy manner, marked by the genius of the original [with] the added flavour of a homeland created by its foreign colouring.<sup>15</sup>

To return to two of the previous examples, the flavor of the francophone environment of Durand's poetry can be preserved in Lynelle's article by retaining French terms, and Frohne-Hagemann's Germanness can be recalled by referring to her key concepts in the original German form, with the proviso that the original (non-English) terms are explained on the first appearance.

There are however some words or phrases which are difficult, if not impossible to translate economically. Of these, many have crossed linguistic boundaries and become absorbed into English, such as the German concepts of *Schadenfreude* and *Zeitgeist*, the Italian *sonata* and *scenario*, the French *savoir faire* and *raison d'être*, and the Yiddish *klutz* and *chutzpah*. In cases such as these one has to ask whether a translation or gloss is necessary, or whether a necessarily laborious explanation of an otherwise succinct term will disrupt the flow of the argument. Likewise, should any such explanation be incorporated into the text, or should it be relegated to a footnote?

#### GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY V. ELEGANCE

While we strive for grammatical correctness and comprehensibility for our readers, our aim should also be to produce elegant prose. We do not want the reader to be constantly tripped up with ugly prose which does not flow smoothly. Here is a beautiful Latin text describing the expectations of a nun as a 'Bride of Christ,' followed by a completely grammatically correct translation given by Yardley:

---

<sup>11</sup> Brynjulf Stige, "The Relentless Roots of Community Music Therapy," in *Voices: A World Forum for Music Therapy* Vol. 2. No.3 (2002) <http://dx.doi.org/10.15845/voices.v2i3>.

<sup>12</sup> David Bellos, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? The Amazing Adventure of Translation* (London: Penguin, 2011) 41.

<sup>13</sup> Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995) 20 *et passim*.

<sup>14</sup> Bellos 41.

---

<sup>15</sup> Jean Rond d'Alembert, "Observations sur l'art de traduire, in *Mélanges de littérature...*, Amsterdam: Chatelain, 1763, Vol. III, p.18. Translation by David Bellos.

*Amo Christum in cuius thalamum introibo, cuius Mater virgo est, cuius pater feminam nescit, cuius mihi organa modulatis vocibus cantant, quem cum amavero casta sum, cum tetigero munda sum, eum acceptero virgo sum; annulo suo subarrhavit me, et immensis monilibus ornavit me, et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona. Alleluia.*<sup>16</sup>

I love Christ, whose bedchamber I shall enter, whose mother is a virgin, whose father knows not woman, whose instruments sing to me with harmonious voices, whom when I shall have loved I shall be chaste, when I shall have touched I shall be clean, when I shall have received him I shall be a virgin; with his ring he has betrothed me, and adorned me with countless gems, and with a crown he has adorned me with a spouse. Alleluia.

One can see that, although perfectly correct, the repeated use of the future perfect (“whom when I shall have loved I shall be chaste, when I shall have touched I shall be clean, when I shall have received him I shall be a virgin”) disrupts the flow and rhythm of the text. In fact, English allows for the simpler adverbial use of a temporal clause (“having loved him I shall be pure, having touched him I shall be clean, having received him I shall be a virgin”), the use of which is still grammatically correct but produces a much more natural interpretation.

#### PRONUNCIATION

Good academic writing – and good writing in general – should draw the reader in, and carry them along in a way which feels natural to them. I have already spoken of flow and rhythm, but when we are treating foreign-language material we also need to consider the sound of the words. In a recent article, field linguist Jeanette Sakel described her research project which involves documenting and trying to discover the syntax and grammar of Mosestén, an oral language spoken by an Amazonian people.<sup>17</sup> Writing for an audience of linguists (language professionals such as translators and interpreters) Sakel relates that she

uses either transliteration or the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to record the sounds of Mosestén.<sup>18</sup>

However, not all linguists are conversant with IPA so, even though IPA would have coped with all the sounds she is describing, she confines herself to transliteration to ensure a complete understanding by her audience.<sup>19</sup> “My first Mosestén recording started yäe yäera’ yoshropaiyeyak [...] The word-by-word was given as follows: yäe [ I ] yäera’ [ I will ] yoshropaiyeyak [ I will thank you].” Here the sounds involved in this language are clearly demonstrated, because the researcher can be sure that none of her audience will have any knowledge of this language, which spoken by only about 800 people in Bolivia.

Your own research languages may however be spoken by thousands, if not millions of people, so how much can you assume of your readers’ ability to pronounce them? I have recently been frustrated by several articles in which important content has effectively been withheld from me, because I am unable to pronounce certain foreign-language words, and thus cannot relate them semantically to the rest of the text. This is particularly true of languages which use other alphabets: although I can pronounce Greek, and read a certain amount of Cyrillic, other languages such as Hebrew or Chinese are totally beyond me.

An author publishing in the Journal of Jewish Studies can safely assume a Hebrew-literate readership, but is it realistic to expect an audience of all nationalities and faiths (or none) to be familiar with the Hebrew characters? In a recent issue of *The Linguist* an article on Biblical translation explained that:

when Jesus said ‘I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life’ (John 8:12) we have to consider that it was said during the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles (from the Hebrew תְּשֻׁבָּה) – the Festival of Lights – in which all the 400 lights in the women’s quarters of the temple were lit and men waved torches to emphasize light.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Qtd in Anne Bagnall Yardley, “The Marriage of Heaven and Earth: A Late Medieval Source of the *Consecratio virginum*,” *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 305.

<sup>17</sup> Jeanette Sakel, “From the field: Linguistic puzzles,” *The Linguist* 55.2 (April/May 2016): 14-15.

<sup>18</sup> IPA is a method of providing graphemes to represent phonemes, the relatively restricted range of sounds used in language production. IPA is frequently used in dictionaries, following the word entry (/aɪ.pi:ˈtɛt/ reproduces the sounds of ‘IPA’).

<sup>19</sup> Sakel 14.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Diaz Russell, “The Gospel Truth? Why we should care about mistranslations in the Bible,” *The Linguist* 55.2 (April/May 2016): 28.



The problem here is that, although the metaphor of light is clear, I (as a non-Hebrew speaker) have no way of knowing how to pronounce the Hebrew תִּנְקָה, and instead of experiencing the sound of the word I am left with this nagging void. I know that Hebrew is a phonetic language, but without knowledge of the sound represented by each symbol, I am none the wiser. A simple phonetic version in the English alphabet would have given me (and all the other non-Hebrew-speaking linguists) a satisfying rather than frustrating experience, and of course that explanation would have been 'Chanukah,' which I would instantly recognize. Ironically, even though not Jewish myself I was brought up in North London, with a high proportion of Jewish friends with whom I would exchange 'Happy Chanukah' cards instead of Christmas cards; notwithstanding this, I had not realized that Chanukah was the 'Festival of Lights' (even though, paradoxically, I know that this is also the meaning of the Hindu festival of Diwali). The inability to read and pronounce תִּנְקָה has therefore prevented me from making a connection that I would otherwise have had no trouble making.

Sometimes the linguistic context is even more complex, because the author needs to convey both pronunciation and the visual aspect of the language. In "Arabazi: From Techno-lution to Revolution," Lelania Sperrazza sets out to explain the Latinizing of the Arabic alphabet in order to communicate in an anglophone internet age. She neatly covers both the visual and aural aspects:<sup>21</sup>

Before the mid-1990s, English was the predominant language available over the internet and on cell phones [...]. Since Arabic was not accessible through this technology, [...a]ny Arabic letter that resembled the shape of an English letter or numeral was substituted. For example, the word "Arabizi" written in Arabic looks like this: العربيزي. If one wanted to latinize the text while maintaining the same pronunciation as Arabic, the first letter of the Arabic word (ع) would be represented by the similar-looking number "3." Therefore, the word "Arabizi" written in a latinized, Arabizi script would be spelled like this: "3arabizi."

<sup>21</sup> Lelania Sperrazza, "Arabazi: From Techno-lution to Revolution," in *Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization*, ed. James Block & Amanda Haste (Paris: Ex Modio, 2015) 94.

Also, any Arabic phoneme that sounded like an English phoneme would be substituted. For example, the glottal Arabic letter ق (which sounds like "kong," as in King Kong) could be replaced by the English letter "q" or "k." To spell "coffee" in Arabic with a latinized text, it would look like this: "qawa" or "kawa," depending on the writer's preference.

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In terms of primary data, our interpretations must always take full account of the prevailing culture in which the text was written. If we are using modern sources, we can apply our own cultural norms and our innate understanding of the register (the level of formality) of the source text. But when we use archival sources it would be anachronistic to apply our twenty-first-century sensibilities and cultural expectations to our reading and interpretation. This can be illustrated by an official French Revolutionary report dating back to 1790, concerning the nuns of an English convent in Paris.<sup>22</sup> As France sought to reinvent herself as a secular republic following the French Revolution, the new National Constituent Assembly 'liberated' a huge amount of property assets belonging to the church, declaring them *biens nationaux* [national property], and the vowed religious life was outlawed. In this *procès verbal* [official report], meticulously recorded by Revolutionary officers, we find details of the sisters' ages and occupations within the order. One of these evidently had health problems (in bold), but the translation needs to take account of the late eighteenth-century medical understanding:

*Il nous a été observé qu'il y a actuellement à Ruelle dans la maison des Dames de la Croix, une sœur couverse, nommée Catherine Edmonds, âgée de trente huit ans, hors de la maison pour cause de santé, et aliénation d'esprit.*

In this context, *santé* refers to physical health, and the rather poetic *aliénation d'esprit* would nowadays be translated (in a very politically correct way) as 'mental health problems'. However, it would be anachronistic

<sup>22</sup> Religious life was outlawed in England after Henry VIII's break with Rome and establishment of the Anglican Church in the fifteenth century, and this was one of the English Catholic convents who, when had chosen to relocate to northern Europe rather than renounce their faith.

to use the modern translation, and so I have therefore opted for an expression more appropriate to eighteenth-century thought, 'not in her right mind':

We have been told that there is currently at Ruelle in the house of the Ladies of the Cross a lay sister by the name of Catherine Edmonds, aged thirty-eight, who is **away from the house as she has problems with her health and is not in her right mind.**<sup>23</sup>

In the same *procès verbal*<sup>24</sup> we also find some very enlightening statements from each of the sisters as they were asked to state whether they wished to stay in the house or leave the religious life. Most of the nuns' statements comprise a formulaic set of responses, but the superiors in these monastic houses were very often aristocratic women of great intelligence, and they clearly outwitted their interrogators on more than one occasion. A close reading of the Mother Superior's statement reveals a clear subtext, evidenced through a subtle wordplay (in bold), which I have tried to preserve in the translation which follows:

*Madame Françoise Louise Lancaster, Supérieure [...] a déclaré que l'état qu'elle a embrassé est celui de son choix qu'elle a vécu heureuse [...] Son **voeu** suivant son gout l'[a] appelée dans la maison, son **voeu** suivant la religion sy fixe, son **voeu** suivant son devoir est d'y vivre, et d'y mourir [...] au milieu d'une communauté, qui n'aime, ne veut, et ne cherche que le véritable **bien** fondé sur la vertu.*

Madame Françoise Louise Lancaster, Superior [...] has declared that the state which she has embraced is the one she has chosen and which she has lived happily [...]. Her **wish** and preference drew her to the house, her **wish** to become a religious<sup>25</sup> was decided there, and according to her duty her **wish** is that she lives there and dies there [...] at the heart of a community,

<sup>23</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>24</sup> *Procès verbal des religieuses anglaises, Rue des Fossés St Victor, 23 June 1790*. Transl. Amanda Haste. Published in *Convents in Exile 1600-1800*, ed. C. Bowden. Vol. 1 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

<sup>25</sup> 'Religious' is used here as a noun denoting a monk or nun, who are collectively known as 'the religious'. Had this not been destined for publication in a book on convents, I may have opted for a more widely understood term such as 'nun'.

which only loves, wants and seeks the **property of true goodness** based on virtue.

In this instance, I find the repetition of '*voeu*' particularly telling: '*Voeu*' can mean a simple wish (as she is saying here) but it also means a 'vow'. While I feel that a politically-astute superior would have refrained from referring to the religious vows which were being outlawed, her repeated use of the word with its double meaning is interesting...and possibly a little mischievous. Likewise, there is a strong sense here that '*bien*' is a play on the dual meaning of 'property' and 'good' so I have tried to preserve that. The Superior is making the point that the community is not concerned with physical property but only spiritual '*bien*'.

#### CULTURAL CONTEXT

The cultural context of a source text is an important factor in interpreting your sources. However, there are sometimes complex cultural references which themselves constitute the meaning implicit in the words. For instance, a brief glance at the 'language' section of my own bookshelves will reveal titles such as *Comparative Stylistics of French and English, Translation, Linguistics, Culture*, and *Culture Bumps: Empirical Approach to Translation of Allusions*<sup>26</sup> ...but nestled among them is another wonderful book, also on translation, entitled *Is That a Fish in Your Ear?*<sup>27</sup> from which I have already quoted in this article. But what on earth has a fish to do with translation, and why would an aquatic creature be living in a human ear?

If you have already recognized this phrase, you may well have made the connection, and have realized that this is in fact an excellent title for a book on translation. "Is That a Fish in Your Ear?" is a reference to a line from *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*,<sup>28</sup> a 1979 science-fiction book by British author Douglas

<sup>26</sup> Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Benjamins Translation Library, 1995); Nigel Armstrong, *Translation, Linguistics, Culture: A French - English Handbook*, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005); and Ritva Leppihalme, *Culture Bumps: Empirical Approach to Translation of Allusions*, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> Bellos, *Is That a Fish in Your Ear?*

<sup>28</sup> Douglas Adams, *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (London: Pan, 1979).

Adams which spawned film, radio and TV adaptations and became a cult phenomenon affectionately known as H2G2.<sup>29</sup> The question is uttered by Arthur Dent, whose companion Ford Prefect (actually an intergalactic researcher for the eponymous book *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*) has just inserted a small yellow fish into Arthur's ear, at which point the following conversation ensues:<sup>30</sup>

'What's this fish doing in my ear?'

'It's translating for you. It's a Babel fish. Look it up in the book if you like.'

[the *Hitchhiker's Guide* book voices its own text quietly, saying:]

*'...if you stick a Babel fish in your ear you can instantly understand anything said to you in any form of language.'*

But why is this magical creature called a Babel fish? This is another culturally specific reference, this time to the Tower of Babel (בְּכַל מִגְדַל [Migdal Bavel]), the etiological myth in the Old Testament of the Bible which is intended to explain the existence of many languages.<sup>31</sup> This myth maintains that, after the Great Flood, the human race was united in a single language, until they arrived in the land of Shinar where they built a city, and a tower. God, displeased, scattered the people, and their languages, so they could no longer understand each other. Adams' ironically named 'Babel fish' therefore serves to temporarily remedy this 'Babel' (babble) of languages, and the relevance to translation becomes crystal clear. However, it can be seen that for the reader to decode the significance of this single phrase "Is that a fish in your ear?" they will need to be in possession of all the cultural references at play.

## CONCLUSION

This exploration of the translation issues which so many of us face during the course of our research has shown that the transmission of meaning occurs on several levels, and we need to be ever conscious of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of our audience. Accurate grammar is important, but we may need to employ some poetic license in order to balance accuracy with a regard for elegance, and consider the flow and rhythm of our writing so that our work reads well. When we deal with archival resources, we need to consider their historical context, and our language should reflect the philosophy, schools of thought and political circumstances within which those texts would have been written. Unless we are writing for fellow scholars in our discipline, we cannot assume that our readers share our cultural background and references within that field, and if writing for a non-specialist reader we need to offer translations of key words and concepts, and provide a gloss if the meaning is essential to our argument. And if that will disrupt the flow of our text, then that is why we have footnotes.

---

<sup>29</sup> Nearly forty years later, there are even websites dedicated to quotes from the book.

<sup>30</sup> Adams 49-50.

<sup>31</sup> Genesis 11: 1-9.

WORKS CITED

- Adams, Douglas. *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*. London: Pan Book, 1979.
- Armstrong, Nigel. *Translation, Linguistics, Culture: A French-English Handbook*. Topics in Translation. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005.
- Bellos, David. *Is That a Fish in Your Ear? The Amazing Adventure of Translation*. London: Penguin, 2011.
- Bernard, Didier. "Multiscaling properties of tropical rainfall: Analysis of rain gauge datasets in the Lesser Antilles island environment". Transl. Amanda Haste. Forthcoming.
- Bowden, Caroline, ed. *Convents in Exile 1600-1800*. Vol.1. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012.
- Candau, Olivier-Serge. "Les enjeux de la Réforme française du Nouveau Lycée à St Martin : Effets de contextualisation sur les enjeux didactiques en milieu plurilingue." Transl. Amanda Haste. (*Se construire dans l'interlangue: perspectives transatlantiques sur le multilinguisme*. Ed. F. Bonet, Falandry, S. Durrans and M. Jones. Lille, France: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2015. 25-34.
- D'Alembert, Jean Rond. "Observations sur l'art de traduire." *Mélanges de littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie*. Vol. 4. Amsterdam: Chatelain, 1763.
- Frohne-Hagemann, Isabelle. *Fenster zur Musiktherapie: Musik-therapie-theorie 1976-2001*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001.
- Leppihalme, Ritva. *Culture Bumps: Empirical Approach to Translation of Allusions*. Topics in Translation. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1997.
- Lynelle, Amy. "The Chains of Pitit Pierr': Colonial Legacies and Character Linkage in Oswald Durand's Rires et pleurs." *The French Review* Vol. 88, No. 3 (March 2015). 163-175.
- Russell, Andrew Díaz. "The Gospel Truth? Why we should care about mistranslations in the Bible." *The Linguist* 55.2 (April/May 2016): 27-28.
- Sakel, Jeanette. "From the field: Linguistic puzzles." *The Linguist* 55.2 (April/May 2016): 14-15.
- Sperrazza, Lelania. "Arabazi: From technolusion to revolution." *Constructing Identity in an Age of Globalization*. Ed. James Block & Amanda Haste. Paris: Ex Modio, 2015. 93-100.
- Stige, Brynjulf. "The relentless roots of community music therapy." *Voices: A World Forum for Music Therapy* Vol.2. No.3 (2002). Accessed from <http://dx.doi.org/10.15845/voices.v2i3>, 20 April 2016.
- Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Vinay, Jean-Paul, and Jean Darbelnet. *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation*. Translated and edited by Juan C. Sager and M.-J. Hamel. Benjamins Translation Library 11. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 1995.
- Yardley, Anne Bagnall. "The Marriage of Heaven and Earth: A Late Medieval Source of the Consecratio virginum," *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1990): 305-24.

# THEY CAME HERE TO FISH: EARLY MASSACHUSETTS FISHERMEN IN A PURITAN SOCIETY

Serena Newman (Massachusetts, USA)

*Independent Scholar, NCIS*

Correspondence should be addressed to: [serena.newman@ncis.org](mailto:serena.newman@ncis.org)

Date submitted: 3 February 2016

Date accepted: 16 August 2016

## **Abstract**

*While the accepted paradigm has been that mariners and their families in Massachusetts' port cities were a poor proletariat at the bottom of the labor market, and not really a part of the "New England culture," I offer new findings which shed new light on the old stereotype regarding early maritime society. Evidence has pointed in a different direction – that early New England fishermen did have a place in Puritan society, other than that of simply marginalized outsiders. It is apparent that fishermen and their families both lived in and participated in most aspects of their communities to a similar degree (positively and negatively) as did those of any other occupation.*

*Using the Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Massachusetts, as well as merchant and church records, it is evident that offences such as drunkenness, violence, or slander were present in Puritan society as a whole, not just among its mariner population. Such a conclusion stands noticeably alone amidst the traditional scholarship. Moreover, accessibility to necessary records has become easier in the digital age, allowing further investigation and analysis which had previously been more difficult, due to the considerable difficulties in locating and acquiring primary source materials. Court and church records, as well as other informative sources, are now available online, allowing independent scholars to pursue and complete valuable research that can ultimately challenge traditional thinking and transition more easily toward a more accurate paradigm.*

**Keywords:** *Massachusetts Bay; social history; fishermen; occupational stereotypes*

## INTRODUCTION

"They came here to fish": such was the story according to the Reverend Cotton Mather in his epic *Magnalia Christi Americana* concerning a confrontation between a Puritan minister and a group of fishermen in Marblehead, Massachusetts. As the minister exhorted the congregation to be a "religious people" or otherwise they would "contradict the main end of planting this wilderness," one of the more outspoken of the fishermen (so the story goes) informed the preacher that he was mistaken, and must be thinking he was addressing the folks at the Bay Colony, that their "main end was to catch fish." While one might hope, as Mather did, that "something more excellent" was the "main end of the settlements," it is undeniable that a new and complex culture was emerging along the New England shoreline, one with a wide range of cultural divergences that would ultimately have many "main ends" in mind.

The accepted paradigm has been that mariners and their families in the port cities of Massachusetts were primarily a poor proletariat at the bottom of the labor market, and not really a vital part of the "New England culture." This understanding has long been supported by many in the scholarly community, such as Daniel Vickers (*Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850*), and Christine Heyrman (*Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690-1750*)<sup>1</sup> who have both argued that there was a

---

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Christine Heyrman, *Commerce and*

distinct divide between the fishing communities and the larger Puritan society which tended to keep mariners apart, both socially and culturally. This belief was further supported from an economic viewpoint in Bernard Bailyn's *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, and Murray Rothbard's "The Rise of the Fisheries and the Merchants."<sup>2</sup> And while Richard Archer stressed the "complexity" of New England society in *Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century*,<sup>3</sup> it did little to change the overall paradigm. However, in this paper I share some findings that shed new light on the old stereotype regarding early maritime society, and which I believe provide sufficient evidence for concluding that early New England fishermen did have a place in Puritan society, other than being simply marginalized outsiders.

Although I started this research a few years ago, it has recently been facilitated by the new and expanded digital resources which are now available electronically. Accessibility to necessary records has become easier in the digital age, allowing further investigation and analysis which had previously been more difficult. For example, at the beginning of this research, the Essex County Court Records were only available in hard copy *and* only available for 2-hour check-outs at the University of California-Riverside! Now all eight volumes are available online, as are the Court Records for Plymouth County and a number of the individual towns in the area. Relevant digital sources include those at the University of Virginia, and at [www.archives.org](http://www.archives.org), including the Essex County Quarterly Court Records.<sup>4</sup> On a more detailed reading, name searches such as Row, Roe, Roes Sarah, William produced results in the index of the Quarterly Courts,<sup>5</sup> while general searches (e.g. 'fishermen') produced results such as nineteenth-century typescripts of seventeenth-century records by the Essex Institute at

[www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org).<sup>6</sup> In addition to the court and maritime records,<sup>7</sup> church records, such as those for the First Church in Salem,<sup>8</sup> have also been valuable sources, as well as Stephen Innes' *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (available on Google Books<sup>9</sup>) which provides a useful description of the ironworkers, who were not subject to the same requirements as the fishermen.

In examining some of the available records, it has become increasingly apparent that fishermen and their families both lived in and participated in most aspects of their communities to a similar degree (both positively and negatively) as did those of any other occupation. In fact, for the most part, Massachusetts fishermen appeared to be fairly ordinary men who knew and lived by the cultural norms of their society as much as they could – and knew they must answer to the General Court when they did not – hence expressing, in their own right, both an important and influential expression of New England culture.

Unlike the farmers in the interior, mariners were often absent for extended periods of time, leaving family matters to their wives, who needed the support of a home community – family, friends, and church. It provided rootedness and a sense of belonging, without which mariners could have easily drifted away to any port, but most returned to family and community, as merchant, town, and church records indicate. The fact that there was a large and dynamic shipping trade throughout Essex County points to the need for a large and also dependable labor force. Furthermore, the need for credit from local merchants to outfit vessels from fishing ketches to trading ships required a level of trust which could only be achieved through an intimate knowledge of the applicant in question – a requirement hard to meet with only a transient maritime labor force.

Life at sea often was only a part of a mariner's life, with most retiring before mid-life to pursue various endeavors – sometimes maritime and sometimes not.

---

*Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690 - 1750* (NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984).

<sup>2</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955); Murray Rothbard, "The Rise of the Fisheries and the Merchants," <https://mises.org/library/rise-fisheries-and-merchants>

<sup>3</sup> Richard Archer, *Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England [for] University of New Hampshire, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> <http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/home.html> (7/4/2016)

<sup>5</sup> <http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/Essex/vol5/index/essvol5R.html> (7/4/2016)

---

<sup>6</sup> <https://archive.org/stream/recordsfilesofqu04esse#page/n3/mode/2up> (7/4/2016)

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.pem.org/library/collections/manuscripts> (7/4/2016)

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.firstchurchinsalem.org/recordbook45.html> (7/4/2016)

<sup>9</sup> [https://books.google.com/books?id=9XUKUkuSkIC&pg=PA256&lpg=PA256&dq=Hammersmith+ironworkers&source=bl&ots=BrRMdDuXLw&sig=taOBiS90KhjxUtN7cQQOjgpxaDo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiH1pjD74\\_NAhWj\\_R4KHSPMDbYQ6AEIPjAG#v=onepage&q=Hammersmith%20ironworkers&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=9XUKUkuSkIC&pg=PA256&lpg=PA256&dq=Hammersmith+ironworkers&source=bl&ots=BrRMdDuXLw&sig=taOBiS90KhjxUtN7cQQOjgpxaDo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiH1pjD74_NAhWj_R4KHSPMDbYQ6AEIPjAG#v=onepage&q=Hammersmith%20ironworkers&f=false) (7/4/2016)

Many sons, once old enough, followed in their fathers' footsteps, taking over where their fathers had left off – often for much-needed family support, sometimes for training, and other times for the love of adventure. However, so too did a number of sons from non-

maritime families. Hence, to depict the maritime communities dotting the New England coastline as a whole and congruous culture, separate from a particular "Puritan culture," denies a diversity that was a part of the "new world" from the very beginning.



The "Great Migration" in the 1600s brought thousands of settlers across the Atlantic to build a "new" England – for many, a "godly commonwealth" where they would be free from religious persecution by the Church of England. Others arrived in the hope of establishing themselves in a place that would allow them to pursue a better life for themselves and their

families. Still others held interests more economically ambitious than the Puritan leaders would have approved of.

John Cotton, one of the great "Puritan divines," recognized that among the faithful there would undoubtedly be some "worldlings" in the New

England migration. He did not deny their mixed motives, but observed in 1648 that the churches of New England would be the means of conversion "of sundry . . . persons who came hither not out of respect to conscience or spiritual ends, but out of respect to friends or outward enlargements."<sup>1</sup> Whether that always turned out to be the case cannot be ascertained, but among the diverse population of Massachusetts Bay and Essex County, the experience of Cotton Mather's preacher with the Marblehead fishermen, whose "main end" was to fish rather than to plant "God's garden" in the "wilderness,"<sup>2</sup> has been less difficult to envision. Nevertheless, John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, believed that a home-grown, resident fishing population would be more beneficial to the plantation than allowing those from outside to take the profits earned and return "from whence they came." Better, he argued, to keep the profits among one's own people.<sup>3</sup>

Easily recognizable from the traditional "outsider" paradigm was Christine Heyrman's example, in *Commerce and Culture*, of a later interaction between Marbleheaders and their clergy. In a case brought before the General Court in November 1667, "fisherman"<sup>4</sup> Henry Coombs of Marblehead was fined by the magistrates for "abusing" their preacher, Mr. Walton by "saying that he preached nothing but lies." Coombs was not exactly a stranger to the court. He had been before the magistrates twice before, once for battery against Nicholas Barkley in 1649 and again for "cursing" in 1663. Two years after his last presentment, in November 1669, Henry Coombs' widow was presenting his inventory. A jury of inquest found that he had drowned, an accident due to "being drunk." This was conceivably a "typical" story: the drunk, rowdy fisherman, un-churched and with little respect for the clergy, going before the court, and then coming to an untimely end, but the only problem with this conclusion is that Henry Coombs was not, as Heyrman had assumed) a fisherman. He

was instead a farmer with six acres of land (considered fairly large by Marblehead standards), an orchard, a garden, and "corne land," as well as some "unimproved land," plus three swine "a year old and four smaller swine." Furthermore, the court records show no dealings of any kind with fishermen.<sup>5</sup> That Coombs lived in Marblehead (described by Daniel Vickers in *Farmers and Fishermen* as having had a nearly 100% fishermen/mariner population<sup>6</sup>), had some less-than-pious behavior, and then accidentally drowned by "being drunk," it is not hard to see how the "logical" conclusion could be made, as Heyrman did, that his was a fairly typical mariner story. In fact, the long-held stereotype of the drunken, rowdy fishermen who could not fit into a Puritan society is what has led to the "typicality" of such an example. However, the paradigm built around this image is not entirely borne out by the evidence. Therefore, in examining the records for some of the Essex County towns such as Marblehead, it is apparent that fishermen and their families did participate within their communities in a similar manner as those of any other pursuit. Furthermore, although Marblehead has not been thought of as a typical Puritan town, even it had a small share of non-mariners and a few of the at least "nearly-pious."<sup>7</sup>

Marblehead's first settlement was around 1629: primarily a "fishing station" with itinerant fisherman coming from various locations. Purely a commercial venture, there were no impending plans for permanent settlement. Within a short time, however, this would change. By the early 1630s, a small contingent of entrepreneurs, including a ship-builder, arrived in Marblehead to take up a more permanent residence. Shortly thereafter, their numbers began to increase – so much so that by 1635 the General Court at Salem allowed Marblehead to become a "Plantation" and instructed the proprietor to sell land at cost to the inhabitants as they "stood in need." The increasing number of family households moving into Marblehead called for the services of a pastor, so by 1635 a fishing boat was dispatched to Newbury to

---

<sup>1</sup> John Cotton, *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared: In Two Treatises* (London, 1648), 102.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Adams, "Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem," *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, First Series (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1883), 329 [taken from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*].

<sup>3</sup> John Winthrop, *The History of New England*, Vol. 1 (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1853), 207, 210.

<sup>4</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 222.

---

<sup>5</sup> *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 8 vol., ed. George Francis Dow (Salem, MA, 1911-21), 1:169; 3:117, 461; 4:206, 211 (Hereinafter cited *Essex Ct. Rec.*); Thomas E. Gray, *The Founding of Marblehead* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1984), 60-61.

<sup>6</sup> Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 156 fn. 18.

<sup>7</sup> First Church of Christ, Marblehead, *Under the Golden Cod* (Canaan, NH: Phoenix Pub. Co., 1984), 5-6.



pick up the Reverend John Avery who had reluctantly agreed “to come with his family” and take up residence as Marblehead’s first minister. Avery, however, never made it to Marblehead. He and his family were caught in a severe storm and almost all aboard perished.<sup>8</sup> Continuing in its first steps toward township, Marblehead inhabitants again looked for a spiritual leader and settled on William Walton, who would remain as their spiritual head for thirty years. Granted eight acres “on the Main”\* in 1638, and a regular “rate” set for his support – which sometimes included partial payment in fish – added in 1648, a minister became Marblehead’s first paid official.<sup>9</sup>

Little is known about William Walton other than that he was educated at Cambridge and ordained an Anglican minister around 1625. After coming to New England with his family, Walton served as a teacher in Hingham before becoming a “missionary pastor” to Marblehead in 1637. Although little direct information is available, First Church historians described Walton as what would be known today as “non-denominational,” with a belief in church autonomy and lay participation strong enough to have pushed him from a traditional ministry in England to a colonial outpost like Marblehead.<sup>10</sup>

Following the Reverend Walton’s instillation as the pastor of Marblehead’s small flock, town leaders made arrangements to build a meetinghouse at the top of one of the rocky hills. Although Walton never became officially ordained by the central church at Salem during his long ministry, apparently Marblehead inhabitants did function for a number of years from 1638 as a church body. Relations were undoubtedly strained at times – the Essex Court Records attest to that fact – nevertheless, Walton remained undaunted and adamant that his somewhat motley sheep would heed their somewhat unconventional shepherd as much as possible. In fact, acceptance of his services is attested to by both church growth (with the 1672 addition of a new lean-

to) and fairly regular increases in his salary (£70 by 1658). Furthermore, Marblehead petitioned the General Court in 1667 about “the calling and settling of a meet person” to help Mr. Walton. Apparently the Reverend Walton had found a niche within Marblehead society, for he chose to remain with them (and they with him) for the remainder of his lifetime.<sup>11</sup>

The church and the ministry played a central role in colonial New England life, even if only in the breach. There seemed to be an expectation on the part of Salem officials and clergy that all understood the requirements of ecclesiastical participation, as well as having an awareness of the consequences for repeated failure to at least make an effort to comply. Otherwise, why would cases such as John Bennet’s being fined for “taking tobacco in the meetinghouse on the Lord’s day” (1653) or Boston’s George Hiskutt’s “sailing on the Sabbath” (1680) – for which he was acquitted on the testimony of his first mate that Hiskutt had gone “ashore to meeting” – have come up in the General Court? And, perhaps just as determinedly, were some Marblehead residents giving their heartiest efforts to avoid any more compliance than was absolutely necessary? For example, in 1649 George Hardinge was fined for saying that he planned on joining the church and “would then have his dog christened,”<sup>12</sup> and Joseph Gatchell’s remark that when the Church of England was set up “with the orgones,” then he would “come to religious services.” By 1684, Gatchell again crossed the New England clergy and was convicted of blasphemy and sentenced by the Court of Assistants in Boston to have his tongue “pierced through with a hot iron.” What is particularly interesting though, is that once again Gatchell was *not* an unruly fisherman (as Heyrman thought), but was actually a tailor.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, it became impossible (wherever the community) to live and work in proximity to Puritan society in all its facets without being thereby influenced to some degree – and apparently Marblehead was no exception to that rule. In fact, Vickers noted that those who were literate often owned Bibles, and that “as a group” seemed to

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 8-9; Gray, *Founding of Marblehead*, 4-5, 8-11; James R. Pringle, *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Pringle, 1892), 25.

<sup>9</sup> Winthrop, *The History of New England*, Vol. 1, 196; Samuel Roads, Jr., *The History and Traditions of Marblehead*, (Marblehead: Allen Lindsey & Co., 1897), 20-1; First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 8-9; Gray, *The Founding of Marblehead*, 11, 18, 26-7, 65, 117.

\*The part of town near the harbor. (Roads, 14 fn. 1).

<sup>10</sup> Roads, *History & Traditions*, 14; First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 9-10; Gray, *Founding of Marblehead*, 127.

---

<sup>11</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, vol. 1-3, (1636-67); First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 14-15; Roads, *History & Traditions*, 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:320 (Bennett), 6:59 (Hiskutt), 1:170 (Hardinge).

<sup>13</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 216 (“fisherman...”), 222 (“orgones” i.e. organs), 223n (blasphemy); *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 7:114, 1678 (“...reckoning for work done by [Joseph] Gatchell in his trade . . . in finishing her clothes . . .”).

have attended lecture on the Sabbath "almost as often as anyone, when they were in town."<sup>14</sup>

Fishing, although by far the primary industry followed by Marblehead inhabitants, was not the only one, though it has often received the most attention. As more settlers moved into the area with other useful skills and interests, occupational diversity widened somewhat (although all were still affected, either directly or indirectly, by the fishing industry). It was a tailor working late one night who saw a house fire and was able to warn Isaac Allerton and his "many fishermen whom he employed that season," and thereby, according to John Winthrop, all were "preserved by a special providence of God."<sup>15</sup> There were some fairly unique occupations as well, such as "keeper of the commons," where village animals were pastured during the day; "keeper of the ferry" who was responsible for operating the ferry between Marblehead and Salem; fence inspector; and of course, shipbuilders. Within a few years, a local grist mill was established. Aside from small farmers and husbandmen, some more traditional tradesmen and craftsmen also found work in Marblehead: coopers, carpenters, masons, locksmiths, shoemakers, and merchants, as well as "ordinary" (tavern) keepers – of which Arthur Sandin was the first to be licensed in 1640. Therefore, although on a smaller scale than that of Salem, the so-called "fishing outpost" of Marblehead actually became home to a fairly diverse population, especially as time went on. By the 1650s, Thomas Gray (*The Founding of Marblehead*) found that about 28% of the identifiable males were employed in non-maritime pursuits – rather than Vickers' almost 100% maritime estimate).<sup>16</sup> In addition, some were employed in more than one venture, such as coasting, outfitting, or tavern keeping, as well as fishing.<sup>17</sup> Without such a shift away from a purely seasonal and transient, or even semi-transient, workforce and economy, Marblehead would have found it impossible to sustain the status of 'town' over the course of many years and hardships.

That Marblehead began to function as a town in its own right is evident from both Salem's allowance for it to officially separate from Salem into a township in 1649, and from the inhabitants' own behavior. Increasingly, it is apparent from the records that Marbleheaders began to distinguish in their own minds between transience, based on employment availability, and permanency, which allowed for a sense of belonging and community similar to the more typical Puritan settlements around them. For example, in 1646, the General Court granted a petition preventing "seasonal fishermen" from gathering wood in settled parts of town without permission; and in their Town Records of 1648, it was agreed that "all strangers fishing or employed about fish shall pay to the Towne . . . the sum of 10s a year for every man."<sup>18</sup> Marblehead and its inhabitants were both a part of the greater New England whole, but separate in "calling," thereby making them somewhat unique in their social and cultural expression, yet maintaining a cognizance of, and cooperation with, the larger center.

Similar to Marblehead, neighboring Gloucester can also trace its early beginnings to "a place where fishing [was] set forward," when it was known as Cape Ann – a place "peopled almost entirely by fishermen."<sup>19</sup> But as with Marblehead, this would soon change. Initially the idea had been put forth by some enterprising "merchant adventurers" (including the Reverend John White) that on a regular plantation at Cape Ann "planting on the land might go on equally with fishing on the sea." Although some early speculators believed the two to be fairly compatible, for the Dorchester Company it failed to work out as they had envisioned. For both employments to succeed fully proved too difficult since, as the Reverend White observed, the ground for one is rarely adequate for the other, and those knowledgeable about the land usually knew little about fishing, and vice versa. Discouraged by both economic losses and the "ill carriage" of some of their "land-men" (apparently not fishermen in this case), the project

---

<sup>14</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981), 125; Gray, *Founding of Marblehead*, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Winthrop, *History of New England*, 1:147; First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 13.

<sup>16</sup> See Vickers, fn. 15

<sup>17</sup> Gray, *Founding of Marblehead*, 16, 32, 148; First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 12.

---

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 22, 28; Roads, *History and Traditions*, 18-19. [Note (QC, v1p29): Incomplete records for 5 years from 1641 – abstracts from "Waste Book" only; (QC, v1p114): Ten pages of the original Court Records missing.]

<sup>19</sup> *Memorial of the Incorporation of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.* (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1901), 41.

was abandoned in 1625.<sup>20</sup> But, although the few remaining settlers soon moved a few miles west to Naumkeag (later known as Salem), the foundation for Gloucester had been established.

In its early stages, Gloucester, like Marblehead, saw its share of itinerant fishermen, single men who could easily move on to other coastlines if and when the need arose. However, according to Thomas Lechford, at one point after the Dorchester “adventurers” had moved on there were some few fishermen with “stages builded” and “one master Rashley [as] chaplain.”<sup>21</sup> Whether Puritan or Anglican is unclear, but that there was concern of a religious nature, even in such an outpost, seems to speak for the nature of the worldview in general – fishermen or otherwise – at this time.

By 1641, Gloucester was again on its way to becoming a town. Commissioners from Salem were appointed to settle the boundaries of Cape Ann, Ipswich, and Jeffries Creek (later to become Manchester). The Reverend Richard Blynman and several families from Plymouth Colony arrived in 1642 to settle at Cape Ann and, in May of that year, the General Court allowed them to incorporate the “plantation” of Gloucester, with First Church of Gloucester soon to follow. Shortly thereafter the Blynman group was joined by some families from Salem.<sup>22</sup> Despite Gloucester’s first years being somewhat difficult, the beginnings of town government did form and remained functional. The church also persevered, despite a number of disruptions. However, unlike its near neighbors of Marblehead and Salem, maritime work was actually sporadic. Shipbuilding, agriculture, and other pursuits seemed more prominent than fishing for the first couple of decades. Yet, people with names such as Elwell, Ingersol, and Sargent helped to form a foundation for the maritime industry, along with

fishermen and other maritime-related workers<sup>23</sup> – some of whom that would find their way into the Records of the Court.

An unusual maritime case before the General Court was that of Mr. John Tuttle vs. Robert Elwell, William Browne, and William Dudbridg in July of 1647 “concerning a boat which was delivered to them and lost.” How one, or in this case three, might misplace a boat in as small an area as Gloucester is hard to understand – probably what John Tuttle was wondering at that time as well! Unfortunately, most court cases were not quite as unique as that of Tuttle. Fisherman John Jackson Jr. was brought in on a debt suit. The most important aspect of his case is that Jackson was able to present a letter to the court from a number of his neighbors, many of them well known and reputable in the community, such as shipwright William Stephens, selectman<sup>24</sup> William Sargent, selectman and shoreman Robert Elwell, and fisherman/shipmaster Osmond Dutch, who collectively attested that Jackson had lived in the town for seven years and had “behaved himself in good order . . . and lived honestly . . . as far as [they could] see.”<sup>25</sup> Regardless of the initial cause, the community’s support speaks well of Jackson’s general character, as well as to the characters and reputations of the twenty-seven signatories – most of whom were involved in some aspect of maritime work.

Fisherman John Jackson, Sr., however, was called into court for “attempted assault on his maid,” and was (Heyrman believed) “representative of [his] group,” a “disorderly subculture” which had grown up in Gloucester after the departure of their minister, Blynman. Granted, Essex County Court Records are filled with cases such as that of Jackson Sr., but the preeminent (and difficult) question is whether he could be termed as “representative” of Gloucester’s maritime group as a whole. If the good reputations of the twenty-seven Gloucester signatories for Jackson, Jr. is any indication, then perhaps not.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, Heyrman noted that over a twenty year span, 1650-1669, the court heard five additional cases “involving

---

<sup>20</sup> John Babson, *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann* (Gloucester: Procter Bros., 1860; Peter Smith Publisher, Inc., 1972), 31, 36-38, 40-42; Pringle, *History of the Town*, 21-22; Adams, “Village Communities...,” in *Stodie*, 326.

<sup>21</sup> Babson, *Gloucester*, 50, 188; Pringle, *History of the Town*, 23; Adams, “Village Communities,” in *Studies*, 21.

<sup>22</sup> *The Fisheries of Gloucester* (Gloucester: Procter Bros. Publishing, 1876), 8; Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 35; Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth* (NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995), 291-92; Babson, *Gloucester*, 50-51, 188; [https://storiesfromipswich.org/2014/12/03/history-of-gloucester-ma-wwnortonmuseum.org/media/web\\_03\\_first\\_church.pdf](https://storiesfromipswich.org/2014/12/03/history-of-gloucester-ma-wwnortonmuseum.org/media/web_03_first_church.pdf).

---

<sup>23</sup> *Memorial*, 42, 113-14; *Fisheries of Gloucester*, 8; Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 35, 38, 40;

<https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/maritime/commerce.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> Selectman: a member of the local government board of a New England town

<sup>25</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:115, 124; 2:237-39; Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 39.

<sup>26</sup> Of the 27 signatories, 12 could sign their name.

assault or threats of physical violence . . . two for swearing . . . one for drunkenness," plus numerous cases of slander, with the majority of the defendants identified as "having maritime occupations."<sup>27</sup> While the smaller population has to be taken into consideration, a total of nine offenses by all inhabitants (not including slander) committed over a two-decade period hardly seems to indicate a constant "disorderly subculture." In fact, debt and slander seemed to have been fairly normal legal fare for Puritan society as a whole. Simply "watching out for one's neighbor" too ardently could land an "obedient servant" in court on a charge of defamation of character.

Numerous Gloucester court cases derived from conflicts with and within the church. Serious divisions regarding religious matters hindered the constancy of any one ministry, and Gloucester worshipers had four ministers over a roughly twenty year span. First Church, Gloucester had begun under the Reverend Blynman in 1642 – and ended with his departure in 1649 (see above). Apparently, Blynman's flock was anything but tranquil, and dissension and disrespect seemed to mar his ministry from the outset.<sup>28</sup> In 1647, Matthew Coe, Morris Somes, John Wakely, and David Wheeler were fined by the court for "hunting and killing a raccoon . . . to the disturbance of the congregation." Somes and Wakely (both non-fishermen) showed up for the court presentment, but not Coe or Wheeler. The case was continued, but nothing further is recorded about Wheeler. There is no way of telling whether he might have been a fisherman, but in this instance at least, two of the miscreants were not. Since Coe, however, was a resident fisherman, in 1652 he did appear and pay his fine.<sup>29</sup> Apparently, no matter whether the offender cared to, and regardless of how insignificant the charge may have seemed, the community still expected a certain amount of cooperation and conformity from their residents – and had no problem using the court to get their point across. Oddly enough, many of the troublesome residents seemed to believe they had to comply. Even when one admonishment, fine, or public punishment was not enough to alter their undesirable behavior, those

considering themselves inhabitants, if charged again, would once again appear in court to answer to the infraction and suffer the consequences. Those who chose to not respond likely had no permanent ties to the area.

The Reverend Blynman's problem with his unruly congregations, however, did not stop at mere disturbances. As with the Reverend Walton in Marblehead, some of the parishioners (although not always from the maritime community) seemed to have had some significant differences with their minister. Their displeasure was expressed in different ways, including absence from meeting, "trading" the pastor, and openly defying his scriptural interpretations – an unusual charge, depending on who exactly made the claim. In one such instance, an accusation was brought by John Stone.<sup>30</sup> He was fined 50s in 1644 for "scandalizing Mr. Blynman, charging him with false interpretation of the scriptures [and] for telling . . . things that tended to the reproach of the doctrine [he] delivered." Witnesses testified that Stone had claimed that Blynman "falsely interpreted . . . two places of scripture: in Nehemiah and Ezra." From the available record, it appears that Stone may have been a general laborer, since he was engaged in both cutting timber and going to fish "when . . . the school had come in."<sup>31</sup> What is most compelling about this account is not that another parishioner had troubled the preacher, but that he did so with at least some degree of scriptural knowledge. Regardless of the correctness of Stone's Biblical interpretation, just the fact that someone (who might be thought of as an uneducated, unruly, second-class citizen)<sup>32</sup> attempted to argue with the minister and his fellow townspeople from this perspective, could bring a new and unexpected understanding of the social and cultural atmosphere of Stone's day. Shortly thereafter, Blynman left Gloucester, along with most of the Plymouth Colony people who had followed him there, leaving his contentious congregation behind.<sup>33</sup>

The ensuing ministerial void was filled by William Perkins, who had come to First Church as "teaching elder" in 1650. Mr. Perkins met with much the same reception as had Blynman, with various members of

<sup>27</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 39-40, fn. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Babson, *Gloucester*, 190-91; Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 36; *Memorial*, 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:134, 273; Babson, *Gloucester*, 69.

<sup>30</sup> Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 36; Babson, *Gloucester*, 191.

<sup>31</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:4, 32-33, 70;

<sup>32</sup> Babson, *Gloucester*, fn., p191: [Stone did not leave much of a mark in town.]

<sup>33</sup> Babson, *Gloucester*, 190; Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture*, 36-37.

the congregation soon facing charges of “absence from church,” “affronting [Perkins] in the time of his preaching,” and “speaking against” the minister in town meeting. One parishioner brought Reverend Perkins to court on a defamation charge for having accused the plaintiff of causing dissension in the church, and calling him “a plague on the town.” When Mr. Perkins departed, he was replaced in 1655 by Elder Thomas Millet – who fared little better. At one point, he even had to sue the town for his wages. Like Perkins, Millet was forced to contend with criticism throughout most of his service. The disparaging words of one townsman, William Brown, sums up the state of affairs rather well: “Mr. Blinman was naught, and Perkins was starke naught, and Millet was worse than Perkins.”<sup>34</sup> Expectedly, one might assume that in a port town such as Gloucester, most of the conflict would be brought about by some of the “unruly subculture” of fishermen and laborers, but it was often caused by members of what should have been the more “respectable society.” Since only one of the identifiable parties (Robert Dutch) was connected to the still fairly small maritime quarter (approx. 30%, according to Daniel Vickers\*),<sup>35</sup> it seems that even the more “average Puritan” society could easily become embroiled in some rather contentious behavior.

A few years later, Robert Dutch sold his Gloucester lands and removed to nearby Ipswich – settled in 1633 by John Winthrop, Jr. (son of the Governor) and twelve Bay Colony leaders. Incorporated in 1634, Ipswich was settled mostly for agriculture by East Anglia colonists. However, maritime concerns were evident as well. Two settlers set up fish weirs on the Chebacco River in 1635, and a special committee was established in 1641 “to promote the interest of fishing.” It was agreed that the area known as Little Neck, “where the fishing stage is” was to be “sequestered and set apart for the advancement of fishing, and that the fishermen there [to] have liberty to enclose it” from the cattle, and that every boat that came to fish to “have sufficient roome to make their

fish in,” and “every boat gang” to have “liberty to . . . plant an acre of ground.”<sup>36</sup>

Most early New England towns placed restraints on who could reside within their borders and thereby maintain a certain amount of control over who lived among them. Any who appeared to be less than desirable could be denied residency. For example, Humphrey Griffin found himself turned away from Ipswich in 1639, “...the town being full” – but was somehow able by 1641 to obtain the necessary permission. When someone came in for a specific purpose, such as a particular job or to visit family members, the usual allowable stay without special permission (or posting a bond to save the town from any untoward expenses) was about two weeks. If someone failed to secure permission, overstayed their official welcome, or had become a problem to the town, that person could face a call before the magistrates to be “warned out” of the jurisdiction within a set time limit.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, for most communities, those who could not or would not fit in could find themselves leaving. These stipulations did not fully apply, however, to a town like Marblehead whose transient workers had usually “come in on a fishing contract” – a problem Marbleheaders later brought to the attention of the General Court. When unemployed fishermen, who were not regular inhabitants, remained in the towns during the off-season or when work was scarce for whatever reason, the accommodating town often experienced unusual expenses, as well as unusual disturbances. In fact, in several cases it was migrant fishermen or seasonal coasters who engaged in much of the undesirable behavior that would bring them before the courts – and which helped mariners in general to receive such negative reputations, especially one like Peter Harling for threatening “mischeefe [on] the military clerk before [going] out of the contry.”<sup>38</sup> Not that resident fishermen and coasters didn’t participate along with their temporary comrades in such intemperate behaviors as excessive drinking, brawling, and swearing, but the inhabitant who wished to remain, and still have some degree of acceptable reputation

<sup>34</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:254 (reverse suit), 275, 287, 302, 306; 2:63-64, 161, 216-17; *Ibid.* 193-94; *Ibid.* 40-41.

<sup>35</sup> Babson, *Gloucester*, 292, 378-79; Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 156 fn. 18.

\*Gloucester’s maritime population probably didn’t reach the 30% mark until after the town stabilized somewhat in the 1660s.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Felt, *History of Ipswich* (Ipswich: Clamshell Press, 1966), 108-10; Waters, *Ipswich*, 7-12, 79-81.

<sup>37</sup> Ruth Wallace Herndon, *Warning Out: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 2, 4-5; Waters, *Ipswich*, 90-91, 491; *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 6:192.

<sup>38</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:373 (Marblehead); 7:42 (Harling).

left, was forced to face the consequences of his actions and penitently promise to curb such behavior in the future.

In 1646, the town of Ipswich allowed Robert Gray the "free liberty" to become an inhabitant. It seems that the town leaders would not have had cause to regret their decision since at his death, mariner Gray's estate was worth a little over £588, including a part-ownership in a ketch; and his only brush with the Quarterly Court had been in June of 1656 when he had left Abraham Whiteare's son (Gray's servant at the time) in Virginia. The court ordered that he be brought back by the end of the next April. Fisherman William Hodgkins came to Ipswich at a fairly early age and resided in the town for the remainder of his life, being called to court only once for "excessive drinking on a training day." He was also a church member; he and some others members were allowed to "raise the meetinghouse bench" for their wives in 1680.<sup>39</sup> The town might have wished they had stuck by their first decision regarding Humphrey Griffin, however. Unlike fishermen or coasters, Griffin owned property and was apparently regularly employed, having gained the town's permission in 1655 to set up a slaughterhouse. Even so, he still found his way into the court on at least three occasions. The first offense landed both him and his mother-in-law in court for what appeared to be a case of mutual "reviling," and a year later he was fined "for profaning the Sabbath in unloading barley before sundown."

Another (quite interesting) offense drew, instead of the usual fine, a strict admonition "as to drinking" – the defendant being "found not drunk," although so he had "appeared . . . by his gestures, evil words, falling off his horse twice, and his breath scenting much of strong liquors." By 1664, someone else was using his former area for a "cow-house," and Humphrey Griffin had moved on.<sup>40</sup>

In 1663 Henry Greenland sued servant Henry Leasenby for what appeared to be an average slander charge, but the underlying issue behind it seemed a little contrary to the idea of an orderly Puritan community. There's no surprise that Greenland wouldn't want Leasenby's story to go any further. In

the servants' daily interactions in such a close community, word had gotten around that Greenland and his friend, Richard Cording, were out about midnight and had "offered five shillings to a man [servant Richard Smith] to help them to a couple of women." Allegedly, they had even named a couple of possibilities, saying if one would not come, then to bring the other. On the testimony of a few more witnesses (including one Mary Rolfe) the verdict went in favor of defendant Henry Leasenby.<sup>41</sup> It appears that both Greenland and Cording were beginning to develop questionable reputations, and this is confirmed in a subsequent case.

Greenland himself was summoned before the magistrates charged with "soliciting Mary, the wife of John Rolfe, to adultery," even "coming into her own house," and his friend Cording was charged with "attempting assault . . . in the stable." Both desiring trial by jury, the two men who had not long before been given special welcome as full inhabitants (with rights to practice in the surrounding areas), "doctors" Henry Greenland and Richard Cording were now "found guilty" as charged, sentenced to jail time, and then to be whipped or fined, £30 for Dr. Greenland and £20 for Dr. Cording. Dr. Cording petitioned the court and was allowed to "give security [and] depart this jurisdiction within one week." Dr. Greenland requested an appeal, but then asked to have it withdrawn a few months later. It seems that his wife was at that point on her way to New England and Greenland desired it dropped at any cost.<sup>42</sup> Apparently, the doctor preferred to pay his fine rather than have his wife discover his indiscretions.

Greenland's problems didn't disappear as quickly as he had hoped. It seems that mariners weren't always the "defendants" when appearing in court. When Mary's husband, John Rolfe, returned from a fishing voyage to Nantucket, he too took the doctor to court. Therefore, in an unexpected turn about, one from their own mariner community had petitioned the Quarterly Court magistrates and received redress from the guilty party (regardless of status) for the wrongs committed.<sup>43</sup> The fact that some fishermen took advantage of the court system does not necessarily prove that they were considered by others as part of

---

<sup>39</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1: 424, 2:425-426; 7:187, 8:375; Waters, *Ipswich*, 90, 114; Abraham Hammatt, *The Hammatt Papers: Early Inhabitants of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633-1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980), 138-40.

<sup>40</sup> Waters, *Ipswich*, 90, 276, 491; *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:113, 422; 2:3.

---

<sup>41</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 3:44-45; Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 156 (fn. 18).

<sup>42</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 3:47-48, 54, 56. [Greenland's wife was en route from England.]

<sup>43</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 3:75, 88-89; Hammatt, *Hammatt Papers*, 290.

the larger society; however, that they felt able to bring their claims to the magistrates, and that their cases were heard, as well as acted upon, does indicate a certain degree of acceptance on both sides.

Andrew Peter's request in November of 1673 for "liberty" to keep Sarah Roe at his house "till eleven weeks be expired . . . she declaring some inclination to live with her husband as a wife, and to go to him when he comes to town"<sup>44</sup> was just the end of what had been a fairly long story. William Rowe, a fisherman from the Isle of Shoals, charged John Leigh (also Lee) of Ipswich in the spring of 1673 for "insinuating dalliance and too much familiarity with his wife, drawing away her affections from her husband to the great detriment both in his estate and the comfort of his life."<sup>45</sup> In the testimony in this case, somewhat similar to that of John Rolfe, a very different kind of story emerges than that often presumed about fisherman living on the "periphery" of Puritan society.

William and Sarah Rowe had married about two years earlier. Sarah was well known in her neighborhood, working as a maid at the minister Hubbard's house at the time. Apparently, they fared pretty well during courtship, although initially Sarah had had some reservations. (She had once refused to let Rowe in when he came to see her, and neighbors said he had "walked all night in Mr. Hubbard's orchard."). Sarah's parents had approved of the match because they believed Rowe to "be a man of good carriage, good estate, able to maintain a wife— . . . very industrious . . . and kind," and a "match . . . with mutual satisfaction." However, having been brought up in a farming family, with little exposure to maritime life save that of Uncle Andrew Peter's ordinary – where she may have met William Rowe, and to which she returned in 1673 – Sarah may have been somewhat unprepared for the reality of her new husband's absences at sea. However that winter, right after the marriage, Rowe was apparently not going out, even though he had been asked by a friend; and when asked if she would go to live at the Isle of Shoals, Sarah said that Rowe was buying some land in town for a house – which he did in 1671, near Mr. Glover's wharf.<sup>46</sup>

Defendant John Leigh had known Sarah for a number of years and claimed to the court that he'd "had some thought of matching with her." It seems that he never said as much to Sarah, because although it was apparent she held some interest in him, no mention shows up in the recorded testimonies of any intention of marriage. What does appear, however, is a combined charge for "several great offenses" for which Leigh is "bound to good behavior" with bond set at £15, as well as a neighborhood rumor that Elizabeth Woodward "was with child, and John Lee the father of it."<sup>47</sup> A few months after her marriage, Sarah was seen multiple times in Leigh's company. According to one witness when "stopping by . . . and seeing somebody in bed" had asked if Sarah's husband was home, and was told that he was "at sea." A relative said that Sarah "had carried well to her husband till John Lee frequented . . . her company when her husband was abroad fishing." When the case came before the magistrates, Leigh claimed he was not "insinuating into [Sarah's] affections," that she was not happy with Rowe due to their "differences in disposition," and averred that she had been "persuaded contrary to her own inclinations" to marry. However, before her marriage, Sarah had assured her mother and "Aunt Peters" that she "loved [Rowe] well enough." At one point, Sarah defended her husband's appearance against Leigh's disparagements, telling him that if he "had been a seaman for as long as [Rowe], you would have wrinkles in your forehead too." Many of her acquaintances believed that if Leigh had not continually sought her company, Sarah would not have acted as she did.<sup>48</sup>

Ultimately, John Leigh was unable to escape punishment "for his great offense," and was sentenced to be whipped or fined £5, "bound to good behavior," and was "not to come in company with Sarah Row." Sarah, too, was unable to avoid the consequences of her behavior, and was charged with "unlawful familiarity . . . and abusing her husband." She was sentenced to jail for one month and ordered to stand in view of the meetinghouse wearing a sign bearing the nature of her offense. Leigh lost his appeal of the judgment at the next court session, and the verdict stood in favor of plaintiff William Rowe.<sup>49</sup> Rowe did

<sup>44</sup> Hammatt, *Hammatt Papers*, 261; Waters, *Ipswich*, 284-85.

<sup>45</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:186.

<sup>46</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:187, 229; Hammatt, *Hammatt Papers*, 261; Waters, *Ipswich*, 81.

<sup>47</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:145, 231.

<sup>48</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:143, 145, 187-88, 228, 229.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 5:143, 144, 147, 186, 227, 233; Waters, *Ipswich*, 284-85.

not receive any kind of remuneration for his difficulties other than that valued by all within Ipswich's Puritan society: his reputation and good name.

While the record is silent about the future outcome for William and Sarah Rowe, the ultimate silence indicates that apparently the fisherman and the farmer's daughter were able to come back together. Otherwise, Sarah's name (or that of her sureties) would have shown up in the next court session since she had been further ordered "to appear at the next Ipswich court, unless she be reconciled to her husband and go to him before that time." Apparently, Sarah was waiting at Andrew Peter's house later that year "to live with her husband as a wife, and to go to him when he comes to town."<sup>50</sup>

Both fishermen and farmers, who were discouraged by their Cape Ann experience and had moved west with Roger Conant, seemed to have found more of what they were looking for in Salem.\* They were joined by John Endicott in 1628, along with "some other good men," to carry on the work of "erecting a new Colony upon the old foundation." Matthew Cradock (a joint holder in the Massachusetts Company) assured Endicott that ministers Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson would be sent over by the next ship. William Wood, who came over with the Reverend Higginson to observe the new plantation, wrote in *New Englands Prospect* of Salem's "abundance of fish, and the like," as well as "nearly every household having a water-horse\*\* or two." He noted that Salem had "good harbors" which would provide an "excellent opportunity for fishing and trade."<sup>51</sup> Little might Wood have known just how true his observations would become.

Apparently, the Puritan leaders were not averse to encouraging a fishing industry. Along with the ministers, the Massachusetts Co. also sent over some servants skilled in fishing in an effort to help Salem's infant fishery become more profitable for both the colonists and the investors back in England and, to assist such an end, the Reverend Hugh Peter (once he had arrived in New England) preached at both Salem

and Boston and "moved the country to raise a stock for fishing." Within a short time, Gov. Winthrop noted that as the Rev. Peter went about laboring "to raise up men to a public . . . spirit, he so prevailed as to "procure a good sum of money to . . . set on foot the fishing business" and to establish a "magazine of provisions and necessaries" so the men would have what was needed "at hand and for reasonable prices."<sup>52</sup>

The home-grown fishery that Winthrop envisioned probably did not ultimately turn out just as he had hoped. Diligent, Puritan-minded men, who also knew the art of fishing and desired to continue in that calling, were not always readily available. Nevertheless, while Winthrop and the Puritan leaders of Essex County did not quickly get what they wanted, they also did not get entirely what they didn't want either. Salem and its surrounding maritime areas attracted quite a diverse group of both seekers and settlers, including some who came over simply to make money or to try their hand at something that had been difficult or unrewarding back home. They now had a chance to labor for a season and leave. A number of fishermen came over on short-term "fishing contracts," which enabled them to work, but did not bind them permanently to any one region. Hence, these people had no lasting ties to the area, and many did not intend to change that. Therefore, these itinerant fishermen came just long enough to work, get their names recorded in a local outfitters account book (like George Corwin of Salem), and sometimes into the court records as well, such as Corwin's Richard Estbrook from 1671, or Thomas Nore in the 1663 Quarterly Court.<sup>53</sup> Frequently, a drifting fisherman was just an unaccountable name in a fishing ledger or an untraceable name in the court record. They were there long enough to leave a mark, both on the books and in the minds of Puritan society – and ultimately onto the social and historical memory as a whole – as part of a rowdy and uncivilized group of worldly laborers, laboring only in the fields of self-interest, rather than in the fields of religious effort and communal good. However, those were not the only

<sup>50</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 5:308; Hammatt, *Hammatt Papers*, 261.

<sup>51</sup> Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem Massachusetts* (Salem, Mass., 1924), 1:80-82, 89, 104; Adams, "Village Communities," in *Studie*, 332, 339-40, 345 (and fn. 28).

\*Formerly "Naumkeag."

\*\*Canoes.

<sup>52</sup> Winthrop, *History of New England*, 1:370; Perley, *Salem* 1:139, 300-01, 378; [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Peters,\\_Hugh\\_\(DNB00\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Peters,_Hugh_(DNB00)).

<sup>53</sup> George Corwin Account Books, 1658-1672, Curwen Family Papers, 1641-1902, James Duncan Phillips Library, Peabody-Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.; *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 3:84; Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 131-32.



men laboring at sea in seventeenth-century Puritan New England. Working “at their calling,” as a number of New England fishermen referred to it, to make their living (or “competence”) to support family and community, kept a vast number of Essex County maritime workers engaged – and in their home-ports.

Isaac Woodbury was one committed to his calling, his family, and his community. When chosen to serve as constable in 1675, he appealed the appointment to the Quarterly Court on the grounds that, while civic service was a duty, he would not be able to fulfill both the demands of the position and his calling. Woodbury explained to the court that “as the providenc of God . . . so ordered . . . that my calling is at sea,” and being required to “atend it in a constant way the greatest part of the year for the providing for my famely as the word of God requires,” being otherwise “worse than an infidel in not providing, [I] am therefore not capeable of executing the Office in my owne person as the Law . . . requires.”<sup>54</sup> Apparently, besides just care for his employment, both the needs of his family and concern for the town he called home weighed heavily upon him.

A similar situation confronted John Brown. Contrary to the accepted paradigm, Brown was a Ruling Elder in the Salem church in 1660. But he had “found by experience [that] he could not attend the office of Elder with the constancy and expense of time that the work of it did require.” Therefore, “professing the need [to] attend [to] his calling as a seaman, wherein he was . . . much absent,” Brown requested that the Church “dismissing him from his office that he might with more freedome of Spirit attend the necessary duties of his calling.” The church understood Elder Brown’s dilemma and “consented to his desire,” dismissing him in 1664.<sup>55</sup> The nature of his work had kept him from doing some things he might otherwise have done, but did not separate him from home and community.

Of a different character and situation was Matthew Nixon, a fisherman who came to the area and received a grant of land in 1639 at the age of twenty-three. Not much stands out about Matthew Nixon in particular. In fact, he was probably similar to a number of working fishermen in and around Salem at the time.

He married the daughter of a local family, and lived in Salem for a little over forty years. As his fishing business prospered, Nixon formed an “and Company” after his name and signed the Petition Against Imposts, along with the majority of Salem men, in 1668. In 1651, he took on an apprentice, Jeremiah Boutman, for seven years to “train him in fishing and in the same service at sea in which he was engaged.”<sup>56</sup> It appears that during his forty plus years in Salem, however, that Matthew Nixon (unlike Woodbury or Brown) never served in any civic or church-related capacity, being described by Vickers as (representative of most Salem fishermen) “a chronic debtor with a penchant for the bottle”<sup>57</sup> who never served in any public capacity or joined the church. While it is true regarding public office and never officially becoming a church member (although he was responsible for an apprentice who, by law, would have to be trained in the Scriptures as well) he was neither a chronic debtor nor a habitual problem drinker – not until the last few years of his life when age and circumstance apparently diminished ability and clouded better reason. It appears that Nixon’s troubles started shortly after the death of his wife of nearly thirty years in 1671. Before this time, the only presentments that Nixon had in court were for wages owed to a seaman in his employ and for a single case of drunkenness in 1658. However, in 1672, the selectmen ordered that Matthew Nixon, along with a few others, “should not frequent the ordinaries nor spend their time and estates in tippling.” In 1674, though, he was employed on a voyage to Virginia. But by 1679 Nixon was in debt for cod lines, twine, and mackerel hooks, as well as brandy. It appears that he had very little in the way of an estate, and with age working against him, may by then have been trying to support himself fishing near home. At about 63 years of age, without the assistance of either wife or adequate income, Nixon sank deeper into debt and was forced to sell most of his land, and one year later found himself in court again for drunkenness.<sup>58</sup>

While not as positive an outcome as either Woodbury or Brown, Nixon remained in the same area and was

---

<sup>54</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 6:101-02.

<sup>55</sup> Richard D. Pierce, Ed. *The Records of the First Church in Salem Massachusetts, 1629-1736* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1974), 85, 99.

---

<sup>56</sup> *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1855), “Petitions Against Imposts, 1668,” 9:81; *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:231.

<sup>57</sup> Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 96-97.

<sup>58</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 2:136; 4:414; 6:87; 7:249, 325, 425; Perley, *Salem*, 2:73-74, 211-12; 3:80; Pierce, *First Church*, 4.

employed in the same calling for most of his life. He had married, trained an apprentice, formed a small fishing company, and interacted in the day-to-day life of a Puritan town. Nixon would not be representative of all working fishermen in Salem, but neither would he be an example of a drunken, rowdy mariner "type" who had little concern for any of the "shackles" of settled society. Had he been a marginalized member of a sub-culture, he would not likely have owned property, held an apprentice, managed a fishing company, or responded to the expectations of those around him. Nor was he a member of the more privileged or elite fishermen, who many times went on to become merchant-outfitters or shareholders in vessels, and who were occasionally called upon to serve the community in some way. For the most part, Matthew Nixon was probably a fairly ordinary sort of man who knew and lived by the cultural norms of his society as much as he could, and answered to the general court when he did not.

As time went on, Salem and the surrounding mariner communities began to attract more married men with families. Essex County fishing communities could offer a sense of stability and community support, two important elements (especially for mariners' wives) that were not always available in other areas. Wives and families often found themselves on their own for extended periods of time, and the home community, as well as the church, was an invaluable resource, especially when need arose. In the early stages of manning the fishing fleets, mostly young single men signed on to fish, but past mid-century, things had changed, and married men represented more than half of the workers between 1665 and 1674. This helped provide stability to both the industry and the area, and as a result home ownership increased as well. By 1674, Marblehead alone listed 114 householders.<sup>59</sup> Something about this maritime area or community seems to have been attractive to those coming here to fish.

Salem was not big enough, as Vickers noted, to develop a "sailor town,"<sup>60</sup> and the Puritan leadership

was not going to let that change. Aside from laws against disorderly conduct and "misspending" of one's time, orders against idleness, living outside of "family government," absence from meeting, and requiring that all be employed in an "honest calling" had been standard rules for living since the beginning. If anyone cared to challenge the accepted standards, they could find themselves before the magistrates, as did one Samuel Bennett of Marblehead in 1645 "for saying scornfully that he cared neither for the town nor its orders."<sup>61</sup> In both legal and ecclesiastical forms, Puritan authorities attempted to keep a fairly tight rein on its society in the wilderness.

If, as Winthrop had envisioned, they were to be a "city on the hill" in view of the world, then it was imperative to maintain as disciplined and godly a community as possible. Therefore, all were equally obligated to heed all expectations and constraints. When ministers exhorted the people to circumspect living, the messages were for the community as a whole, such as the "general fast" called in 1638 over the apparent "decay of . . . religion and . . . general decline."<sup>62</sup> There were, however, also sermons and admonitions addressed principally to the mariner communities, as well as specific calls for prayers. The Reverend Cotton Mather preached "a sermon to the seafaring people, 'The Religious Mariner'" in 1699, and "A Brief Discourse . . . to Sea-men" the following year. In addition there were numerous "prayer bills" read regularly in the various congregations for those at sea, and notes of thanks from those returned. The mariners' profession appeared to not be generally looked down upon because Mather had exhorted his congregation that those in a "calling" should remain in that calling (either land or sea), if he had the "gifts to perform it well," as having been called of God, and warned that they were "not to give it up lightly."<sup>63</sup> With sermons, prayers, and exhortations directly intended for them and their families, apparently

---

<sup>59</sup> Innes, *Commonwealth*, 29, 32; Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 133-34; Vickers, *Maritime Labor*, 72, 121, 144 fn. 129; Richard Archer, "New England Mosaic: A Demographic Analysis for the Seventeenth Century" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol. 47, No. 4 (October 1990): 477-502; Roads, *History and Traditions*, 28.

<sup>60</sup> Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 132.

---

<sup>61</sup> *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:15 (Grand Jury to be informed of ". . . any person living out of a pticular calling." 1639.). 85; Perley, *Salem*, 126, 129, 138-39. [Letters from the Massachusetts Bay Co. to Gov. Endecott.]

<sup>62</sup> Winthrop, *History of New England*, 1:337; Innes, *Commonwealth*, 14, 36.

<sup>63</sup> Cotton Mather, "The Religious Mariner" (B. Green & F. Allen, Boston, 1700); *Diary of Cotton Mather* (Massachusetts Historical Society, 7<sup>th</sup> Series, Boston, 1911), 1:323, 62-63 (fn. 1), 212; Robert Middlekauff, "The Mathers" (University of Calif. Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1999), 268.

mariners were not as commonly excluded from the overall concerns of the church as might have been supposed.

The only inhabitants who could be considered on the periphery, not subject to all of the rules, regulations, and customs of the townships were the ironworkers at Hammersmith in Lynn. A substantially rough and rowdy crew – having come to the colonies on work contracts which they entered into in England – they believed themselves exempt from the basic Puritan standards of government, often acting as if the only law they knew and obeyed was their own. They were “exempt from the colony’s church attendance requirement,” and as a separately incorporated area within Lynn, legal stipulations regarding church and religious behavior had no hold over them. The courts could act aggressively only if a civil or criminal offense occurred. A simple “admonishment” for not coming to meeting “more than once or twice in a year” that coal-worker Henry Stiche experienced from the Quarterly Court in 1649, or no warrant nor fine when he hadn’t shown up for court the year before, would be unheard of for resident fishermen in Salem, whose appearances at the general court were mandatory unless they were “at sea” and allowances for missing church mostly limited to the times of the spring and fall voyages. Additionally, the town and First Church Salem also exempted fishermen from military training during fishing season, and had once sought to “hasten the ordination of the [new] Pastor and Elder [since] many of the brethren would be shortly absent upon the necessary occasions of their callings at sea.”

<sup>64</sup> No such considerations would have been necessary for the Hammersmith ironworkers.

That Salem fishermen did attend First Church is apparent from the record, although undoubtedly a number of the men and their families thus represented were often from a group of fairly elite mariners, those who were more able to take part-ownership in a fishing ketch, to become small merchant-outfitters, innkeepers, or perhaps something other than fishing entirely. Many were also involved in civic duties such as selectman, constable,<sup>65</sup> or juror. Out of a sample of 100 mariners on merchant

George Corwin’s account books, 41 of them were also on record as church members. For example, Pasco Foote was referred to as a “very enterprising merchant” besides fisherman, and two of his sons followed in his footsteps. Job Hilliard had other fishermen working under him and was later able to buy a share in the ketch, *Mayflower*. Nicholas Woodbury was part-owner in a mill; Nicholas Merrit was also a farmer. Both Thomas Giggles (a master-mariner) and Elias Mason served on the jury; Merrit on the Grand Jury. Mason was also tythingman<sup>66</sup> in 1678. Joseph Grafton served as tythingman in 1677, Gilbert Tapley was licensed to sell “1-penny beer” from his ordinary, and Ambross Gale became a merchant-outfitter and helped to found the official Marblehead church.<sup>67</sup>

Some of Salem’s mariner church members were not quite so noteworthy. Mordecai Craford seemed to have suffered from a chronic problem of debt for most of his life. He ultimately lost his boat and some other possessions. His wife was also accused (although later acquitted) of burning down their house when it was to be repossessed by merchant Thomas Savage of Boston, and both of his daughters had found their way into court as well. Nevertheless, Mordecai kept working, shuttling fish and supplies between Salem and Monhegan Island. Through all of his sundry difficulties, Craford was still assigned the “fore seat in the south gallery” of the meetinghouse and was allowed by the general court to “keep an ordinary” in 1667. Edward Winter began obtaining supplies for fishing from George Corwin in 1661, but was still only being assessed 2 shillings (the lowest tax) for the “country rate” in 1683 – possibly due to his having been “deliver[ed] in person” to merchant Edmund Batter in 1678 “for five years service,” with

---

<sup>66</sup> Tythingman: person appointed to collect taxes mandated for the support of the church, to detain or arrest Sabbath travelers (not going to or from church), as well as holder of “tithing sticks” (long sticks with feathers attached to the end) to awaken sleeping parishioners.

<sup>67</sup> P. Foote: *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Henry Whipple & Son, 1859), 1:172; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 4:398; Pierce, *First Church*, 14, 23; Perley, *Salem*, 1:368; Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen*, 96; J. Hilliard: Perley, 2:216, 228; Vickers, 111; N. Woodbury: Pierce, 25, 27; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 5:221; N. Merrit: *Essex Ct. Rec.* 4:187; Pierce, 35; Roads, *History and Traditions*, 26; Gray, *Founding of Marblehead*, 95. T. Giggles: Pierce, 28; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 4:292, 5:245; Perley, 1:390 n7; E. Mason: Pierce, 24; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 2:250, 6:73, 7:68; J. Grafton: Pierce, 19; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 6:290; G. Tapley: Pierce, 41; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 7:77; Perley, 1:38; A. Gale: Pierce, 26, 158; *Essex Ct. Rec.* 6:290; First Church . . . Marblehead, *Golden Cod*, 132; Gray, 69; Corwin Account Books, 1658-1672.

---

<sup>64</sup> Innes, *Commonwealth*, 259; *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1:183, 136; John G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Little, Brown, & Co., Boston, 1865), 55; Pierce, *First Church*, 86.

<sup>65</sup> Constable: an officer of the peace or person having minor judicial functions

Batter keeping "one-third of his earnings toward debt." Still, Winter and his wife Deborah joined the church, were baptized, and brought in their children as well. His son, Edward Jr. also brought his children in for baptism some years later.<sup>68</sup>

Getting one's name on the official church record was a fairly detailed process; therefore, a number of families who actually did attend meeting were often not fully represented. According to Vickers, approximately 26% of land-based inhabitants were church members, as opposed to about 6% from the mariner community by the early 1680s. Aside from the question of why only about one-quarter of farming families had attained membership, two factors may affect such calculations: first, the lack of records for the early Marblehead church, as well as the loss of the first records from Gloucester; and secondly, the somewhat difficult and lengthy requirements for reaching full membership status. Puritan ecclesiastical policy required that for one to become a church member "in full communion" there had to be both recognizable evidence and a verbal confession of a substantial religious experience that would indicate beyond doubt a "divine election," followed by a meeting with the minister and elders to assure of "orthodox" belief. Only then would their names be submitted before the congregation. From that point, their general "conversation and carriage" was carefully examined to determine if there was any suspicion of contradiction between confession and community life. If there were any problems, the potential member would need to explain and make amends. The entire process usually took a month, or longer, depending on individual situations.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it would not be out of line to consider that a fair number of attendees simply by-passed the difficult process of being "propounded" before the congregation for "full fellowship" in favor of the more simple, yet acceptable, status of "communicant." In fact, a minister in England wrote Boston's John Wilson in 1637 to the effect that: "You are so strict in the admission of members to your churches that more

than halfe are out of the church in all your congregations."<sup>70</sup>

Some of the most readily available information regarding church affiliation can be gained from baptismal recordings; however, without full church membership, non-members could not bring in their children for baptism as did those considered "visible saints," and consequently would not be on record. Therefore, until this practice was addressed by the Reverend John Higginson (and other members of the Congregational clergy in 1662) through the "Half-Way Covenant," which allowed members' adult children who now had children of their own to have them baptized, there were perhaps a number of families who remained unnamed – and therefore unaccountable for the first years of Salem's settlement. It became of such concern that Higginson warned that the church could be considered remiss in its responsibility to all members.<sup>71</sup> That a part of the excluded community he was referring to would have included some of the poorer families, as well as those absent for extended periods such as fishermen, seems to be a logical assumption for maritime Salem.

Besides the other factors affecting the knowledge of church participation in seventeenth-century Salem, the original First Church Salem record book was reproduced in part in 1660 because it had aged beyond safe usage, and therefore, portions not considered necessary or appropriate for full public knowledge "by vote of the church" were "omitted" from the newer reproduction, which included (among other things) various decisions and actions regarding members or communicants under censure for such offenses as drunkenness.<sup>72</sup> Thus, it is possible that information which would shed more light on other members of the congregation who may not have been "in full fellowship" is not readily available, and could allow an inconclusive assumption that the numbers of at least church "participants" was lower than might be expected where church attendance was required of all.

---

<sup>68</sup> On Mordecai Craford: *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 1: 256; 2:390; 3:75, 208, 260, 330, 420-21; 4:9, 84, 195; Perley, *Salem*, 2:221, 228, 397; *Records of the Court of Assistants*, 3:179; Vickers, *Young Men*, 35, 38, 40; on Edward Winter: *Essex Ct. Rec.*, 7:153; Perley, *Salem*, 2:30, 3:32, 421.

<sup>69</sup> Vickers, *Maritime Labor*, 125; Richard Archer, *Fissures in the Rock*, 52-53; Kenneth Lockridge, "History of a Puritan Church" in *Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, & Culture*, ed. Alden Vaughn & Francis Bremer (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 94.

---

<sup>70</sup> Thomas J. Wertenbaker, "The Fall of the Wilderness Zion" in *Puritanism in Early America*, ed. George Waller (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1950), 27 [Letter: April 17, 1637].

<sup>71</sup> Daniel Appleton White, *New England Congregationalism: In Its Origin and Purity* (Salem: Salem Gazette Office, 1861), 92; Pierce, *First Church*, xiii, fn.4 (xiii).

<sup>72</sup> White, *Congregationalism* 48, 59; Pierce, *First Church*, xiii, xxiii-xxiv.

It appears that mariners were not completely outside of the scope of Puritan inclusion. Apparently, fishermen and other mariners (similar to the actual society itself) seemed to have been classified in the social and religious mind into at least two categories: godly (or at least redeemable) and reprobate. Such reasoning seems to have influenced some of the ministers and a few others, such as John Winthrop, who were involved with the mariner communities. The Reverend White of Dorchester (a moderate Puritan), who had backed the new colonial commercial venture, argued that part of the importance in supporting the new fishing grounds was its benefit to the "poore Fisherman" rather than just to the London merchants; and the Reverend Hugh Peter had worked tirelessly to acquire the funds necessary to help support a local fishery, rather than importing the less-desirable itinerant seamen easily found in the West Country or Newfoundland.<sup>73</sup> Likewise, John Winthrop recorded in his *History of New England* a number of incidents involving mariners in various employments and of varied temperaments. His distinctions between the godly and the ungodly were readily apparent, such as when mariner Bezaleel Payton of Boston was caught in a storm between Cape Cod and the Bay, Winthrop related that "the men commended themselves to the Lord, who delivered them marvelously." Similarly, when Richard Collicut and his men, in a small open vessel, were caught in a storm, the men "went to prayer" and were delivered, the sea "heav[ing] their vessel over into the open sea between two rocks." However, in 1643, Winthrop recorded the demise of "three fishermen of a boat belonging to the Isle of Shoals. . . . very profane men, scorers of religion, and drinking all the Lord's Day, [who were] the next week . . . cast upon the rocks . . . and drowned." Conversely, the saving of a "pinnacle" and all its passengers, going between Salem and Cape Cod in 1640, was accomplished, according to Winthrop, through the able manoeuvrings of one John Jackson, who he referred to as "a godly man and experienced seaman." No implication seemed intended here by Winthrop, especially since it was complimentary, that the two "did not necessarily go together" – as Vickers thought it might. It was more likely just a manner of speaking, such as in his entry regarding the ordination in 1640

of Mr. Knolles of Watertown, "a godly man and a prime scholar."<sup>74</sup> It would appear that the Puritan community demonstrated in various ways that they expected the two to go together, and were determined to call to task those on whom this expectation might be lost.

The Puritan community was built on the idea and practice of a covenant, both theological and governmental. A covenant requires mutual consent and, according to theologian Thomas Hooker, this consent is the "cement" that holds a society together. If consent is voluntary, then "no man [is] constrained to enter into such a condition unless he will . . . and he that will enter must also willingly binde and ingage himself to . . . that society to promote the good of the whole or else a member actually he is not,"<sup>75</sup> therefore, any who chose not to become (or remain) a member would not be forced to continue in such arrangement. Hence, for those who found the constraints of Puritan society in seventeenth-century Essex County too difficult to contend with, for the most part, took leave of the colony. In the first years of settlement, moving out of direct control of Puritan authority could actually take the form of simply going across the harbor to Marblehead. However, as time and close proximity went on, regular interaction one with the other was unavoidable, and the conflicting cultures of the two – predominantly East Anglia immigrants and West Countrymen – began to moderate somewhat, allowing for at least a modest degree of compliance and consanguinity.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It is hard to tell if the contentions and misdemeanors that brought some of the maritime community into the court was very much different from or more often than that of the general population. However, a more definitive estimate is obtainable through an examination of the court records for Essex County residents. Daniel Vickers' work estimated the proportion of mariners within the population in several towns,<sup>76</sup> and in a random sampling of the court records it was found that the number of mariners in court for either drunkenness or violence

---

<sup>73</sup> Adams, "Village Communitie," in *Studies*, 339; Perley, *Salem*, 63; Innes, *Commonwealth*, 71; Winthrop, *History of New England*, 1:207, 210.

<sup>74</sup> Winthrop, *History of New England*, 2:21-22 (Knolles), 23, 75, 187, 410, 411; Vickers, *Young Men*, 19.

<sup>75</sup> Perry Miller, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity" in *Puritan New England*, 59.

<sup>76</sup> Vickers, *Farmers & Fishermen*, 156n.

actually did not exceed this estimate. In Salem, for instance, where the estimated mariner population was about 20%, there were 8 fishermen in court, 5 for drunkenness and 3 for violence, or approximately 20%. Similar results were found for Ipswich and Gloucester/Beverly. Marblehead has often been referred to as one of the worst areas for rowdiness, with an almost 100% mariner population. For the current random sample evaluation though (since there were some other known trades within it as well), mariners were estimated at 90% of the overall population (a figure which may still be slightly high), and the incidence of misdemeanors was actually smaller than would be expected. For a sample size of 14 cases, 10 of those were fishermen or coasters, from which one could conclude that the fishing industry made up about 71% of Marblehead's population.

Therefore, in all of the sample areas and cases, the mariner population brought to the Quarterly Court between roughly the 1650s and the 1680s fell within the average and accepted range of their proportion of the towns' overall population. Marblehead's somewhat low mariner-offender percentage, considering its larger than usual seaman population, may be due to the small sample size used for this particular investigation, and therefore, could be more accurately adjusted with a larger sample size.<sup>77</sup> With a more detailed and larger study – which could be more easily accomplished now with new and expanded digital resources – a more accurate representation should be possible to determine.

Nevertheless, for a starting point, this estimation has demonstrated that while the mariner population did find themselves in trouble, they seemed to do so at about the same rate as the others around them, and for similar offenses. This observation seems to have been overlooked by some otherwise notable authors, such as Daniel Vickers and Christine Heyrman, in favor of the more traditional "rowdy fisherman" stereotype. This paradigm found further support from the economic perspective, such as that of Bernard Bailyn, that fishermen were usually considered only insofar as they were an asset to a growing colony and not as a permanent part of the society as a whole. On the other hand, while Richard Archer's *Fissures in the Rock*

did not go far enough to break down old stereotypes, the "complexities" of New England society he noted allowed for a slight shift in the correct direction. Furthermore, I believe that this close reading of mariners' behavior, compared to that of other occupations, has demonstrated the fact that the mariners were being held to account for their behavior, as would any other member of the society. I argue that they did indeed form a part of the New England culture and society long considered and restricted to a particular group of people who were in essence as different from each other in some ways as they were the same in others. With such a paradigm shift, it will be possible to view early New England society through a new and more inclusive lens. This new evidence shows that this was not necessarily an extraordinary sub-group that existed within Puritan society, but this new society was in itself a fairly extraordinary group.

#### WORKS CITED

- Adams, Herbert. "Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem." *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, First Series. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1883.
- Archer, Richard. *Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001.
- , "New England Mosaic: A Demographic Analysis for the Seventeenth Century." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, Vol. 47, No. 4 (October 1990): 477-502.
- Babson, John. *History of the Town of Gloucester, Cape Ann*. Gloucester: Procter Bros., 1860; reprint by Peter Smith Pub., 1972.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Cotton, John. *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared: In Two Treatises*. London, 1648. *Diary of Cotton Mather*. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1911.
- Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 1. Salem: Henry Whipple & Son, 1859.
- Felt, Joseph. *History of Ipswich*. Ipswich: Clamshell Press, 1966.
- The Fisheries of Gloucester*. Gloucester: Procter Bros. Publishing, 1876.

---

<sup>77</sup> Results were obtained from comparisons of estimated population proportion of mariners within the general population to the proportion of verifiable mariners in the Court Records.

- First Church of Christ, Marblehead, *Under the Golden Cod*. Canaan, NH: Phoenix Pub. Co., 1984).
- George Corwin Account Books, 1658-1672.  
Curwen Family Papers, 1641-1902  
James Duncan Phillips Library, Peabody-  
Essex Museum, Salem, Mass.
- Gray, Thomas E. *The Founding of Marblehead*.  
Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1984.
- Hammatt, Abraham. *The Hammatt Papers: Early Inhabitants of Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1633-1700*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., 1980.
- Herndon, Ruth Wallace. *Warning Out: Living on the Margin in Early New England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Heyrman, Christine. *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts, 1690 -1750*. NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984.
- Innes, Stephen. *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England*. NY: W. W. Norton & Co., 1995.
- Lockridge, Kenneth. "History of a Puritan Church." In *Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, & Culture*. Ed. Alden Vaughn and Francis Bremer. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977.
- Lord, Priscilla S. & Gamage, Virginia C. *Marblehead: The Spirit of '76 Lives Here*. Philadelphia: Chilton Book Co., 1972.
- Marblehead, First Church of Christ. *Under the Golden Cod*. Canaan, NH: Phoenix Publishing Co., 1984.
- Mather, Cotton. "The Religious Mariner" Boston: B. Green & F. Allen, 1700.  
*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 9. Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1855.
- Memorial of the Incorporation of the Town of Gloucester, Mass.* Boston: Mudge & Son, 1901.
- Robert Middlekauff, "The Mathers." Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999.
- Miller, Perry. "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity." In *Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, and Culture*. Ed. Alden Vaughn and Francis Bremer. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977.
- Palfrey, John G. *History of New England*. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1865.
- Perley, Sidney. *The History of Salem Massachusetts*. Salem: S. Perley., 1924.  
*The Records of the First Church in Salem Massachusetts, 1629-1736*. Ed. Richard D.Pierce. Salem: Essex Institute, 1974.
- James R. Pringle, *History of the Town and City of Gloucester, Cape Ann, Massachusetts* (Pringle, 1892).  
*Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 8 vol. Ed. George Francis Dow. Salem: 1911-1921.  
*Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, 3 vol. County of Suffolk, Mass., 1901.
- Roads, Samuel Jr. *The History and Traditions of Marblehead*. Marblehead: Allen Lindsey & Co., 1897.
- Rothbard, Murray. "The Rise of the Fisheries and the Merchants" <https://mises.org/library/rise-fisheries-and-merchants>
- Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- - - . *Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1981.
- - - . *Young Men and the Sea*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Waters, Thomas. *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*. Salem: Salem Press Co., 1905.
- Wertenbaker, Thomas J. "The Fall of the Wilderness Zion." In *Puritanism in Early America*. Ed. George Waller. Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1950.
- White, Daniel Appleton. *New England Congregationalism: In Its Origin and Purity*. Salem: Salem Gazette Office, 1861.
- Winthrop, John. *The History of New England*, Vol. 1. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1853.

## How Experience Becomes History: The Secrets Revealed, and Created, by a File from the FBI

Boria Sax (New York, USA)

*Independent Scholar, NCIS*

Correspondence should be addressed to: [vogelgreif@aol.com](mailto:vogelgreif@aol.com)

Date submitted: 24 January 2016

Date accepted: 31 May 2016

### **Abstract**

*Traditional history does not simply record events but also, inevitably, edits them, often until they conform to archetypal patterns. The result is a comparatively stately narrative, which is profoundly different from the way in which participants experience events as they unfold. Today, many events enter history even before they are completed, since they are accompanied by a running commentary from pundits and other observers. Nevertheless, the vast number of records that are available today, especially in digital form, often challenges this exalted status, since the visceral immediacy of events in progress, though quickly suppressed, does not so easily fade. In this paper, the author discusses the discovery that his late father worked as a spy at the Manhattan Project, as recorded in a censored FBI file of which only about 12 % of the words in the file have been released. This paper explores the role of this file as a forum in which experience has been altered by a combination of trauma, practical demands, and wishful thinking, to conform to our expectations of history.*

**Keywords:** *espionage; censorship; history*

Personal experience seems holistic, direct and, in consequence, authoritative. As Walt Whitman put this in "Song of Myself," "I am the man, I suffer'd, I was there."<sup>1</sup> We may perceive some experiences, such as those recounted by Holocaust survivors or by our ancestors, as almost holy. But accounts of personal experience are also unabashedly subjective. On closer examination, they are likely to be distorted by rationalizations, boasts, resentments, lapses of memory, or even lies.

Traditional academic modes of historical investigation also have obvious, if arguably inevitable, limitations. They depend on the work of innumerable colleagues, who might not all be reliable. The large number of qualifiers and special cases, which are necessary to address potential criticism, can make the conclusions appear trivial. The inability of academic experts to reach, or even approach, consensus on countless historical, philosophical, and artistic questions conveys an impression of futility. The explicit articulation of all stages in a line of argument often leads to tedium. Finally, scholarship is fragmented into countless fields, which may study the same material yet reach differing conclusions. It is small wonder that the word "academic" can be used to mean "inconsequential."

In this essay, I will endeavor to show that redaction of records often transforms experience into history by endowing it with an aura of mystery and significance. Since I will rely largely on personal documents and

---

<sup>1</sup> Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself," Stanza 33. <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/45477>.



memories, readers may feel this article is not entirely "academic." To the extent that may be true, I would argue that this is not necessarily a bad thing. For the most part, academic knowledge is cumulative, with every work building on the foundation of those that came before. But the Socratic tradition requires that we constantly reconsider the basis of that foundation, a mandate that takes us back to a condition prior to the formation of philosophy or any other established field. At that outer limit, what we confront is personal experience.

Furthermore, history is not by any means solely, perhaps not even primarily, a province of professional academics. Researching family history, an activity once confined to aristocrats, is popular in the United States and other countries. People with little or no formal schooling as historians often research local history as well. In White Plains, New York where I live, the Jacob Purdy House, now known to have been Washington's Headquarters during part of the American Revolution, was discovered by a plumber. While digging around some pipes, he came across an old cannon ball, which inspired his interest in the city's past.

Most significantly, citizens confront history whenever they follow current events and attempt to place their own experience in a larger perspective. At times, amateurs may have an advantage of distance, which can enable them to see dynamics that are less apparent to those fully immersed in a profession. They may not be so committed to the dominant paradigms of their era, which, in turn, can prove ephemeral. I am an academic who usually publishes on human-animal relations, an area that are far removed from the subject of this essay. That gives a somewhat ambiguous position here between amateur and professional, but I hope to bring some of the advantages of each.

#### WHAT IS HISTORY?

When experience has been ordered, processed, edited, and cataloged, we call it "history." That bears about the same relation to the chaos of events in progress as a stack of boards and a bag of leaves does to a wind-battered tree in August. Traditional history does not simply record events but also, inevitably, edits them, often until they conform to archetypal patterns. There are countless narratives of great warriors, rebels, humanitarians, and geniuses.

There are glorious victories, tragic defeats, and heroic struggles. While such labels for people and events are not necessarily mistaken, they are one-dimensional.

The result is a comparatively stately narrative, which is profoundly different from the more chaotic way in which participants experience events as they unfold. At times, people have even endeavored to model their lives after historical accounts. At the start of the modern period, figures such as Goethe, Napoleon, and Byron saw themselves as actors on the grand stage of history, giving performances for posterity, complete with settings and costumes.<sup>2</sup>

The modern, academic study of history dates back only to about the late eighteenth century. The word "history" comes ultimately from the Greek *historia*, via Latin, and originally referred to a narrative sequence, whether fictional or true. Around the end of the seventeenth century, it became separated from "natural history," which pertained to anything outside of human society. Until at least the second half of the nineteenth century, history generally took the form of stories about "great men," recorded, often without much concern about accuracy, largely for moral or practical lessons. This approach is still central to introductory history courses, particularly in primary education, and it pervades popular culture to this day. It was satirized by Ambrose Bierce, who defined "history" as "an account, mostly false, of events, mostly unimportant, which are brought about by rulers, mostly knaves, and soldiers, mostly fools."<sup>3</sup>

As Berger and Niven have pointed out, the professionalization of history as a discipline during the nineteenth century was closely connected with the rise of the modern nation. It was intended to articulate, or possibly to create, a sense of shared experience that would bind citizens together. At the same time, "[...] professional historians of all political and theoretical persuasions tended to perceive memory as the 'other' of history — characterized precisely by its selectivity and subjectivity."<sup>4</sup>

But increasing abuse of nationalism, especially in the two World Wars, made it impossible to take the

---

<sup>2</sup> Hans Blumenberg, *Work on Myth*. Trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985) 399-549.

<sup>3</sup> Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000) 110. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/972/972-h/972-h.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Stefan Berger and Bill Niven, eds., *Writing the History of Memory* (New York; London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2014) 136.

national ideal for granted, and revealed the intense bias that so often was concealed by a pretense of objectivity. Increasingly, historians focused not on glory but on the construction and invention of collective identity.<sup>5</sup> There is now even a branch of historiography known as "memory studies," which analyzes communal recollections.<sup>6</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth through early twentieth centuries, Karl Marx and his followers partially switched the emphasis from individuals to largely impersonal, economic forces as the drivers of history.<sup>7</sup> In the twentieth century, Fernand Braudel<sup>8</sup> and the Annales School broadened the scope of history still more. By emphasizing factors such as climate, geography, and demographics, they not only further reduced the attention to rulers, but also broke down the barrier between history and science.

After the collapse of Communism in 1989, Frances Fukuyama famously proclaimed "the end of history."<sup>9</sup> He argued that the ideological conflicts of the past few centuries had come to an end, and that liberal democracy would be the way of the future. Few people agreed with him at the time, and subsequent events such as the revival of religious conflicts and the return of autocrats such as Putin show convincingly that Fukuyama was mistaken. But his theory reflected more than just the brief euphoria that followed the fall of the Berlin Wall. There was also a still barely articulate sense that the old model of history as a narrative progression with distinct stages and an implicit goal no longer held much conviction.

A book that provides much of the theoretical impetus for this essay is *We Have Never Been Modern* by Bruno Latour. It seems evasive, and even a bit comic, how thinkers in the past century or so, increasingly designate eras with the prefix "post," such as "post-Christian," "post-Holocaust," "post-industrial," "post-structuralist," "postmodern," "post-humanist," and so on. These labels define a period by what it follows

rather than what it is, so they do not really describe it at all.

According to Latour, this is because the fundamental characteristic of modernism has been a strictly linear conception of time, which is divided up according to revolutionary events and ideas by which everything is irrevocably changed. The breaks with the past are, however, an illusion, since "we have never been modern," and historical changes are neither progressive nor irreversible.<sup>10</sup> This is a view that sets limits to human aspirations to "change the world," yet liberates men and women, in my opinion, from an oppressive sense of finality. Most significantly, this perspective brings history closer to experience, but eliminating much of the inflated significance that traditionally surrounded many "historical" events.

History is not only in the pieces of information that make up a narrative. It is, just as importantly, in the gaps that punctuate this narrative sequence, which are, in many ways, as deliberate as the narrative itself. With respect to recorded history, these are missing pieces of information such as, say, the identity of the famous "man with the iron mask" seen in prisons of seventeenth-century France. The equivalent in an FBI file is a crossed out sentence with the words "top secret" scrawled in the margin. These interruptions provide drama, emphasis, and impetus to further investigation. They can also confer the glamor and mystery by which history so often lives. In this essay, I will use the FBI file about my father, Saville Sax, as an example, perhaps a sort of microcosm to show the way in which history is created.

#### SECRET AGENCIES AND NORMAL LIFE

Agencies such as the FBI, CIA, KGB, and MI6 can be remarkably like academic societies of anthropologists or historians in the way they attempt to objectively investigate, and often intervene (occasionally with violence but usually with discretion) in human affairs. They study groups of people using a variety of methods from fieldwork to archival research, and apply the results in ways that include practical consulting and the publication of monographs. Their ideological foundations often go very far beyond stated agendas such as promoting democracy,

---

<sup>5</sup> Berger and Niven 140.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Fulbrook, "History-Writing and 'Collective Memory'" in *Writing the History of Memory*, ed. Stefan Berger and Bill Niven (New York; London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2014) 67-70.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Penguin, 2000/1847).

<sup>8</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (Oakland: University of California Press, 1996).

<sup>9</sup> Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Washington: Free Press, 2006/1992) xi-xii.

---

<sup>10</sup> Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) 22.

communism, or nationalism. In an extensive study of declassified files, William Maxwell writes that the CIA employed graduates in literature from elite universities to uncover secret meanings in texts using the techniques of Deconstruction, while the FBI, more old-fashioned, employed the analytical tools of the New Criticism.<sup>11</sup> Like conventional academics, agents engage in fierce rivalries with one another that are neither a matter of nationalism nor official ideology.

Their agendas at times range very far beyond practical goals such as preventing terrorism. The CIA, for example, decided that abstract art would be a perfect foil to the socialist realism of the Soviet Union, making that country appear crude and reactionary by comparison with the United States. During the 1950s and 60s, it promoted abstraction by channeling funds primarily through a front organization called the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which had offices in 35 countries, published over a score of prominent cultural magazines, organized art exhibitions, held conferences, awarded prizes, and managed to make abstraction the dominant style of American art in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> The CIA also provided some of the impetus behind the Creative Writing boom in approximately the same period.<sup>13</sup> The FBI infiltrated not only political but also literary organizations and had agents review new books. Though usually unfavorable, their critiques drew attention to previously obscure Black writers and, according to Maxwell, ultimately contributed to the Harlem Renaissance.<sup>14</sup> In an analogous way, the FBI, through its heavy use of agent provocateurs, probably also helped fuel the radicalism of the late 1960s. The KGB contributed to the peace movement of the 1950s through the 1970s and the folk music boom in the United States, as well as deliberately creating tensions between American Blacks and Jews.<sup>15</sup>

Such agendas were widely rumored, yet seemed paranoid and impossible to verify, during the Cold War, and they are only now gradually emerging, largely from declassified documents. These have only a highly indirect, and often questionable, connection with international politics. The endeavors show a combination of intellectual sophistication, autonomy, and personal idiosyncrasy, which make them vastly more complex than our various stereotyped images of agents as faceless bureaucrats, adventurers, or fanatics.

The files of these agencies — I think here particularly of the FBI — may be among the most historically significant documents that we have. They are full of details that nobody else thought important enough to record, which can tell us about the paraphernalia of everyday life. It is interesting to learn, for example, that when the FBI searched my parents' apartment in 1953, they made a painstaking inventory of every book yet, so far as I can tell, no effort to map or describe the residence. This can now tell me a little about what interested my parents at the time, but even more about the Bureau itself and the era in which it operated. This was a time when high literature seemed to define our culture, to a degree that seems almost unimaginable today. Whether one preferred Dickens or Dostoyevsky was not just a personal matter, since reading preferences were a large part of personal identity. To use the files effectively as historical documents, it will be necessary, in my opinion, to strip away some of the melodrama that surrounds them.

But the FBI files do a lot more than just supplying details in any grand narrative. The most important thing that they can tell us is not about "history," considered as an established category, but about how we construct history. They tell us at least as much about the observers as about the people who are observed, and most fundamentally of all about the relation between the two groups. Their meaning lies not simply in the statements but in the silences between these statements, in the gaps where something has been censored or left out. It is the failure and repression of memory, as much as the recording of it, which creates history, essentially, as a highly redacted version of experience. History is the the black line in the manuscript. The way in which events are recorded in an FBI file, which becomes

---

<sup>11</sup> William J. Maxwell, *F. B. Eyes: How Hoover's Ghostreaders Framed African American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) 170-201. Use by intelligence agencies constitutes neither a recommendation nor a criticism of these techniques of literary criticism. Obviously, those who developed them could not possibly either control nor anticipate the way they might be used.

<sup>12</sup> Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999) 1-6.

<sup>13</sup> Eric Bennett, *Workshops of Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2015) 69.

<sup>14</sup> Maxwell 230-349

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* (New York: Basic Books, 1999) 237-239.

public decades later, can be a model for the transformation of experience into history.

#### THE FILES

My late father, Saville Sax, came from a family of Russian Jews that immigrated to the United States in 1914 and converted to Communism. He worked as a spy for the Soviet Union, passing secrets that he obtained from a college friend at the Manhattan Project. When I was growing up, the FBI was constantly following my father and mother, tapping their phone, looking through their garbage, and interviewing their acquaintances. For reasons that have not yet been entirely clarified, the FBI opted not to prosecute him, but I believe my parents' reaction to the harassment caused trauma within our family.

As I child, I had no idea that this was going on, but that simply made the ubiquitous paranoia even more difficult to deal with. In 1995, when I was already well into my forties, I learned this from a journalist. I had already had a tempestuous relationship with my late father, and my initial reaction was to feel almost sick. I didn't want to talk or think about it, and even gave away things that reminded me of him. But after a while, the distress gave way to relief, since it explained a lot of things that had previously seemed to be unfathomable mysteries, such as why we moved six times per year and why he talked, in ways that seemed paranoid, about being followed.

All of a sudden, on reading his FBI files, my world had turned upside down. In terms of specific events, I learned that my childhood had been completely different from what I had thought. In terms of less tangible qualities, my intuitions were more than confirmed. There had been an amorphous, barely-articulated terror running through the days of my childhood. I had not known how to talk about it, and it seemed a little self-indulgent or neurotic to even think about it. At times, I would universalize it, thinking it was the "existential condition" that the philosophers had spoken of. Often, I dismissed it as a product of my overly excitable imagination. All of a sudden, I could see that it was not only very palpable, but not so difficult to talk about. The "reality" of my childhood turned into a fantasy, while the fantasy became terrifyingly real. The "history" was an official, "objective" record, while the reality was my memories, blended, as they inevitably are, with fears and fantasies.

At my request, the FBI has by now released to me about 700 out of more than 3,000 pages that it collected on my father's case from the mid-1940s through the late 1960s, and these are often so heavily redacted that only an odd phrase or two is readable. The FBI files provided me with remarkably little substantive information, but their appearance haunted me. The scribbled notes in the margins, the crossings out, the number of officials who initialed them, and the irregular pieces of tape covering forbidden words.... Especially ominously, the FBI said that it would consider the use of what it referred to as "highly controversial investigative techniques." The files are written in bureaucratic prose, but there is nothing slick about them. They have a sort of quirky, arbitrary quality that at least shows the humanity of their creators. They were produced on manual typewriters, in which the spacing and the characters are slightly irregular. Several arrows, lines and occasional notes are written in pen. On the older files, the tape that covers censored passages is very irregular in shape and obviously cut by hand, but in the later ones it is standardized.

I strongly suspect that reasons for the many deletions may be at least as personal as they are political. The passages may have simply reminded a bureaucrat of something that was unpleasant to her. In the margins of the files are codes, supposedly indicating why passages were redacted. The code "b1" indicates it is a matter of national security, while "b2" means a reason that pertains to the internal workings of the FBI. The code "7d" indicates that the passage was blocked out to protect confidential sources, while "7c" indicates that releasing the information would be an unwarranted invasion of someone's privacy. But these categories are often too general to be very helpful without the full context and a great deal of interpretation. Because so many of the labels appear almost arbitrary, I think employees of the FBI at times simply blocked out parts of files because passages made them uncomfortable, and they later provided a rationalization. But, whenever the censors blocked out a passage, they unintentionally surrounded it with an aura of significance.

#### MISSING CONTEXT

American culture in the fifties and early sixties was pervaded by an idyllic dream of domesticity. My mother cultivated the trappings of what was regarded

as "normal" family life. We had picnics, excursions, and formal dinners out. I joined the Cub Scouts, and my mother became a Den Mother. At times, we may have seemed typical to the point of being dull. But, looking back, I wonder if the paraphernalia of normality could have been, at least in part, a front, to hide my father's spying. And the glamor of historical importance seems a far greater fraud still, and it is almost funny that the fate of empires could be determined by events so ridiculously arbitrary.

When I was a hardly more than a year old, my father drove a taxi and my mother worked as a waitress. On January 1, 1951, he had a burst of temper when he got home from work and she was slow about making breakfast. He wrote about what happened in a journal, which was duly noted by the FBI:

Sue said that she would not talk to me if I yelled. I started to make the meal myself; she walked out and talked very sweetly to Boria. This is always her reaction to an argument.

Withdrawal. And deep brooding resentment that lasts for months. In making the salad, I threw the cut-off pieces to the ground. I threw the empty container of milk on the ground. Sue just kept on talking sweetly to Boria, while dressing him to take him out. (See Figure 1.)

The words bring back all sorts of half-formed impressions, feelings, and faded memories. I now can empathize perhaps almost equally with all three participants in this little domestic drama — myself, my father, and my mother. But it is the unseen participants, the agents, who seem to give it more than a personal importance, like academics who decide what is worthy of study.

The change is admittedly a bit subtle, but singling this ephemeral incident, the file seems to fix it in time, overlay it with ideological associations, and begin to place it in the realm of history. In a way that is disconcerting, at least for me, it begins to lose its reality.

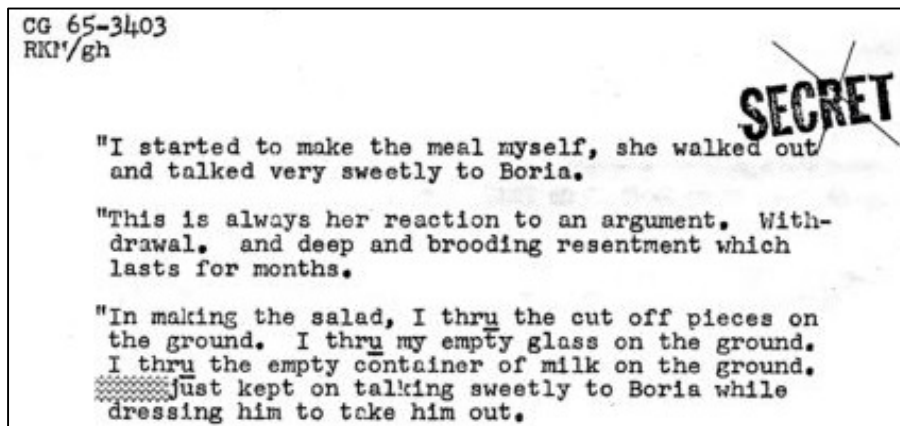


Figure 1 From the FBI File of Saville Sax, dated Jan. 1, 1951

#### MISSING FEELING

The spy Rudolf Abel is now best known through Steven Spielbergs' 2015 movie "Bridge of Spies," about the lawyer William Donovan negotiating the exchange of Soviet spy Rudolf Abel for American pilot Gary Powers. At any rate, I remember my parents telling me about Abel as a child. They described him as a charming, convivial fellow who entertained his friends by playing the guitar. I was a bit startled when I saw pictures of him much later, to see that he looked

very gaunt, dour, and not at all well. He was a chain-smoker, and, by the time he was arrested, the lung cancer that would eventually kill him may have already begun.

He had an art studio in New York under the name of Emil Goldfus, one of several aliases that he used in his career. He used to come up occasionally in the conversation of my parents and their friends, and was even mentioned briefly in the newspapers once or twice. He stood out as a realist painter, at time when

the art world was dominated by abstract expressionism. That might have marked him as a "reactionary," at least in art circles, except that people allowed him, as a foreigner, a certain leeway. He seemed a bit exotic. He probably regarded realism as way of resisting the decadent elites. Despite, or because of, the prestige that abstraction had in intellectual circles, there were plenty of jokes going around about how it was effete and pretentious.

It is just possible that my parents may have seen a personal side that Abel did not reveal to just anybody. My father seems to have had some sort of contact with Abel, though their relationship remains obscure. The FBI file pictured here — dated Feb. 13, 1957 — alludes to it, though it is too heavily censored to be very revealing (See Figure 2.) Whatever was in the uncensored file moved the FBI to reopen its investigation of my father. One thing that really stands out here is the use of the word "poignant," since the 1,000 or more pages of files have no other references to any emotions. They simply record facts and protocols, but in a tone of complete detachment. What could be "the most poignant fact noted as a result of this review [...]?" If even the investigators dropped their "academic" style and showed at least a trace of emotion, it must have been something important. I wish that I knew what.

This taboo against emotive phrases is a practice that the FBI must have taken from academia. One result of it is to make any violation, even a mild transgression like the present one, stand out dramatically. But, as in much scholarship, the academic tone is not simply a tool to assure objectivity, but a rhetorical device that, much of the time, confers a misleading sense of significance.

#### MISSING IDENTITY

"Confidential informant of known reliability." Those words come up constantly in my father's FBI file, usually next to a name that has been blocked out. These are secret, inscrutable presences, which at times seem like spirits of folklore. Just before my parents broke up after 18 years of marriage, my father had an affair with a woman. Her unusual poise, deftness, and eventual abrupt disappearance from his life make me think that she might have been an agent of the FBI or some other organization devoted to covert action, but I have no way of confirming whether or not that is true. At any rate, the sheer number of such presences in the past seems to change its very nature, endowing all sorts of encounters with an aura of mystery and possible significance. They seem not to be simple experiences but clusters of riddles, as is the following excerpt from a file:

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**Memorandum** ~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-67563) DATE: FEB 13 1967

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (65-22051)

SUBJECT: [Redacted] (S)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

7-30-01  
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/EP-60267-ABG  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

ReNYlet, 10/7/64.

Referenced letter set forth an analysis of this case based on information in the [Redacted] investigation, information from [Redacted] and information obtained from RUDOLF ABEL, correspondence while he was incarcerated in the US.

The most poignant fact noted as a result of this review with respect to [Redacted] was so in the [Redacted] case wherein [Redacted] This [Redacted] was noted to be also true with regard to the RUDOLF ABEL correspondence wherein he asked his wife concerning the welfare of [Redacted] which according to [Redacted] were undoubtedly identical with [Redacted] (S)

More recently, [Redacted] has furnished information to the effect that IGOR ANDREEV, Counselor, SMIN. (KGB), New York Residency, had the assignment of [Redacted] (S)

Towards this end, ANDREEV was to attempt [Redacted] (S)

② Bureau (65-67563) (RM)  
3-Chicago (65-4845) (RM)  
(1-65-3403) (THEODORE A. HALL, SAVILLE SAX aka)  
1-New York (65-15299)  
1-New York (65-22039)  
1-New York

100-421961-  
NOT RECORDED  
21 AUG 2 1967

FEB 14 1967

SOVIET SECTION

JB:jv  
(8)

Aug 2 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-67563-15

Handwritten notes: "To work Chicago 2/21/67", "1-NY", "JPL: Oak", "65-67563-15", "100-421961-15", "SOVIET SECTION"

Figure 2 from the FBI file of Saville Sax, Feb. 13, 1967

Cgo. File No. 65-3403  
RKM:DJS

~~TOP SECRET~~

S. SAX

Mrs. BLUMA SAX, RFD No. 1, Wallkill, New York, which letters were post-marked July 19 and 25, 1950. BLUMA SAX is the mother of SAVILLE SAX.

On July 17, 1950, Confidential Informant [redacted] furnished an empty envelope addressed to Mr. [redacted] S. SAX, 6516 South Minerva Avenue, which bore the return address of [redacted]

b2  
b7C  
b7D

b7C

THEODORE ALVIN HALL AND SAVILLE SAX

Inasmuch as the following information concerns both HALL and SAX, it is being set forth under a separate section.

b2  
b7D

There follows a summary of information furnished by Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, concerning [redacted]

[redacted] ~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] Informant advised that it was indicated that [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] ~~TOP SECRET~~

b1

[redacted] Information from informant reflects [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET~~

[redacted] [redacted]

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

Figure 3. From the FBI File of Saville Sax, Aug. 1950



#### MISSING SIGNIFICANCE

What on earth could possibly be a matter of state security after well over half a century had passed, and just about all the people involved are long dead? Censuring files to protect the identity of an informant, ostensibly for the sake of his/her relatives, impresses me as mistaken but at least understandable. But there are a few long passages in the file marked "b1," which indicates that information was withheld in the late 1990s for reasons of national security, as in the file above. I tried to appeal the redactions, but my attempt was rejected, admittedly on reasonably good legal grounds, since I got it in long after the deadline. Whatever the designation means, the letters indicate that somebody found the contents very dramatic, perhaps even traumatic.

#### CONCLUSION

Latour describes the modern perspective on the past as "Maniacal destruction [...] balanced by an equally maniacal conservation." In other words, [...] moderns insist on the complete and irrevocable destruction of the past through progress, but then historians reconstruct the past, detail by detail, all the more carefully inasmuch as it has been swallowed up forever.<sup>16</sup> Latour meant this primarily in regard to the academic enterprise, which has often tended to emphasize facts but ignore context, thus making a continuous experience into a fragmented history. But Latour's comment seems to apply at least as well to documents like files of the FBI. They preserve prodigious amounts of information, yet always take it out of context, while breaking it into disconnected fragments, which arouse curiosity and provide impetus to more investigation.

Perhaps governments keep old secrets largely because these convey an aura of glamour and mystery, without which many affairs of state might be revealed in their human dimension, somewhere between banality and tragedy. We keep many secrets, in other words, just to have secrets.<sup>17</sup> They turn ordinary bureaucrats into James Bond, bumbling into evil geniuses or martyrs, and nervousness into paralyzing fear. But today – as we confront grave

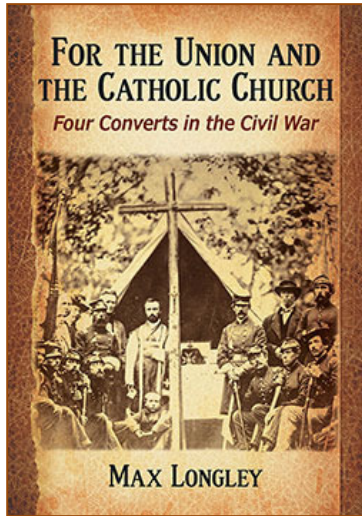
environmental, intellectual and political crises – clarity of thought is not just a luxury. We need to lay aside false glamour, and view the past in ways that do not make us less or more than human beings, except possibly in fun.

#### WORKS CITED

- Andrew, Christopher, and Vasili Mitrokhin. *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. Print.
- Bennett, Eric. *Workshops of Empire*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2015. Print.
- Berger, Stefan, and Bill Niven. Eds. *Writing the History of Memory*. New York; London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2014. Print.
- Bierce, Ambrose. *The Devil's Dictionary*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000. Print. <<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/972/972-h/972-h.htm>>.
- Blumenberg, Hans. *Work on Myth*. Trans. Robert M. Wallace. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985. Print.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. Oakland: University of California Press, 1996. Print.
- Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. Washington: Free Press, 2006/1992. Print.
- Fulbrook, Mary. "History-Writing and 'Collective Memory'" in *Writing the History of Memory*, ed. Stefan Berger and Bill Niven. New York; London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2014. 69-85.
- Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993. Print.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Penguin, 2000/1847. Print.
- Maxwell, William J. *F. B. Eyes: How Hoover's Ghostreaders Framed African American Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015. Print.
- Moyhahan, Daniel Patrick. *Secrecy: The American Experience*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998. Print.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New York: The New Press, 1999. Print.
- Whitman, Walt. "A Song of Myself." Poem. 1892. <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poems/detail/45477>.

<sup>16</sup> Latour 82

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Patrick Moyhahan, *Secrecy: The American Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 178-201.



## ***For the Union and the Catholic Church: Four Converts in the Civil War***

**Max Longley**

North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2015.

ISBN 978-0-7864-9422-4 Print \$45 312pp, softcover

ISBN 978-1-4766-1999-6 E-book

<http://www.mcfarlandbooks.com/book-2.php?id=978-0-7864-9422-4>

On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia at the Appomatox Courthouse, putting into motion the cessation of a vicious war which devastated the lives of nearly 750,000 Americans over a period of four years.

Max Longley's *For the Union and the Catholic Church: Four Converts in the Civil War*, published 150 years later, is a timely recollection of the lives of four men and their families who embraced Catholicism at a time of bitter and passionate civil upheaval whose rifts reverberated throughout the western world during the long mid-nineteenth century. Longley selected the lives of the brothers William and Sylvester Rosecrans, along with James Healy and Orestes Brownson, to serve as distant mirrors whose reflections have withstood the test of time, revealing each man's staunch defense of values deeply contemplated and rigorously articulated in their best efforts to stand and act on principle, putting at risk their personal lives, reputations, and fortunes in defense of the common good.

Longley's narrative opens on the fields of Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, where the Irish Brigade is stationed for manoeuvres at the battlefield of Wheatfield. Later that month, draft riots broke out in New York. This juxtaposition of interests sets the stage for entering into the perilous world of the Catholic soldier serving on Civil War battlegrounds.. Father James Healy, Union officer Major General William S. Rosecrans; his

brother Sylvester Rosecrans, auxiliary bishop of Cincinnati; and Orestes Brownson, editor of *Brownson's Quarterly Review* are masterfully introduced within a narrative which immerses the reader into the crosscurrents of dissent regarding slavery, abolition, states-rights, free trade, conscription, religious tolerance, and the terms of Reconstruction. Longley gives careful attention to the ongoing dialogue between church hierarchy and the laity worldwide regarding the critical circumstances dividing the American nation.

The lives of the eponymous four converts present unique sets of circumstances from which to engage the reader in a thoughtful recreation of events and actions taking place during the Civil War. It was not an easy time to self-identify as Catholic. Written from each man's intimate conversion to the faith as a starting point, Longley develops a complex narrative written not to defend any one faith tradition, but to highlight the clash of social, economic, and political values during the tumultuous 1860s from the personal perspective of each character. Moreover, he sets his narrative in a global context, using the biographical narratives to explain the competing agendas of national self-interest and the tactics of religion and politics in a time of dire suffering and need.

Longley's characters had entered the Catholic Church during the 1840s, a time of rapid demographic change in the United States. The Treaty of Paris (1763) marked the end of the Seven Years' War and the beginning of Great Britain's rise to empire. New

France welcomed Catholic immigrants and protected their status and influence in their colonies. As a result of the treaty, the eastern flank of Louisiana, a New France colony in America, was ceded to Great Britain with the promise that all Catholics would remain free to practice their faith.

The Treaty of 1763 altered the face of the United States. French Louisiana was ceded to Spain, and then recovered by the secret Treaty of Ildefonso in 1800; France sold the Lower Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803. That same year the U.S. recognized the state of Ohio, formerly the Northwest Territory. The States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Texas, Iowa, and Minnesota followed in succession, absorbing the traditional British American communities of the Atlantic seaboard into a rapidly expanding commercial enterprise whose patterns of engagement with global markets are felt to the present day.

Longley also brings into the picture the Great Famine, or *an Gorta Mór* (1845 to 1852) which devastated the Irish mainland through starvation and disease. It is estimated that 1.5 million people perished and another 2.5 million were subjected to extreme poverty and homelessness. During the 1840s, nearly one-half of all immigrants to America were from Ireland; by 1930 nearly 4.5 million Irish natives, nearly one-half the total population of Ireland, had been assimilated into American life. During roughly the same period of Irish immigration, nearly 1.5 million Germans immigrated to the United States due to political and economic turmoil following the Industrial Revolution. Longley explores how anti-Catholic sentiment, born in a sea-tide of immigration, complicated the national debate regarding slavery and abolition. Divided by religious sectarianism and the ethos of northern and southern self-interest, the formation of conscience was an intensely personal search for each of the characters brought to life in this collection of biographies.

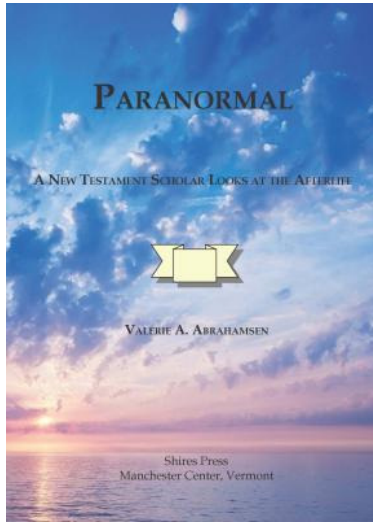
Of particular interest to Catholic scholars is the range of attitudes towards the war and slavery that rippled throughout the ecclesia. The papacy of Blessed Pope Pius X (1846-1878) was complicated by the fall of the Papal States during the rise of the Kingdom of Italy, a political upheaval which echoed the divisions of North and South on the American battleground, casting a long shadow of suspicion and distrust over Catholic interests worldwide.

Long the stepchild among professional historians, biography has enjoyed a resurgence of interest among scholars who recognize the biographer's skill at interpreting a set or series of events through the experience of those who lived the moment. Longley's craft as a storyteller is the product of careful research and meticulous attention to the details of the lives of his characters and those they influenced. His work is extensively annotated and includes a comprehensive bibliography.

To bring Longley's historical analysis into contemporary perspective, it is worth noting that, in present-day America, Catholics hold 163 seats in Congress, representing 30 percent of representatives, and this Congress welcomed representatives from the Buddhist and Hindu denominations. Just as was the case 150 years ago, religious beliefs and practices will continue to have an enduring and hard-won influence on American values and politics.

VICTORIA M. BRETING-GARCIA

*Victoria M. Breting-Garcia is an independent scholar residing in Houston, Texas. She holds Masters degrees in both Political Science and History, both from the University of Houston, and her academic interests include the care of the environment, both natural and built; maritime history; science and biotechnology; and global networks influenced by these issues.*



***Paranormal:  
A New Testament Scholar Looks at the Afterlife***

**Valerie A. Abrahamsen**

Paperback: 318 pages ISBN: 9781605712581

Publisher: Shires Press

Publication Date: May 29, 2015

<http://www.northshire.com/book/9781605712581>

From our earliest written record, humans have wondered about life after death. The questions raised and the speculation regarding what becomes of what one might call our *essence* after our body has reached the end of life has been the subject of many artistic explorations. In the end, it would appear that millions of people over thousands of years have wondered about, written about, and explored the mystery of an afterlife.

Dr. Valerie Abrahamsen is a Harvard University educated New Testament Scholar and, as her prior publication record demonstrates, she is well trained in the ways of presenting a scholarly argument. In this work, the author argues that there is now scientific evidence of a life after death. With her academic background, one would expect to read a balanced and scholarly analysis of the paranormal.

Unfortunately, that is not what the reader will find. In the early chapters, Abrahamsen demonstrates the sociologic fascination with the afterlife. The author adds her voice to the frequently spirited debate regarding the possibility of *a life beyond*. She notes that many successful television shows have launched

claiming to contact the souls of the dead, and that these shows have long run times and large audiences.

Abrahamsen claims that the *scientific method* being used and the popularity of these shows is further proof of the validity of life after death. She ignores the possibility that this very popularity reflects a human fascination with paranormal phenomenon rather than anything scientific.

Actual scientific method is defined by rigorously designed experiments, open inquiry by those who consider the question at hand from a variety of scientific angles, and then challenge by other trained scientists to explore alternative interpretations of the results of the findings. Scholarly debate ensues and new hypotheses are developed. All of that is required for one to claim scientific proof, but that is notably missing in this work.

References used consist of writings from of a small group of individuals who cite them-selves or cite others who believe in similar ways. These citations are not from journals that are scientific peer reviewed works nor are they cited in major scientific data bases such as PubMed. The author cites secondary and

tertiary sources such as Wikipedia, which is not what one would expect from a scholarly work.

One of the difficulties that I have with this work is Abrahamsen's repeated phrase of *skeptics and deniers* or *skeptics and critics*. The author uses these phrases to describe those who don't agree with her assertion of the existence of an afterlife. She explains that "very reliable psychics and mediums," have no reason to fabricate contact with the beyond. It is not clear how Abrahamsen can ascribe such motives with such certainty, but she does so repeatedly. Scientists and scholars do not divide their colleagues into deniers and believers. That is the language of religiosity, and by using such language the author undercuts her expressed desire to shed a scholarly light on the topic.

Some of Abrahamsen's assertions I find to be troubling. One example describes the tragic death of three young men in a car accident. In contacting a medium, she claims that it was learned that while serving in the military these three men had caused the deaths of an innocent family. She writes that the deaths of the men were the direct result of bad karma which they had generated during the war. The medium went on to explain that the men were now at peace because their karmic debt had been paid off. The idea that a medium or psychic can claim to know how a karmic debt is repaid is not only a misapplication of the concept of Karma but is indeed, a very slippery slope. We regularly hear "they deserved to die" from religious extremists who disagree with the way one is living their life. The

unintended consequences of such assertions can cause a great deal of harm to those seeking to find peace after the loss of a loved one. Sympathetic as I am to the book's theme, I am troubled by the lack of scholarship and the potential for harm to victims of trauma and loss. While the author is impassioned, I think the idea of a life after death is still open for scholarly debate. Readers with the same interest may want to judge it for themselves.

CAROL RIZZOLO

*Carol Rizzolo is a cultural mythologist, having earned a PhD in Mythological Studies with an Emphasis in Depth Psychology. She was a Lay Minister for the Unitarian Society, edited the D.I.R.E.C.T Ezine Reading Committee, Depth Psychology Alliance, and chaired the 2013 Proposal Review Committee of New England/Maritimes Region of the American Academy of Religion.*

### ***Author's Response***

I am grateful to the NCIS reviewer of my book for taking the time to read and comment on it, and I appreciate the opportunity to respond.

I am surprised at the brevity of the review – only 700 words and eight paragraphs to comment on a volume of 306 pages, seven chapters, 650 footnotes and three appendices. The main premise of the book (which is not explicitly described by the reviewer) is that four types of evidence strongly point to the survival of the individual soul after death. The four types are scientific instruments and techniques, near-death experiences, reputable

psychics and mediums, and out-of-body experiences, yet the reviewer gives only scant attention to two of the four: science and mediums.

The reviewer criticizes *Paranormal's* discussion of current television shows about paranormal research yet makes no mention of the electronic and technological tools in wide use in that research, tools developed by scientists and engineers. The reviewer further makes no mention of the 14-page appendix in *Paranormal* that complements the chapter on the history of paranormal research, both of which extensively discuss the scholarship and work of

over a dozen eminent investigators in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who risked their careers in support of this research. Nor does she mention the dozens of examples of Electronic Voice Phenomena and instrumental transcommunication or the medical and scientific analyses of near-death experiences by best-selling author Eben Alexander and medical researcher Jeffrey Long.

The reviewer cites only one of the many examples of mediums' readings offered in *Paranormal* (which itself constitutes only a small sampling of the thousands given by any number of reputable mediums) and argues that it leads to the dangerous trope that tragedy is "God's will." This is puzzling, since the perspective of *Paranormal* vis-à-vis karma, the law of cause and effect, reincarnation, etc. decidedly and repeatedly argues against this; most Christian fundamentalists would find *Paranormal* quite heretical. Moreover, the reviewer seems not to be familiar with the hundreds of cases where it is the paranormal evidence, not traditional Christianity or modern secularism, which provides comfort in tragedy.

The reviewer's comment about the use of Wikipedia articles is well-taken, but she fails to mention the dozens of books and peer-reviewed articles extensively cited (and listed in two separate bibliographies for the convenience of the reader).

Furthermore, because of the bias of mainstream science against paranormal research (which, of course, also vexed the nineteenth-century investigators), Wikipedia ends up being one of the few accessible online sources for some of the more obscure but important figures, groups and concepts in the area of paranormal phenomena. When available, other reliable resources in addition to Wikipedia were always consulted in *Paranormal*.

The reviewer objects to the frequency of the phrase "skeptics and deniers" and the argument that mediums "have no reason to fabricate contact with the beyond." She remains silent about the sources of this conviction, including but not limited to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's monumental two-volume work, *A History of Spiritualism*, and more recent treatments of mediums, seers and other gifted practitioners. It is unclear that the reviewer has any familiarity with these resources.

Reading this review gives the impression that *Paranormal* is yet another treatment of the afterlife that merely offers readers false hope or, worse, panders to religious extremism. That is truly unfortunate. I do agree with the reviewer's final sentence, however: "Readers with the same interest [in the book's theme] may want to judge it for themselves."

VALERIE ABRAHAMSEN

\*\*\*\*\*



## Surviving the Twenty-First Century: Essays by William Eaton

Publisher: Serving House Books (July 9, 2015)

Paperback: 132 pages

Kindle version also available

ISBN-10: 0986214639

ISBN-13: 978-0986214639

<http://servinghousebooks.com/eaton.html>

A scholar's output is not necessarily limited to the denser texts of professional papers meant for the closed circles of institutionalized peers. What one learns from one's

discipline—masses of factual data and theoretical concerns of analysis—can also be channeled through more popular presentations to become available for non-

specialist audiences. Scholars who follow this route have often been referred to as “public intellectuals” and they have found satisfaction and appreciation by engaging listeners and readers with information and a way of looking at the world. Such is the case of a recent book of essays by William Eaton.

Coming from the discipline of philosophy, in the course of twenty-two essays, Eaton takes people, events, relationships, and even artifacts as encountered in everyday life and runs them through an intellectual lens that brings the smaller things into an inquiring realm of larger things. The language is plain but not shallow, readable and understandable by a wide variety of people without sinking to a patronizing level. Because the essays can have a stream-of-consciousness flow to them, sometimes the implications of his perceptions and experiences have a disjointed, almost random inventory feel to them. Quotations by classic thinkers are often brought to bear on an issue being examined, but these too appear planted in the narrative in a cut-and-paste way, lacking a fuller explanation.

Logic is the glue of philosophical discourse, and its formal demands all too often fetishized in professional works to the point where one may actually lose the train of thought and analysis. If Eaton’s output of speculation seems undisciplined, it is largely because of his format and platform. The essays come from his popular blog, [Montaigbakhtinian.com](http://Montaigbakhtinian.com), and the texts are necessarily short and informal, aimed at a wide readership. And such multilinear explorations have always been the curse of a rich and speculative intelligence. The writing is reflective of the way the human mind goes.

It becomes up to the reader, as it should be, to exert some effort at coherence and understanding, and through this engagement to take the implications of Eaton’s offerings out along even further and newer paths. To this extent, the essays can be provocative and enabling. Adding to this are the many ethical issues of his musings on people and encounters; it is another way in which the author joins with a reader by implicating them at the level of more deeply felt moral principles.

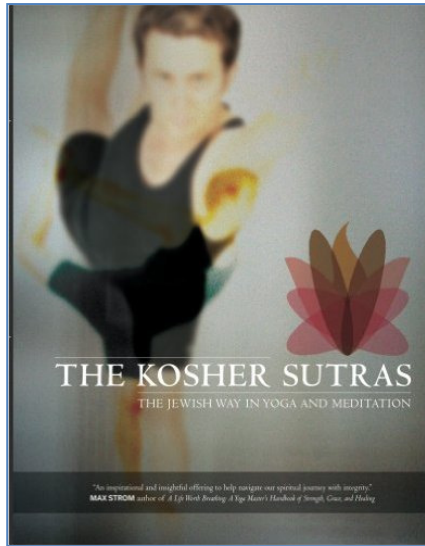
One example is essay number 8, “Warmth’s truth” (pp. 31-37). Eaton’s impetus is Christmas, 2012, which he sees as an occasion to raise two subjects which “perhaps” he will explore further at a later date. But for now, his first

concern is “the troubled subject of love.” To begin, he cites a speech by President Obama, occasioned by the Newton shootings, whom he feels speaks philosophically about love for our children. He then pulls in a speech by Lyndon Johnson about The Great Society, then adds “snippets” by classical philosophers Descartes and Merleau-Ponty, and Marcel. The latter philosopher provides a bridge to his second subject, “animal rights,” the initiator here being a news item about injecting contraceptives into a New Jersey deer population. This bit of news reminds him of two other items, one a story by Tzvetan Todorov, and the other some lines from David Riesman. He returns to the deer and to animal rights with thoughts on feelings and “otherness.” As these thoughts are spun out, snippets again are entered by Kant, Jonathan Edwards, and Zbigniew Herbert, and the essay concludes with a reflection based on his relationship with his son, Jonah, a theme that runs throughout many of the essays and which Eaton describes as “the stealth weapon that delivers structure and binds the book”. Now, I have been deliberately superficial in my skimming of this essay. One purpose is to show the danger of a too-quick scan of the essays, and another purpose is to show the dangers of writing in a cramped space in which transitions can become jagged and abrupt, and in which analysis can be compromised by urgency and name-dropping.

I recommend that the reader take a more careful look at this and the other essays, knowing I have been unfair, and do the thoughtful work readers are less and less called upon to do these days. The book can be read sporadically and non-sequentially, enjoyed over a period of time. Eaton, a former member of NCIS, also edits the online essay journal, [zeteojournal.com](http://zeteojournal.com), itself a respectable venue for scholars of all sorts.

DAVID SONENSCHIN

*David Sonenschein, academically trained and with field experience in anthropology, sociology, and psychology, fled academia in 1973 and has since been writing and publishing as an Independent Scholar. His current research areas include human sexualities, and American popular culture.*



## ***The Kosher Sutras***

**Marcus J. Freed**

Available in Kindle format and in paperback:

[www.amazon.com/Kosher-Sutras-Marcus-J-Freed/dp/1624075886](http://www.amazon.com/Kosher-Sutras-Marcus-J-Freed/dp/1624075886)

Paperback: 210 pages

Publisher: Freedthinker Books

Publication Date: October 31, 2013

**ISBN-10:** 1624075886 **ISBN-13:** 978-1624075889

55 videos available, one for each chapter of The Kosher Sutras

<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLvq4KocXSAUV-yKIFQgCbz4BhJiGRuId1>

Yoga today, particularly as it is taught in the West, seems a far cry from its origins in Vedic tradition. As a yoga teacher, I often struggle with the concept of cultural appropriation and how it presents itself in my teaching and practice. When I saw *The Kosher Sutras* – just the title of the book – I felt a great deal of skepticism and wondered whether Marcus J. Freed’s text is another in a long line of Western attempts to claim yoga under a different set of beliefs and roots, particularly those that are Abrahamic in origin.

Abrahamic traditions, such as the Jewish ones presented in *The Kosher Sutras*, often prohibit worshipping more than one god and thus a potential conflict arises when exploring yoga in its modern roots, interconnected with the multi-theistic Hindu belief system. However Freed does address this concern, noting that the practice of yoga as a way of moving one’s body is older than modern Hindu beliefs. He also seems to be clear in the introduction of his intentions, which is to help align yoga and movement with Western (Abrahamic) beliefs.

The book is structured in a similar fashion to Pantajali’s *Yoga Sutras* but also mirrors the *parashat*, or weekly Jewish study of the Hebrew Bible. For the purpose of this review, I read the book cover to cover, including the Bibliyoga Poses (Freed’s version of *asanas*). This book could also be used to spend a week on each sutra, meditating on the teachings and deepening one’s physical connection through

building a yoga practice, using Freed’s step-by-step instructions as a guide. [A note on the latter possibility: building an at-home yoga sequence that is suited to your body’s needs takes knowledge and practice, so doing some additional research and working with a local yoga teacher may help if you are a complete beginner.]

One aspect of the book that stands out is Freed’s thoughtful yet humorous approach to communicating. *The Kosher Sutras* draws on the wisdom of the *Torah*, *Baghavad Gita*, *The Yoga Sutras*, human experience and even pop culture. The format of each Sutra is the Title/Kosher Sutra/Soul Solution/Bibliyoga Pose/Body Benefit, followed by a brief narrative that engages the reader’s heart and mind. He links yogic principles to Hebrew healing philosophy and helps guide the reader through the actual mechanics and benefits of each pose that goes with the week’s *Sutra*.

In one Sutra, Freed introduces readers to the concept of the *yamas* and the *niyamas*, which he summarizes as the codes for moral behavior. In this same Sutra, he challenges us to stop holding ourselves back, while managing to drive home this point by quoting *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. Freed’s insight and ability to connect ancient traditions for a modern audience may also help *The Kosher Sutras* resonate with seekers from non-Abrahamic belief systems.



I appreciate that Freed honors the Vedic origins of the *asanas* by using the Sanskrit name (along with the English translation), as opposed to renaming all of the *asanas* to be more acceptable to monotheistic audiences, as some other practitioners have done. One exception to this is *Savasana*, which Freed renames Shabbat Pose. However, the apparent reason for the renaming seems to be to capture the essence of a notion of “resting and rejuvenating,” something that many of us overlook in our daily lives. Freed shares Shabbat Pose in various Sutras, but the one that particularly resonated with me is the **The Law of 7: Rest, Recuperate, Re-Engage/Behar-Behukotai** on page 108. The Soul Solution, “Create a powerful and sustainable future,” spoke to me on so many levels. While I tend to think of the book of Leviticus as one large list of “do not do this...” items, I was pleasantly surprised to be reminded that it isn’t just about what not to do. The seven-year cycle of rest for the land mentioned in Leviticus points at not just an agricultural practice for ancient Hebrews according to Freed, but also a path to ethical living. Allowing time for rest enables us to give way for restoration, as well. On a personal note, I have had challenges establishing boundaries between life and work and have bought into the cultural ideals of sleep deprivation Freed speaks of (even as I write this review) but feel inspired to shift my actions to create healthier, new patterns.

In the Bibliyoga Poses section of the book, Freed demonstrates the various *asanas* that are mentioned in the text. Right at the beginning, there is a disclosure about some health challenges Freed faced that impacted his ability to do some of the poses in the way he might have liked to, but he uses this as an opportunity to essentially ask us to be gentle with ourselves. Yoga is a journey rather than a destination and Freed openly exemplifies this, which is one of the hallmarks of a good teacher. Freed provides step-by-step instructions on the poses and in most cases, offers modifications and variations for injured or advanced students. This information can be complicated in some yoga books and again, Freed finds a way to be succinct that doesn’t sacrifice safety.

If you are a seeker of wisdom from different traditions, curious about Jewish beliefs or looking for a way to integrate physical movement into your spiritual practice, it is quite likely that *The Kosher Sutras* will provide knowledge, experience and perhaps even expansive healing, if you are open to it.

LINDA ZUCKER

*Linda Zucker MBA, JD, is a licensed attorney in the state of Texas and a member of the bar of The US Supreme Court. A scholar of eclectic tastes who interests herself in many facets of spiritual life, she is also a shaman and a registered yoga teacher.*

\*\*\*\*\*

## **BACK IN THE DAY**

This new feature extracts articles from *The Independent Scholar Quarterly* (TISQ) which was the predecessor of *The Independent Scholar* (TIS). Papers that appeared in TISQ did not undergo the same peer review process as those appearing in the main body of TIS; there is nevertheless much of value to be gleaned from TISQ. For this volume I have selected a short but interesting article by Toni Vogel Carey which examines independent scholarship from a historical perspective, reminding us that many of the great thinkers were independent scholars. The article originally appeared in TISQ Vol. 24, No. 3 (November 2011): 10-13.

SHELBY SHAPIRO

General Editor

## **Galileo *Linceo***

Toni Vogel Carey

(Independent Scholar, NCIS)

It was Galileo's conviction, quoted so often it's in *Bartlett's*, that the book of nature is written in the language of mathematics, without which we cannot understand a single 'word' of it. What is not so well known is that Galileo (1564-1642) learned his math from a man with no university affiliation, who learned *his* math from Niccolo Tartaglia, a self-taught author both of original scientific ideas and vernacular translations of Euclid and Archimedes, which helped Galileo formulate his law of falling bodies. Tartaglia and his books formed no part of any college course; yet the Galileo scholar Stillman Drake tells us (1970, 52) that his work "had a wider effect, and did more good for science, than it was likely to have done from within a university."

Before movable type appeared in 1443 "science was a university monopoly," whereas "by 1500 it was far from being so" (Drake 1970, 46). Gutenberg made self-education possible at a high level, and during the sixteenth century there was a ready market for printed books, pricey though they were (47). University curricula, meanwhile, remained fundamentally a matter of Aristotle-as-interpreted-by-Aquinas. The real action was taking place in coffee houses and scientific societies, and to the extent that the Scientific Revolution penetrated university walls, it was by seeping through the cracks.

The *Accademia dei Lincei* (Academy of the Lynx, so named for the animal's acute vision) was arguably the first real scientific society. Founded in Rome in 1603 by four non-scientists, its remarkable leader and benefactor was Federico Cesi, then barely eighteen years old. Its mission was to promote and publish scientific discoveries, steering clear of political controversies and "every kind of quarrels and wordy disputes...alien to physical and mathematical science." Beset by opposition, not least from Cesi's father, the society teetered near death until Galileo joined in 1611, after Cesi gave a banquet to celebrate what the Linceans christened his 'telescope.' Then the society immediately doubled in size, and doubled again the following year (Drake 1999, 127-29, 131, 134f).

Just as professors identify themselves by their university titles, Linceans identified themselves by their society membership (Drake 1999, 139). On the title page even of Galileo's *Two New Sciences* (1638), his last work, which had to be smuggled and published out of the country, his name is given as *Galileo Galilei Linceo*. Newton was one of the few seventeenth-century notables who lingered in academia, but tellingly, his *Principia* (1687) was published by the Royal Society of London, not by Cambridge University Press. And its title page gives him (in Latin) both as Lucasian Professor of Mathematics at Trinity College and as Fellow of the Royal Society. This practice of identification persisted at least through the nineteenth century. On the title page of the *Descent of Man* (1871), Darwin, a lifelong independent scientist, presented himself as "M.A., F.R.S., &c." (F.R.S. stands for Fellow of the Royal Society).

Before becoming a Lincean, Galileo was a professor, first at the University of Pisa, and then at the University of Padua. He left teaching in 1610 for a patronage position at court, so in 1611 he was probably feeling the loss of colleagues, such as they had been (Drake 1999, 135). And over and above just collegiality, the Linceans gave him enthusiastic and sustained support, Cesi's wise counsel, and a ready publisher for his work. Stephen Jay Gould was of the opinion (2000, 39) that had Cesi lived, he would have been able to save Galileo from the worst of his troubles with the Church. But when Cesi died of a fever in 1630, the society followed him to the grave. (Happily, according to Drake (1999, 141), it was later resurrected, embraced by both church and state during the nineteenth century, and by the mid-twentieth was once again the leading science society in Italy.)

Galileo was well into middle age by the time he became a Lincean, although had scientific societies been in existence earlier, I suspect he would gladly have joined. And had patronage been available, and a Cesi to watch over him and publish his work, Galileo might well have traded in his professorship at Pisa or Padua for the freer Lincean form of collegiality. According to John Heilbron (2010, 63, 401, n.119), Galileo considered the eighteen years he spent at Padua the happiest of his life. If so, that may have less to do with the University than with the fact that during this period he developed the telescope and gained considerable renown, without yet running up against serious opposition to his ideas. Heilbron's references for this claim, moreover, are to correspondence dated 1592, the year he went to Padua, so it is hard to know what to make of them. In any case, once he left academia and became a "lynx" he stopped writing in Latin for the professionals, who didn't appreciate his work, and wrote exclusively in Italian for lay readers, who did.

The *Dialogue Concerning Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican* (1632) was the work that triggered his trials and house arrest by the Inquisition. We hear endlessly from academia about Galileo's treatment by the Church. We do not hear much, though, about his "earliest conflicts with authority," beginning around 1615, which Drake tells us "had nothing to do with religion." They were with "philosophers at the University of Pisa," professors whom Galileo accused of instigating the charge of heresy that the clerics later prosecuted.

It is curious that in the enormous literature that has grown out of the events, Galileo's charge against the professors of philosophy has not even been noticed. One might think them to have been innocent bystanders at a confrontation which did not concern them, or at worst clownish reactionaries who wrote some trifling books in opposition to the new science of Galileo. The documents, however, show that Galileo's charge was just; before any priest spoke out against him, his philosopher opponents declared his opinion contrary to the Bible. (Drake 1980, 7)

Drake implicates at least fourteen philosophers in this charge. The only figure he reports coming to Galileo's aid, aside from the Linceans, is Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), who spent most of *his* life in prison (Drake 1976, 136f). We have now had an *apologia* of sorts from the Pope (John Paul II); we are still waiting to hear from the professors. The other scholar I have encountered who mentions Galileo's problems with the schoolmen is Leonardo Olschki (1942, 258), who preceded and was a source for Drake. To be sure, there is also Maurice Finocchiaro, but he argues against Drake about this. It was "the Bible versus Copernicanism issue that set in motion the machinery of the Inquisition," he contends (2002, 87f), "even if the occasion may have been the enmity between philosophers and mathematicians." I'm willing to settle for the "occasion."

It is no accident that Drake has been the main story-teller about Galileo versus the schoolmen, for his own story too is mostly an out-of-school tale. He made his living as a financial consultant, and taught only for twelve years later in life, when the University of Toronto, recognizing the surpassing value of the Galileo studies he had done on his own (with nothing more than a B.A. in philosophy), appointed him to a full professorship. Drake was never dependent on academia, therefore, for his livelihood or his reputation; and like Galileo, he did not shrink from inconvenient truths (Swerdlow and Levere 1999).

I have noticed, as have others, that the field of history of science seems more welcoming of independent scholars than most. Margaret DeLacy of the National Coalition of Independent Scholars and Karen Reeds of Princeton Research Forum have both been published in its premier journal *Isis*, as have I. Perhaps that is because this is a relatively young field, or because its pioneer in America, George Sarton (1884-1956), who founded *Isis* and the History of Science Society, remained a maverick and a distinctly independent thinker, even while teaching at Harvard and helping to establish a history of science curriculum there.

Whatever the reason, I think the scholarly world could certainly profit from taking an attitude of inclusiveness toward independents. Galileo scholarship, after all, would be incalculably poorer without Stillman Drake. And think of the history of science itself without Galileo Galilei Linceo—or Leibniz, Descartes, Boyle, Pascal, Laplace, Diderot, the Herschels (William, Caroline, and John), Lyell, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley... the list of independent scientists is embarrassingly long.

### Works Cited

- Drake, Stillman. "Early Science and the Printed Book: The Spread of Science Beyond the Universities," *Renaissance and Reformation* 6 (1970).
- . *Galileo Against the Philosophers*. (Los Angeles: Zeitlin & Ver Brugge, 1976).
- . *Galileo*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- . "The Accademia dei Lincei" [1966], in *Essays on Galileo and the History and Philosophy of Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), v. 1.
- Finocchiaro, M.A. "Essay Review: Drake on Galileo," in *Annals of Science* 59 (2002) 83-88.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. "The Sharp-Eyed Lynx, Outfoxed by Nature," in *The Lying Stones of Marrakech*. (New York: Harmony Books, 2000).
- Heilbron, John. *Galileo*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Olschki, Leonardo. "The Scientific Personality of Galileo," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 12 (1942) 248-73.
- Swerdlow, N.M. and T.H. Levere, Introduction to Drake, in Stillman Drake. *Essays on Galileo and the History and Philosophy of Science: Volumes I - III*. Selected and introduced by N.M. Swerdlow and T.H. Levere. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).



## **ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN (1921-2016)**

NCIS and scholars worldwide join in mourning the death of historian Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein. Her pioneering work on the effects of the Gutenberg Press laid the theoretical and factual groundwork for the field today known as Print Culture or Book History. A native of New York City, she obtained her BA at Vassar College and her MA and Ph.D. degrees from Radcliffe. She came from a prominent German-Jewish family in Manhattan: Lewisohn Stadium, a Doric-colonnaded amphitheater

built on the campus of the City College of New York in 1915 and demolished in 1973, and Columbia University's Lewisohn Hall were named after her paternal grandfather Adolph Lewisohn, a financier, mining magnate and philanthropist.

Today she is best remembered for her two-volume classic, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. Published in 1979, it remains in print. Eisenstein's first book, *The First Professional Revolutionist*, was published in 1959; her last book, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending*, came out in 2011. In 2007, three scholars of Book History, Sabrina Baron, Eric Lindquist, and Eleanor Shevlin, edited *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, a testament to her continuing impact as a scholar.

Eisenstein turned from "mere" history of print to a deep, nuanced and influential consideration of its impact and implications. The movement from a scribal intellectual culture to one marked by a widespread distribution of texts available to all who could read, regardless of place, space or time, had profound transformative effects. Scholars as diverse as Robert Darnton, who began, as did Eisenstein, by examining the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, to the social theorist John B. Thompson in his *The Media and Modernity* (1995), utilized her scholarship and insights in their work.

Elizabeth Eisenstein had a distinguished career. She worked briefly for Time-Life, taught at the American University in Washington, D.C. and went on hold the Alice Freeman Palmer Chair of the history department at the University of Michigan, among other posts. I had the privilege of hearing her address the Washington Area Group for Print Culture Studies (WAGPCS) when her last book appeared. Scheduling the talk presented real difficulties, because it had to mesh with her tennis schedule: a world class player dubbed "the Assassin," who acquired tennis titles as well as academic honors, she was as adept at a rebound as an intellectual riposte. Her husband and two of their four children survive her, along with a sister, grand- and great-grandchildren. Her daughter, Margaret DeLacy, is a founding member of NCIS, and remains a familiar name in academic circles.

Let us honor the memory of Elizabeth L. Eisenstein.

SHELBY SHAPIRO

General Editor

## **THE ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN ESSAY PRIZE**

### **Announcement of the 2016 Winners**

The Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize is open to all NCIS members and recognizes excellence in independent scholarship. The Prize is awarded annually for the best peer-reviewed published article submitted by a member of NCIS, and brings the winner an honorarium, which this year is \$350. The Eisenstein Prize was established in April 1993 and is named for Elizabeth Lewisohn Eisenstein (1923-2016), Professor of History at American University (1959-1979) and the University of Michigan (1975-1985), and mother of Margaret DeLacy, one of NCIS's founders, in recognition of Professor Eisenstein's long-standing support of NCIS. After 2012 the Prize lapsed due to lack of funding, but was revived this year following Professor Eisenstein's passing in January 2016, with funding from NCIS and Margaret DeLacy.

The call for papers attracted a strong field of papers from NCIS members in the USA, England, France, Romania and Poland. They represented a wide range of disciplines including theology, musicology, women's studies, history, literature, systems practice, art history, media studies, identity studies and cultural anthropology. The submissions were assessed according to three criteria: clarity of argument, writing style, and accessibility to an intelligent but multidisciplinary audience. After several months of deliberation, and a plenary discussion by the review committee, the aggregate assessment scores put two papers well ahead of the rest of the field, and in these circumstances there is provision for awarding a runner-up prize, which attracts kudos but no honorarium. We are therefore delighted to announce that the winners of the 2016 Eisenstein Prize are as follows:

#### WINNER

"The Painted Page: Books as Symbols in Renaissance Art" by Barbara Williams Ellertson & Janet Seiz.  
Published in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 1 (2015): 20-33.

#### RUNNER-UP

"Clichés Revisited: Poland's 1949 Łagów Composers' Conference" by Cindy Bylander.  
Published in *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny* [Polish Musicological Annual] 2015: 15-34.

The 2016 Eisenstein Committee would like to offer our congratulations to the worthy recipients.

Amanda J. Haste (Chair)  
Susan Roth Breitzer  
Lee Ellen Harper  
Patricia Silver

*NOTE: In deciding on the winner and runner-up, the fact that one of them had been published in NCIS's own peer-reviewed journal was extensively debated. However, the committee were unanimous in their view that authors should not be penalized for publishing in TIS (this was one of two TIS articles submitted this year) as (a) they are thoroughly peer-reviewed, and (b) the majority of committee members had not been involved in the TIS editorial or review process.*

### **Winning Essays**

The winning essay, "The Painted Page: Books as Symbols in Renaissance Art" was published in *The Independent Scholar* Vol. 1 (2015) and can be seen by following this link:

[http://www.ncis.org/sites/default/files/TIS%20Volume%201\\_ALL%20%286%29.pdf](http://www.ncis.org/sites/default/files/TIS%20Volume%201_ALL%20%286%29.pdf)

We hope to reproduce runner-up Cindy Bylander's essay "Clichés Revisited: Poland's 1949 Łagów Composers' Conference" in the next issue of TIS, if the necessary permissions can be obtained.

## **NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS**

All members of NCIS and their affiliate organizations are cordially invited to submit manuscripts to *The Independent Scholar* (TIS). We welcome submissions in the form of traditional essays as well as creative/artistic material on any topic that will appeal to our members. Your manuscript may be presented in any suitable referencing style (e.g. Harvard, MLA) but should conform to the academic standards demanded by NCIS and will be subjected to a robust peer review process. Please consult the [submission guidelines](#) before submitting material, but if you have any queries don't hesitate to contact the relevant member of the TIS Editorial Board.

Manuscripts and queries should be sent to the Editor at [tis@ncis.org](mailto:tis@ncis.org).

## **About NCIS**

*The National Coalition of Independent Scholars is a 501(c)3 nonprofit corporation organized in 1989 to support independent scholars. NCIS provides a community in which independent scholars can interact and collaboratively address and support important common issues.*

*NCIS represents independent scholars from all disciplines, and its members include unaffiliated scholars, adjunct and part-time faculty, graduate students, researchers, artists and curators. The benefits of membership are many, but the great benefit of joining NCIS is affiliation with an internationally recognized intellectual society.*

*Today, NCIS is an international organization whose members hail from many continents and pursue diverse fields of study in a variety of disciplines. This is the population NCIS proudly serves.*

**Find us, follow us, friend us** on [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#), [LinkedIn](#), [H-Scholar](#) and [Academia](#).

### **NCIS Board of Directors 2015-16**

#### **Officers**

Amanda Haste (President)  
Janet Wassermann (Secretary)  
Mary Zimmer (Treasurer)  
Tula Connell (Communications)  
David Sonenschein (Membership)

#### **Board Members**

Susan Breitzer  
Joan Cunningham  
Isabelle Flemming  
Nhi Lieu  
Shelby Shapiro  
Edward Walls  
Janet Wassermann

[www.ncis.org](http://www.ncis.org)