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Understanding How Three Key Political Events Impacted the Presidential Legacy of John Adams

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to increase the understanding of how three key political events impacted the presidential legacy of John Adams. After winning the 1796 presidential election,John Adams took office as the 2nd United States President on March 4, 1797. First, this paper takes a closer look at the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 by focusing on how these laws impacted the support for President John Adams. Second, this paper explores the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaineby placing the main focus on how this treaty helped President John Adams handle the crisis he faced with France. Third, this paper recalls why President John Adams did not win the Presidential Election of 1800 by placing the main focus on the swing states that changed party allegiance.Lastly, this paper concludes with an analysis of how theAlien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine, and the Presidential Election of 1800 impacted the presidential legacy of John Adams.

Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798

In June of 1798, Congress passed and President John Adams signed the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 in response to the crisis with France during the French Revolution. According to the article, *The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798* (2019), the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 consisted of four separate laws.Essentially, these four laws were strictly enforced by President John Adams and they were named the (1) Naturalization Act of 1798, (2) Alien Friends Act of 1798, (3) Alien Enemy Act of 1798, and (4) Sedition Act of 1798.

Significance of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798

According to the article, *The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798* (1954), the significance of the Naturalization Act of 1798 is that it increased both the notice time and residency period for people seeking naturalization. The notice time for immigrants to wait after declaring their intent to become naturalized citizens was increased from three years to five years. The residency period for immigrants to live in the United States to become naturalized citizens was increased from five years to fourteen years. Essentially, the Naturalization Act of 1798 required many aliens to wait for a longer period of time before they could become eligible to vote.

According to the article, *The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798* (1954), the significance of the Alien Friends Act of 1798 is that it allowed the president to imprison or deport aliens considered dangerous. The significance of the Alien Enemy Act of 1798 is that it authorized the president to imprison or deport any male citizen of a hostile nation above the age of fourteen during war time. However, no aliens were ever deported under the Alien Friends Act of 1798 or the Alien Enemies Act of 1798.The significance of the Sedition Act of 1798 is that it banned the publishing of false or malicious writings against the government and the inciting of opposition to any act of Congress or the president. The Sedition Act of 1798 resulted in the prosecution of twenty people and the conviction of ten people, in which most of them were Jeffersonian newspaper owners who disagreed with the government. The Naturalization Act of 1798, the Alien Friends Act of 1798, and the Sedition Act of 1798 were all repealed in March of 1801. The Alien Enemy Actwas amended in 1918 to include women.

Impact on the Presidential Legacy of Adams

It is an important fact that the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 impacted the presidential legacy of John Adams. Furthermore, the presidential legacy of John Adams was impacted in the following three key ways because he signed and enforced the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

- He gets credit forallowing the federal government to increase the notice time and residency period for people seeking naturalization.
- He gets credit for allowing the government to imprison or deport aliens that were thought to be capable of aiding enemy nations.
- He gets credit for allowing the federal government to restrict false speech that was critical of the federal government.

1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine

President John Adams sent three foreign diplomats to France in 1799 in order to negotiate a treaty with the Frenchdiplomats that would formally terminate the (1) 1778 Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France, (2) XYZ Affair between the diplomats of France and the United States, and (3) undeclared Quasi-War between France and the United States in the Caribbean.The 1800 Treaty of Mortefontainebetween France and the United States of America was signed by six foreign diplomats on September 30, 1800 at the castle of Mortefontaine owned by Joseph Bonaparte in Oise, France. According to the article, *Convention of 1800: The United States and France* (2019), the six foreign diplomats that signed the treaty included three representing the French Republic (Joseph Bonaparte, Claret de Fleurieu, and Kerre Louis Roederer) and three representing the United States of America (Oliver Ellsworth, William Richardson Davie, and William Vans Murray).

Significance of the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine

According to the article, *Convention of 1800: Treaty of Mortefontaine* (2019), the significance of the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine is that it resulted in a peaceful end to the (1) 1778 Treaty of Alliance, (2) XYZ Affair,and (3)Quasi-War.According to the article, *The Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France* (1778), the Treaty of Alliance of 1778 gave birth to a defensive alliance between France and the United States and also gave birth to military support for the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between France and the United States.

According to the article, *The XYZ Affairwith France*(2019), theXYZ Affair started in July of 1797 when President Adams sent three foreign diplomats (Charles Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry) to Paris to discuss the rights of the United States as a neutral nation because United States ships trading with England had been seized in the Caribbeanby France. The three United States diplomats met with three French diplomats that stated that Charles Talleyrand (France foreign minister)wanted $250,000 for himself and a $10,000,000 loan for France before he would negotiate.The United States diplomats informed President Adams about the offer from the French diplomats. Adams used the letters X (Jean Hottinguer), Y (Pierre Bellamy), and Z (Lucien Hauteval) when he informed Congress about the offer from the three French diplomats in March of 1798. This became known as the XYZ Affair because Adams did not mention the names of the three French diplomats to Congress.

According to the article, *Quasi-War: July 7, 1798–September 30, 1800* (2019), the Quasi-War (1798–1800) is an undeclared war that started on July 7, 1798 when Congress invalidated the 1778 Treaty of Alliance with France and authorized President Adams to attack hostile warshipsbelonging to France.Hostile warships belonging to France had captured over 2,000 United States merchant ships between March of 1797 and July of 1798 in the Caribbean. In July of 1798, Congress passed and President Adams signed the Direct House Tax of 1798in order to collect $2 million in taxes to pay for having a larger army and navy during the Quasi-War (1798–1800) to defend against French attacks on ships belonging to the United States.Essentially, the United States experienced only 1 ship captured between July 7, 1798 and September 30, 1800.

Impact on the Presidential Legacy of Adams

It is an important fact that the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaineimpacted the presidential legacy of John Adams. Furthermore, the presidential legacy of John Adams was impacted in the following three key ways because he negotiated the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine.

- He gets credit for negotiating a peaceful end to the 1778 Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France. The United States would not sign another military alliance until the Declaration by United Nations in 1942.
- He gets credit for negotiating a peaceful end the XYZ Affair between the diplomats of France and the diplomats of the United States.
- He gets credit for negotiating a peaceful end to the undeclared Quasi-War between France and the United States in the Caribbean.

Presidential Election of 1800

According to the article, *The Presidential Election of 1800* (2019), the United States Presidential Election of 1800 was the 4th United States Presidential Election and it was held from Friday (October 31, 1800) to Wednesday (December 3, 1800). The Federalists Congressional Caucus in May of 1800 nominated President John Adams (Massachusetts) to be the party's candidate for president and Former United States Minister to France Charles Pinckney (South Carolina) to be the party's candidate for vice-president. The Democratic-Republicans Congressional Caucus in May of 1800 nominated Vice President Thomas Jefferson (Virginia) to be the party's candidate for president and Former United States Senate Aaron Burr (New York) to be the party's candidate for vice-president.

Significance of the 1800 Presidential Election Results

According to the article, *The United States Presidential Election of 1800* (2019), the significance of the results of the 1800 Presidential Election is that they gave birth to the first realigningelection between the two major political parties of the United States of Americaand the first peaceful transfer of power between the two major political parties of the United States of America. There were 16 states and a total of 138 electoral votes in the 1800 Presidential Election. A candidate needed to winat least 70 electoral votes to win the presidential election.Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson won 73 electoral votes, Democratic-Republican Aaron Burr won 73 electoral votes, Federalist John Adamswon 65 electoral votes, and Federalist Charles Pinckneywon 64 electoral because a Rhode Island elector voted for John Jay instead.

According to the article, *The United States Presidential Election of 1800* (2019), the election ended in a tie because Thomas Jefferson won 73 electoral votes and Aaron Burrwon 73 electoral votes. Both Maryland and New York changed party allegiance because Federalist John Adams won both states in 1796 and Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson won New York and tied in Maryland in 1800.The election had to be decided by the 16 states in the House of Representatives because it ended in a tie. Each state delegation accounted for 1 state vote and a candidate needed to win 9 states to win the presidential election. It took 36 Ballots and 5 days to elect the president because the results of the 1st Ballot – 35th Ballot were always that Jefferson won 8 states, Burr won 6 states, and no ballot from Maryland and Vermont.Vice President Thomas Jefferson (Virginia) became the 3rd United States President on the 36th Ballot because the results were that Jefferson won 10 states, Burr won 4 states, and no ballot from Delaware and South Carolina.

Impact of the Presidential Legacy of Adams

It is an important fact that the results of the 1800 Presidential Election impacted the presidential legacy of John Adams. Moreover, the presidential legacy of John Adams was impacted in the following three key ways due to the results of the 1800 Presidential Election.

- He gets credit for being the first incumbent president to try and fail to win re-election.
- He gets credit for participating in the first re-aligning election because helost his majority voter support in both New York and Maryland due to hisenforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.
- He gets credit for participating in the first presidential election that was decided by the House of Representatives.

Conclusion

Essentially, the presidential legacy of John Adams was greatly impacted by three key political events such as the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the 1800 Treaty of Mortefontaine, and the results of the 1800 Presidential Election.

- Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798
    - He gets credit for allowing the government to imprison or deport aliens that were thought to be capable of aiding enemy nations.
    - He gets credit for allowing the federal government to restrict false speech that was critical of the federal government.
- Treaty of Mortefontaine (Convention of 1800)
    - He gets credit for negotiating a peaceful end to both the 1778 Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France and the XYZ Affair between the diplomats of France and the diplomats of the United States.
    - He gets credit for negotiating a peaceful end to the undeclared Quasi-War between France and the United States in the Caribbean.
- 1800 Presidential Election Results
    - He gets credit for being the first incumbent president to try and fail to win a presidential election.
    - He gets credit for participating in the both the first realigning election and the first presidential election that was decided by the House of Representatives.

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Artists and Leaders:

An Examination of Engagement with the Artistic Field and its

Impact on Higher Education Leadership Experiences

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The capacity to envision and inspire has an essential place in leadership, allowing leaders to recognize innovation, visualize employee development needs, and guide action. Nearly every leadership theory calls upon this essential vision, whether they call it predictive abilities or inspirational motivation (Marti, Gil & Barrasa, 2009; Bass, 1985). Regardless of its label, the ability to visualize the future is a vital aspect of leadership to help leaders see beyond familiar patterns, be open and flexible to change, and recognize newness within the context of existing constructs. This pilot study will conduct an initial exploration of how artistic engagement may potentially inform leadership experiences.

<div align="center">**Literature Review**</div>

Artistic Field

It is necessary to develop a theoretical framework which will describe the artistic field for the purpose of this study. This framework will introduce the field of art and contextualize the definition within the field of leadership. The art realm is a vast social entity comprised of artists, critics, collectors, academics, and an audience. These participants engage with art on a spectrum that creates cultural significance, asserting that art is not created in a vacuum and carries substantial symbolic meaning and value (Bourdieu, 1993). The term fine art does not fully encompass the breadth of art being explored in this study. Fine art is arguably a designation of very recent origin, probably originating as early as eighteenth-century Europe (Kristeller, 1990; Shiner, 2001). If we are to assume Kristeller (1990), Shiner (2001), and other authors of the same mindset are correct, then we concede that those practices that fall beneath the canopy of fine art share some unique essence that distinguishes them from other activities. This significantly limits the definition of art within this framework. At the other end of the naming spectrum is the broad generalization of art used by Janet Wolff (1981). Wolff (1981) refers to a "generic sociology of the arts, sensitive to diversity in art" (p. 4). This framework assumes that we naturally class like arts together in two ways: first, the works of art share commonalities; second, the works of art do not already exist within a collective product. Wolff (1981) gives the example that music is a collective product in a way that sculpture is not.

Rather than using the limiting definition of fine art or the broad generalization of Wolff, we instead call on the works of social scientist Bourdieu to establish the necessary framework of art, specifically Bourdieu's (1993) term "artistic field" (p. 30). Bourdieu was critical of attempting to understand the nature of a work of art through an analysis of form and structure alone, instead positing that art is a product of influence and must be viewed within the context of culture. The term artistic field enables us to overcome the mode of thought that places undo importance upon the individual or the relationships between individuals. The artistic field cannot exist independently of culture, just as artists cannot create art independent of conditioning and influence. Bourdieu points out that there are few other circumstances in which creators are accepted as immune to the conditioning that occurs because one's position in both time and society. This is supported by the general acceptance that artists are somehow separate from the banal corpus imposed upon them when we refer to bodies of artworks by the name of the artist (Bourdieu, 1993). The use of Bourdieu's artistic field supports our position that there is no clear nor objective demarcation between fine art and craft, and that art does not exist in a transcendent sphere unaffected by social constructs.

Leadership

Given the significance of leadership in relation to successful organizations and societies, it is essential that we ask, "what makes a leader effective?" The earliest discussions of leadership concepts attempt to answer this question, but only in the past century has academic research begun to seriously examine the traits, characteristics, and behaviors of great leaders (Adair, 2002; Avery, 2004; Barker, 2001). In the last 40 years, researchers have made substantial progress in addressing leadership effectiveness and several leadership theories have emerged from the growing body of research (Alvesson & Spicer, 2011; see also, Kotter, 1988; Kotter 1996). The type of leadership present in an environment has a direct and significant effect on the behavior and function of individuals within that organization (Kanungo, 1998; Avolio & Gardner, 2005). The same can be said of organizational behavior; leadership behaviors dictate function not only on an individual scale, but on an organizational scale as well. The long history of research in leadership has produced many theoretic perspectives addressing leadership effectiveness, with notable progress seen in transformational and transactional leadership theory.

Transformational and Transactional Leadership

The concept of transformational leadership theory is attributed to Burns' (1978) work on leadership and laid the foundation of several other theories of leadership around the same time, which continue to influence modern leadership models (e.g., House, 1977; Bass, 1985). Specifically, Burns differentiated transformational leadership from transactional leadership and maintained that these leadership styles were polar opposites. Bass' (1985) theory, although inspired by Burns, proposed that leaders could be both transformational and transactional. Bass extended Burns' research by examining the outcomes that occur when a transformational leader offers followers a motive other than their own self-interests.

Arts and Leadership

Engaging in a creative process of any kind requires a variety of skills that may be translated to leadership competencies (Dewey, 2005; Carroll & Richmond, 2008). Arts-based learning has the ability to simplify a complex issue, strengthen interpersonal, analytical and problem-solving skills, and increase self-awareness (Brenner, 2014). Engagement with beauty and art practices may improve leadership skills. Adler (2015) poses the question: "in the midst of chaos, how do we see beauty?" (p. 480). This question is the basis for much of Adler's research and she provides evidence that there are many ways to engage with beauty; nature, art, and moral beauty are merely a few ways that non-artists can participate in the artistic field. Purposeful engagement and practice of artistic skills has been linked to increased abilities to see, hear and experience what is going on around us and, even more importantly, within us (Adler, 2015). Training in studio art practices has also been linked to an increased capacity to appreciate and understand perspectives that differ from one's own (Adler, 2006; Adler, 2011; Antal, 2012; Antal & Straub, 2013). According to Adler's (2015) research, leadership development is significantly improved by the addition of simple studio art practices. By training leaders to *see* like an artist, they experience higher confidence, positivity, and self-efficacy (Adler, 2015). Adler (2015) goes on to describe the concept of leading beautifully and using artistic qualities to improve development, which has, until recently, been largely irrelevant and underused in leaders' vocabulary.

The relationship between the artistic field and leadership has been explored through the lens of theater in multiple studies. Tawadros (2015) describes the use of theater-based leadership development (TBLD) and how organizational leaders could benefit from the use of unscripted scenarios and improvisation to study leadership behavior. A group of medical residents used theater-based learning to increase clinical empathy (Dow, Leong, Anderson, and Wenzel, 2007). Austin and Devin (2003) explored how software development might benefit from skills derived from theater production. Denhardt and Denhardt (2006) took a broader approach to the subject, analyzing what leaders might learn about human interaction from theatrical dance. Although these studies involved subjects from various fields, they were all concerned with the transfer of artistic skills. Taylor and Ladkin (2009) emphasize the significance of effectively applying art skills in management of organization. This idea is abundant in the anecdotal examples provided by Taylor and Ladkin (2009) and supports Tawadros's (2015) practical model of TBLD techniques which uses social psychology research to examine patterns of leadership behavior. Tawadros suggests utilizing conservation analysis and other micro-analytic techniques to develop an evidence-based method for improvisation and role-playing training in leadership development.

Brenner (2014) defines arts-based learning as "the use of artistic expressions...as a catalyst for improving business performance" (p. 76). A key concept in Brenner's (2014) article is that arts-based learning is usually used in two different ways within the context of leadership skills. The first is to recognize patterns that exist in both the artistic process and leadership. The second is to create art or to engage with art. Brenner (2014) highlights the importance of utilizing both roles and will often have groups participating in his workshops engage with music and complete a drawing exercise simultaneously (Brenner, 2014; Asbjörnson and Brenner, 2010).

Methods

This study is based on semi-structured interviews with collegiate administrative leaders that identify as artists. Chairs and Deans of art programs in four-year higher education institutions were identified by using the U.S. News Best Fine Arts Programs ranking (U.S. News Education Rankings and Advice, 2018). We then examined the background and curriculum vitae of each applicable Chair or Dean to determine if they had experience in the artistic field. Interviewees were recruited by email. In total, three persons agreed to be interviewed, which included a male Dean, a male Dean Emeritus, and a female Chair. The interview questions were constructed to explore how artists' skills may inform the leadership experience. Interviewees were asked nine questions that prompted a discussion about how practicing art has influenced their leadership skills and how being a leader has affected their art. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in full length. Research and analysis were performed according to the principles of narrative research (Creswell, 2013). By collecting stories of individual experiences from artists in positions of leadership in higher education administration, we aimed to conceptualize the commonalities shared among the artist-leaders through their personal narratives.

Results

In the analysis, we identified three main themes that were shared in common among all three interviewees:

1. Despite now being college administrators, the interviewees currently describe themselves as artists
2. Interviewees evolved from being studio artists into administrative leadership roles
3. Interviewees reported shared competencies across their artistic production and leadership styles

Interviewees Currently Describe Themselves as Artists

The artist-leaders interviewed described themselves primarily as artists and were concerned with the toll that their leadership positions took on their creative output. Artist-Leader 1 exhibited this sentiment by stating, "When I was just a professor of sculpture, of course I was much more prolific, making a lot of work and showing more frequently." These artist-leaders described their leadership positions as demanding of both time and energy, with unpredictable tasks of varying urgency. They explained that they had to prioritize their studio time to ensure they were continuing to create art: "It places a challenge to get past that obstacle and keep an active engagement with my studio practice as much as I possibly can... it creates a higher value on my studio time" (Artist-Leader 3).

Although the time to practice art was harder to come by, these artist-leaders appear to have developed a greater appreciation for that time, and perhaps even became more efficient in how they spent their time creating. These artist-leaders were particularly adamant that practicing art was, and is, central to their wellbeing and that all aspects of their professional work and personal lives were impacted when they were not practicing art. As Artist-Leader 2 said, "To my core, I'm not really functioning properly as a person unless I'm making my work. That's an imbalance in my life right now."

This idea was emphasized repeatedly among the interviewees, leading us to believe that regardless of their leadership positions, they identify first and foremost as artists. When asked if these artist-leaders felt that their leadership positions took away from their art, interviewees emphatically reported that they had less time to create art and were actively seeking out ways to prioritize their studio time more effectively. Artist-Leader 1 said:

> Truthfully yes, [being a leader] does take away from my art because it takes my time. It takes a lot of time to create art. There's a lot of failure involved, a lot of things dead end. You can't always work efficiently as an artist...It's very hard to figure out how to work in half hour or hour segments. I need a whole day, I completely change the whole way that I think.

Evolution to a Leadership Role

The interviewees all viewed their positions as generally enjoyable and more importantly, contributing to the wellbeing of students. Artist-Leader 3 said, "[Leading] is the kind of thing that's very rewarding and also very taxing." The interviewees also shared the experience of teaching. Each artist-leader reported that their leadership roles evolved from teaching and that they were better able to serve students because of their interaction with the art world as an artist and educator. This connection to students was reported to be a significant aspect of their leadership positions, as is stated by Artist-Leader 3: "And while I'm doing all of this, I'm also teaching... [I am creating] individual study programs for our students, and [there are] specific students I have mentorship relationships with."

The act of teaching art was related to maintaining a connection with students and these artist-leaders emphasized the importance of teaching throughout the interviews:

> I've seen so many administrators lose that connection, so I teach to be reminded of what students are thinking about, and also to know from their point of view how the department is working or their program is working (Artist-Leader 2).

Artist-leaders shared that the pathway to leadership was significantly affected by their experience as an artist and their teaching positions. Artist-Leader 2 stated that he initially had "no interest in teaching or being part of an institution at all" but took a teaching job to fund a piece he was working on at the time. Once there, he realized that he had an opportunity to make a difference for students. "I could make better connections for our students regarding who we invited into the program to teach there. I organized guest speakers...it gave me the sense that I can make a difference" (Artist-Leader 2).

In general, these artist-leaders reported that their positions in upper administration as Deans or Chairs were significantly more demanding of their time than their previous positions. In spite of this, these artist-leaders reported satisfaction in their leadership roles. Artist-Leader 1 states:

> I actually really enjoy administration because I approach it just the way I approach making art. What am I trying to accomplish and how am I going to do that, I find it quite intriguing...I would try a lot of different ideas.

These artist-leaders described their administrative positions as extremely busy, even taxing, but generally predictable. The structure of these artist-leaders' leadership roles appeared to provide a sense of structure that resulted in an increase of productivity in general, albeit not necessarily in their practice of art specifically:

> I also like the side of my life that is rare in structure, or rather a different type of structure. I think in general, artists can benefit from the structure of a day job. It relates to the idea that the more you have to do, the more you get done. I am forced to be more productive because I am so busy (Artist-Leader 2).

There was also a recurring idea that somehow artists in administrative positions evolve into their role rather than aspire to it purposefully. Artist-Leader 2 stated that "almost everybody says they didn't intend to become an arts administrator." This thought was echoed by Artist-Leader 3's statement that there was "an evolution in those early years" of growing into a leadership position. Artist-Leader 2 considered that perhaps the evolution to a leadership role as an artist is made more successful because artists possess a "sensitivity to [their] environment, being able to see what is in front of [them] and being sentient." Artist-Leader 2 also spoke of the "delayed gratification" of creating art and suggested that a leader must "imagine [problems] forwards and backwards in [their] mind."

Shared Competencies in Art and Leadership

These artist-leaders reported a connection between their success as a leader and their success as an artist. All three of these artist-leaders were currently producing art at the time of the study, although they all stated that they were looking forward to devoting more time to their art in the future. Artist-Leader 3 described leadership as an "innate characteristic" that she possessed, which was more finely honed by her work as an artist in the studio coupled with a leadership role. Artist-Leader 3 also described the importance of trust while making art and how that translates to confidence in leadership:

When you're making art or even when you're talking about art, you have to trust yourself. Even though there are moments when you have doubt, something about the self-direction that being an artist requires [instills] the ability to fully trust yourself and simply move forward.

The concept of forward momentum and openness was evident in the other interviewees' descriptions of their leadership skills and appeared to be associated with being open to change and ideas. Artist-Leader 2 says, "As an administrator and as an artist, you have to realize that the thing you're after isn't always the obvious solution. We must be open to something that's not self-evident."

The concept of being open to change and new ideas emerged as a common theme among the artists. Artist-Leader 1 referred to his "open door policy" for students and colleagues alike, explaining that he felt a responsibility to stay connected to students and strived to be open to their ideas and suggestions. He went on to say that many of his colleagues were often highly resistant to change. Artist-Leader 1 reported being sensitive to this resistance in conjunction with his effort to maintain openness and said, "[Managing] change is very difficult and as leaders we have to ask, how do you make changes and then bring people along with you?"

Artist-Leader 2 viewed his leadership as very meaningful, conveying that his role in administration was more than menial clerical work. He viewed leading as having its own unique kind of content, much like art. He said that his role as a leader evoked meaning and purpose:

There is a creative element in my administrative [position]...there is content in administration. I think that if I'm able to do things that rely on similar skill sets in my [leadership position], I don't see it as competing [with my art] but as an extension [of my art].

This positive view of administration was found among all three interviewees. In general, they all believed that their skills as an artist were both transferable to and significantly affected by their leadership roles. Although the interviewees did believe their leadership positions demanded much of their time which could have been spent creating art instead, they also acknowledged that their leadership positions were beneficial to their art in unexpected ways:

In many ways, [you take] the same kind of chances [in a leadership position] that you would take when you're making your next move in a piece of art. If [the piece] gets too complacent, you want to throw a wrench in the works and challenge yourself a little more. And I think I do a lot of that in administration (Artist-Leader 1).

Discussion

Current research (see Adler, 2006, 2011 and 2015; Antal & Straub, 2013; Antal, 2012; Brenner, 2014; Tawadros, 2015) concerning the relationship between art and leadership reveals that while it is likely that some connection exists between leadership theories, high quality leadership abilities, and artists' skills, much of it is still uncharted territory. Artist-leaders interviewed in this study held their artist title in high esteem, describing themselves from that vantage point when referencing different positions they had held throughout their lives. As these artist-leaders reflected on their evolution to leadership roles, each with a unique career trajectory, they continued to describe themselves as artists. It is important to note that these artist-leaders continuously

identified as artists because it positions leadership within the context of the artistic field and prompts discussion about which, if any, *artists'* qualities transfer to leadership skills and competencies.

Artists have attracted attention from researchers, perhaps in part because initial studies have indicated that when compared to non-artists, artists have more creative thinking styles and different perceptions of reality (Drevdahl & Cattell, 1958). Feist (1998) conducted a comprehensive meta-analytic study comparing artists with non-artists and reported that artists are more open to new experiences, less conventional in their thinking, more motivated and ambitious, and more self-confident. While visual artists have received far less examination than other artists, such as musicians, the existing research does indicate that visual artist samples obtain higher scores in personality dimensions of openness than non-artist samples (Burch, Pavelis, Hemsley, & Corr, 2006; Feist, 1998). The results of this study show that these artist-leaders considered themselves to be very open to new ideas and experiences. On a similar note, leaders' openness to new experiences has been connected to successful leadership by supporting a climate of trust and resourcefulness (Özbağ, 2016). In a study examining perceived ethical, high quality leadership, Özbağ (2016) analyzed the link between five factor personality traits and leadership behaviors. The study demonstrated a positive association between openness to experience and preferred leadership outcomes. Thus, there is some evidence for the relationship between the openness trait in artist-leaders and openness as a leadership competency, particularly within the framework of transformational leadership which refers directly to openness as one of the four dimensions (Bass, 1985).

Limitations and Future Research

There were several limitations to this pilot study. The small sample size served the purpose of this pilot study but precludes generalizability. Future studies will need to employ a larger and more diverse participant pool. In addition, we did not differentiate between chairs and deans, nor did we target either one type of visual artist or have broad representation of different types of artists (participants included two sculptors and one painter). For these reasons, we need further studies across a larger group of artist-leaders, with the potential for targeting a broader or a more narrowly focused artistic field. The results of this pilot study identify potentially transferrable skills between engagement with the artistic field and effective leadership styles. This is further reinforced by current literature. There are empirical data supporting the view that artists have higher levels of openness when using trait measures (Feist, 1998; Burch, Pavelis, Hemsley, & Corr, 2006; Drevdahl & Cattell, 1958) which may be indicative of transformational leadership behaviors (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). These connections are encouraging about the potential to integrate art into traditional leadership curriculum. The intersection of the artistic field and leadership presents an innovative framework for the future of leadership, calling on artists' abilities to inspire, envision, and transform.

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Student Preference for Reading and Inquiry: An Avenue for Differentiation with E-text

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Abstract

Regardless of the delivery method, virtual learning or face-to-face, a majority of today's students spend a great deal of time learning via computer or similar device. In turn, students often access material online in the form of digital text or e-text, rather than traditional mediums. This paper revisits the widely referenced concept of differentiation in relation to the educator's important role of facilitator. In consideration of students' learning styles and learning preferences, differentiation should be of high importance; however, differentiating instruction can be quite challenging. This paper will explore ways that educators can seamlessly support their students in authentic reading and inquiry by introducing digital tools.

Keywords: differentiation, digital text, online learning, virtual delivery, digital tools, authentic reading, inquiry, learning preferences, scaffolding, digital literacies

Introduction

In an increasingly digital world (Bishop & Counihan, 2018), much of our daily reading and information consumption is facilitated online through the use of electronic devices. This holds equally true in classrooms at all levels of education and for students of all ages. The Covid-19 pandemic moved education for students and teachers online at unprecedented rates (Li & Lalani, 2020); however, the use of devices to facilitate reading experiences for students was widely prevalent before the pandemic. Learning through online tools is certainly here to stay now that teachers and students have become more adept at learning with online materials than ever before. If classroom materials are going and (or) remaining virtual, we as teachers must consider our students' potential struggles and preferences as learners in a digital space just as we would in the physical classroom.

Regardless of the delivery method, whether virtual learning or face-to-face, a majority of today's students spend a great deal of time learning via computer or similar device. In turn, students often access material online in the form of digital or e-text rather than traditional mediums. The complex nature of reading online adds a physical strain and can create new obstacles for students with regard to navigation, engagement, and comprehension (Goldsborough, 2012; Liu & Gu, 2020). For educators, this warrants an increased awareness of the differences in physical works as compared to digital works and the related reader experience. A great deal of students do not prefer learning online. While teachers can respect that preference, what should be done when there is no choice?

Our experiences shape our perspectives and research interests. Through our experiences in roles such as classroom teachers, reading specialists, and college professors, and those made in both the private and public sectors, we have encountered learners who have identified a wide variety of technological struggles and these struggles have prevented them from being able to engage with the content as meaningfully as we would hope. We have learned that in an age where technological learning experiences have taken center stage—and will continue to be emphasized in the classroom going forward—we owe it to our students to support, scaffold, and accommodate their learning in a digital environment. While an overarching goal is to support students at varying ability levels, our research is in regard to students' readiness, interests, and specifically learning profiles and (or) preferred approach to learning. Our interest in and emphasis on the need to provide tools that accommodate digital learning goes beyond the simple prevalence of technology in today's education. Yes, technology is partly utilized to deliver instructional materials because of its convenience: materials and assignments are distributed, collected, and stored much more efficiently in a digital form, and they can be accessed anywhere that a student or teacher has access to a device. However, the importance of supporting our students' digital learning experiences goes far beyond the interest of convenience and efficiency. The work of much of our disciplines—and even how we consume information and interact in our personal lives--now largely takes place in a digital space (Wickens, Manderino, & Glover, 2015), and we should prepare our students to work in that space.

Teaching and Learning Today

Today's educators are tasked with developing learners and future professionals that will thrive in the 21st century with emerging digital literacies (Summey, 2013). The

learning of all disciplines has now grown to include a variety of vital digital learning experiences and digital skills unique to those fields. The development of the vital literacies and skills to be obtained through these digital learning experiences have the potential to be thwarted by our students' unique learning needs if they are not addressed. We as teachers have the responsibility to provide our students with such learning experiences and appropriate accommodations to prepare them to function and succeed in a digital environment.

The digital literacies inherent to a 21st-century education represent a cross-section of a larger variety of emergent literacies (Summey, 2013). Today's students should be prepared for a wide variety of functions and skills to be carried out digitally as they will be expected to consume, create, and communicate technologically for a range of different people and purposes. Our students should be able to find useful information, filter out important content, and organize and curate it for their own purposes. They need to engage in sharing information and collaborating with others, and to create and generate new information using technological resources. As new genres of reading and writing emerge alongside these new digital literacies, our students should even be prepared to reuse and repurpose existing media resources to extend on a discussion and create new meaning.

Clearly, the end goals of educational experiences facilitated through technology are not simply based on familiarity with technology itself, but the ability to use technology to further the goals of our disciplines. Students should be able to make digital learning experiences their own rather than being intimidated by the delivery system we use to share materials. In the physical classroom, our students can hold texts in their hands, track their understanding through annotations and highlights, and have their learning needs accommodated through differentiation. Learning in the digital space should be no different. Educators can provide students with online tools for digital differentiation, allowing them to better control their learning experience and engage with class materials in meaningful ways (Yeh, Hung, & Chiang, 2017). We incorporate technology in the classroom to further the learning of content we are teaching and to help students become digital citizens in school and beyond (Summey, 2013). Thus, we provide tools that help students overcome the barriers of technology use so they can engage with text regularly, develop relevant skills, and to enable them to thrive in a digital environment as students and beyond.

As we began to recognize the trends in hurdles faced by students when learning with technology, our objective became to gather some tools that could help them overcome these barriers. The overarching goal is to support students in authentic reading and inquiry. We wanted to find efficient and easy-to-use resources for students to use in a digital learning environment so that they can 1) access online texts without inhibitions or barriers, 2) meaningfully engage with online texts as they develop the digital literacies and skills relevant to their disciplines, and 3) gain control of their online reading experiences as they develop into digital citizens beyond the school building.

Differentiating Online Learning

In looking at both theory and best practices, we know student interest and the ability to make choices are conducive to authentic learning. Further, educational research supports the practice of scaffolding (Gunning, 2020), or the "varied guidance and support

for each student, which ensures students are appropriately challenged" (Wilson, 2015, p. 26). If instructors should adjust support as related to student ability, and interest and choice are key components for learning success (Gunning, 2020; Tomkins, 2017; Tomlinson & Moon, 2013; Wilson, 2015), how does this fit our school aged and higher education learners?

Although differentiating instruction can be quite challenging, we cannot afford to avoid it due to a virtual learning environment. Instead, we should seek out and incorporate resources to support students through differentiated instruction. In looking more closely at student interest and choice- for K-12 and higher education learners, we heavily consider learner preference. Many educators are familiar with the topic of differentiation and as such, differentiating the content, process, product, and environment are familiar (Tomlinson, 2017). Tomlinson and Moon (2013) provided a wonderful explanation of what differentiation should look like for the students we serve by claiming that the avenues for differentiation (content, process, product, affect/learning environment) should be in accordance with individual students' readiness levels, interests, and learning profiles - all components that can be addressed through technology tools. Considering what we know about the need to support our students by challenging and supporting them appropriately, we must consider student preference and factors that may support students while also enhancing the learning experience.

The 2020-2021 academic year provided educators an avenue through which to gauge student perspectives with regard to online learning and all that is required (Trybus, 2020). We turned to our students' common complaints or challenges to identify trends in the struggles they faced when reading and learning online. Some of the most frequent comments included: "I need my blue blockers;" "The screen gives me headaches;" "My eyes are just so tired;" "So many pop ups/ads;" "I have been sitting all day;" "I am Zoomed out;" and "I hate reading online because I can't take notes on what I'm reading." There is no doubt that these notions sound familiar to teachers everywhere. Through an analysis of common complaints such as these, a general trend became clear: students are experiencing problems with viewing, engaging with, and tracking their understanding of online texts. We believe that if teachers provide students with tools that can help accommodate these challenge areas, these students will not only experience more academic success, but they will also be relieved of some of the physical strain of long-term screen time.

Discussion of Online Tools for E-Text Differentiation
Our criteria for identifying helpful digital tools for accommodating online learning were simple. Firstly, as stated previously, we wanted to find tools that enabled students to better view, engage with, and track their understanding of online texts according to their learning needs and preferences. Secondly, we were interested in identifying tools that were easily and freely accessible. In fact, many of the tools we identified are available as extensions of the Chrome web browser (Google Chrome, 2021), the most widely used Internet browser. Thirdly and finally, we sought out tools that were intuitive, simple to learn, and easy to use. After all, a learning tool is of little value if the effort to learn and use the tool inhibits learning rather than enhancing it. With these criteria in mind, we identified a handful of tools that we hope teachers and students find useful for improving online reading. To enhance the viewing experience, we selected **Magnifying Glass**

(Magnifying Glass, 2018), **Screen Shader** (Guiselin, 2021) and **Reader View** (Reader View, 2021). For better engagement with online texts, we chose **Diigo** (Diigo, Inc., 2021) and **XODO** (XODO Technologies Inc., 2018). Lastly, for better understanding digital reading materials, we found **Read Aloud** (LSD Software, 2021), **Newsela** (Newsela, 2021), and **Rewordify** (Rewordify, 2021).

Viewing
Magnifying Glass (available as a Chrome extension)

Magnification devices and large print versions are common accommodations for students with visual impairments that may prohibit them from completely engaging with print materials in the physical classroom (Johnson-Jones, 2017). Other students may simply prefer larger print when reading on paper or online for ease of reading. This assistive technology enables users to apply a magnified circle to any area of a given webpage without having to manipulate the rest of the page. Any text within the "magnifying glass" on the screen is enlarged by a factor of the user's choosing, but the remaining text is unchanged until hovered over. While web browsers frequently offer a zoom feature for enlarging the entire page, zooming in on the whole screen often makes navigating and scrolling the page inconvenient and tedious. The Magnifying Glass tool simply takes the place of the user's cursor as he or she reads or views images, allowing the rest of the page to maintain its original size and position and reducing the need for added sideways or downward scrolling.

Screen Shader (available as a Chrome extension)

An increase in online reading and learning naturally leads to an increase in screen time. As the time spent staring at a screen mounts, users can come to experience the symptoms of "computer vision syndrome," or CVS. According to the National Institute for Occupational Health and Safety, only two hours spent looking at a screen each day can lead to the effects of CVS, such as "dry and itchy eyes, eye redness, blurred vision, double vision, temporary inability to refocus your eyes, sensitivity to light, and headaches" (Goldsborough, 2012). Furthermore, research from the University of Houston found that artificial blue light can prevent sleep by reducing levels of melatonin at night, while preventing blue light exposure can improve sleep (Headline Science, 2017). With students potentially spending several hours each day engaging with digital materials in an online learning environment, teachers should be mindful of their students' sleep, eye health, and comfort levels. Customized screen lighting is a proven preventative against the effects of long-term device use and CVS (Goldsborough, 2012). The Screen Shader tool offers users the ability to customize the color shading of the computer screen so that the harshness of blue light is filtered through a range of shades more soothing to the eye. Furthermore, Screen Shader offers recommended presets, as well as customizable settings that adapt automatically to the time of day.

Reader View (available as a Chrome extension)

Online reading is often plagued by clutter, pop-ups, advertisements, distractions, and fonts of all types and sizes. Recent research into online reading among students found that, "as students are processing information from digital media and educational materials, they are increasingly being interrupted by competing media and their

surroundings. This trend of increased interruptions suggests the continuous increase of instances of fragmented reading in learning settings" (Liu & Gu, 2020). As a result of these fragmented reading experiences, students tend to portray reduced levels of understanding (Liu & Gu, 2020). Research also shows that various aspects of fonts such as "stroke weight, letter width, and letter spacing stroke weight, letter width, and letter spacing vary in their influence on reading ability depending on the reading scenarios" (Beier & Oderkerk, 2019), with students generally being adversely affected by these aspects as they get older. Reader View is a tool that allows users to filter out the clutter of busy webpages, enabling them to focus on the text rather than the other features that may compete for their attention. Not only does Reader View allow readers to clear away distractions, but it also allows for other reader preferences, such as customizable background colors, font types, font sizes, and line spacing.

Engaging
Diigo (available as a Chrome extension)
　　Annotation has long been used as a strategy to support reading comprehension and engagement with texts. Although the possibility for physical interaction with the page is eliminated when reading digital texts, the importance of annotation remains the same. In fact, opportunities for online annotation have been proven to help students to better engage in e-reading and improve their comprehension (Yeh et al., 2017). Furthermore, having students engage with a variety of texts and perspectives on a common topic is an effective strategy for developing conceptual knowledge and inquiry skills. Diigo is a social bookmarking web tool that allows readers to annotate, archive, bookmark, screenshot, tag, and collect their reading from around the web in the interest of collaborating and creating meaning with others (Dennen, Cates, & Bagdy, 2017). As a Chrome extension, Diigo allows users to highlight and annotate directly onto any webpage rather than having to toggle back and forth between word processors and browser windows to take notes. All annotations and highlights are recorded and saved into an "outliner," which can easily be accessed through the Chrome extension button or directly on the Diigo website. No longer does the reading and research process need to be fragmented or interrupted by digging up lost notes or articles: Diigo allows the user to easily engage with online texts, capture their reading reactions, and save their sources and findings in one location for later use.

XODO (available as a Chrome extension)
　　Although it does not carry all the features of Diigo in terms of social bookmarking, XODO is another webtool that provides users the capability of onscreen annotations. The reason XODO is particularly helpful is because it allows users to view, annotate, highlight, underline, and add shapes and signatures to PDFs, and then save or print the marked up version of the document locally. In an online learning environment, electronic reading materials are often shared with students in the form of PDFs. However, not all students have access to software on their devices that allows them to add their own markups or annotations, and purchasing such tools can be expensive. XODO is offered for free directly on its website or as a Google Chrome extension, allowing all students to meaningfully engage with any PDF shared with them by an instructor.

Understanding
Read Aloud (available as a Chrome extension)

Reading aloud has long been accepted as a helpful strategy to support literacy development (Hurst & Griffity, 2015). Not only does reading aloud support language development, phonological awareness, cognitive development, and reading comprehension in early childhood through elementary grades (Merga, 2017), but this strategy also holds practical implications for scaffolding, vocabulary development, and understanding for students in middle and high schools (Hurst & Griffity, 2015). The Read Aloud extension enables users to experience all the benefits of being read to while learning in an online environment. Read Aloud allows users to hear their online reading materials spoken by voices from an extensive list of accent and language options. Users can also customize the speed, pitch, and volume at which the text is read, as well as select which passages are read by highlighting the text on the screen.

Newsela

As was previously established, the process of annotating a text can greatly enhance a reader's level of engagement and understanding. Additionally, factors such as reading level, relevance, and student interest are also key components in ensuring understanding and comprehension of a text. In a study of using reading levels to differentiate reading comprehension in English classrooms, FitzPatrick (2008) found that using reading levels to select texts and guide instructional decision-making allowed teachers to increase engagement among students by providing them with texts and tasks appropriate to their levels of independence (FitzPatrick, 2008). Relevance and student interest are factors shown to increase understanding and enhance autonomy by engaging students with texts that have connections with life outside of school (Guthrie, McRae, & Klauda, 2007). Newsela is a one-stop solution for educators seeking to provide their students with engaging, differentiated reading experiences online. This platform offers collections of reading materials aligned to a variety of national and state standards and suitable to all subjects and grade levels. Not only does Newsela provide texts that are both relevant and appealing to student interests, but it offers content that is differentiated at five different reading levels to meet the needs of students at all levels of readiness (Newsela, 2021). Through Newsela's online platform, students can track their understanding through onscreen annotation and test themselves using a variety of writing prompts and comprehension quizzes. Though Newsela is not available as a Chrome extension, it can be integrated with a wide range of online learning management systems such as Canvas, Google Classroom, Microsoft, Nearpod, and more.

Rewordify

Similarly to Newsela, Rewordify is a tool that allows teachers to select texts from around the web to meet their students' interests while still being able to differentiate word choice and vocabulary, enabling all students to understand and engage meaningfully with the text (Plante, 2020). On its website, Rewordify indicates that it can "intelligently simplify difficult English for faster comprehension, effectively teach words for building a better vocabulary, help teachers save time and produce engaging lessons, and help improve learning outcomes" (Rewordify, 2021). Users of Rewordify can simply copy and paste any text into the page's text box, and the passage will instantly have its more difficult

vocabulary words translated into simpler synonyms or replaced by definitions. The site also offers helpful features that will pronounce any challenging words out loud and chart each word in the passage by its part of speech—a resource that would be beneficial for struggling readers and English language learners. Although this resource offers many more features such as bookmarking, progress monitoring, and assessments, the most attractive features for the purposes of this research is Rewordify's ability to translate difficult text passages for vocabulary building and ease of understanding. Rewordify is not available as a feature of Chrome, but it can be utilized easily by visiting www.rewordify.com.

Conclusions

Upon careful consideration of today's learners, the available avenues for digital learning, and the need for differentiated instruction in the online learning environment, we conducted a qualitative content analysis of a variety of useful, intuitive digital tools. The objective of this study was to locate tools for learners of all ages and to address the ways in which these could enhance the online learning experience. These not only allow learners to tailor their online reading experience to their individual preferences, but also provide teachers with resources to offer support to individual students as directly related to learning needs. Though the findings presented are beneficial and diverse in their application as they help students better view, engage, and understand digital texts, the list of tools under study is not exhaustive. We encourage teachers in all settings to not only explore the resources discussed here, but to continue exploring the available tools for meeting the online learning needs of their students.

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Crisis Management and Self Care Workshops in a Covid-19 Environment

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Main Topic: Inclusion (disability and accessibility, mental health issues, crisis intervention, academic engagement, etc.).

Additional Topic: Institutional Strategy (administration, policy, student retention and completion initiatives, etc.)

Summary: The purpose of these workshopswas to encourage open discussion of strategies on mental health issues that are faced by faculty and students within the classroom environment.

According to Brown & Trusty, 2005, "the purpose of crisis intervention in a school setting is to provide immediate assistance, minimize distress and chaos, and assist in returning to a normal educational environment as quickly and efficiently as possible"(p. 261). Faculty and students are oftentimes ill-equipped to deal with adverse situations as they may arise in the classroom setting. Faculty are subject matter experts within their content area and may miss the signs that a student, or even a colleague is in distress. Providing lunch and learn workshop opportunities can have both short term and long-term benefit for the faculty and the student by creating a space for interactive discussions and bringing awareness to signs and triggers to potentially harmful situations. Further, a long-term goal would be a decrease in the numbers of suicides and crisis events on the campus.

Title: Crisis Management and Self-care Lunch and Learn Workshop

Abstract

Effective crisis intervention and response in a school setting can provide immediate assistance, minimize distress, and assist in returning to a normal educational environment quickly and efficiently. However, faculty and students are oftentimes ill-equipped to deal with adverse situations as they may arise in the classroom setting and broader campus community. Many faculty members are subject matter experts within their content area alone, which may result in missing necessary warning signs that a student, or even a colleague, is in distress. Therefore, exposing students and faculty to knowledge and expertise around self-care and crisis intervention can minimize the potential stressors related to these events. Additionally, providing resources and supplies makes content on the foundations of crisis management tangible and accessible. Thus, workshop attendees will understand the importance of being proactive when a situation arises on campus and be provided a framework to provide necessary training and preparation to their campuses to promote safety and healthy functioning of its members especially in a COVID-19 environment.

A. Original need for Lunch & Learn Workshops as conceptualized in 2019 and its short-term and long-term impacts:

Faculty and students are oftentimes ill-equipped to deal with adverse situations as they may arise in the classroom setting. Faculty are subject matter experts within their content area and may miss the signs that a student, or even a colleague is in distress. Providing lunch and learn workshop opportunities can have both short term and long-term benefit for the faculty and the student by creating a space for interactive discussions and bringing awareness to signs and triggers to potentially harmful situations. Further, a long-term goal would be a decrease in the numbers of suicides and crisis events on the campus.

The monthly hour-long Lunch and Learn Workshops were geared towards Crisis Management and Self-Care in the classroom. There were six workshops scheduled in the 2019-2020 academic year. Three in fall 2019 (September, October, and November) and three in spring 2020 (February, March, and April). Topics such as Self-Care, Suicide Prevention, etc. were scheduled to be covered. According to Brown & Trusty, 2005, "the purpose of crisis intervention in a school setting is to provide immediate assistance, minimize distress and chaos, and assist in returning to a normal educational environment as quickly and efficiently as possible"(p. 261). This is an appropriate quote for what was to followin our Lunch and Learn journey as our year unfolded.

We were able to conduct our sessions up to March, then COVID-19 happened. The university pivoted to an online format and cancelled all in person activities. Therefore, sessions that were scheduled for late March and early April, had to be rescheduled with the hope that the grantawarded for the workshops would be

extended when we were able to get back to our "normal" activities. Needless to say, "normal" never materialized, but a "new-normal" did and we reapplied for the grant for the next academic year (2020-2021) with this "new normal" in mind.

B. "New Normal" COVID-19 Lunch and Learn Workshops

Given our current "new normal" under COVID-19, we proposed in our grant to continue the monthly or bi-monthly hour-long sessions geared towards Crisis Management and Self-Care in the classroom. We proposed continuing to hold sessions during the common hour, so that faculty and students could attend through Zoom, "a cloud-based video conferencing service, which allows the user to conduct meetings virtually" (Zoom, 2021). A total of six to eight workshops were scheduled in the 2020-2021 academic year. Three to four in fall 2020 (September, October, and November) and three to four in spring 2021 (February, March, and April). Each topic covered during the lunchtime chat would address a particular aspect of crisis management and self-care in the classroom: (1) anxiety, panic, and de-escalation, (2) warning signs and detection of acute intoxication in the classroom and across campus communities, (3) depression, suicidal ideation and prevention, (4) processing campus crises and trauma, (5) self-care and emotion regulation, (6) commitment to campus wellness, (7) navigating our new-normal under COVID-19, and (8) assessing and accessing our emotional intelligence under COVID-19.

As a team, we were hopeful that we could demonstrate the importance of being proactive when a situation arises on campus, providing necessary training and preparation to promote campus safety and healthy functioning. Further, given the pressures that we were facing with this "new normal", exposing students and faculty to other departments, builds community and demonstrates a commitment to the well-being of our Austin Peay (collegiate) family. Providing resources and supplies makes the literature and relevant content on the foundations of crisis management tangible and accessible to all of us.

In providing an honorarium to each workshop facilitator,compensatedthem for their knowledge, time, and expertisewhile allowing attendees to gain powerful insight and the necessary tools to use when a potential crisis arises. Utilizing subject matter experts ensures that the most relevant research pertaining to crisis management and public safety could be provided to workshop participants. Further, since the attendees would be giving up their lunch hour, the thought was that by providing boxed lunches to attendees it would encourage attendance in students and faculty who may be interested in the content, but may not know if the experience benefits them. Moreover, providing lunch creates a less formal, less intimidating environment for all parties involved. However, in a COVID-19 environment, this proved to be a challenge, which seemed insurmountable at times.

C. Logistics of Faculty-Student Involvement

Student and faculty involvement would be enhanced by the ability for both groups to engage in discourse outside of the classroom and in a more relaxed social

setting. Research from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, (CDC) has shown that it is important to create protective environments utilizing peer norm programs, community engagement activities, and social and emotional programs to help in decreasing incidents of suicide and crisis events. This will allow both students and faculty to commiserate in this new environment.

Additionally, faculty, staff and community affiliates were contacted to act as facilitators for sessions in which they were noted to be content area experts. Further, sessions were conducted through Zoom meetingsgiven our current situation, which help to protect public health safety. It is important to note that when refreshments are provided students and faculty are more prone to engage, but we were able to provide alternate incentives through gift cards through our university affiliate.

As stated earlier, providing lunch and learn workshop opportunities can have both short term and long-term benefit for the faculty and the student by creating a space for interactive discussions and bringing awareness to signs and triggers to potentially harmful situations. Although, COVID-19 highlighted some challenges for the online learning environment; it also showed that in a pinch, it could be done. We were able to hold sessions that were well attended by both faculty and students, which showed the need for such opportunities of this kind. Further, a long-term goal of this project would be a decrease in the numbers of suicides and crisis events on the campus and our society in general. This goal is certainly attainable as long as both students and faculty are made aware of the resources that are available to them and may be have programs like this be an institutional norm.

D. Strengthening Student Academic Identity and Success

Students' academic identity and success will be strengthened by knowing that there are faculty and student peers available for discourse in any given situation. In this new environment, it is important that students and faculty realize that we are ALL in this together. Building an environment of support will be key in helping to address any areas of concern that a student or faculty highlights. Although, there were specific issues covered each month, there were opportunities for attendees to offer suggestions at the end of each session in anin-box message to the host made available for attendees at the workshop for specific topics.Additionally, students could opt to volunteer as peers or buddies who, when seeing a classmate or instructor engaging in a crisis situation, are prepared to de-escalate or assist as necessary to maintain the safe and function of the classroom, or campus event.

E. Criteria for Measuring Program Success.

One criterion that will be used to decide the success of the initiative is the number of students and faculty attendees. So far, in the sessions that have been held we have had over fifty attendees with some offering insightful reflections on how impactful the sessions were to them. See below a synopsis. Additionally, at the end of each session attendees were asked to fill-out an evaluation form. Each workshop will be rated for relevance and applicability, importance, and relation to campus climate and needs. The goal was to improve the quality of the workshops presented.

The open-ended feedback allowed for constructive critique, so that sessions can improve each time. At the end of the final workshop in April 2021, an overall assessment of the entire program will be evaluated to determine continuity across future school years.

F. Snapshot of Student Reflections

The following students gave their reflections on the relevance of the lunch and learn sessions in their daily lives. Overall, these snapshots showed an overwhelming gratitude for the opportunities presented to them on ways to better deal with their anxiety, physical and mental health as well as coping mechanisms.

Student A: "The final Lunch and Learn included speakers Dr. Tasha Ruffin and Dr. Debra Rose Wilson on the topic of Anxiety, Panic, and De-Escalation. More specifically, it discussed self-care in the time of Covid-19. This alone, I thought, was incredibly helpful. While learning to handle anxiety and panic, as well as de-escalate these situations, is extremely useful in a daily setting under normal conditions, the pandemic has changed the game for how much individuals stress on the daily basis. Therefore, it is important that people acknowledge where these stressors come from as well as how to handle them, which happens to be very similar to how one would handle general stressors from before the pandemic. After one understands this, one can learn how to implement these changes into their daily lives and, at a different level, public policy".

Student B:"I have learned a lot about the Mind and body. I have learned that the mind is much stronger than the body, and that consciousness is the power that we possess. Whatever way of life an individual might follow, I believe it is very important to understand the Mind more than anything. I couldn't help but see the similarities of what I believe with the beliefs of Dr. Faber. My Bambuta (Godfather) has always told me that the most similar religions to our way of life Is Buddhism and Hinduism, and hearing Dr. Faber's lecture really reinforced that for me. We both seek enlightenment, and separation from this materialistic world. We both look to escape our body by meditation to access a state of pure consciousness. His lecture brought forth a much-needed force for the students of Austin Peay".

Student C:"I found this Zoom meeting to be eye-opening. We always hear people preaching that physical activity will improve mental health, but people tend to skim over mediation despite its major health benefits. This may be because of the social connotation that mediating is "hippie stuff" and not to be taken seriously, yet there is research that proves otherwise. With this in mind, I believe that mediation time should be implemented into school schedules for younger students, as it would teach them mindfulness and how to manage their stress, perhaps alleviating the major problems that are then felt in high school, university, or in their work life later on".

G. Conclusion…going forward…

Providing opportunities outside the classroom for both faculty and students to interact can bring awareness and mitigate adverse situations before they arise. The

lunch and learn workshops were instrumental in highlighting to those who attended that we were facing similar obstacles and upheavals in our daily lives. However, what matters the most is how we respond and address the issues and the importance of our own individual self-care. Given that we are now living in a "new normal" with COVID-19, we are heightened to the realities and precarious nature of life. We understand as faculty that in order for our students to be successful in the classroom, we must meet them where they are and that means providing continued training and a safe space for dialogue.

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Cybersecurity Breach: What Went Wrong with the Unemployment Insurance Program CARES Rollout?

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Abstract

Expanded unemployment insurance benefits offered under pandemic era stimulus bills, such as the CARES and ARPA, resulted in major changes to the existing system that ultimately led to billions of dollars being lost to fraud. This article surveys these events and explores key audit findings.

Introduction

From the onset of the pandemic in late winter of 2020, the coronavirus pandemic fundamentally altered all aspects of our life. In response to the staggering public health toll and subsequent lockdowns imposed on many businesses, Congress approved an unprecedented stimulus plan in an attempt to stabilize the economy. The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (CARES) Act of 2020[i] and the Coronavirus Response and Relief Supplemental Appropriations Act (CRRSAA) of 2021[ii] were designed to stabilize the millions of Americans left unemployed in the wake of the crisis. One of the more notable provisions of these stimulus bills, including the more recent $1.9 trillion dollar American Rescue Plan Act (ARPA) that newly elected President Biden championed in 2021,[iii] is the expansion of unemployment insurance (UI) benefits.

UI Funding Provisions Under the CARES Act

The UI program was established as part of the New Deal in 1935 in part with the goal of helping unemployed workers by providing them with a portion of their previous wages while the individual found a new job. The federal and state governments fund these unemployment compensation payments in part through an unemployment tax assessed on employers. The tax rate is 6.0% of employee wages up to $7,000. Employers get a credit for state unemployment taxes paid up to 5.4% (so the effective federal tax rate is about 0.6%). While the federal government oversees the system, the UI program is fundamentally funded and managed by state governments. Traditionally, the program has supported former employees by replacing about half of previous wages earned for a period of 26 weeks; however, wage replacement rates do vary by state.[iv]

In an effort to enhance traditional UI benefits, the CARES and ARPA Acts established six new programs. Among the more notable changes included providing an additional 13 weeks of unemployment compensation to individuals who exhaust their benefits, as well as a supplemental payment of $600 per week in 2020 through July 31, 2020 or $300 per week in 2021 through September 4.[v] The latter provision was controversial in that roughly 40% of individuals ultimately earned more on unemployment than if they had been working during that same period of time.[vi] While most states set their own eligibility criteria and benefit levels, the CARES Act required states to waive the one-week waiting period traditionally used to determine claimant eligibility. Further, states were required to extend UI benefits to individuals who are not traditionally eligible. For instance, the Pandemic Unemployment Assistance (PUA) program extended benefits to

self-employed workers, independent contractors, those with limited work history, and others.[vii] Figure 1 highlights distinctions across UI programs.

Key Audit Findings Across the United States

While well intentioned, the unprecedented expansion in unemployment insurance benefits and easing of eligibility standards invited criminals to exploit the system. In May 2020, the Office of Inspector General (OIG) for the U.S. Department of Labor issued an alert memorandum that the Employment and Training Administration (ETA) failed to sufficiently address the risk of fraud, waste, or abuse as the guidance relied exclusively on "self-certification" as opposed to requiring claimants to provide documentation to support their employment.[viii] In subsequent reports, the OIG warned that over $260 billion dollars could be paid improperly, roughly 10% of all UI benefits.[ix] As reflected in Figure 4, the actual improper payment rate ultimately exceeded this rate in over 40% of states administering benefits.[x] Especially hard hit by UI fraud were agencies administering benefits within Michigan, California, and Washington

Michigan

At an 35% improper payment rate, Michigan experienced the highest improper payment rates with respect to Unemployment Insurance claims. According to a system review performed by Deloitte, Michigan's problems resulted in part due to rapid changes in the internal control structure and policies, as well as reliance on external third-party contractors. In fact, the report noted "multiple instances of potential internal fraud by UIA personnel and contractors" exploiting their IT access rights and privileges (p. 9-12). Further, the auditors found major deficiencies and programming errors in the software used to detect instances in fraud (p. 17-20). The report concluded that weaknesses in policy, deficiencies in technological controls, and organizational changes contributed to significant exposure to the fraud.[xi]

California

California was plagued by similar challenges with respect to the administration of unemployment benefits due to "inefficient processes" and "lack of advanced planning" according to State Audit report. Being the largest state, California paid about $10.4 billion in claims that it has since determined may be fraudulent. Nearly $810 million dollars was believed to be paid out to incarnated individuals (p. 23-32). Similar to Michigan, the auditors noted that the California Employment Development Department (EDD) eased critical anti-fraud measures or safeguards against improper payments at the height of the pandemic. For instance, agency officials "decision to remove a key safeguard against payment to claimants whose identities it had not confirmed" (p. 17). Further, finance officials failed to use numerous fraud prevention and detection tools at their disposal (p. 33-38).[xii]

Washington

Due to generous wage replacement rate offered to claimants, Washington state became an early target for fraud at the onset of the pandemic. By June 30th 2020, state auditors estimate that over $600 million had been fraudulently siphoned off from the trust fund (p. 4). In fact, the scope of the fraud forced state auditors to issue a modified opinion on the internal control structure for the entire state government. According to the 2020 state audit, there existed "a reasonable possibility that a material misstatement of the State's financial statements will not be prevented, detected or corrected on a timely basis" (p. 19). Auditors cited the waiver of the waiting week, lack of verification of claimant's employment information prior to payment, and a failure to perform a discovery process to identify claims as high risk of identity theft as conditions that allowed the fraud to occur (p. 4-5).[xiii] Consequently, the auditors would become part of the problem. In February 2021, the state auditor would have to issue a public apology for allowing the compromise of personally identifiable information, such as social security numbers and bank data, of all 1.4 million Washington unemployment claimants from 2020 due to a data breach involving a third-party data management provider, Accellion, relied upon by the state audit office.[xiv]

Conclusion

The coronavirus pandemic's impact on the U.S. labor market has been extraordinary (see Figures 2 & 3). This article examinesthe unprecedented level of fraud that arose as cybercriminals attempted to exploit the pandemic-related job losses in the United States. Massive temporary layoffs drove a spike in unemployment filings that left many state employment agencies scrambling to stabilize the lives of millions of Americans. Notable observations from audit reports suggest that these agencies were exploited due to insufficient staffing levels, outdated data management systems, and lack of training and preparedness to combat sophisticated cyberattacks.

Famine Relief: Garden State to Green Isle,1846-1880

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"A lively interest is felt here at present in behalf of the starving poor of Ireland," James Courter in Newark, a Democratic alderman in the South Ward, wrote to Congressman George Sykes in February 1847, and he added that "a large meeting was held on Thursday evening last to raise funds for their relief."[1] The people of New Jersey joined in a national campaign of voluntary philanthropy to aid the Irish suffering from the Great Famine or Great Hunger. Americans of all religious denominations, Baptist, Unitarian, Dutch Reformed, Catholic, Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist, Shaker, Presbyterian, Quaker, Universalist, and Jewish (Orthodox and Reform) joined in this ecumenical and nonpartisan campaign. When the Jewish community of New York City gathered in a special meeting for Irish relief in February 1847 the rabbi observed: "Our fellow citizens have come forward with promptitude and generosity; contributors have poured from all classes, from all sects."[2] Members of all ethnic groups supported famine relief, including the Dutch in New Jersey, Germans in Pennsylvania, French in New York City, African-Americans in Philadelphia, Scots-Irish in South Carolina, and Choctaws in what became Oklahoma. President James K. Polk in 1847 opposed foreign aid as an unconstitutional expenditure of public funds and threatened to veto an appropriation of $500,000 for Irish relief passed by the Senate if it also passed the House. As a result of a public meeting in Washington in February 1847 chaired by Vice-President George Dallas all aid to help the Irish came from the American people, not the American government. The Washington meeting encouraged Americans to create village, town, and city relief committees to collect food, clothing, and cash to ship to the starving in Europe. Following the advice of the Washington meeting the people of New Jersey established local committees to solicit contributions for Irish and Scottish relief in

1847 and sent two New Jersey ships for Ireland with food, clothing, and donations. Three times in the 19th Century Americans sent aid to Ireland to help during food shortages in 1846-47, 1862-63, and 1879-80.Each time the people of the Garden State sent aid to assist the starving in the Green Isle.[3]

Ireland's Great Hunger of the 1840s and 1850s led to the deaths of one-eight of the population of Ireland, between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 million people. Another two million fled, most to the United States. In 1847, 140,000 settled in the United States, and in the 1840s about 31,000 Irish ended up in New Jersey. Famine induced immigration altered the ethnic and religious makeup of American cities, like Newark and Jersey City. News of the Great Hunger led to the philanthropic efforts by Irish Americans, non-Irish, and Quakers to alleviate the suffering by raising money, clothing, and food to transport to Ireland. Word of famine conditions in Ireland, Scotland, and the European continent appeared in the American press during the winter of 1845-46. Small scale efforts in port cities, like New York, raised the awareness of dire conditions across the Atlantic. News in the summer of 1846 suggested better crops in Ireland, and the limited interest in aiding Ireland evaporated. However, in the fall of 1846 the situation turned bleak. Relief organizations established in Ireland, Scotland, and England solicited contributions. Irish Quakers established a Central Relief Committee in Dublin in November 1846. American relief committees, including local, county, and state committees in New Jersey, sent most of the money and food they collected to the Dublin Quakers for distribution to the needy. These were non-partisan and ecumenical committees with a majority of the donations coming from non-Irish citizens of the

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Garden State. Separately, many poor Irish immigrants sent remittances back home to help family and friends in Ireland. Roman Catholic churches set up their own appeals for donations, like John Kelly, rector of St. Peter's Church in Jersey City, who collected $163 in early January 1847. In some cases, Catholic clergy gave their collections to the New Jersey Irish Relief Committee in Newark as part of the statewide campaign, and sometimes they sent the funds directly to Catholic clergy in Ireland to distribute.[4]

Remittances from Irish immigrants came from primarily unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Starting as early as the 1820s thousands of Irish immigrated to New Jersey as unskilled construction workers. Irish immigrants worked on the Morris Canal in 1825 and Delaware and Raritan Canal in the early 1830s. Construction projects on canals, railroads, and tunnels attracted the Irish hoping for a better future in New Jersey between the 1820s and 1860. In Newark, jobs in manufacturing, docks, and canals brought the Irish to settle in the Down Neck, between the Passaic River and the salt marshes, a neighborhood of "factories, working class housing, and retail stores."[5] Irish newcomers lived "in hovels, hastily thrown together to accommodate as many as possible."[6] In Jersey City, most of the Irish immigrants worked in unskilled jobs. By 1850, about sixty two percent of the population were foreign born and half of the newcomers were Irish, making up seventy-six percent of the unskilled workers. Like the Irish in Newark, they lived in "wooden tenements and makeshift shanties…on low lying ground near the factories and railroad docks."[7] Irish immigrants settled in Perth Amboy in the 1830s finding work in coal yards while construction and industrial jobs brought the Irish to New Brunswick in the 1830s. Many of the Irish who found jobs as textile workers

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or unskilled and semi-skilled workers in Paterson rallied to the cause of Irish relief in 1847. In Paterson, Irish immigrants sent $1,200 in remittances to family and friends in Ireland, and most of the remittances came from residents of the "lower or laboring classes." [8] A report in a Burlington newspaper suggested that Irish residents "raised a considerable sum." [9] Remittances from the Irish and contributions to the Catholic Church solicitations and local ecumenical committees came from of a community of recent immigrants. Most of the Irish in Burlington, Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Trenton, Elizabethtown, New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy worked as unskilled or semi-skilled workers as laborers, factory workers, domestics, tanners, or construction workers who lived in poverty and were barely scratching out a living but felt an obligation to help their relatives and friends in the Green Isle.

News of the grim conditions in Ireland appeared in the American press starting in November 1846. Quakers, Irish Americans, and local political leaders organized public meetings for the Irish in some communities, including New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Savannah, Jersey City and Paterson. Residents of Jersey City held relief meetings before any other communities in New Jersey. Directors of the Workingmen's Protective Association sponsored a meeting for Irish relief. Luther Pratt, editor of the *Sentinel,* concluded; "from the spirit evinced by those present, we are confident of the sympathy felt in behalf of the perishing sons and daughters of the Emerald Isle is very general in our community.' [10] By mid-December, a second meeting created an Irish Relief Committee that raised over $1,000 in small donations from the people of Jersey City. Donations were sent to General Robert Armstrong, the American Consul in Liverpool,

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who forwarded the money to the Irish Relief Association, a Protestant based relief group organized in Dublin in September 1846, that distributed contributions impartially to all in need. Praising the speed and organizational skills of the Jersey City advocates of Irish relief, New York *Tribune* used Jersey City as an example to spur other communities to act: "Jersey City took the lead of us in the good work….what village will not emulate her glorious example?"[11]

Quickly, Paterson held a meeting in January 1847 and called upon the public to contribute to the Irish because of the kinship between Americans and the Irish, the common bonds of Christianity, and the contributions of Irish laborers to construction projects in New Jersey. Irish Americans played a key role in pushing for aid to Ireland in Paterson. Quakers in Plainfield and Rahway established relief committees stressing the needs of the Irish people and echoing Paterson's emphasis on the common bonds of Christianity. Citizens of Newark held a nonpartisan public meeting in late January that included Whigs and Democrats on the fundraising committee. Alderman James Courter, a member of the committee, noted that "liberal donations continue to be made by our citizens" and he expected would use the funds to send "a small cargo of flour for their relief."[12] Unfortunately, these actions in several New Jersey communities did not lead to an immediate statewide or national effort for Irish relief.

Jersey City's generous example and nonpartisan efforts in Newark did not lead to a national public outcry or even in New Jersey. However, more grim reports from Ireland spurred a nationwide reaction. Reports of mass starvation in Ireland arrived aboard *Hibernia* in Boston in mid-January and *Sarah Sands* that docked in New York two

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weeks later. Telegraph spread the news, and the Jersey City *Sentinel*reported, "distress in Ireland and Scotland---day after day the distress continues to increase, and famine is doing the work of death." [13] Readers of the Newark *Daily Advertiser* learned that "hundreds are daily dying of starvation" in Ireland. [14] Every New Jersey newspaper picked up on these reports, and Americans living in Maine or South Carolina could read similar reports leading to a national push to act to help the Irish and Scots. Locally, it led to renewed calls forpublic meetings for Irish relief in Newark, Elizabethtown, Plainfield, and Paterson. A Trenton newspaper asked its readers: "Who will not give up part of their abundance…in order…to relieve the terrible evils of the Irish famine?"[15] The Trenton newspaper emphasized another theme that appeared in the press and public meetings that Americans were a people of plenty who had an obligation to help the starving people of Europe. A meeting in Elizabethtown in early February stressed the same rationale for people to act. In Elizabethtown, the Irish relief committee drafted a circular on 9 February calling upon "each of the men, women, and children in New Jersey" to contribute to the Irish, and sent copies throughout the state, becoming the first statewide appeal to help Ireland in its time of distress. [16]

Newark, not Elizabethtown, became the home for the statewide New Jersey Committee for the Relief of Ireland and Scotland. [17] Established at a public meeting in mid-February it was a non-partisan voluntary committee of Democrats and Whigs, with Newark's Whig mayor Beach Vanderpool serving as treasurer. Resolutions adopted at the meeting urged clergy throughout the state to solicit contributions at church services. Public meetings from Maine to Texas asked the clergy of all denominations to aid this

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good work. One of the resolutions stressed that Americans because of "the abundance wherewith God has blessed us" had a moral obligation to aid the starving people of Europe. [18]Americans as a people of plenty should share its bounty with the Irish and Scots. Members of the committee quickly adopted a proposal of Episcopalian Bishop George Washington Doane to charter a "Jersey Ship for Ireland." During the Irish and Scottish relief campaign of 1847 one hundred and eighteen merchant vessels and two warships carried privately raised donations, food, and clothing to Ireland and Scotland. Several communities, including Brooklyn and Albany, chartered their own vessels to give credit to their communities for relief efforts. David Rogers, as chairman, visited villages, towns, and cities around New Jersey to promote famine relief. The national meeting in Washington in early February acted as a major catalyst for the people of New Jersey to join in this national campaign of voluntary philanthropy.

New Jersey's people, regardless of religious denomination, gave to Irish and Scottish relief. In Newark, "the old Blue Church, Second Presbyterian donated, as did the congregations at the Universalist Church and the Episcopalian Trinity Church. German Catholics at their church, St. Mary's, added $90. George Washington Doane solicited subscriptions from Episcopalian congregations, like St. Mary's in Burlington. Episcopalian parishioners in Haddonfield, Trenton, Moorestown, Salem, and Princeton donated to Irish relief. Baptists in the First and Second Baptist churches in Plainfield contributed along with the Presbyterians and Quakers. In Rahway, Catholics, Episcopalians, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers subscribed. Even a small Baptist Church in Somerville scraped together what they could for Irish relief. Quakers split their

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donations between the New Jersey Committee, and especially in Burlington, Salem, and Gloucester counties sent their money and food to the Philadelphia Society of Friends to forward to the Dublin Quakers. When Baptists held a conference in New Brunswick in June they collected for Irish relief. Some Methodists preferred to send donations via the Wesleyan Methodist Relief Fund, based in London. In 1847, the people of New Jersey temporarily put aside their sectarian differences and united around the cause of Irish and Scottish aid. [19]

Aid remained entirely voluntary. Whig Governor Charles Stratton and the state legislature rejected a proposal for using state money for famine relief because most political leaders viewed it as an unconstitutional use of public funds. Political leaders at the national, state, and local level with the exception of New York City's Common Council, refused to support government aid to the starving Irish. Former Democratic governor Peter D. Vroom delivered a supportive speech at a Trenton meeting for the Irish. Local political leaders, like Mayor Vanderpool in Newark or Mayor Charles Burroughs in Trenton, played important roles in the voluntary relief campaign but avoided mentioning the use of public funds. Aid from New Jersey and the United States remained a people to people movement without direct government involvement. [20]

Bishop Doane campaigned for the Jersey ship, and told Mayor Vanderpool, "I trust the Jersey ship is sure to go." [21] The editor of a Jersey City paper agreed on the widespread support for a Jersey ship. Writing on 10 March 1847, the editor argued "The people throughout the state, both far and near, have taken the matter into their special

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keeping." [22]   Even children joined in the cause of raising funds for the Jersey ship. Students at the Wines School in Oakland raised $33, and a "Juvenile Fair" in Burlington netted $131. Communities across the state joined in the campaign to solicit donations, food, and clothing for the Jersey ship. Local citizens passed resolutions, established relief committees, and encouraged their fellow citizens to contribute. The state committee chartered the brig *Overmann* arriving in Newark in mid-March. After loading the ship sailed to Jersey City to take on additional cargo before heading for Cork, Ireland. *Overmann* carried $14,607 worth of provisions and clothing with most of the provisions consisting of cornmeal and bushels of corn. Donations included smaller amounts of wheat flour, beans, hams, dried beef, smoked shoulders, and several boxes of clothing. On the mainmast, *Overmann* bore a white flag with the inscription "New Jersey Relief Ship for the Suffering Irish" in blue silk. [23]

Members of the Forwarding Committee of the state committee wrote to the Dublin Quakers that the cargo aboard *Overmann* came from the voluntary contributions of the people of New Jersey. The citizens of New Jersey deeply sympathized "with the deplorable condition of the poor of Ireland and Scotland" and sent the provisions "for the starving population of your country."

While the people of New Jersey left it up to the Quakers to distribute the food as needed, but "without distinction of religious sect or location." [24] Americans repeatedly noted that people in the United States donated without distinction of religious persuasion, and Americans expected their donations would be distributed without sectarian preferences. When it came to voluntary international philanthropy Americans

stressed the first amendment principle that all religious denominations should be treated equally. About tenpercent of the cargo reaching the Quakers was intended to be forwarded to Scotland. The famine in Scotland from 1845 to 1852 hit the Western Highlands and Western Isles leaving about 150,000 Scots at risk of starvation in any given year compared to the magnitude of the crisis in Ireland. Contributors in New Jersey could earmark part or all of their donations for Scotland. In a second letter sent on 1 April 1847 the New Jersey Irish and Scottish Relief Committee urged the Quakers to arrange for the proper distribution of the share for Scotland which the Quakers forwarded to the Highland Destitution Committee in Scotland. [25]

The Irish welcomed the arrival of *Overmann* in early May because of the large cargo of relief supplies. Irish newspapers and the Irish people thanked Captain Edward Mix and the people of New Jersey for the needed aid. [26] The success of the *Overmann* led the New Jersey Committee to charter a second Jersey ship for Ireland, *William Dugan.* David Rogers, chairman, drafted a circular. "A Second Jersey Ship," Newspapers published the circular's appeal for more contributions of money and food for Ireland and Scotland. As one local paper challenged its readers: "Has Elizabethtown done her portion? We fear not." [27] A quick response followed to the appeals of the New Jersey Committee.Bishop Doane, for example, donated another $50 to show his support for a second Jersey ship. Salem County established a county relief committee on 5 April emphasizing the need to encourage residents to donate to the Jersey ship. Elizabethtown did its duty and sent one hundred barrels of cornmeal. Contributions came in from Somerset, Hunterdon, Burlington, Bergen, and Monmouth counties, the

inhabitants of Princeton, Parsippany, Hackensack, Somerville, Readington, and the "Ladies of Wendham." [28]*William Dugan,* a brig built in Newark, left the city on 23 April 1847 for Cork, but stopped in Jersey City and New York City to take on additional cargo before reaching Ireland on 13 June 1847 with $11,900 worth of provisions. Members of the committee wrote to the Dublin Quakers to make clear that the Quakers distribute the provisions "without regard to creed, sect, or party," and send onto Scotland the twelve percent of the cargo residents of New Jersey earmarked for the poor of Scotland. [29]

Expressing their gratitude, the Dublin Quakers upon hearing of the loading of the *William Dugan:* "We now have before us a further evidence of the generosity of the citizens of New Jersey." [30] Bewley reassured the New Jersey Committee in several letters of the safe arrival of the cargoes from New Jersey and the Quakers followed the instructions requested by the people of the state. Dublin's Quakers sent a final thank you to New Jersey via Mayor Vanderpool of Newark in November 1847 for the assistance the people of New Jersey sent to the starving people of Ireland. Jonathan Pim, one of the leaders of the Quaker relief operation in Dublin described American aid as "one of the most remarkable manifestations of national sympathy on record."[31] The people of New Jersey took an active role in this movement that sent supplies to Ireland 'on a scale unparalleled [32]in history." As historian Christine Kinealy concluded "a wave had swept across America that prompted people, rich and poor, from all religious persuasions often with no direct connections to Ireland, to raise money to take food and clothes to Ireland." [33] Famine relief developed as an expression of American republicanism. The creation of so many local relief committees in New Jersey and

throughout the United States appeared a logical extension of the widespread spirit of voluntarism present in American society in 1847. The people of New Jersey joined together in voluntary associations for religious worship, moral improvement, public safety, political organization, civic, and social betterment. As a society based on voluntary association Americans created a civic culture that allowed the American people to respond the crises in Ireland and Scotland and created the foundation for the American role in the 19th Century as the leader in international volunteerism.

From 1860 to 1863 another food crisis hit Ireland. A series of natural disasters limited the production of potatoes, grain, and hay in Ireland and led to crop failures and deaths of a large number of cattle depriving the Irish, once again, of food supplies. Union's boycott of southern cotton during the Civil War hit workers in Northern Ireland putting spinners and other urban workers out of work. The American Civil War negatively impacted workers in urban areas, a fact emphasized by the Mansion House Committee in Dublin, the major philanthropic organization created during this crisis to assist the suffering Irish. [34] In response to the crisis, state legislatures in Wisconsin and Kentucky passed resolutions in 1861 recommending Congress pass an appropriation for Irish aid. With the social distancing of South Carolina and several other southern states from the Union Congress and President Abraham Lincoln faced other challenges, and the federal government did not act on the resolutions from Wisconsin and Kentucky. Instead, as in 1846-47 all aid reaching Ireland came from temporary voluntary Irish relief committees organized from Maine to Minnesota in 1862 and/or 1863. In 1862, Boston took the lead in organizing a campaign for Irish relief, and in

1863 the New York Irish Relief Committee emerged as the major relief committee in the United States.

New York's committee like some of the other famine relief committees in 1862-63 were nonpartisan and ecumenical. For example, in New York City, contributions included $500 from the Scottish St. Andrew's Society and $367 from Reform synagogue Temple Emanu-El. [35] However, New Jersey's response to the food crisis in Ireland was different. Unlike 1847, citizens did not establish a state committee, and New Jersey did not follow the pattern of secular nondenominational committees. Instead, Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley provided the leadership for the campaign of Irish relief. During 1847 the campaign was ecumenical, and the Quakers in Gloucester, Burlington, and Salem counties gave generously to Ireland. Irish Americans provided much of the aid in New Jersey in 1863. In 1862, a small-scale effort to raise funds for the Irish famine took place in Newark led by Marcus Ward, soon to be elected governor (Republican). Funds donated in Newark Ward forwarded in May 1862 to the editor of the New York *Irish American* "to benefit the suffering poor" of Ireland. [36] The New Jersey press reported even more grim accounts of starvation in Ireland in 1863. "In Galway and many places south and west in Ireland," the Paterson *Daily Register,* informed its readers, 'famine is prevailing to an alarming extent." [37]

Responding to the crisis in Ireland, Bishop Bayley issued an appeal on 6 March 1863 to all the Catholic clergy in the Diocese of Newark to take up a collection in each church because "we would be wanting in our duty if we did not do something for their

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relief.' [38] Collections occurred on St. Patrick's Day. Congregations in four churches donated the most to the Irish relief: St. Peter's in Jersey City, $1,200 the largest amount of any congregation, followed by St. John's in Newark, St. Patrick's Cathedral in Newark, and St. John's in Trenton. Almost forty churches throughout the state sent in donations. Initially, $7,300 was collected, and this grew to about $8,500 sent to the Archbishop of Dublin for distribution according to a formula drafted by the committee of clergy Bishop Bayley appointed. [39] George Doane, Secretary of the Bishop's committee, forwarded the collections to the Archbishop of Dublin Paul Cullen "for the sufferers from the present distress in Ireland." [40] Archbishop Cullen wrote to the Secretary of the Mansion House Committee that "we have great reason to be grateful to Right Rev. Dr. Bayley, his clergy, and the people of Newark for the great clarity they have displayed towards our suffering poor." [41] Following up on this expression of gratitude the Mansion House Committee joined Archbishop Cullen thanking the "munificent contribution…from the Catholic Bishop and the people of Newark." The Mansion House Committee passed this resolution of gratitude to the people of Newark unanimously. [42] Once again, the United States played a major role in international philanthropy, providing twenty percent of the aid to the Irish in 1862 and sixty-five percent of the aid in 1863. Individual remittances to family and friends greatly added to the American aid as Irish Americans remitted one and half million dollars to Irish relatives. As the Mansion House Committee observed: "The United States of America, disorganized and afflicted…with a wasting and deplorable civil war, has exceeded all of its former generosity in the noble and touching exercise, this year, of its sympathy for our sufferings." [43]

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In what became known as the Little Famine of 1879-1882, food shortages and desperation reappeared in Ireland. Rain and bad weather conditions in the summer of 1879 recreated the potato blight of the Great Hunger and produced disastrous crops in the western counties. Crop yields fell to half of those in the 1870s. Declining prices for the crops that were harvested further reduced the incomes of tenants and small independent farmers. Remittances from Irish men working in Scotland and England as seasonal laborers fell further reducing the ability of people in western Ireland to purchase food. A perfect storm of deprivation reappeared in the western counties of Ireland reminding many of a repeat of the dangers of the Great Hunger. Two hundred Catholic priests warned in June of the danger that their parishioners in southern and western Ireland faced the risk of starvation. By January 1880, grim reports came from the Catholic clergy.

"Numbers of the unfortunate people in the parish have been compelled to pawn their clothes and bedding," reported James Treanor, Rector of Kiltullagh, "so that in addition to starvation facing them in the face, they are suffering keenly from a want of clothing." [44] Another parish priest, Robert MacHale, in Lakerdane warned "we have the bitter scenes of 47 re-enacted" repeating "the ghostly memories of the famine years." MacHale, a priest of forty-nine years confirmed that three quarters of the 4,000 souls in his district "to be in the direst want." [45] By this point, 250,000 people in Ireland had no food stocks and could not buy food, and another 500,000 "stood on the verge of ruin." [46] Facing these grim prospects many fled to the United States. Irish immigrants entering the United States leaped from 30,058 in 1879 to 80,018 in 1880. Irish immigration to America increased by a third from 437,000 in the 1870s to 655,000 in the 1880s as the

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Little Famine pushed the Irish across the Atlantic. New Jersey's Irish immigration community grew from 62,000 born in Ireland in 1860 to 95,000 in 1900. The influx of Irish to Jersey City, in particular, allowed the Irish to take control becoming for some New Ireland in the Garden State an honor it shared with Newark because in 1880 40,000 men and women of Irish ancestry lived in or near Newark.

Responding to the crisis, the Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Lord Lieutenant, established a relief committee at Dublin Castle in December 1879. With support from the English aristocracy and Irish landlords it attracted donations from throughout the British Isles, and some Americans donated to this relief fund. In early January 1880, the Mansion House Committee, chaired by Edmund Gray, Lord Mayor of Dublin, reestablished itself in Dublin with the goal of attracting donations from the United States, Australia, and Canada. This nondenominational secular committee attracted contributions from Americans, including from Irish relief committees in Newark, Jersey City, and Trenton. Irish nationalist activist Charles Stewart Parnell, advocate of land reform and the Land League to press for change, established his own relief fund that became quite popular in Irish American communities. Parnell arrived in New York City in January 1880 spending two months speaking in sixty-two cities in the United States, including several in New Jersey, and set up an American office in Manhattan. Parnell's barn storming trip to the United States fostered the creation of branches of the Land League in Irish American communities. Every community in New Jersey where there were sufficient number of Irishsupported a branch by the early 1880s.

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Parnell had a family connection to New Jersey. Delia Parnell, his mother, an Irish American, and Delia's father Admiral Charles Stewart, of the U.S. Navy and grandfather of Charles Parnellowned an estate in Bordentown. In 1874, Delia returned to New Jerseyfrom Europe and is listed on the 1880 census as a resident of Bordentown. Parnell's sistersFanny (Frances Isabella Parnell) and Theodosia accompanied their mother to New Jersey. Fanny already earned a reputation as an author of Irish nationalist poetry. Fanny's younger sister Anna moved to New Jersey to assist in the famine relief efforts in 1879. Partially, because of the influence of the Parnell women, Bordentown forwarded to the Dublin *Nation* donations for Irish relief in October 1879 becoming the first community in the United States to collect funds to help with the food shortages in Ireland. Later, in October 1880 the sisters established the Ladies' Land League in New York City to raise money for the Land League and for famine relief. Delia assumed the presidency, and Anna and Fanny took on most of the organizational work. While her activist daughters received much of the public attention, Delia was a major advocate for the Irish home rule and the Land League in New Jersey. Her many supporters in the Garden State and elsewhere in the United States dubbed her "The Lady Chieftainess.[47]" Fanny actively campaigned for the Land League and famine relief working tirelessly for the cause. Some of the chapters organized by the Parnell women included by September 1881, two Ladies' Land League chapters in Jersey City and chapters in Morristown, Millstone, Montclair, and Paterson. Single Irish women, in particular, joined the Ladies' Land Leagues, especially working-class women. Meetings provided an opportunity for the Irish women of New Jersey to socially interact outside the narrow confines of accepted women's roles at work, in the church and at home.

Women would sing and either listen to or participate in readings and recitations. Women could feel a personal sense of empowerment, gender solidarity, and publicly show their identification with the sacred cause of Irish Catholic equality and freedom. Unfortunately, Fanny died of a heart attack at the age of thirty-three at the Stewart family estate in Bordentown on 20 July 1882. Members of the Land League and Ladies' Land League chapters formed an honor guard to accompany her remains from Trenton to Philadelphia. Two years later, Delia Parnell sold the Stewart Mansion and surrounding property, known as "Old Ironsides" after her father, to her son Charles Stewart Parnell of Wicklow, Ireland, for $20,000.

A public meeting in Washington in late January 1880, including Senators, Congressmen, and justices of the Supreme Court called for public support for famine relief. This meeting publicized the cause of famine relief. Several groups emerged in 1880 to organize American aid. In Philadelphia, citizens established a national relief fund led by John Wanamaker and some residents in the western part of New Jersey contributed to the Philadelphia fund. Several Irish organizations in December 1879 asked Judge Charles Daly, who led the 1862-63 campaign in New York City to lead a national campaign for famine relief. The New York City Irish Relief Committee included prominent New Yorkers, like William Grace soon to be the first Irish Catholic mayor of the city. Seeking to publicize the crisis in Ireland and the need for donations the committee sent out forty thousand copies of an appeal to the American public. New York's committee asked Americans of every nationality or creed to aid the starving Irish.[48]Some residents of New Jersey forwarded donations to the committee across the

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Hudson River since there was no New Jersey Irish Relief Committee in 1880, as there had been in 1847. Then, to add further confusion, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., editor of the New York *Herald,* created his own relief fund in early February 1880. Successfully stealing the limelight, his fund became the largest relief committee in the United States, especially after he donated $100,000. To further promote the importance of Bennett and the *Herald,* he selected a committee to distribute donations in Ireland ignoring the three existing Irish committees. Residents of New Jersey contributed to the *Herald's* fund. As in 1863 American bishops issued separate appeals and sent funds directly to either the Catholic archbishop in Dublin or to bishops in different parts of Ireland, like Raphoe.

Following in the footsteps of Bishop Bayley's famine relief effort in 1863, Bishop Michael Corrigan sympathized with the plight of the poor suffering people of Ireland. In his pastoral letter to the clergy of the Newark Diocese he noted that "several of our clergy have already made inquiries concerning the propriety of sending aid to our distressed brethren in Ireland." After citing an account of the Bishop of Killala about the distress in his diocese, Bishop Corrigan suggested that each priest make a collection on St. Patrick's Day for Irish relief, and the Newark diocese would send the collections to the bishops in western Ireland. [49] Some priests anticipated the need prior to Corrigan's pastoral. In Paterson, for example, parishioners at St. John's attended a concert for Irish relief in mid-January netting $1,100. [50] Rev. William McNulty, born in Ballyshannon Ireland, served as pastor at St. John's from 1863-1922, a record in New Jersey's Catholic history. McNulty sent the donation of $1,000 to Bishop Michael Logue of Raphoe "for distribution amongst the distressed people in the following dioceses,

Raphoe, Tuam, Galway, andAchonry" at the request of the donors in Paterson. [51]

Orange had an overwhelmingly Irish population in the 1880s. All the parishioners in St. John's in the 1880s were of Irish birth or descent. H.P. Fleming, the rector at St. John's Parish sent Bishop Logue the funds "collected by my parishioners for suffering Ireland."[52] Fleming also sent donations raised in Orange to Archbishop EdwardMcCabe, of Dublin. Trenton's Irish lived in Irishtown in the Fourth Ward, Trenton's "Little Ireland." Thaddeus Hogan, pastor at St. John's Church,collected funds in early February and sent them to Bishop Logue hoping that the sufferings of the people would be rewarded in heaven, because "it is sad to witness the distress of the brave and religious Irish people."[53]Members of the St. Patrick's Temperance Society in Camden made a collection for Ireland and gave the two hundred dollars to P. Fitzsimmons, rector of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, to forward to Bishop Logue. [54] Father Fitsimmons followed up with a second donation from "our people for the Irish sufferers."[55] Churches in Ireland also received donations from an unlikely source, "Misses Parnell Relief Fund." In New Jersey, Fanny and Anna Parnell quietly solicited donations for Irish relief in early 1880 and sent it to ArchbishopJohn Mac Hale of Tuam and to Margaret Anna Cusack, the Nun of Kenmare, a member of the Sisters of Poor Clares, who set up her own relief fund distributing $75,000 to help the poor suffering from the famine. She also had a New Jersey connection establishing a convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace in Englewood, Diocese of Newark in the 1880s.[56]

Bishop Michael Corrigan's appeal to all churches in New Jersey to set aside St. Patrick's Day for donations for Ireland brought in over $20,000. [57] Even before Bishop

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Corrigan sent these funds to Archbishop McCabe, the Newark Diocese sent previous collections. In early February, Bishop Corrigan sent money collected in Newark "for the suffering poor of Ireland."[58] George Henry Doane, son of Episcopal Bishop George Washington Doane, converted to Catholicism and rose in the ranks of the Catholic Church to Vicar General of the Newark Diocese. Acting for Bishop Corrigan he forwarded more donations from Newark and asked McCabe "to divide amongst the Bishops whose Dioceses the greatest distress prevails." [59] Bishop Corrigan informed Archbishop McCabe that in addition to the official donations collected by churches during the St. Patrick's Day campaign many members of the New Jersey parishes sent remittances to family and friends in Ireland. The amount sent from Catholics in New Jersey remains unknown but became a major source of funds for the starving people in western Ireland. Widespread support among New Jersey's Catholics for the Irish encouraged some parish priests to make additional collections for Irish relief. Father Downes, parish priest, at St. Peter's in New Brunswick, sent $200 to Bishop Logue of Raphoe as "part of a collection taken up in my church." [60] This was in addition to the $1,322 donated on St. Patrick's Day, the largest donation of any church in the state. Father Patrick Smyth of St. Bridget's Church in Jersey City, an Irish immigrant from Kilmore who had been a class fellow of Bishop Logue's, sent in a collection "for distribution among the poor farmers in your diocese." [61] Father H.J. McManus of the Sacred Heart Church, a native of Ballyshannon, sent in $100 to Bishop Logue "from the kind people over whom I am placed" in the small town of Mount Holly. [62] The clergy's support for Irish famine relief was not surprising since a majority of the Catholic clergy in New Jersey in 1880 immigrated from Ireland or were the sons of Irish immigrants.

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However, Catholics were not the only religious group concerned about the fate of their co-religionists in Ireland. Presbyterian churches in Princeton set aside 29 February 1880 as a day of collections for "distressed Presbyterian families in the North of Ireland." [63] While surviving records do not make clear their role in New Jersey, another religious group, with no connection to Ireland won national praise for their generosity in contributing for Irish relief. According to one newspaper editor, "the generosity of the Hebrews of this country, in their liberal contributions to the poor of Ireland, is everywhere attracting attention, and eliciting [64]well merited approbation."

Three cities, Newark, Jersey City, and Trenton, decided to follow a less sectarian path, and joined in a nonpartisan and ecumenical effort to solicit subscriptions for the Mansion House Relief Fund in Dublin. In mid-January, Mayor William Rice, a Democrat, on the suggestion of Charles Stewart Parnell, appointed an Irish Famine Relief Committee. Rice appointed ward committees for Trenton plus Chambersburg and Millham to solicit subscriptions. The mayor assumed the role as Treasurer of the relief committee and called for a public meeting on 21 January 1880 to discuss Irish relief. The local press reinforced the need to help because "there is widespread distress of an appalling severity in Ireland." Newspapers reminded their readers that Americans throughout the nation were donating promptly and generously, and "it is hoped that Trenton will not be behind her sister cities in making a liberal response to this appeal."[65] The people of Trenton should give of their abundance to save the starving Irish. Americans repeated the theme of 1847 that Americans were a people of plenty that had a moral obligation to help the starving people of Ireland. To promote the cause of relief,

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Mayor Rice asked all of the choral societies in Trenton to join in a mammoth concert for Irish relief. Editors of the two major newspapers in Trenton supported the concert and the campaign for famine relief, and the other major newspaper "hoped that our citizens will respond liberally." [66] Citizens responded, for example, the employees at the J. H. Moore pottery, Millham and the Trenton Iron Company. [67] Mayor Rice issued another appeal and two hundred members of local choirs volunteered to participate in the concert for Irish relief. After the successful concert and the collection of over $1,000 in Trenton for Ireland, a dispute arose over the delay by the mayor in forwarding the donations to Ireland with Mayor Rice and the Trenton Irish Relief Committee blaming each other for the failure to act. Finally, on 1 June 1880 Mayor Rice sent $1,100 to the Mansion House Relief Fund. Mayor Rice hoped the funds sent would "go towards relieving your suffering poor." [68]

Many prominent citizens of Jersey City petitioned Mayor Henry Hopper to call a public meeting in December 1879 for Irish relief. "Citizens of all nationalities" attended and the movement "is not confined to any nationality or creed but is the spontaneous outburst" of the liberal and charitable instincts of the people of Jersey City. [69] Political leaders took an active role in the meeting including former Governor Joseph Bedle, a Democrat, Attorney General A. A. Hardenbergh, Judge John Garrick, and ex-Mayor Charles O'Neill, first Irish Catholic mayor of Jersey City and a second-generation Irishman. Mayor Hopper chaired two other meetings of the citizens of Hudson County on 22 December 1879 and 7 January 1880 at the Catholic Institute. An ecumenical group of religious and political leaders led the meeting, including Rev. Hiram Eddy of

the First Free Union Church, Rev. Dr. Fisher of the Second Presbyterian Church, Bishop Corrigan, Mayor E.V.S. Benson of Hoboken. Ex-Mayor Henry Meigs of Bayonne, and M. Mullone, owner of the Jersey City *Argus*.Just prior to the meeting, the *Argus* made the point that "many ladies are expected to be present and take an active part in the movement."[70] Speakers told the audience of the magnitude of the crisis in Ireland and the need of the residents of Hudson County to help. Resolutions adopted stressed the bond between the American and Irish people, the distress in Ireland, and the sympathy of the citizens of Hudson County for the plight of the Irish people. Among those who gave $100 at the meeting were Leon Abbett, former speaker of the Assembly,former president of the State Senate, and soon to be Governor of New Jersey (1884-87, 90-93), Bishop Corrigan, Mayor Hopper, former mayor Charles O'Neill, and A.A. Hardenbergh. The fundraising succeeded although the press did not elaborate of what role women played in the campaign in Jersey City. By the end of January, Mayor Hopper sent $1,755 to Mayor Gray "from the citizens of this city for the relief and benefit of the famishing and suffering of Ireland."[71] Events in Jersey City stressed the nonpartisan and ecumenical aspect of famine relief. Public support came from people of different ethnicities and religious denominations and may have involved a significant contribution of the women of Jersey City, [72]

Like Jersey City, Newark held its first meeting for Ireland in December 1879. George Jenkinson, President of the Board of Trade, with the support of seventy residents of Irish heritage, initiated the public meeting that attracted an audience of "Americans, Irish, Germans, and a few ladies." [73] Religious leaders of many

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denominations took an active role in the meeting, including the Catholic Vicar General Doane, Rev. Dr. Rambaut, minister of the First Baptist Church, Rev. Stansbury of the Christ Episcopal Church, Rev. Pollock of the Lyons Parms Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Patrick Leonard, parish priest at St. Michael's Catholic Church, born in Ireland as were much of the Catholic clergy in New Jersey in 1880. A number of politicians attended including all the city's aldermen, the current Mayor Henry Yates, the mayor elect Fiedler, Joseph Atkinson, editor of the *Journal,* state Assemblymen and former Assemblymen, "and a large number of city and county officials," suggesting the popularity of the aid to Ireland and the political need to show support for a major cause of Newark's Irish. Speakers, like the Baptist minister Rambaut and Vicar General Doane discussed the magnitude of the crisis in Ireland. Doane also stressed that Americans must help the Irish because of Irish contributions to America including the many Irish Americans who died for the Union in the Civil War. Ironically, in South Carolina and Virginia speakers at Irish relief meetings made the same points but reversed it---people should support aid to Ireland because of the Irish who died fighting for the Confederacy. Other speakers in Newark criticized the land system in Ireland, essentially supporting the goals of Parnell and the National Land League. In addition, Dr. Mack, editor of the German language *Freie Zeitung* pledged the support to the German citizens of Newark for Irish relief. [74] A few weeks later Mayor William Fiedler, a Democrat, received an urgent plea from the Mayors of London and Dublin and from the Mansion House Relief Fund to help the Irish.[75] Donations came in from the citizens of Newark, like the employees of the Aqueduct Board or the employees of John Reilly. Prominent individuals gave $50 or $100. Former Republican Governor Marcus Ward donated

$100, Board of Trade leader and member of the relief committee, George Jenkinson contributed $100, and Bishop Corrigangave $50. By late January, Newark's Irish Relief Committee sent $2,100 to the Mansion House Relief Fund "for the relief of the suffering people of Ireland."[76] Another $900 followed from Newark's collections.People of Newark of all nationalities and religious denominations joined together to provide aid to the Irish. [77]

Meanwhile, Charles Stewart Parnell and his Irish Land League associate John Dillon, arrived in New York City on 1 January 1880. His travels would take Parnell to sixty-two cities campaigning for the Irish Land League seeking donations for his political activities in Ireland and for his own famine relief fund. Legislators invited him to speak before the state legislatures of New York, Kentucky, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Iowa. Parnell spoke before the House of Representatives on 2 February 1880 and met with President Rutherford B. Hayes, a rare honor for a foreign political leader. Although he did not visit Bordentown, Parnell spoke in Newark and Jersey City. On 6th January, Parnell arrived in Newark to speak at the Grand Opera House. Delegates of all the Irish societies in Newark and Orange met before hand to prepare for Parnell's visit because of the popularity of Parnell and the Land League movement in the Irish American community. Parnell's reception in Newark was an "imposing demonstration" as large crowds of Irish Americans gathered in the streets near the train station waiting in the rain to welcome the visitor from Ireland. [78] Members of the Irish militia companies, Hibernia Rifles, Sarsfield Guards, and Company A, First Regiment, accompanied Parnell and his reception committee of politicians, newspaper editors, Catholic clergy,

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and Irish American leaders to the Opera House. Residents paid twenty-five cents to see Parnell and the Opera House filled with an audience consisting of not just men but "many ladies" wanting to see and hear the rock star of Irish nationalism. Introductory remarks expressed the gratitude of the Irish American community for Parnell's visit and the support that all Americans had for Irish relief and the cause of land reform. Parnell spoke about land reform, the use of violence by the British government against the Irish people, the need to abolish the current land system in Ireland, and the need to put famine relief in the hands of people, like Parnell, that will be "distributed without distinction of creed or color." [79] Newspapers in Newark reported that the audience responded to Parnell's speech with tremendous applause, one indication of the popularity of Parnell. As an immediate reflection of Parnell's influence Newark's Irish Americans established a separate Parnell Irish Relief Fund to collect donations for the Land League and for Irish relief controlled by Parnell, and not the Mansion House Committee or the Duchess of Marlborough Committee.

After his speech in Newark, Parnell went to Jersey City. As in Newark, Irish societies, such as branches of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Hibernian Rifles, and a detachment of the Ninth Regiment, escorted him to the Catholic Institute to speak. A number of prominent politicians, Catholic religious leaders, and Irish Americans stood on the stage with him, including Mayor Hopper, future governor Leon Abbett, Bishop Corrigan, and Patrick Farelly, President of the Friendly Sons of Ireland. Parnell repeated the themes of his Newark speech attacking British oppression and the cruelty of the land system. Dillon followed him and reinforced these themes.The way to end starvation

in Ireland was to change the land system. [80] Parnell and Dillon set the stage for the creation of a local campaign for the Irish Land League Relief Fund. Irish Americans in Trenton wanted Parnell to speak in the state capital. Members of the Irish societies in Trenton met, organized a committee, and reached out to Parnell, but he skipped Trenton to speak in Philadelphia. [81] Irish Americans in New Jersey identified with Parnell, the causes he advocated, and with the plight of the people of Ireland.

Inspired by Parnell Irish American organizations collected donations for the Land League Relief Fund as the only true and honest relief association in Ireland. When representatives of the Ancient Order of Hibernians met in a state convention in Paterson on 23 February 1880 they resolved that the "Irish National Land League is the only channel which Irishmen and friends of suffering humanity should send their assistance to the downtrodden and starving people of Ireland." [82] In Jersey City, alone, by mid-February. John Mullins, Treasurer of the local Parnell Relief Fund, collected $2,205. [83] In New Brunswick, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, led the campaign for the Land League Relief Fund. Representatives went to every ward in the city to solicit subscriptions. [84] Members of the Irish societies in Newark worked with members of the German Catholic societies to raise money for the Land League Relief Fund. While some non-Irish residents of New Jersey donated to the New York *Herald* Irish Relief Fund or the New York City or Philadelphia relief funds most Irish Americans accepted the advice of their semi-native son, Charles Parnell and gave to either Bishop Corrigan's St. Patrick's Day collections in Catholic churches or to the Parnell fund.

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Three times in the 19th Century Americans established voluntary relief committees to aid the starving in Ireland and the residents of New Jersey took part in each of these efforts to aid the starving of Ireland. Historian Christine Kinealy noted that in 1880 American aid "was prompt and generous." [85] Contemporary observers agreed. The Mansion House Relief Fund's directors and board concluded: "all ranks and classes of the Irish people were inspired by the unexampled generosity of America." [86] Queen Victoria and the British government thanked the Americans for their kindness. The people of New Jersey, in 1846-47, 1862-63, and 1879-80 gave as part of a people to people movement from the United States to Ireland. This was not foreign aid appropriated by Congress, but the pennies, nickels, dimes, and dollars donated by the people of New Jersey of all religious denominations, nationalities, and political persuasions to help the starving people of Ireland. America emerged as the leader in voluntary international philanthropy in the 19th Century and the people of New Jersey played an important role from the Jersey ship for Ireland in 1847 to Parnell Irish Relief Fund in 1880. As a testimony of the lure of Parnell in the Garden State the New Jersey Assembly passed resolutions in 1886 expressing New Jersey's support for Charles Parnell and the Land League movement in Ireland.

Notes

[1] James Courter to George Sykes, 1 February 1847, Box 2, George Sykes Papers, Special Collections, Alexander Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick (RUL).

[2] "Meeting of the Jewish Population of New York in Aid of Ireland," Occident 5:1 (April 1847): 37.

[3] For a detailed look at aid from New Jersey in 1847, see Harvey Strum, "A Jersey Ship for Ireland," Chapter 1, in David Valone, ed., *Ireland's Great Hunger: Relief, Representation, and Remembrance,* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010), Vol. 2, 3-20.; Dermot Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), see the Irish famines for 1847, 63, and 80 on pages 72-80, 113-15; Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 94, 241. See John Ridge, "Jersey City: The Irish Across the River," New York Irish History 4 (1989): 11-14.

[4] St. Peter's Annual Report, 7 January 1847, Records of the Roman Catholic Church, Seton Hall University Archives. Alan Delozier kindly provided the author with a copy of the report, Alan Delozier to author, 11 July 2017 email. For a general history of the impact of the famine, see Christine Kinealy, *A Death Dealing Famine: The Great Hunger in Ireland* (Chicago: Pluto Press, 1997) and for the role of the Quakers, Helen Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland*, 1654-1921 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

[5] David Steven Cohen, *America and the Dream of My Life* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 31.

[6] John Cunningham, *Newark* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1966), 101.

[7] Douglas Shaw, "Immigration Politics and the Tensions of Urban Growth in Jersey City, 1850-1880," in Joel Schwartz and Daniel Prosser. Eds. *Cities of the Garden State* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1977), 41.

[8] "A Patersonian," to the Editor, 20 May 1847, in New York *Freeman's Journal,* 12 June 1847.

[9] Burlington *Gazette,* 19 March 1847.

[10] Jersey City *Sentinel,* "The Poor of Ireland" and "Relief Meeting," 1 December 1846. Also, see Jersey City *Advertiser,* 1 December 1846.

[11] New York *Tribune,* 28 December 1846.

[12] James Courter to George Sykes, 1 February 1847, Box 2, George Sykes Papers, RUL. For Newark, Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 29 January, and 2 February 1847; Newark *Eagle,* 2 February 1847. For Plainfield, Plainfield *Union,* 2 February 1847. For Paterson, Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 29 January 1847.

[13] Jersey City *Sentinel,* 25 January 1847. Also, 31 January, 8, 11 February 1847 for additional famine reports.

[14] Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 27 January 1847.

[15] Trenton *State Gazette,* 20 January 1847.

[16] Elizabethtown*New Jersey Journal,* 16 February 1847; Newark *Eagle,* 12 February 1847; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 10 February 1847; Newark *Sentinel,* 16 February 1847 all ran accounts of the Elizabeth meeting and statewide appeal.

[17] *Report of the New Jersey Committee for the Relief of Ireland and Scotland* (Newark: *DailyAdvertiser,* 1847). Used the copy at the Alexander Library at Rutgers University in Special Collections.

[18] Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 17 February 1847; Newark *Sentinel,* 23 February 1847; Newark *Eagle,* 26 February 1847: *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 3-6.

[19] Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 17-19 March 1847; Mount Holly *New Jersey Mirror,* 11 March 1847; Salem *National Standard,* 7 April, 5 May 1847; Woodbury *Constitution,* 23 February 1847; Burlington *Gazette,* 19 March 1847; Newark *Sentinel,* 9, 16. 23 March 1847; *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 18-20. These contained accounts of donations.

[20] Trenton *Plaindealer,* 21 March 1847; Trenton *News,* 17 February, Trenton *State Gazette,* 18 February, 3, 4 March 1847.

[21] Bishop George Washington Doane to Mayor Beach Vanderpool, 2 March 1847, in Newark *Sentinel,* 9 March 1847.

[22] Jersey City *Sentinel,* 10 March 1847.

[23] Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 30, 31 March 1847; Jersey City *Sentinel,* 31 March 1847; Trenton *Daily News,* 1 April 1847.

[24] John Stephens, Oliver Hayes, and Thomas V. Johnson to the Central Committee of the Society of Friends, 30 March 1847, in Society of Friends, *Transactions of the Society of Friends During the Famine in Ireland* . Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition, 1852 (Dublin: Edmund Burke, 1996), 236.

[25] David Rogers, et al, to Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim, 1 April 1847, *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 11. Unfortunately, the reports of the Edinburgh and Glasgow sections of the Highland Destitution Committee do not mention donations from New Jersey. Copies of the Reports are held at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh. Similarly, Treasurer's reports at the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh making passing reference to Philadelphia and NYC, but not New Jersey. For a general overview of the Scottish famine, Tom Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988). For American aid to Scotland, Harvey Strum, "Famine Relief from the Children of Auld Scotia,"

Journal of the North Carolina Association of Historians, 22 (September 2014): 32-56.

[26] Cork *Reporter,* 4 May 1847 reprinted in the Trenton *State Gazette,* 18 June 1847; Edward Mix to John Stephen, I May 1847 in same issue of the Trenton paper; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 16 June 1847; Edward Mix, Commander of the New Jersey Relief Ship to the New York *Journal of Commerce,* 3 May 1847 reprinted in the Jersey City *Sentinel,* 16 June 1847.

[27] Elizabethtown *New Jersey Journal,* 13 April 1847. For an example of the circular, Paterson *Intelligencer,* 14 April 1847 contains the circular of 8 April 1847.

[28] *Transactions,* 343-44; *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 14-15.

[29] David Rogers, et al, to Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim, 28 April 1847, in *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 16.

[30] General Relief Committee of the Society of Friends to Chairman of the General Committee for the Relief of Ireland, 18 May 1847, in *Report of the New Jersey Committee,* 21. The letter was also published in Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 4 June 1847. Also, see Joseph Bewley and Jonathan Pim to John H. Stephens, 18 June 1847 in *Daily Advertiser,* 8 July 1847.

[31] Cited in Helen Hatton, *Largest Amount of Good.* 126.

[32] *Transactions,* 47-48.

[33] Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger,* 255.

[34] *CentralCommitteefortheReliefoftheDistressinIreland*, *1862*-3 (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1864), Appendix A, 29. I used the copy of the report at the American Irish Historical Society in New York City. AIHS

[35] Subscriptions of the New York Irish Relief Committee, 1863. AIHS. These are the surviving papers of the Irish Relief Committee. New York newspapers also printed donations, such as the New York *Times, Tribune, Express, Herald, and Irish American.*

[36] Marcus Ward to the Editor, 19 May 1862, New York *Irish American,* 31 May 1862.

[37] Paterson *Daily Register,* 23 February 1863.

[38] James, Bishop of Newark to the Clergy, 7 March 1863, in Boston *Pilot,* 28 March 1863.

[39] George Doane, Secretary of the Bishop's Irish Relief Committee, to Bishop Bayley, 9 April 1863, New York *Irish American,* 25 April 1863; George Doane to Editor of Boston *Pilot,* 16 May 1863. Also, see Jersey City *American Standard,* 17 April 1863; Paterson *Daily Register,* 18 April 1863. Doane's father George Washington Doane was the influential Episcopalian Bishop of New Jersey who played a key role in Irish famine relief in 1847.

[40] 40 Rev. George Doane to Archbishop Paul Cullen, 8 April 1863, Section 340/8/I/47, Correspondence of Secular Priests, Archbishop Paul Cullen Papers, Archdiocese of Dublin Archives, Dublin, Ireland. Also, see George Doane to Archbishop Paul Cullen, 5 July 1863, 340/8/I/ 177 about the last part of the collections sent from Newark. Noelle Dowling, the Diocesan Archivist, kindly provided me with copies, 6 August 2010 to author. Letter.

[41] Archbishop Paul Cullen to R.J. Devitt, 21 May 1863, in *Central Committee,* Appendix B, 40.

[42] Ibid, bottom of page 35 has the resolution of the Mansion House Committee.

[43] Ibid, 4-5.

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[44] Janes Treanor to the Mansion House Committee, 19 January 1880, in Dublin Mansion House, *The Irish Crisis of 1878-80: Proceedings of the Dublin House Relief Committee, 1880* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1881), 234. Reprinted by Google Books from University of Michigan Library. The historian Gerard Moran is the leading expert on the Little Famine or Near Famine of 1879-82, See Gerard Moran, "Near Famine: The Roman Catholic Church and he Subsistence Crisis of 1879-82," *Studia Hibernica,* 32 (2002/2003): 155-177; Gerard Moran, "Near Famine: The Crisis in the West of Ireland, 1879-82," *Irish Studies Review,*5:18 (Spring 1997) : 14-21. For a general overview of American aid, Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 81-98; For a recent collection of essays on Irish famines, Christine Kinealy and Gerard Moran, eds., *Irish Famines before and after the Great Hunger,* (Hamden, Ct., and Cork, Ireland: Quinnipiac University and Cork University Press, 2020). Harvey Strum wrote a chapter on the debate over American government aid in 1879-80. Chapter 11, 177-193.

[45] Robert MacHale, P.P. to the Mansion House Committee, 27 January `1880, in *The Irish Crisis,* 234.

[46] Ibid, 5. For the Irish in Newark, Newark *Journal,* 16 March 1880.

[47]Surprisingly, Dermot Quinn's study of the New Jersey Irish makes only brief mention of famine relief efforts in 1880 and the Land Leagues, 114-115. Quinn does not mention the Parnells or the Ladies' Land League. For Delia, Beverly Schneller, *Delia Tudor Stewart Parnell, and the Irish Home Rule Movement, 1879-1898: The Story of the "Lady Chieftaness,"* (Washington: Academica Press, 2007). For the two sisters of Charles Parnell, Jane Cote, *Fanny and Anna Parnell: Ireland's Patriot Sisters* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Publishers, 1991). For some of the Ladies' Land League chapters, New York *World,* 24 September 1881. For the honor guard after the death of Fanny, see for example, Bridgeton *West -Jersey Pioneer,* 12 October 1882. For Delia's sale of the Stewart estate to her son, Bridgeton *Pioneer,* 13 March 1884. For more on Ladies' Land Leagues, see Catherine Shannon, "Boston and the Forgotten Famine of 1879-82," in Christine Kinealy and Gerard Moran, eds., *Irish Famines,* 204-05. For Bordentown's early contribution to Irish relief, New York *Irish American,* 28 February 1880.

[48] For the New York City Committee, W.H. Martin. Chairman, and Paul Leonard, Secretary, Fenian Brotherhood to Charles Daly, 15 December 1879, December 1879 folder, Box 5, Charles Daly Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library (42nd Street).

[49] Bishop Michael Corrigan, *Pastoral Letter to the Clergy, Secular and Regular. Of the Diocese of Newark 1880* (Newark: J.J. O'Connor & Co., 1880), 10-11.

[50] Trenton *State Gazette,* 15 January 1880.

[51] Information about McNulty see Dermot Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey,* 115. For his quote. William McNulty to Bishop Michael Logue, 13 January 1880, Bishop Logue Papers, Raphoe Diocesan Archive (RDA), Palace Cottage, Letterkenny, County Donegal, Ireland. Copies kindly provided by Moira Hughes, Archivist, 16 July 2019. There is also a description of fund raising by McNulty in New York *Herald,* 12 January 1880. For additional information on the donations sent by Father McNulty, New York *Irish American,* 6 March 1880.

[52] H.P. Fleming to Bishop Michael Logue, 25 March 1880, RDA. For photographs of St. John's Parish in Orange see Dermot Quinn, *The Irish in New Jersey,* 62-63. Photos are in the archives of Seton Hall University. For Fleming's donation to the Archbishop of Dublin, see H. P. Fleming to the Most Rev. Dr. McCabe, 11 February 1880, 346/4/III/14, Cardinal Edward McCabe Papers, Archdiocese of Dublin Archives, Dublin, Ireland (ADA). Copy kindly provided by Noelle Dowling, Diocesan Archivist, 7 May 2010.

[53] Thaddeus Hogan, Pastor, to Bishop Michael Logue, 2 February 1880, RDA.

[54] P. Fitzsimmons to Bishop Logue, 30 January 1880. RDA Also, for Camden, Camden *Democrat,* 6 March 1880 praising the temperance society and the church.

[55] P. Fitzsimmons to Bishop Logue, 27 February 1880, RDA.

[56] For a brief mention of the Parnell sisters, see James Walsh to the Editor of the *Irish American,* 12 February 1880, in New York *Irish American,* 21 February 1880.

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57 New Jersey Catholic Records Commission, *The Diocesan Journal of Michael Augustine Corrigan, Bishop of Newark, 1872-1880.* Joseph Mahoney and Peter Walsh, eds., (Newark: New Jersey Catholic Historical Commission, 1987), 238; Accounts also in, Joseph Flynn, Chancellor to the Editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal,* 12 June 1880, New York *Freeman's Journal,* 23 June 1880

58 Michael Corrigan, Bishop of Newark to Rev. Dr. McCabe, Archbishop of Dublin, 4 February 1880, 346/4/III/7/U, Cardinal Edward McCabe Papers, ADA.

59 G.H. Doane, V.G., to Rev. Dr. McCabe, 19 February 1880, 346/4/IIII/18/1, Cardinal Edward McCabe Papers, ADA. For the issue of remittances, Michael Corrigan to Dr. McCabe, Pentecost, 346/1/II/27, ADA. Also, see "Distress in Ireland" listing some of the contributions including the NJ donations sent in February by Doane and Corrigan. Kindly provided by Noelle Dowling, Archivist, ADA, 28 July 2020.

60 P. F. Downes to Michael Logue, 7 May 1880, RDA.

61 Patrick Smyth to Michael Logue, 9 April 1880, RDA.

62 Rev. H.J. McManus to Michael Logue, 22 March 1880, RDA. S

63 Princeton *Press,* 28 February 1880.

64 Charleston *News,* 1 March 1880. This comment about Jews in a South Carolina newspaper appeared in newspapers around the country, like New York *Tribune,* 25 February 1880; New York *Herald,* 14 February 1880; Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad,* 84; Washington *National Republican,* 9, 13, 15 1880.

65 Trenton *State Gazette,* 6 February 1880.

66 Trenton *True American,* 2 February 1880.

67 Ibid, 9 February 1880. For the Trenton Iron Company and a list of donations, Trenton *State Gazette,* 17 March 1880.

68 Mayor William Rice, Trenton to Sir John Dwyer Gray, Mayor of Dublin, 1 June 1880, Ch 1/11/46, Mansion House Papers, Dublin City Archives, City Clerk's Office, Dublin Ireland (DCA).

69 New York *Irish American,* 20 December 1879.

70 Ibid, 27 December 1879, 13 January 1880; Jersey City *Argus,* 8 January 1880. For the role of women, *Argus,* 6 January 1880.

71 Mayor H.J. Hopper to Lord Mayor of Dublin, 29 January 1880, Ch 1/10/G/304, DCA. The stationary Hopper used included the seal of Jersey City. The amount donated is also listed in *Irish Crisis,* Appendix XIV, 357; Jersey City *Argus,* 16 February 1880.

72 Ibid.

73 New York *Irish American,* 10 January 1880; Jersey City *Argus,* 30 December 1879.

74 New York *Irish American,* 10 January 1880; Jersey City *Argus,* 30 December 1879.

75 Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 16, 21, 1880; H.W. Fiedler to the Public, 21 January 1880 in Newark *Register,* 22 January 1880

76 George Jenkinson, President, Christopher Nugent, Treasurer, to the Chairman, Mansion House Relief Committee, 28 January 1880, Ch 1/11/29, DCA. Also, see Newark *Journal,* 31 January, 17 February 1880; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 26, 31 January 1880.

77 *Irish Crisis,* Appendix XIV, 362; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 31 January 1880; Newark *Journal,* 31 January, 17 February 1880.

78 Newark *Daily Advertiser,* 7 January 1880.

79 Ibid; New York *Freeman's Journal,* 17 January 1880. Newark *Journal,* 5, 7 January 1880; Newark *Register,* 7 January 1880.

[80] Jersey City *Argus,* 9, 10, 12, 20, 22, January, 5 February 1880.

[81] Trenton *State Gazette,* 8 January 1880; New York *Herald,* 8 January 1880.

[82] New York *Irish American,* 6 March 1880.

[83] Ibid, 21 February 1880.

[84] New Brunswick *Fredonian* 3, 9, 11, 17 March 1880.

[85] Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger,* 289-90.

[86] *The Irish Crisis,* 23.

How About a Little Romance?

An Analysis of Romance Novels

by

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Abstract

The worldwide pandemic of 2020-2021 saw millions of people around the globe confined to their homes. Social scientists noted reports of depression and domestic violence and an increase in the use of alcohol and marijuana, as people tried to cope with social isolation. A*Washington Post* article indicated more people were reading, an increase of 33% in the United States, was a bright spot amid this litany of negative findings (Reading Trends, 2020, para 1).American's favorite subject matter included dystopias, social justice, and romance(Merry & Johnson, 2020. Para 1). Sales of romance novels rose 17% (Graham, 2020, para 1). A research question devolved from a thoughtful consideration of what caused this increase in sales. This approach concentrated on a history of the genesis of romances. Statistical data confirmed the hypothesis that readers chose romances because these books gave people a chance to escape the boredom of sheltering in place. An analysis of thirty-five romances focused on a paratextual analysis, an examination of characters, humor, signals for sex scenes, as well as, problems and excellence in writing. The data gained from these analyses confirms romances are sought-after despite their relegation by literary elites to popular or low culture. Publishers use research data and authors maintain close personal contact with their readers to ensure a profitable business. Finally, readers purchase romances online as a means of escape from the horrors of the pandemic. The 2020-21 coronavirus was an unrelenting global enemy. No one was safe. Some sought solace in prayer, many in hatred. Others threw themselves into action striving to defeat this invisible, vicious adversary that demanded a Herculean effort to endure. Regardless, a few moments of respite reading a romance novel to amuse and calm anxious survivors proved a welcome, legal, and inexpensive distraction.

Key Words: romance novels, popular culture, consumerism, romances, pandemic, statistical analysis, literary analysis, paperbacks, haut ton, penny dreadfuls, Western, English historical, suspense, paranormal, sex signals.

A current plaintive cry of, "I need a book!" is not unusual, yet fulfilling that need in the deadly 2020 coronavirus pandemic is often a godsend. Though audiovisual devices inform and entertain, for many there is nothing like a good book. For most, the new normal is unfamiliar territory. Employment is questionable or non-existent. Even when people do find work, it is dramatically altered. Schools are often a peculiar apparatus vying for room on a kitchen table and the teacher is a figure on a flat screen imparting knowledge to a frustrated, distracted group of students, he or she has never met. However, human beings are adaptable, and amazingly creative in crises. Confusion often produces a need for a distraction that provides a few moments of respite. Apparently for many in this difficult time, it is the romance novel.

Romance novels form a cornerstone of popular culture. It is what is left after the literati decree what books belong to the canon, and what books are not worth reading. The marketing of romance novels represents a new level of consumerism. Publishers supply what readers want, a story about loving relationships with a happy ending. While adhering to this framework, publishers observe the changing tastes of their customers. This three-part inter-disciplinary approach seeks to promote understanding of amuch-maligned category through a history of the genre, a survey of the literature on the statistics about romances, and an analysis of thirty-five romances including novels, novellas, and short stories.

Romance History

America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash"
(Hawthorne, Letter to his publisher, 1853).

Modern romances have their origin in Jane Austin's*Pride and Prejudice* (1812) and Charlotte Bronte's*Jane Eyre* (1847). Women wrote these novels about the their concerns. Heroines overcame social conventions and personal difficulties to achieve happiness. They found the love of their lives and the books ended with an emotional, satisfying, happy ending. These novels brought hope and inspiration to women debased by the norms and conventions of a patriarchal society and established conventions still followed by the romances of today.

The Industrial Revolution saw the development of steam and rotary printing presses, which facilitated the production of inexpensive literature for the newly educated population of the United Kingdom. One of the most widely read publications in the 1830's was the "penny dreadful." This popular culture offering of sixty-four small pages cost a tuppence (Summerscale, 2016, para 1). It was published weekly on cheap pulp paper, and sold at railway stations and other convenient outlets. Penny dreadfuls featured sensationalistic and daring stories written for boys and working men. Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, and English highwayman, Dick Turpin, became household names. Social elites condemned these tracts, especially when they appeared in the pockets of almost every schoolboy in Britain. Moral commentators linked them to violence, robbery, suicide, and social unrest.

Dime novels replaced penny dreadfuls during the 1860's in America. Titles such as *Secret Service, Pluck and Luck, Fame and Fortune* and *Wild West Weekly*were immediately popular among young working class readers. Highbrow critics derided them as cheap sensationalistic fiction. Nonetheless, these exciting stories about the West,

railways, the Gold Rush, and other adventures in unknown territories were a phenomenal success.

Rebecca (1938) by Daphne Du Maurier blended horror and romance to create a thrilling dramatic novel. It featured a female heroine, battling through a terrifying ordeal, while struggling to be with her true love (Pagan, 2019 para.1). Margaret Mitchell's Civil War and Reconstruction epic, *Gone with the Wind* (1936), revitalized readers' interest in historical romances, especially when the film adaptation of the book turned into an instant box office success. Professor Pamela Regis (2003) does not consider either worka true romance novel because neither heroine resolves her love relationship and both stand alone on the last page (p.50).

Harlequin Publishers, a Canadian firm, started publishing romance novels in 1948. These novels were generally 55,000 to 65,000 words and aimed at youthful female readers. They became known for their stunning covers, usually featuring lovers posed in a tight embrace. Italian-American model Fabio Lanzoni posed for hundreds of Harlequin book covers. These blatant covers had much to do with the low esteem in which critics hold romance novels.

Kathleen Woodiwiss' *Flame and the* Flower (1972) was the first romance novel published directly in paperback for mass-market distribution. It also introduced a trend toward more explicit sex in romance novels. Authors such as Jackie Collins, Danielle Steel, and Norah Roberts continued in the "bodice ripper" style earning their place on numerous bestseller lists. In 1999, 55.9% of the mass-market paperbacks sold in North America were romance novels (Regis, 2003, p. xi). The advent of e-book romances resulted in lower prices for mass-produced paperbacks, a change in the market that forced Harlequin to accept HarperCollins' buyout offer of $415 million (Raphel, 2014, para. 3). British author, E. L. James' novel *Shades of Grey* (2011) ushered in a new era of self-publishing. The provenance of the modern mass-produced romance novel demonstrates the importance of technology and consequent development of consumerism to propel this genre to its place as a vibrant part of popular culture.

Survey of the Literature
What has made the romance genre so sucessful
is also what has contributed to its bad reputation.
(Rodale, p. 182).

The main tool of evaluation for this survey of the literature on statistics about romances is the total number of subjects in the survey sample.Jane Krentz (1992) in *Gorgeous Men and Adventurous Women*, Maya Rodale, (2015) in *Dangerous Books for Girls*and the Romance Writers of America rely on data generated by Nielsen with N=2000. Markinblog (2019) utilizes statistics culled from publishing industry reports. Janice Radway samples 20 novels for her doctoral dissertation on which she based her pioneering work *Reading Romance* (1984).Dana Menard (2013) surveys twenty contemporary romance novels in her dissertation "Insert Tab A Into Slot B" (2011).

Professor John Storey (1997), a British media specialist, explains "there is always a dialog between the process of production and the activities of consumption"(p. 259). It is not so much that romance novels are predictable and formulaic. Women who read them expect familiar and accessible language, and plot elements like a happy ending. If women do not get what they want, they will not buy or read the book.

Publishers rely on statistics to understand the demographics of their target audience. They wish to know thesubgenres preferred by their customers. It is just good practice if they wish to continue a profitable business.

The Readers

A survey by the Romance Writers of America (2017) indicates readers of romance novels are 82% women and 18% men and thatmen reading romances increased 9% from 2014 to 2019 (About the Romance Genre, p.1). Perhaps, more men read romances because they seek to understand the emotional and sexual needs of women. Most romances provide a well-written story with strong characters. Men appreciate a novel featuring a conversation between a woman and a man, especially when they encounter all the danger and adventure one finds in male oriented fiction in a romance novel, plus an engaging story of intimacy.

People read romance novels to relieve stress (See Appendix A). The idea women read romance novels to "escape the boredom" of everyday life needs parsing. During this pandemic, women do not have a lot of boredom to contend with. Even with modern conveniences that certainly help women cope, "everyday life" isn't the same either! There are still meals to plan and cook, living quarters to keep clean and maintained, laundry washed, dried and sorted. In addition, women must budget, pay bills, disinfect the home, as well as care for children, homeschool, and…often contribute as a member of the out-of-home workforce! In describing why women read romance novels, it is more accurate to use the word "escape" in its real sense, i.e. "breaking free" even for a few minutes!

Romance readers often experience the scorn of others for their favorite reading material. Many disguise their reading choice with a cloth or paper cover. However, a survey by Nielsen indicated44% attended college, 51% work outside the home, and 68% read the newspaper every day (Krentz, 1992, p. 12). Critics who stereotype romance readers as uneducated are wrong. According to Krentz (1992), women from age 30-45 buy romances, although Harlequin novels attract a slightly younger group. The number of readers currently in a relationship with a man is 79%, and 61% consider themselves feminists (Krentz, 1992, p. 12). Women include romance novel purchases on their shopping list. The story is the #1 factor in their decision to purchase a romance. Publishers cannot afford to alienate such discerning and committed consumers.

Radway (1984) indicates what characteristics readers prefer in main characters: humor (37%), honesty (34%), and kindness (29%) (p. 84). Her findings indicate readers like heroines with intelligence (36%), humor ((36%), and independence (28%) (p. 84). Rodale (2015) notes only 6% thought the heroine has to be beautiful (p. 156). Would-be romance writers should appreciate the importance of humor in principal characters. Well-developed secondary characters are essential, especially in bringing out the comedy found in the predicaments of the principals.

Subgenres

Romance readers sample different categories, but generally they have a specific type of book in mind. They'll look first for a book by their favorite author. Book covers help them recognize the type of novel they wish to read. They all expect a happy ending, but authors have many ways to achieve this goal. Rodale (2015) notes there

were 9,000 romance novels published in 2013, something for nearly every taste (p. 164). The percentages listed in Appendix B indicate what subgenres readers prefer.

Suspense (25%), the most popular subgenre, features a romance coupled with a mysterious plot. Many from this group showcase police or a Private Investigator such as found in Kat Martin's works. The hero must solve the mystery and save his love interest from assorted villains. Historical Romance novels employ backgrounds prior to 1950. Not only does this subgenre take place in different centuries, but also in different countries and cultures. In time-travel romances, the heroine somehow travels back in time to meet the hero of her dreams.

Every English historical romance is set within the values and mores of the haut ton or British high society in the 19th century. The ton was a rigid class system determined by social acceptance. The pinnacle of social life lay in London's most exclusive mixed-sex social club, Almack's. This establishment acted as a "marriage mart." Families with marriageable children sought hard to get vouchers to admit their daughters to Almack's. The club organized a ball and a supper once a week for twelve weeks during "the season," March to early June (Murray, 1998, p. 50). Marriageable girls could "come out" for only three seasons. If they failed to find a match, they were labeled "blue stockings" and consigned to spinsterhood. Seven patronesses determined those admitted to Almack's. They set strict standards of acceptable social behavior.

Paranormal romance (11%) is a broad subgenre consisting of categories like fantasy worlds and alien lovers, vampires and shape-shifters. Erotic romance novels (9%) embrace strong, explicit, sexual interaction as an inherent part of the love story. Smaller sub-categories include bad boys, taboo romance, BDSM, and fetish stories. Young adult life, 12-18 years, is the fundamental context of teen Romance novels (7%). These novels have only hints of sex. New Adult novels have sex scenes appropriate for the 18-21 age group.

Contemporary romance novels (21%) have settings from 1950 to the present, including a plethora of sub-categories. Religious beliefs (7%), sports romances, and multi-cultural romances highlight popular contemporary themes. Some explore PTSD, single parenting, and financial difficulty. This pandemic will undoubtedly produce novels explaining coping mechanisms for current problems like unemployment, and quarantining. Romance novels have favorable endings, but they may also provide examples of how to cope with real-world situations.

The Novels

Publishers sell romances in several different formats. Hardcover books have a protective cover, large size, good paper, and are purchased in bookstores. Trade books feature a thin cardboard cover, larger size, and are also sold in brick and mortar establishments. Mass produced books are small in size, printed on lower quality paper, and sold in mass-market outlets. E-books are available in digital form, readable on computers or other electronic devices. Supermarkets and pharmacies pioneered the sale of affordable romance novels in the 50s and 60s. Today, consumers purchase 60% of this genre in electronic or print versions through the internet (Graham, 2020, para 1). Romancesdecrease in quality of material and size according to price.

Romance novels are big business – $1.6 billion in 2019, and this genre, according to Markinblog (2019), comprises 29% of all fiction (p.1). They are a perfect

example of consumerism in popular culture. Publishers know they will profit as long as their product stays within the parameters of what avid consumers want and can afford. The trend for romances is self-publishing. E. L. James used a local on-demand publisher for her controversial novel,*Fifty Shades of Grey* (2011). She sold 150 million copies and made 95 million dollars in its first year of publication.

Authors can publish a romance novel in print form for around $2000 (Bingham, 2015, para 27). Amazon-Kindle will put it on line. Many writers negotiate the right to republish their former works. Authors gain control of the profits from their work, but they must become small business owners assuming the burden of selling their book.They often write a paragraph touting upcoming works at the end of the current offering or create a website linked to Amazon.com. This website can also feature a newsletter. It is not uncommon for romance writers to send their newsletter to 16,000 people or more. The voracious readers who buy romances delight in a tasty narrative.

Romance novels are randomly displayed in supermarkets, unlike bookstores where they are alphabetized by author. According to Rodale (2015), 70% of readers buy at least one romance a month, 47% think one can judge a book by its cover and 28% buy romance novels on impulse (p. 67). Covers offer powerful evocative codes, replete with symbols, images, and allusions helping busy shoppers gravitate to their favorite authors and sub-genre. The back cover and spine of the book include additional information. A recent innovation provides the reader with a genre designating cover, plus a more enticing image on the following page. Visual cover art is equally important for readers shopping for E-books.

Radway's survey (1984) indicates several thingsreaders dislike in romance novels: 89% abhor rape scenes, 80% explicit sex scenes, and 70% sad endings (p. 74). She presents evidence that when readers discover offensive scenes, 55% toss the offending book into the trashcan. Twenty-one percent read the ending to see, if the book is worth finishing (Radway, 1984, p. 70). A well-written sex scene flows from the emotions of the characters. It is not the minute description of a sexual encounter, it is the tension within a relationship of two people as they struggle with desire, deny it, and then surrender to it.

Menard (2013)shows 86% of heroines and 77% of heroes are consistently attractive, Caucasian, heterosexual, single, and young. Few of the sex scenes (17%) include "romantic" scene-setting elements. Sixty-five percent take place in a private location or bedroom. Seventy-two percent occur in the evening or at night (Menard, 2013, p. 4).Menard discovers no significant difference between books published between 1989 and 1999 and those published between 2000 and 2009 in terms of protagonist or relationship characterization. The only finding of statistical significance during this period was an increased use of contraception from 18% of the scenes in the first group to 58% in the second (Menard, 2013, p. 5).

This review of the statistical literature demonstrated that readership of romance novels has increased. This fairly inexpensive and available activity proves a distraction and relieves some of the tension people have experienced during the pandemic. It is wonderful that they find respite in the art of reading the written word once again. The readers of this genre are primarily women, educated and savvy, than critics admit. The many sub-genres of romance provide subjects of interest to almost anyone. Publishers pay attention to the preferences of their target audience to maintain the profitability of

their businesses. The data also suggests factors of analysis for a survey sample of individual romance novels.

Literary Analysis
Judge Me by the Joy I Bring.
(Giles, quoted in Krentz, p. 159).

The data cited in the first section of this paper led to the development of the factors needed for a literary analysis of romances. The researchers sought a quantitative overview of several romance sub-genres. They believe unlocking the codes, puzzles, and allusions of romantic novels would promote understanding of this much-maligned genre. The researchers strove for a balance between historical and contemporary romances, as well as, pivotal works that influenced the writing and publishing of romances. During the conceptual phase, the researchers determined seven factors derived from the statistical survey. The first consisted of a paratextual interpretation of how publishers surround the author's story with a framework designed to inform readers and entice customers to buy the book. Subsequent factors included: the personality traits of main and secondary characters, the role of humor in romances, who and how authors signaled the reader an intimate scene was imminent, as well as, problems and excellence in writing.

Study Sample

Critics of love stories usually peruse eight or nine books before making their pronouncements. The researchers of this paper read, coded, and analyzed35 romances. These works were mass-market paperbacks purchased or read on line. The number of romance sub-genres continues to expand as trends develop into sub-genres and categories. Analyzing them all represented an almost impossible task. However, a smaller set of data based on factors of analysis of romances provided insights applicable to the entire population.

The researchers started their analysis with four amusing Western historical novels by Tess LeSue (Appendix C). In all, they savored ten works in the romance humor category. They subsequently read English historical novels, five in the Georgian period (1714-1830), and nine in the Victorian period (1837-1901). Like most romance readers, once they found a writer they enjoyed, they read more of her works. The six novels by Victoria Alexander included witty tales of the Lady Travelers Society. Stephanie Laurens' sparkling Christmas Chronicle series encouraged the reading of six of her romances. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick's tersely written *Highland Crown* (2019) rounded out this sub-genre.

The study sample contained three transitional works that reflected the development of modern romances.It highlightsa small pamphlet or "octavo" published by a Hearst tabloid, the *New York Daily Mirror*, entitled *Driven, The Exciting Romance of a Night Club Dancer* (1929) by Alberta Stedman Egan (See Appendix D).This pamphlet popularized the serialization of romances. *The Flame and the Flower* (1972), by Kathleen Woodiwiss changed the nature of the genre with its explicit sex scenes. E. L. James' *Shades of* Grey (2011) ushered in a new era of self-publishing.

The researchers analyzed sixteen contemporary novels (46%) in an effort to broaden the scope of the survey sample. This subgenre included suspense romances

and those dealing with modern problems. The seven novels in Lindsay McKenna' s Wind River series and Sandra Hill's *A Hero Comes Home* (2020) deserve recognition for helping readers understand the psychological effects and treatment options for those suffering from PTSD. Dailey's *Hart's Hollow Farm* (2019) explores the brain disorder of dementia. Brown's *Cowboy Courage* provides a humorous respite. The development of the factors of analysis proved a most difficult process. The solution came from close examination of the results of the statistical analysis.

Covers

An integrated advertising package sells books. This includes the front cover, perhaps a second cover, the spine, back cover, and sometimes an enticing preview from the author. The front cover contains the title, the author, a tagline, and an engaging image. Rodale (2015) quotes one book designer's observation about covers, "Anything hot and sexy, does well, as long as it is tastefully done" and states that one can still find covers in which "a busty young woman clings" to a "hulking muscle-bound man," as "her breasts spill out of her bodice" (p.11). Supermarkets are family places and do have standards. Current covers are more sedate and consumer oriented.

Ten of the romances analyzed in this paper featured women on the front cover. Thecover of Alberta Egan's *Driven* (1929) presents a line drawing of a Jazz Age dancer. The cover of Woodiwiss' *Flame and the Flower* (1972) is modest compared to the violent sex described in her novel. It portrays a seated woman in a ruby dress and dark cloak. The image on thefront cover for Alexander's *Happily Ever After* (2019) depicts a red-haired woman wearing a rose-colored ball gown. An insert shows the woman in a turquoise gown. Images in the background of Alexander's covers give clues to the location of the story: a pyramid or a wintry English country scene.

Laurens, a best-selling Australian novelist, prefers covers that let her readers know unequivocally, explicit sex scenes await them. Her novel, *What Price Love* (2006) entices buyers with a close up of a gorgeous woman wearing a crimson dress. The same image appears on the spine. A second cover depicts a scantily clad woman and a man, legs entangled, lying on scarlet satin sheets. Laurens uses the same techniques in *Temptation and Surrender* (2009). The cover exposes the naked back of a seated woman with a golden satin gown barely clinging to her.

Contemporary Western romance covers show cowboys with Stetsons,chambray shirts, and boots. Lariats and chaps, signs of a working wrangler, often appear as accessories.An image of a Belgian Malinois graces the front cover of McKenna's novel, *High Country Rebel* (2013). The dog, named Zeke, saves the heroine from a Grizzly bear, catches the villain, and merits the last line in the book.The covers of her subsequent novels,*Wind River Protector* (2019) and*Silver Creek Fire* (2020) include images of a dog, but she does not mention dogs in these books.A disclaimer explains images on the cover may not necessarily reflect the characters in the story.

Five covers presentsedate couples, modestly hugging. In the dark, brooding cover of Kat Martin's, *The Conspiracy* (2019), two indistinct individuals walk on a beach. Lauren's *Lady Osbaldestone's Christmas Intrigue* (2020) presents a snow scene on the cover. Two limited hypotheses result from this analysis. First, readers respond to the hidden messages in the covers and select books they want to read. Second, present-day covers are more conservative and sophisticated than in the 50s.

While the images on the front cover attract, prose on the back cover prompts readers to buy the book. LeSue on the back cover of *Bound for Eden* (2018), playfully declares, "Alexandra Barratt has found the perfect man – It's a shame he thinks she is a boy." In *The Proper Way to Stop a Wedding* (2017).Laurens promises "fiery passion, soaring love, and spellbinding intrigue" on the back cover of *The Beguilement of Lady Eustacia Cavanaugh* (2019).Linda Miller in *Big Sky Secrets* (2019), sums up the entire storyline in a sentence. "He's traded his suit for cowboy boots – and she's walked away with his heart…" (Back Cover). Consumers find some of the best writing on the back cover of romances. If they like the writer's style and the gist of the story, they purchase the book and enjoy a few hours of relaxation immersed in the personal lives of people with whom they can relate.

MainCharacters

Literary first impressions are important in determining the compatibility of individuals ina love relationship. Romance writers describe heroes in exquisite detail because they are writing for a predominately female audience. Blue and grey are preferred maleeye colors. Heroes generally are at least six feet tall and have athletic bodies. Clothing choices indicate status and apparently enhance men's masculinity (Fisher, 2010, p. 1).Modern male principals are handsome and exhibit intelligence, wit, and kindness. Sandra Hill in *A Hero Comes Home* (2020) characterizes Jake Dawson as a tortured hero with a dark sense of humor that "might be all right for a romance novel hero, but not for a real-life hero" (p.150). Widower Logan Anderson, hero of McKenna's *Silver Creek Fire* (2020), is a "dream cowboy" (p. 222). His most attractive features are his inherited sensibility to his community and his employees. He builds his relationship with his fragile love, Lea Ryan, slowly, with openness and honesty. He is the prototype for the male lead in romance novels of the 21st century.

With the notable exception of Laurens, most romance writers generally describe their heroines in less detail than the heroes. In *The Obsessions of Lord Godfrey Cavanaugh* (2020), the delirious hero opens his eyes and realizes he is dreaming. "Her heart-shaped face had been sculpted by a master" (Laurens,*Obsessions,* p.14). Eye color is also important in descriptions of heroines. In her 1929 pamphlet, *Driven,* Egan describes Cecilia as possessing "saucy eyes that changed from blue to violet in a twinkling" (p. 3). In *Bound for Sin* (2018), LeSue's heroine, Georgiana, has "eyes the color of a June sky, the color of prairie flax in summer" (p. 53).

Red hair is another common feature of heroines. Perhaps, it is an indication of feistiness. McKenna's heroine in *Wind River Protector* (2019) has "red, gold, and light brown hair" (p. 38). Kat Martin in *Wait Until Dark* (2019)*,* depicts April Vale as a "tall leggy red head" (416) and a few pages later observes, "all that fiery red hair just ramped up the warning signs flashing in her big blue eyes" (p. 418). Brown's heroine in *Cowboy Courage* (2020), Cactus Rose, has "light red hair that took his breath away" (p. 50). Lea, heroine of McKenna's *Silver Creek Fire,* "has short red hair that gleamed with copper, gold, and sienna highlights" (p. 45).

Female principal heroines do not have to be incredibly beautiful, but as Radway (1984) indicates, readers prefer women who are intelligent, humorous, and independent (p. 125). Alexander's Fiona Fairchild in *Let It Be Love* (2005) is "far too intelligent for her own good" (17). She portrays Violet in *Happily Ever After* (2019) as shy and retiring,

"kind and generous, smart, and funny" (Alexander,*Happily,* p. 320). Ava Archer, Le Sue's heroine in *Bound for Sin* (2018) is "stubborn as all hell" (p. 53). Ava reappears in another of her series, *Bound for Glory* (2019).LeSue describes her as a professional in a man's world,a writer of dime novels. She is stubborn, impulsive, determined, tall, strong, and a terrible cook (LeSue,*Bound for Glory,* p. 29). Her ability to laugh is a sign of her strength and placed her squarely at the center of the story.

Secondary characters

The seven Harlequin novels included in this survey were generally too short, around 50,000 words, to invest much space in secondary characters. Longer English romances can reach 100,000 words and feature a host of interesting people. Laurens wrote several series based on the members of extended families, a clever way to introduce characters that appear in other works. Butlers, maids, and cooks, occasionally advise and even influence the principals. The simple choice of appropriate clothing, food, drinks, cordiality, relaying messages, and spreading gossip is a powerful tool.Miller's *Big Sky Secrets* (2019) contains a number of engaging secondary characters. Highbridge, Landry Sutton's butler, plays the role of matchmaker, prodding and encouraging the relationship between the principals. The incongruity of a British butler on a Montana ranch is humorous in itself.

Secondary characters manage the tempo. In *A Hero Comes Home* (2020), author Sandra Hill explores a scenario fraught with difficulties. Jake, a military hero, returns home to his wife and family from an Afghan prison. He must deal with renewing intimacy with his wife, as well as how and when his PTSD symptoms will subside, and the fear of jeopardizing the safety of his family with his unpredictability. At this point, Hill introduces Izzy in a sidekick role. This long-time, civilian, and military friend serves as a confidant and sounding board. Unfortunately, this situation is all too common. Hopefully, the coping mechanisms and patience in this story are helpful to many readers.

The members of the Ladies Travelers Societyprovide young women with the tools necessary to travel abroad by themselves, something unheard of in the early1800s. More importantly, they help heroes and heroines to grow, change, and find love. In fact, they meddle! Several of Alexander's books and a novella feature the trio of elderly women. In *Deception with an Unlikely Earl* (2018)*,* the Ladies set out to defend their protégée from the negative reviews of her book by Lord Harry Armstrong. When they first meet the mean-spirited Earl, they do a wonderful job of puncturing his ego.

The best romances have good villains. This character type confronts the hero and heroine at every turn. They force the main characters to overcome their weaknesses and prove they are worthy of each other. Antagonists like drug traffickers, corrupt politicians, sexual abusers, and disorders like PTSD, create conflict. A nasty villain threatens violence. The miserable scoundrels in the survey sample include ex-boyfriends, abusive husbands, and M-16 gang members. Perhaps the most perfidious are those known and trusted by the principals i.e. fathers, cousins, and family friends. Laurens describes a malefactor in *What Price Love?* (2006). The hero and the heroine expose the mastermind of a criminal horse racing scam. The villain seeks revenge by kidnapping the heroine, taking her to a bordello, and deserting her. Providently, the hero crashes through the door and saves her (Laurens, *What Price,* p. 443).

Humor

Received wisdom privileges tragedy over comedy. However anyone can make an audience cry, but only a talented writer can make people laugh. Romances are comedies in the broadest sense of term. Comedic heroines gain freedom through a happy ending (2003). Regis describes this autonomy, however provisional, as a victory of love over life (p. 16). Eleven of the romances in our literary survey feature humor. Their authors rely on plot, characters, and incidents, to create a comic synergy allowing readers to rise above the miasma of the pandemic on peals of laughter.

The plots of LeSue's four historic westerns facilitate humor. They are exaggerated, but believable and internally consistent with LeSue's fast-paced narrative. In the first, the hero thinks the heroine is a boy. In the second, the heroine advertises for a husband in the newspaper. In the third, a naïve man falls in love with a prostitute. In the fourth, the hero begins a relationship with a writer who, unknown to him, writes the very stories that make his life miserable. What makes these plots amusing is the constant bombardment with unexpected outcomes, especially a romance.

A most hilarious plot occurs in Loretta Chase's Victorian short story, "Lord Lovedon's Duel," in the anthology *Royal Bridesmaids* (2012). Chloe, a bridesmaid, drinks too much champagne at her sister's wedding and challenges Lord Lovedon to a duel after she overhears him making insulting remarks about her future brother-in-law. Unfortunately, to her surprise, he accepts and offers to provide the weapons. Not only is such prearranged formal combat illegal, but also it is totally incongruous between a man and a woman! They secure seconds and appear on the dueling grounds. On the command, they raise their pistols, fire, and out pops a blue and green mechanical bird, tweeting merrily. They both burst into gales of laughter, and with this momentous introduction, start dating, fall in love, and eventually marry. The author informs readers that such a pair of ancient pistols exists and are for sale for $2.8 million at Christie's art auction house (The only known, 2013).

The two main characters in Brown's *Cowboy Courage* (2020), blunder around a glass shop like slapstick panto actors. "Hud Baker felt like a rodeo bull in a lingerie shop" (Brown 1). Readers expect the unexpected as their romance heats up amidst many starts and stops. Aunt Luna, an octogenarian, sums up the whole plot with her statement, "God is great, beer is good, and people are crazy" (Brown 70). Humor is difficult to write because much of what people think is comical is parochial and topical. However, children, dogs, and cross-dressing are always amusing. Pointed or poignant, humor helps people through difficult times. One of the women interviewed by Radway (1984) declares what she wanted was "a little humor" and something light, "because we want to get away from our problems" (p. 159).

Sex Signal

It is helpful to know when an intimate scene is about to happen and who initiates it. A comparison of a 2011 survey by Menard of a sample composed of 20 Rita award winners and a 2021 survey by the researchers of this analysis indicates that sex signals by men declined from 54% in the 2011 survey to 10% in the 2021 survey. The brutal hero in the *Flame and the Flower* (1972), Brandon, is a "punisher," supposedly he hurts the heroine, Heather, only because he loves her so much (Wendell and Tan, 2019, p. 13). In actuality, he rapes the heroine three times in the first forty-one pages and

justifies his actions based on his belief she is a prostitute (Woodiwiss, 1972, pgs. 29, 35, 41). Incredibly, they fall in love, a completely improbable outcome. Whatattracted attention in 1972 is no longer acceptable in the #MeToo era.

E. L. James' *Shades of* Grey (2011), famous for the amount of money it generated and its influence on self-publishing, bears further literary analysis even though technically it is not a romance novel.The Amazon.com reviews are sharply divided, ranging from liking it to "fifty shades of awful" (Customer Reviews). James uses the term "provocative romance" to describe her novel*,* but it is not a romance. The first book does not have a positive ending, or any ending actually, perhaps because the author wishes readers to continue reading her trilogy. Ana states unequivocally in the last chapter of the first book that Christian is not capable of love or a relationship (pgs. 472 & 519). A review of the last book in the series reveals there is still nothing close to a positive resolution or closure to their relationship, such as required in a romance novel.

Affirmative signals of intimacy confirm consent. The lack thereof may indicate rape. The hero in *Fifty Shades of Grey,* (2013) grooms the heroine to accept domination with techniques like anger, fear, and intimidation. Amy E. Bonomi, Lauren E. Altenburger and Nicole L. Walton in "Double Crap!: Abuse and Harmed Identity in *Fifty Shades of Grey,"*(2013) in *The Journal of Woman's Health,* concludes Ana's inability to give informed consent led to intimate personal violence, a condition affecting 25% of women in the US. These co-authors condemn the literature of popular culture that perpetrates such violent and debasing standards.

The closest modern example of male initiated consensual sex in the 2021 survey occurs in Laurens, *Temptation and Surrender* (2009). Laurens, renowned for plentiful and robust sex scenes, describes the hero thusly,"Lips curving, he shrugged out of his coat, and carefully set it over the back of a chair. It's time for bed" (p. 253). The taste for this type of prose is also changing, and Laurens is a good enough writer and smart enough businessperson to realize it. She is more discrete in her latest novels.

Sex signals by women dropped from 33% in Menard's 2011 survey to 29% in the 2021 survey.In Sandra Hills, *A Hero Comes Home* (2020), Sally tells Jake "I want to be in your bed with you" (p.262). Couples mutually agreeing to have sex increased from 13% in 2011 to 51% in 2021. Sex scenes allow authors to alter the timing of the narrative. The hero and heroine may have an intimate relationship anywhere from the first page to the epilogue, or not at all. Surprisingly, there were no sex scenes and therefore no sex signals in 13% of the works in the 2021 survey. Notably, there was not a comparable category in 2011.

Narrative Structure

A romance novel must involve a love relationship and have an uplifting ending. All the works in this sample follow the standard romance narrative consisting of three acts: the set-up, the confrontation, and the resolution (2020, p. 1). The first act accounts for 25% of the story. The second act represents 50% of the narrative, and the third act embodies 25% of the story. Would-be novelists can find detailed models of how to write a romance. Alexander's *Happily Ever After* (2019) reverses the usual order of the romance narrative. The hero and heroine marry at the beginning of the book. Due to a misunderstanding they immediately separate. However, a dilemma of inheritance requires a reunion allowing them to recognize their marriage as one of true love. In an

amusing concluding moment in Alexander's novel, Violet and James agree, "We've wasted a lot of time" before going to bed after 6 years apart (p. 337).

Act I – the author introduces the two main characters and brings them together with a narrative hook that gains the readers' attention. Often this provides the opportunity for a detailed description of both. In Alexander's "*Let it Be Love*" (2005), Fiona declares, "I'm talking about a proposal of marriage between you and me" (p.41). There is often conflict and attraction at the beginning of a relationship. However, something always intervenes forcing the main characters to work together.

Act II – the author binds the principals together in a situation and they begin to fall in love. LeSue's historical Western novels provide excellent examples. Her four novels, set within the context of a journey, give the hero and heroine time to get to know each other, build relationships, consider their destinies, and confront obstacles to their relationships. Whatever is the worst thing that can ruin the relationship, happens. According to Radway (1984), "the hero and the heroine are physically and or emotionally separated" (p. 134). This is the high point of the story, where the hero and heroine are seriously challenged. As an example, in Gaelen Foley's short story "Imposter Bride" in *Royal Bridesmaids* (2012), Prince Tor commands, Minerva, the woman who married him under false pretenses, "I want you gone from here, and don't come back" (206). All the romances surveyed followed this pattern, but the intensity of the antagonism ranges from loathing, to irritation, to not ready for a relationship.

Act III - Tor reconsiders his actions after a three-month separation. He arrives at Minerva's home, declares his undying love, and performs "the grand gesture." He drops to one knee, asks her to marry him, and slipsa diamond ring on her finger. This act confirms the growth necessary to achieve a lasting relationship.Act III shows how wonderful life is when the two lovers are finally together**.** In the epilogue to Alexander's *Happily After* (2019), the members of the Ladies Travelers Society muse on what fun they had in reuniting the main characters. Effie notes, "happily ever after is never the end…it's only, always, just the beginning" (Alexander,*Happily,* p. 378).

Problem Writing

Radway divides romances into two groups, ideal and failed. Ideal romances impart a certain amount of emotional nurturance and reassurance to their readers. Failed romances do not adequately expiate the reader's anger at the actions of the hero, an activity essential to the final rapprochement between the hero and the heroine (Radway, 1984, p.157). None of the works in the 2021 survey sample merit the label failed. However, a few have major or minor flaws in their structure or style that diminish the enjoyment of romance readers.

Statistics showed women react negatively to rape, violence, and gratuitous sex. The two leads in Laurens' *What Price Love?* (2006), are beautiful, narcissistic, and selfish. Even so, the plot drives them toward intimacy. He wishes to gain her trust. She seeks information about her brother who has disappeared. They achieve intimacy in ten elaborately scripted scenes. Laurens uses words, like "brazen, flagrant, primitive, and demanding" to create an aura of sensuality for these encounters (*What Price,* 2006, p. 137). The hero and heroine decide to marry, not so much out of love, but the realization they are like one another. This lessens the approval of her audience and strains the credulity of the most steadfast reader.

Sexist language is a type of bias implying ownership of women, once common in patriarchal societies. In Martin's *The Conspiracy* (2019), the protagonist consistently uses sexist nicknames to refer to the principal female like "Angel" (p. 333), "honey" (p. 336) or "baby" (p. 349). The same sexist language occurs in her novella *Wait Until Dark* (2019) wherein the hero addresses his love interest as "baby" three times in the last six pages (pgs. 501, 506, 507). Many would find this extremely irritating.

Authors often complicatetheir narrative with unnecessary details and plot twists. In *The Conspiracy* (2019), Martin carefully describes the weaponry beloved by male mystery writers: automatic weapons, tactical shot guns, sniper rifles, and combat knives (106). She details two brawls, two gun battles, and two kidnappings. She recounts a repelling voyeuristic sex scene. For no apparent reason, the author reveals the heroine's brother is the hero's stepbrother. As a result, Martin must include two statements to clarify the appearance that the main characters have different mothers and fathers (pg. 285 & 338). This is distracting and confusing, forcing the reader to reread the previous text.

Minor errors detract from the reader's experience. Laurens always uses the phrase "curvinglips" to describe her characters. Janet Dailey in *Hart's Hollow Farm* (2019), reminds readerstoo many times Georgia dirt is red. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick in *Highland Crown* portray theirheroine as entering a room covered with dust, not what one would expectin a village on the wetEnglish coast. Tes LeSue makes the mistake of calling the Golden City by the Bay, "Frisco,"risking a stern rebuke from San Franciscans. Certainly, a genre as vast as romance includes some flawed works. However, on the whole, the romances in this sample included turns of phrase that uplifted the readers' spirits, eliciting hearty chuckles, and providing solace.

Excellence in Writing

The writing of this paper provided much divertissement, and more than a few "Oh No" exclamations in the course of examining the romances in the survey sample. Maisey Yates, a romance writer from Jacksonville, OR notes romances are "An infusion of joy and it shows you over and over again that you can fix things" (Zavala, 2021, A1).LeSue's willingness to share copyright material made this paper more appealing. She demonstrates great use of humor in her sharp snappy repartee in the four novels of her Frontiers of the Heart series.

The readings in the English historical sub-genre (54%) provide stories of the appalling social mores of the aristocratic ton. Alexander gives us six wonderful novels, a novella, and the welcome gift of the Lady Travelers Society. Laurens proves why she is a best-selling writer in four novels and a short story. Readers learn much from her meticulously researched works featuring English social life. Hercharming and endlessly amusing stocking-stuffer Christmas novels offer more proof of her writing and marketing prowess. Laurens, Foley, and Chase in their sparkling work, *Royal Bridesmaid, An Anthology* (2012) provide entrancing stories of royal weddings, chicanery in a magical kingdom, and an astonishing duel. Nicco and Jim McGoldrick render a historical background impeccably and the Sir Walter Scott quotes at the beginning of each chapter make a fine literary touch.

Contemporary novels dealing with real life challenges offer more than fantasy. They give guidance to overcome problems touching human lives. Dailey's treatment of

present-day difficulties, like dementia, is laudable. Similarly, Brown, Hill. McKenna, and Miller, provide remarkable insight into post-traumatic stress syndrome, especially in former service people. Nineteen percent of the romances in the sample deal with PTSD. Miller's Big *Sky Secrets* (2019) and Brown's *Cowboy Courage* (2020) are just plain fun to read. Martin's contemporary detective novel and novella, include thrilling adventures with evil kidnapers, desperate criminals, vicious gangs, and steadfast private investigators. They present strong engaging heroines and well-written love scenes, not found in the male counterpart of this sub-genre. Their story lines are complicated, compelling, and hard to put down.

Conclusion

Romance writers are exceptionally good at maintaining suspense & characterization [in romances] or no one would read them!
(Flood 1).

This paper investigates the reasons behind the increase in the sales of romances during the pandemic. The authors researched women writing for women within the purview of popular culture. John Storey (1997) describes romances as "hopelessly commercial, mass produced for mass production" (p. 8). Consumers are demanding participants. They inform publishers what they want through what they buy. Romances appear in all different sizes and shapes. The trend toward self-publishing and on-line sales reduced the price of romances and put economic pressure on publishers and bookstores. Romance readers are educated, informed, and dedicated readers.

This paper presents an inclusive and esoteric literary analysis of romances novels, novellas, short stories, and a pamphlet. The evidence shows publishers develop a sales package made up of cover, back cover, and spine to catch the eye of prospective readers and influence them to buy the book. Analysis determined the type of primary and secondary characters that readers want. Significant in the findings is the importance of humor. Likewise, research shows the type of sex scenesreaders dislike. Authors usually alert readers such a scene is coming so they can take appropriate action. A few writing problems arose, especially with sexist prose, but all in all, these negatives are minor.

The depth and breadth of the romance genre is amazing. There is something for everyone and, in some cases, something offensive to most. Scholars should be wary of overgeneralization even from larger samples such as found in this paper. At a minimum,the statistical and literary hypotheses are valid across the major sub-genres of romance literature. However, the most important thing, according to Heroine Sidney Honeywell in Alexander's *Deception with an Unlikely Earl* (2018) is, "All that matters is that people who read my stories forget the tedium of everyday life and lose themselves for an hour or an afternoon in another world" (72). The time spent reading and analyzing romances provides a number of useful hypotheses, but most of all, offers a welcome respite from the grim realities of the 2020-2021 pandemic.
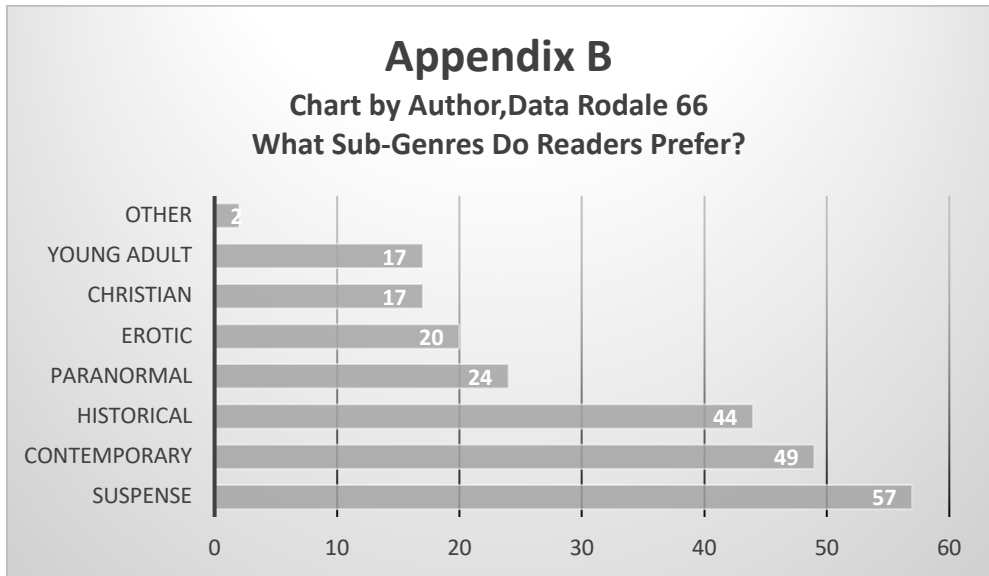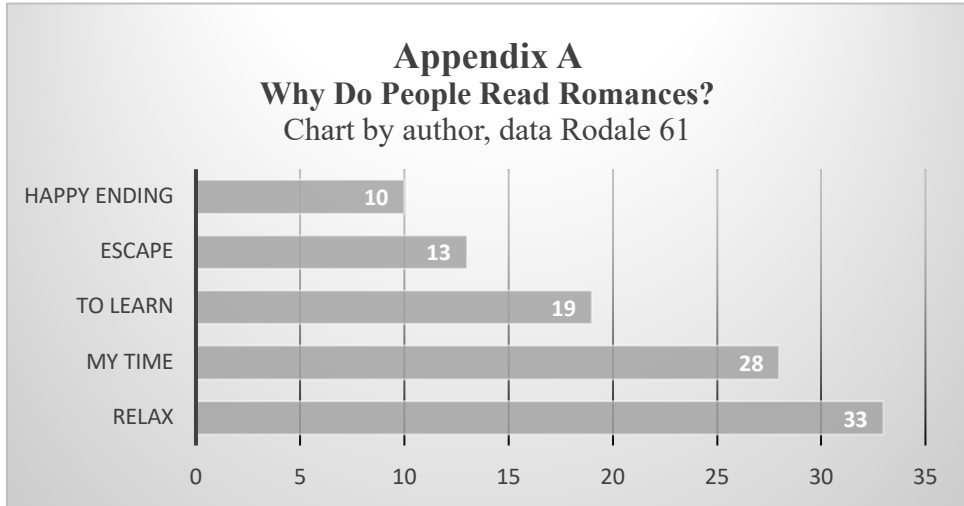
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Appendix A
Why Do People Read Romances?
Chart by author, data Rodale 61

Category	Value
HAPPY ENDING	10
ESCAPE	13
TO LEARN	19
MY TIME	28
RELAX	33

Appendix B
Chart by Author,Data Rodale 66
What Sub-Genres Do Readers Prefer?

Category	Value
OTHER	2
YOUNG ADULT	17
CHRISTIAN	17
EROTIC	20
PARANORMAL	24
HISTORICAL	44
CONTEMPORARY	49
SUSPENSE	57
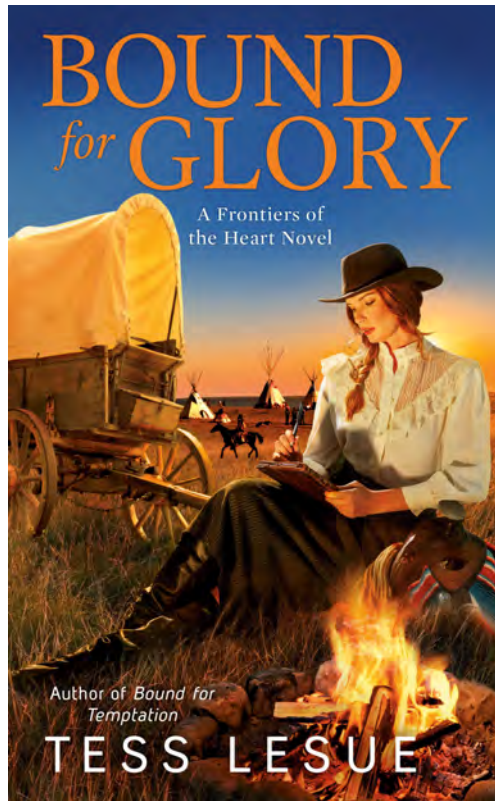
Appendix C

Appendix D
Courtesy of
Colleen
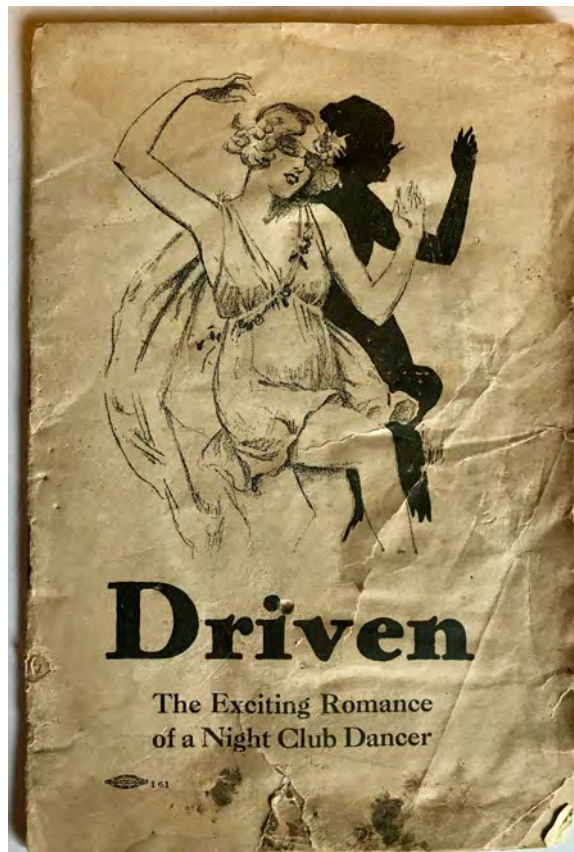
Chamber of Commerce Perceptions of Leadership

Challenges and Supports for Constituent Businesses

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Abstract

This study interviewed seven Chamber of Commerce presidents in cities of various sizes in the Mountain West of the United States to identify leadership challenges and development for their constituent businesses before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The results showed that before and during the pandemic finding and attracting talent, and developing employees and leaders were key challenges; although both of these were overshadowed by the challenges of business impact and uncertainty in all aspects of the business during the pandemic. Prior to the pandemic leadership development activities included flagship leadership experiences generally lasting one year, and other formal and information leadership and development activities. These leadership development activities largely continued during the pandemic although many Chambers of Commerce moved these activities online, and increased their communication and support to address the impact and uncertainty brought on by the COVID-19 shutdown and safety rules.

Effective leadership is critical to successful organizations. According to the 2017 U.S. Census Bureau data (2020), approximately 53 percent of total U.S. employment was in large organizations (organizations with more than 500 employees) while approximately 47 percent of U.S. employment was in organizations with less than 500 employees and 33 percent of U.S. employment in organizations with less than 100 employees. While leadership is a well-researched topic, there are few research articles on leadership in small businesses. With almost half of the employees in the U.S. in small organizations, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce estimating that small businesses make up 75 percent of all new jobs in the U.S. (https://www.uschamber.com/timeline/), additional research in this area has the potential to produce interesting and useful information, especially for those interested in the preparation and development of leaders.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is the world's largest business organization with the goal of supporting businesses through advocacy. According to the U.S. Chamber, 96 percent of the their membership is small businesses (https://www.uschamber.com/timeline/). There are also approximately 4,000 local Chambers of commerce (CoC) in cities throughout the U.S. (ACCE, n.d.). These local CoCs are in a position to understand challenges and provide support for their constituent businesses, including leadership development. There is little research on the challenges of leadership in small businesses and the supports provided by CoCs.

Beginning in 2020 COVID-19 created a challenge for businesses of all sizes that continues in to 2021. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce and MetLife (2020) published the results of a survey which found:

- One in four small businesses were temporarily shut down in response to COVID-19.
- Among the remaining open businesses (as of April 3, 2020), 40 percent reported they would likely shut down within the next two weeks. This is a total of 54 percent of all small business reporting they have already or will have shut down by mid-April.
- 51 percent of small businesses believe they will be forced to permanently close within six months if the economy does not improve, or a quick cash infusion is not provided.
- 54 percent of small businesses give the economy a poor overall health rating.

The purpose of this pilot study was to identify the leadership challenges of supported businesses and the leadership activities provided by the Chamber of Commerce (CoCs) in the Mountain West before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and economic shutdown.

Literature Review

Chamber of Commerce

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce is the world's largest business organization. The U.S. Chamber represents the interests of over three million businesses of many different sizes, sectors, and regions. Its members range from small startups, to mom

and pop shops, to leading industry associations and large corporations. The Chamber's mission is to "advance human progress through an economic, political, and social system based on individual freedom, incentive, initiative, opportunity, and responsibility" (U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 2020). To do this, they operate in three broad areas, or interests: advocacy, community, and leadership. A key focus is to advocate for pro-business policies that helps create jobs and stimulate economic growth and offer access to updated resources, information, and quality practices in advocacy and communications. The Chamber also has a leadership team that consists of nationally recognized lobbyists, communicators, and policy experts.

Communities and regions have local Chamber of Commerce (CoC) organizations that serve them. According to the Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives (ACCE), a Chamber is "an organization of businesses seeking to further their collective inteests, while advancing their community, region, state, or nation" (ACCE, n.d.). Businesses within the communities and regions served by the CoCs look for these organizations to advocate in the interest of the community, economic prosperity, and business interests at large. These CoCs generally focus on five main areas: membership, service territory, relationships, policy independence and cooperation, and structure.

History

According to the United States Chamber of Commerce website (https://www.uschamber.com/timeline/) the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was founded on April 22, 1912. Harry A. Wheeler became the first president of the Chamber and on April 24, 1912, the Chamber held the first referendum on the topic of a "Plan for the National Budget" for the federal government which was subsequently signed into law. Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt publicly acknowledged the U.S. Chamber on its ability to bring attention to the government on views of business regarding national issues and on December 3, 1915, the United States Chamber was incorporated under the laws of D.C.

In 1951, the U.S Chamber was granted consultative status to the United Nations and allowed the U.S. Chamber's International Division to be born. On July 30, 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower created the Small Business Association (SBA) and in April 1976, the Small Business Council was created to better fulfil the specialized needs of the U.S. Chamber's small business membership. In November 2009, the U.S. Chamber Small Business Nation was launched by the U.S. Chamber and acts as a community in which people can openly exchange information and ideas and foster a unified voice for small businesses. With over 300,000 members, the U.S. Chamber remains the most powerful lobbying organization in Washington, D.C.

Leadership

Leadership has been a popular topic of research since the early 1920s (Yukl, 2012) with major theories including trait and skill theories, style and situational approaches and transactional and transformational leadership. Perhaps because of the long history of leadership research, there as many ways to define leadership as there are people defining it (Stogdill, 1974). Whether defined as "establishing direction,

aligning people and motiving and inspiring [them]" (Kotter, 1990, p. 6), a formal or informal contextually rooted and goal-influencing process that occurs between a leader and a follower, groups of followers, or institutions" (Antonakis & Day, 2017), or "a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northouse, 2019, p. 5), there exists in the literature a wide variety of definitions of leadership.

Leadership vs. Management

To understand leadership, it is helpful to distinguish it from the concept of management. Although both leadership and management responsibilities may fall on the same individual and display many of the same skills such as influence, working in groups and goal attainment, it is the overall purpose or function that distinguished leadership from management (Northouse, 2019). Kotter (1990) tells us that management is about coping with complexity while leadership is about coping with change. Bennis and Nanus (2007) classically contrasted managers and leaders by saying "managers are people who do thing right, and leaders and people who do the right thing" (p. 221). The purpose of each role is different, and each role is important.

Leadership in Small Business

Leadership in small business is an under researched area. One study (Jing, Avery, & Bergsteiner, 2020) looked at small professional service businesses to analyze leadership paradigm influences on organizational performance. The results of the study were favorable for a relationship between leadership and organizational performance based on the following factors: communicated/shared vision, a warm/positive organizational climate, and a high level of leader-follower trust. Baum, Locke, & Kirkpatrick (1998) found that small firms are made of simpler social systems with less stringent hierarchies and leadership behavior may produce positive or negative employee attitudes.

Chamber of Commerce Leadership Development

A review of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce website found limited references to leadership. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce website, it seeks to "promote access to affordable, high-quality education, career paths that lead to jobs, and workforce initiatives that create a more equitable talent marketplace and strength the American economy" (United States Chamber of Commerce, 2021). The U.S. Chamber also seeks to "advance a policy environment that enables small businesses to hire, grow, and flourish in America's free enterprise system." The 2020 U.S. Chamber of Commerce Policy Priorities report include education and workforce as small business priorities. A review of the scholarly literature found no research articles focusing on the Chamber of Commerce and leadership or leadership development.

COVID-19

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) originated in China in late 2019. The World Health Organization declared a global health emergency on January 30, 2020 (Cennimo, 2021) and COVID-19 was declared a global pandemic on March 11, 2020.

Businesses and employers were seen as key players in preventing and slowing the spread of COVID-19 (CDC, 2019) and many businesses were forced to shut down or limit operation in 2020 under federal and state requirements. Businesses were inevitably impacted, and many businesses did not reopen their doors when state and local restrictions eased.

Method

The purpose of this exploratory pilot study was to identify the leadership challenges of supported businesses and the leadership activities provided by the local Chamber of Commerce (CoC) in the Mountain West before and during the COVID-19 pandemic and economic shutdown. To identify participants, CoCs were categorized based on the size of the city the CoC serves: small (population < 100,000, medium = 100,000 – 200,000, large > 200,000). Participants were recruited by email and telephone calls. 23 CoC locations were contacted, and seven CoC Presidents were interviewed (Table 1).

Table 1

Chamber of Commerce Sample

City Size	CoC Contacted	CoC Agreed to Interview
Large (200,000+)	7	1
Medium (100,000-200,000)	4	1
Small (less than 100,000)	11	5

Data were collected with semi-structured interviews including demographic and leadership development questions. Demographic questions were totaled and the remaining questions and were analyzed qualitatively to identify themes within each question.

1. How many members do you have in your Chamber?
2. How many employees do you have in the Chamber that support these businesses?
3. here are your state and city in terms of reopening plans?
4. What were the leadership challenges facing supported businesses before the shutdown?
5. What are the leadership challenges now?
6. What are the leadership development opportunities you have traditionally provided?
7. Are or have you leadership development opportunities going to change because of the shutdown? How do you anticipate on changing them or how did you change them?
8. Is there anything else you would like to add about leadership development?

Results

The demographic information for the CoCs (n = 7) is summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Demographic Information

Size of Chamber	Membership	Chamber Staff
Large	1,900	22
Medium	620	4 (Reduce to 2 due to COVID)
Small	1,200	3 ¼ (3 full-time and 1 part-time)
Small	750	5
Small	640	5
Small	550	4 (3 full-time and 1 part-time intern)
Small	220	1 ½ (1 full-time, 1 part-time)

Previous Leadership Challenges

Three themes were identified for leadership challenges prior to the pandemic. First, was the challenge of finding labor because of low unemployment. One President said,

> [City] is in a tough position for employment because pre-COVID we were at 2.3 percent unemployment rate. I don't know where your background is in economics but for the 40 plus years, I have been in the business community, 5 percent was considered fully employed so that means we are digging down into the dredges of either people who don't want to work or shouldn't be working so hiring has been a difficult thing for probably the last year and a half around here, which brings us to another problem which is attracting talent.

A second challenge was attracting talent because of variables in the environment including a lack of housing availability, transportation, and daycare costs which make it difficult to get people into the workforce. Finally, CoC Presidents identified the challenge of developing employees and leaders. One President said that it is always a challenge for employers to bring people and their potential up to speed. It can also be difficult for businesses to develop people from within the company to lead their companies in the community.

Previous Leadership Activities

Prior to the pandemic, leadership activities fell into the following categories: monthly meetings which included education, networking and work group activities, formal leadership programs, and committees and boards.

The formal leadership programs consisted of a flagship leadership program in the form of an annual or 2-year cohort-based experience. Two of these formal leadership programs identified in the interviews were: a program that provides education and activities to see the economy in a holistic versus isolated view, and another leadership program based on becoming a leader in your community. Other leadership development programs that were mentioned:

- A conference with national speakers

- High school leadership program involving young adults in leadership, business, and community.
- Women's conference to empower and help women leaders.
- Alumni Association of a formal leadership program where leadership alumni work with and young leaders.
- Business Summit provides a full range of resources to participating businesses.

CoC Presidents also talked about leadership opportunities that come from volunteering and serving on committees and boards. Volunteers can serve on committees and boards either within the CoC or in other areas in the community. According to one CoC President,

We have different committees within the Chamber. Those are all leadership opportunities for someone that is wanting to get involved. You know whether you are an individual within a community or someone that works for a company that is a Chamber member, if you're wanting to get involved, serving on a committee is a great way to get involved to get a good start … Being a small operation, we do depend on volunteers too and that definitely gives leadership opportunities whenever you can step up and work on a committee.

Current Leadership Challenges

Leadership challenges under the pandemic include uncertainty about the future, concerns about getting and retaining employees, and successfully running their businesses while complying with government pandemic and safety guidelines. In addition, the lack of ability to get together face-to-face versus Zoom impacts both communication in general as well as employee and leadership development.

Businesses are uncertain about employees, revenue, operation interruptions, and other aspects of their business. Owners and employees are worried about how they are going to survive. Businesses are concerned about keeping employees long-term with one CoC President asking, "How are they going to keep employees and if they lay them off? And will they come back?" Businesses are concerned about the low unemployment rates, as well as getting employees who are on unemployment to come back to work. Attracting talent is still a challenge, because of a lack of daycare and housing availability and costs, although for some communities the pandemic made this easier because businesses did not shut down.

The impact of the pandemic on businesses is another theme that emerged as a current leadership challenge. Some businesses did very well (grocery, liquor, and marijuana stores; sports and recreation) while other did poorly (bars, restaurants, hospitality, travel and tourism, art organizations). Business have struggled to maintain levels of revenue, service, and profitability. They are concerned with how they are going to market and bring customers back once the pandemic is over. Supply chain challenges, shipping problems, and scarcity of resources pose new problems for businesses as they move forward with operations. The CoCs were also impacted financially by the pandemic as a large portion of their revenue comes from events which cannot be held because of group size restrictions. Navigating government relief programs was also difficult for businesses and supported constituents.

Complying with guidelines posed a significant challenge for businesses who are balancing the need to flatten the curve but also still keep the economy moving. One CoC President said, "We need to learn to live with the virus. The pandemic will be here whether we like it or not." Many CoC Presidents described the difficulty in staying compliant with government shutdown and safety guidelines while trying to do what's right for customers, employees, business owners and the economy. Helping their members reopen was also difficult because of incomplete and changing information from state leadership and communication challenges with members because of the pandemic and restrictions on gatherings.

Employee development was also described as a current leadership challenge as the pandemic increased the importance for employee and leader development. Businesses struggled to develop employees and leaders amid the economic challenges, and CoCs had a learning curve to change their communication and support through video conferencing and other methods.

Current Leadership Activities

CoCs continue to offer leadership development and other support activities during the pandemic. Several CoCs continued with in-person meetings and development because "it is more effective than video conference…even though it was very hard with county health restrictions." Other CoCs transitioned meetings and development to video conferencing although "the technology and logistics learning curve has been challenging for the Chamber, required increased bandwidth and multiple zoom accounts because of simultaneous meetings." Some CoCs postponed their formal leadership development events and for those that put their formal development online the content of their leadership development changed. As one CoC President shared,

> A lot of our leadership programs depend on face-to-face group interaction and we have to try to figure out how to do it through technology. But it's not the same. People were coming together, touring sites so how it is conducted is probably going to change a little bit.

CoCs also created new development opportunities. For example one CoC increased the amount of online leadership development available by presenters outside the CoC and providing their members with online access to it live or as a recorded video.

CoCs also provided websites and extended office access to increase communication in general and to provide support in navigating various relief and grant programs. One CoC created a YouTube channel with informational videos and videos of monthly development and networking events. Attendance in the online monthly meetings has been lower than the previous face-to-face events but putting them online for viewing increased the overall number of people accessing the event.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The COVID-19 pandemic created an unprecedented disruption to businesses and the CoCs that support them. The CoC Presidents all described great stress as they and their members navigated the pandemic and safety guidelines. Yet, as challenging

as the environment was for CoCs, the leadership activities remained reasonably intact (Table 3). Many of the meetings and formal leadership programs moved to video conferencing, but the actual leadership development activities continued to be offered. In fact, rather than reducing the support, communication, access to the CoC and resources provided by the CoC *increased* during the pandemic.

Table 3

Comparison of Previous and Current Leadership Activities

Previous Leadership Activities	Current Leadership Activities
Monthly Gatherings • Education • Networking • Work group	Continued monthly gatherings • In person • Video conference/technology • Pandemic-related topics
Formal leadership programs	Formal leadership programs • In person • Video conference/technology • Some changed program content
Committees (membership, chair, board)	Continued committee meetings • In person • Video conference/technology
	Increased communication and access to the CoC
	Supporting COVID-19 related relief programs and grants

There were several limitations with this study. As a small regional pilot study, the data cannot be generalized to all CoCs. Another limitation was conducting this study during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic impacted the study in several ways. First, the pandemic potentially impacted the participation rate as CoC staff was out of the office, working from home, and focused on providing information, resources, and help to their members. Second, data were collected during the first 6 months of the pandemic and the crisis of the pandemic may have skewed CoCs President's recollections of the leadership challenges and activities before the pandemic.

In the future, this pilot study can be expanded to a larger, and more regionally diverse, number of CoC Presidents. One interesting aspect of the results of this study was that the content of the formal and informal leadership programs focused on economic leadership and community leadership but did not focus on the skills or competencies traditionally associated with leading within an organization such as creating a vision, providing feedback and coaching, motivating, rewarding and recognizing employees. An analysis of Flagship Leadership Program content may provide useful information to better understand how leaders are currently being developed and to share these practices across all CoCs.

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Assessment of Online Learning Environments within Education

Courses at St. Olaf College during Spring of 2020

By

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Introduction

On January 21, 2020, the first COVID-19 case in the United States was confirmed in Washington State. By March 13 president Trump declared COVID-19 a national emergency, as the impact of the virus was being felt across the country. Later that month, institutions of higher education in the state of Minnesota began moving their courses to an online format as the virus spread across the state.

St. Olaf College, a four-year undergraduate institution with a population of approximately 3,000 students, encouraged faculty to transition their courses to online instruction one week prior to the week-long, spring break beginning Saturday, March 21. This break was extended an additional week in order to provide faculty extra time to fully transition their face-to-face courses to the mandated, fully online instruction, beginning Monday, April 6, for the remaining seven weeks of the semester. During these two weeks the college provided assistance for online delivery of instruction, including pedagogical and technology support.

The teacher education department at St. Olaf has been in existence since 1904, providing students with opportunities for Minnesota teaching licenses in several disciplines, majors in education, and concentrations for students interested in foundational preparation in various vocations such as youth ministry, teaching English abroad and other service opportunities. As part of the licensing process, negotiating the hurdle of providing high quality field experiences needed to be addressed as part of the transition to an online environment. This presented an additional challenge to the department and their effort to provide quality learning experiences for their students.

The purpose of this study was to determine the effectiveness of the online portions of education courses taught during the spring of 2020 from a social constructivist perspective. Social constructivism is a cornerstone of the department's conceptual framework. We determined that a concurrent, mixed methods approach to gathering the data was necessary for assessing the effectiveness of the transition to online instruction in the education department. The OCLES(20) was the instrument used to gather quantitative data from a convenience sample of education faculty and students (McClure and Gatlin, 2007). Each interviewee agreed to complete the instructor or student form of the OCLES(20). Qualitative data was collected through interviews from this convenience sample. Interview questions were structured according to the five scales of the OCLES(20) instrument, along with a final category of questioning centered on the perceptions of what worked or did not work for students and faculty.

Background on the topic

Social constructivism is an approach to learning that emphasizes learners' active participation in the learning process, developed by Vygotsky (1978). Important components of the praxis of this theory include social interaction around learning themes, learner empowerment in the process, and perceived relevancy of the material for which the learner is asked to engage. These components have formed the foundation for the development of instruments designed to assess the perceptions of teachers and students regarding classroom learning environments (Anagun, 2018;

Widodo, et. al., 2017; DeVaney, et al., 2008; McClure and Gatlin, 2006; Johnson and McClure, 2004; Taylor, et.al. 1993).

The CLES was developed to assess constructivist approaches to teaching secondary science and mathematics (Taylor, et al., 1993). This instrument was modified and validated by Johnson and McClure (2004) as part of a larger, multi-institutional, longitudinal study supported by the SciMath Minnesota's Teacher Research Network, in an effort to assess beginning math and science teachers in the state. Their modified version of Taylor, Fraser, and Fisher's original CLES was shortened to 20 items, and validated using exploratory factor analysis (EFA). This shortened instrument (renamed the CLES(20)) was again modified by McClure and Gatlin (2006) as a tool for assessing the constructivist nature of online learning environments at the graduate level with 20 survey items (four items for each of the five dimensions). EFA was used with this new version to validate the CLES(20), and was renamed the OCLES(20) (Online Constructivist Learning Environment Survey). The OCLES(20), as was the case for the shortened version of the CLES, was developed for instructors (Appendix A) and students (Appendix B).

The five assessed dimensions of the CLES, CLES(20), and OCLES(20) are:

Relevancy: Extent to which content is relevant to students', everyday out-of-school experiences.

Uncertainty: Extent to which opportunities are provided for students to experience that knowledge being learned is evolving and culturally and socially determined.

Critical voice: Extent to which students feel that it is legitimate and beneficial to question the teacher's pedagogical plans and methods, and to express concerns about any impediments to learning.

Shared control: Extent to which students have opportunities to share control with the teacher of the learning environment, including the articulation of their own learning goals, the design and management of their learning activities, and determining and using assessment criteria.

Student negotiation: Extent to which students share with the teacher control for the design and management of learning activities, assessment criteria, and social norms of the classroom

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to determine the efficacy of constructivist learning environments established in education department courses after the transition from in-person to online classes taught during the spring of 2020. Research questions for the study were:

1) What are the student perceptions of the quality of the constructivist learning environment established within the online portions of education courses taught in the spring of 2020?

2) What are the faculty perceptions of the quality of the constructivist learning environment established within the online portions of education courses taught in the spring of 2020?

Population:

The study utilized a convenience sample of all education instructors and students who were engaged in at least one education class during the spring semester of 2020. The sample population was emailed a participation invitation letter describing the study and participation expectations. Volunteers agreed to complete the appropriate OCLES(20) form using Survey Monkey, and to participate in an interview with a member of the research team.

Data Collection:

A concurrent, mixed methods design was used to gather and analyze data to address these research questions utilizing the OCLES(20) and semi-structured interviews. Creswell (2003) noted that the intent of a mixed-methods approach is to gather compatible data on the same topic. Mixed-methods also offset the weakness in one method with the strengths of another method (Tashakkori& Teddlie, 2003). As a result, a mixed methodology was best suited to answer the research questions and address the purpose of this study.

The OCLES(20) provided the framework for examining the learning environments from a constructivist perspective. The selection of this framework is justified as constructivism is a cornerstone philosophy of the St. Olaf College conceptual framework. Each instructor participant in the study completed the OCLES(20) instructor form (Appendix A), while students completed the OCLES(20) student form (Appendix B), which was administered using Survey Monkey. The information gathered from both populations provided the quantitative data for this study. Data collected from both instruments were tabulated according to item and dimension and displayed in Table I. Results are discussed and synthesized in order to better address the research questions.

The five dimensions of the OCLES(20) provided structure for the development of interview questions used to gather qualitative data for this study. In addition, we had the potential to elicit rich descriptions of experiences by conducting interviews that may help further explain the survey results. The interview form included opening and closing statements, and semi-structured interview questions utilized by the research team. Data collected from both sets of interviews were tabulated according to dimension and discussed. Once categorized, the data were analyzed to determine themes in an effort to address the research questions for the study.

The final step in the analysis was a synthesis of the analysis results of both sets of OCELS(20) and interview results. This provided the basis for addressing the research questions for this study.

Data Analysis

OCLES(20) instructor results:

Five instructors involved in the study completed the OCLES(20) instructor form. Responses to each of the survey questions were given a quantitative value (Almost always-5; Often-4; Sometimes-3; Seldom 2; Almost never-1). These values were averaged for each question, and for each dimension (Table I).

TABLE I

Personal relevance	Instructor Average	Student Average
Question 1	4.0	4.3
Question 2	3.8	4.1
Question 3	4.2	4.4
Question 4	4.0	4.1
Dimension average	4.0	4.2
Uncertainty		
Question 5	2.8	3.6
Question 6	3.6	3.8
Question 7	3.0	3.8
Question 8	2.6	3.6
Dimension average	3.0	3.7
Critical Voice		
Question 9	4.4	4.1
Question 10	4.2	3.7
Question 11	4.8	4.5
Question 12	4.6	4.4
Dimension average	4.5	4.2
Shared Control		
Question 13	3.2	3.0
Question 14	4.0	3.8
Question 15	3.4	3.1
Question 16	4.4	4.1
Dimension average	3.8	3.5
Student negotiation		
Question 17	3.8	3.6
Question 18	3.4	3.7
Question 19	3.6	3.1
Question 20	3.8	4.0
Dimension average	3.7	3.6

Results of the small sample of instructors involved in the study indicate a higher dimension score (4.5) for the critical voice dimension, while the uncertainty dimension showed a lower average of 3.0. The lower uncertainty dimension average is consistent with previous CLES and OCLES studies (Johnson and McClure; DeVaney, et al.; McClure and Gatlin). One faculty member scored three of the four survey items for this dimension as "almost never". With the small number of faculty participants in the study, this average is likely not relevant. This issue will be readdressed in the interview analysis.

Higher scores for the critical voice dimension is also consistent with past CLES and OCLES studies. Responses to questions 11 and 12 scored the highest of all 20 survey questions, and seem to indicate that faculty believed that students were encouraged to speak out in classes they instructed. This is another area that will be further explored in the interview process, and adds further support for the decision to adapt a mixed methods design for this study.

OCLES(20) student results:

16 students involved in the study completed the OCLES(20) student form. Responses to each of the survey questions were given a quantitative value similar to the process for the instructor results. These values were averaged for each question, and for each dimension (Table 1). A comparison of the relationship between instructor and student responses for each survey question indicated a moderate correlation of 6.7. The small sample size, particularly when considering the faculty person scoring three of the survey questions in the uncertainty dimension as "almost never" skewed the relationship significantly.

Interview analysis:
Instructor Theme 1: Situational Relevancy:

The most represented theme that emerged from an analysis of the instructor interviews is labeled as Situational Relevancy. Interview responses from several instructors indicated the COVID pandemic created an environment that seemed to indicate that instructors and students were "in it together", both having to accelerate their ability to negotiate the online environment. In many upper division courses, St. Olaf students were living through similar experiences as their St. Olaf instructors, as ongoing field experiences for students also transitioned to an online format. In essence, both instructors and students were on a steep learning curve, experiencing first-hand what worked and did not work, and sharing those rich experiences in class discussions.

One instructor mentioned, referring to the COVID situation: "It was very relevant to students as they needed to learn virtually and prepare for having to teach virtually. I was feeling that maybe about four weeks into the online portion their needs changed. So immediately I start thinking of the obligation I have to try to do something that's worthwhile for them." Another instructor remarked that "…I really do like that we are working on better answers," and that it was "easier to do in education courses than in biology, where students seem to be looking for one right answer." In another education course an instructor mentioned that "Students realize that they're processing material together, and they're trying to prepare for authentic time, when they're going to have to teach on the fly." Both instructors and college students were navigating similar challenges and obstacles in the online environment brought on by the pandemic.

Instructor Theme 2: Challenging Communication Environment

The second most represented theme emerging from the interviews is Challenging Communication Environment. Instructor comments for this theme can be categorized as positive or negative. Some positive outcomes from going to online instruction included developing anonymous online mechanisms for collecting student feedback on what was working and not working in a class, and having more

organizational capability to prepare for and manage interactions with students. One instructor mentioned, "I could keep track of who I responded to, to make sure that everybody was getting response time…..just making sure that everybody was getting something." During Zoom or Google Meet sessions, instructors had more time and capability to note student responses and track involvement. This can be more difficult when lecturing in a course, when student names aren't indicated on screens, chat rooms are less accessible, and taking notes while speaking and moving about is more difficult.

Impediments to communication were also raised in the interviews. Several instructors found that gauging student feelings was more difficult, and that general environmental conditions often disrupted the learning environment. Many students did not have uninterrupted learning spaces in their homes. Pets, siblings, and household responsibilities were several things that could interfere with teaching andlearning. Faculty mentioned that several students were living in different time zones, some in different countries. In reference to online obstacles to effective teaching, an instructor indicated, "Some people had no resources. Some were living in small spaces with eight or 10 family members….they couldn't even have a quiet place. I had people teaching outside. I had people with neighbors saying hi as they passed by. Several had pets. You are sharing control of your classroom with the world, not just with your students." Other comments included references to mental health issues and socio-economic disparities that were often less apparent from a distance, but were impairing student's capacity to engage their courses.

Instructor Theme 3: Standards-Based Flexibility

The third theme that emerged from the interview analysis is Standards-Based Flexibility. Faculty clearly understood that teaching licensure standards were the foundational elements of their education courses. This is a likely reason for lower average scores on shared control and student negotiation dimensions of the OCLES(20). One instructor expressed, "I'm one who would lean toward giving students a range of choices, all of which I think are viable as long as the standards are addressed". Faculty also recognized the value of working with students to improve their understanding of complex instructional processes that good teachers encountered on a continual basis. Having students engage relevant K-12 classroom scenarios was mentioned in several of the interviews. "I spent a lot of time helping my students address possible issues/questions that might arise in their classes", an instructor mentioned. "Playing into what you need to do is difficult in normal circumstances, but is really, really hard in an online environment". Addressing realistic situations with students, within the parameters of course standards, was evident in all of the instructor interviews. This appeared to be more noticeable during the pandemic as instructors and students were engaging the online environment with a shared sense of urgency. All parties were in it together.

Student Theme 1: Difficulty Establishing Relevancy

The first theme, in accordance with the first dimension of the OCLES(20), is Difficulty Establishing Relevancy. Students indicated a strong desire that the focus of courses should be on the quality of the activities and discussions, rather than the

quantity. One student indicated, "Discussions were limited in the amount of deviation from or depth into the topic that students could go into; (there was a) shift in classroom focus when we went online to 'getting through the syllabus' ". Students needed to feel that online class time was being used in a meaningful way, and that being explicit about the relevancy of some information and activities could improve student's ability to use that learning. One student mentioned, "...it (relevancy) was more implicitly stated. And so… if you're just at home trying to complete activities, you're trying to talk with one another to fill up time… I think that sometimes that (relevancy) could be missed." Because both instructors and students were teaching and learning in a new model of instruction, they understood the necessity to deliver effective instruction in a timely manner.

Student Theme 2: Coordination of Classroom Operations

The second theme relates to the organization of classroom instruction and day to day operations. Students commented on instructor feedback and general operations of the classroom. Feedback was an important issue for the students as they perceived a reductionin opportunities to communicated with instructors what was working or what wasn't. One student noted "a lack of feedback from professors and students made it difficult to see if the content in our class that we were learning actually paid off …"Students also expressed a need for instructors to be aware of external student situations and factors that influence student work. Students felt that instructors should be flexible and adapt aspects of the course to accommodate student needs. For example, students expressed appreciation for instructors who responded to circumstances by allowing for flexibility in assignment deadlines and found ways to incorporate choice into the assignments that needed to be completed, while still meeting required standards. We know that the majority of communication in a classroom is non-verbal, so inevitably, effective communication decreased for student-to-student interaction in the online setting. Many students advocated for the use of synchronous classes to facilitate communication, as well as the use of breakout rooms, which provided an opportunity for more interaction.

Student Theme 3: Culture of the Classroom

The culture of a classroom is a theme that deals specifically with student-to-student interaction. Students noted that there was a need for more communication among peers to enhance the culture of classrooms as they transitioned to online instruction. Allowing students into breakout rooms helped continue this collaborative culture to an extent, but not enough to offset the loss of face-to-face interaction.This perception of the reduction of communication appeared to be integral to having students feel motivated and engaged with the content. One student wrote about the transition from face-to-face to online instruction, "There was more time to talk to people before and after class in person to process every class with them and get excited about the next class...and then we went virtual…. and especially in education, teachers are such collaborative people and they learn a lot from each other and from watching each other, especially in class." This decrease in collaboration appeared to have an adverse effect on the culture of classrooms as they moved into an online delivery system.

Discussion

The COVID pandemic had an indelible impact on the educational systems in our country. It may be most noticeable in teacher education courses where college faculty found themselves scrambling to modify and effectively deliver instruction in an online format to their preservice teachers who were having to assist K-12 teachers during their field experiences in neighboring schools. This transition from face-to-face to online instruction for both the college and local schools was fast-paced, as educators at all levels experienced the stress of meeting student needs in a different medium.

The results of this study emphasized the importance of the qualitative aspect of the methodology, as faculty and student responses to the OCLES(20) were very similar. However, analysis of instructor and student interview responses revealed some similarities and differences in the perceptions of these two populations as described in the analysis section of this paper.

The student and faculty interviews identified some positive consequences of the change to online instruction within the education department at St. Olaf College. It was much easier for instructors to determine who was contributing in small and large group discussions and classroom activities within Zoom or Google Meet environments, including breakout sessions. In addition, these sessions could be easily videotaped for further analysis. This also gave instructors more opportunity to be aware of the learning environments students were living in, as students were participating in classes from home. This was particularly insightful during these stressful times, and faculty were able to more flexibly respond in ways to better facilitate student learning.

There were also some perceived negative outcomes as a result of the transition to online instruction. Student interviews revealed a sense that the quality of learning decreased, while faculty indicated increased stress imposed upon them as they rushed to change instruction to the new teaching platform. This rushed transition for faculty included trying to find ways to cover all of the content necessary to meet the demands of teacher licensure standards associated with their courses. Other impediments to the teaching and learning process included the loss of the physical presence and intimacy of the physical classroom environment, distractions within students' homes during online classes (pets, family member, etc.), and issues related to time zone differences. Students earning failing grades increased in education courses was also a negative consequence.

In conclusion, the pandemic sent a shockwave through the educational systems in our country. St. Olaf College's education department was not spared this stress. Faculty seemed overwhelmed by everything that needed to be done to deliver a standards-based curriculum over an entirely different platform. Their focus was on this quick transition and covering the necessary content. Students indicated a sense that the quality of their education had diminished as a result of this transition.They were more critical of the results. This juxtaposition of perspectives suggests an overall, diminished sense of empathy by both groups. In retrospect, this probably should have been expected given the stress associated with the pandemic, and the rapid transition all parties had to undergo to negotiate the situation.

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Appendix A

What Happens in My Online Classroom: OCLES(20) Instructor Form

Purpose of this questionnaire: This questionnaire asks you to describe your perceptions of important aspects of your classroom. There are no right or wrong answers. Your opinion about what you do in this classroom is what is wanted.

How to answer each question:
On the next two pages you will find 20 sentences. For each sentence, circle only one number corresponding to your answer.

Example:	Almost always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Almost never
In this class…. I pay attention to other student's ideas.	5	4	3	2	1

- If you think that in this class you *almost always* pay attention to other's ideas, circle the number "5".
- If you think that in this class you *almost never* pay attention to other's ideas, circle the number "1".
- Or you can choose the number "4", "3", or "2" if one of these responses seems more appropriate.

Please circle your answer for each of the following questions on both sides of this survey.

Learning about the world (relevancy)

In this class:	Almost always	Often	Sometime	Seldom	Almost never
1. Students learn things that are relevant to them	5	4	3	2	1
2. New learning relates to experiences or questions students have that are related to their professional goals.	5	4	3	2	1
3. Students learn things that are relevant to their current and/or future educational environment(s).	5	4	3	2	1
4. Students learn things relevant to their professional growth.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning about educational concepts (uncertainty)

In this class:	Almost always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost never
5. Students learn that research can't always provide clear answers to problems.	5	4	3	2	1
6. Students learn that academic explanations to phenomena have changed over time.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Students learn that research can be influenced by people's experiences, opinions, and values.	5	4	3	2	1
8. Students learn that quality research is a way to seek better answers and generate new questions.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning to speak out (critical voice)

In this class:	Almost always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost never
9. Students feel safe questioning what or how I'm being taught.	5	4	3	2	1
10. Students feel they learn better when they are allowed to question what or how they are being taught.	5	4	3	2	1
11. It is acceptable for students to ask for clarification about activities that are confusing to them.	5	4	3	2	1
12. It's acceptable for students to ask or express concern about anything that gets in the way of their learning.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning to learn (shared control)

In this class:	Almost always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost never
13. I help plan what I am going to learn.	5	4	3	2	1
14. I help decide how well I am learning.	5	4	3	2	1

| 15. I help decide which activities work best for me. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 16. I let the instructor know when I need more or less time to complete assignments. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Learning to communicate (student negotiation) *In this class*:	Almost always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost never
17. I talk with other students about how to solve problems.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I ask other students to explain their ideas to me.	5	4	3	2	1
19. I am asked by other students in class to explain my ideas.	5	4	3	2	1
20. My instructor encourages me to raise issues and ask questions with other students in order to clarify and inform our thinking.	5	4	3		1

Appendix B

What Happens in My Online Classroom: OCLES(20) Student Form

Purpose of this questionnaire: This questionnaire asks you to describe your perceptions of important aspects of your classroom. There are no right or wrong answers. Your opinion about what you do in this classroom is what is wanted.

How to answer each question:
On the next two pages you will find 20 sentences. For each sentence, circle only one number corresponding to your answer.

Example:	Almost always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Almost never
In this class…. I pay attention to other student's ideas.	5	4	3	2	1

- If you think that in this class you *almost always* pay attention to other's ideas, circle the number "5".
- If you think that in this class you *almost never* pay attention to other's ideas, circle the number "1".
- Or you can choose the number "4", "3", or "2" if one of these responses seems more appropriate.

Please circle your answer for each of the following questions on both sides of this survey.

Learning about the world (relevancy) *In this class*:	Almost always	Often	Sometime	Seldom	Almost never
1. The things I learn are relevant to me	5	4	3	2	1
2. New learning relates to experiences or questions I have that are related to my professional goals.	5	4	3	2	1
3. The things that I learn about are relevant to my current and/or future educational environment(s).	5	4	3	2	1
4. I learn things that are relevant to my professional growth.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning about educational concepts (uncertainty) *In this class*:	Almost always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost never
5. I learn that research cannot always provide clear answers to problems.	5	4	3	2	1
6. I learn that academic explanations to phenomena have changed over time.	5	4	3	2	1
7. I learn that research can be influenced by people's experiences, opinions ,and values.	5	4	3	2	1
8. I learn that quality research is a way to seek better answers and generate new questions.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning to speak out (critical voice)	Almost		Some-		Almost

In this class:	always	Often	times	Seldom	never
9. I feel safe questioning what or how I'm being taught.	5	4	3	2	1
10. I feel I learn better when I am allowed to question what or how I'm being taught.	5	4	3	2	1
11. It's OK for me to ask my instructor for clarification about activities that are confusing.	5	4	3	2	1
12. My instructor encourages me to ask questions to clarify, or deepen my understanding.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning to learn (shared control) *In this class*:	Almost always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost never
13. I help plan what I am going to learn.	5	4	3	2	1
14. I help decide how well I am learning.	5	4	3	2	1
15. I help decide which activities work best for me.	5	4	3	2	1
16. I let the instructor know when I need more or less time to complete assignments.	5	4	3	2	1

Learning to communicate (student negotiation) *In this class*:	Almost always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Almost never
17. I talk with other students about how to solve problems.	5	4	3	2	1
18. I ask other students to explain their ideas to me.	5	4	3	2	1
19. I am asked by other students in class to explain my ideas.	5	4	3	2	1
20. My instructor encourages me to raise issues and ask questions with other students in order to clarify and inform our thinking.	5	4	3	2	1

The Rush to Execute:
Lame-Duck Presidents and the Federal Death Penalty

by

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The Rush to Execute: Lame-Duck Presidents and the Federal Death Penalty

Abstract

The last pre-*Furman v. Georgia* execution took place in 1963. Victor Fegeur was executed for kidnapping and murder. John F. Kennedy was president. There was not another federal execution until June 11, 2001 when Timothy McVeigh was executed for his role in the Oklahoma City bombing where 168 people were killed. Two additional federal executions were carried out while George W. Bush was president. In July 2019, Attorney General William Barr announced that federal executions would resume. After a 17-year hiatus, the next federal execution was carried out in July 2020. Between July 2020 and January 2021, thirteen federal prisoners were executed. Six of these executions took place after Donald Trump had lost the presidential election to Joe Biden. This research note addresses the question, "How unusual are federal executions in the closing days of a lame-duck president's term?" The answer: *very* unusual!

Introduction

The death penalty dates back to the Code of King Hammurabi of Babylon in Eighteenth-century B.C. The penalty was also included in the Fourteenth Century B.C. Hittite Code, the Seventh Century B.C. Draconian Code of Athens, and the Fifth Century B.C. Roman Law of the Twelve Tablets ("Early History of the Death Penalty" 2021).

The Eighth Amendment prohibits "cruel and unusual punishments," but it does not absolutely prohibit the death penalty. The Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments provide that persons cannot be deprived of "life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." That is to say, persons *can* be deprived of their *lives* if they receive due process of law.

The death penalty is unconstitutional, however, if it is inflicted in a "cruel or unusual" fashion. Execution methods change. Today's "cruel and unusual" punishment may have been acceptable yesterday. Burning at the stake, drawing and quartering, boiling in oil, disembowelment, crucifixion, and beheading were once common and usual. Such methods are now rejected as incompatible with contemporary standards of decency. Courts look to evolving standards as they evaluate methods. The guillotine was once hailed as a humanitarian advance in the technology of death. The electric chair promised "instantaneous" and "painless" death. Gruesome malfunctions led to today's supposedly more "humane" method of execution: lethal injection.

From *Furman* (1972) to *Gregg* (1976)

In 1972, the Supreme Court struck down a challenged death penalty law in *Furman v. Georgia.* Five separate concurring opinions were issued. Justices Brennan and Marshall concluded that capital punishment is *always* constitutionally prohibited. Other Justices – Douglas, Stewart, and White – objected to racial bias or arbitrariness in how the death penalty was *applied.* States were giving juries too much discretion about whether or not to impose the death penalty. The four Nixon appointees – Chief Justice Burger and Justices Powell, Rehnquist, and Blackmun – dissented. Burger emphasized that the Court had *not* banned capital punishment and invited state legislatures to reform their capital-punishment laws to limit jury discretion.

Thirty-five states accepted Burger's invitation by revising their death-penalty laws. In *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976) and two companion cases, *Proffitt v. Florida* (1976) and *Jurek v. Texas* (1976)*,* the Court upheld some modified death-penalty laws. Writing for the majority in *Gregg*, Justice Stewart said that the Eighth Amendment draws its meaning from "the evolving standards of decency that mark the progress of a maturing society" (*Trop v. Dulles* 1958). "Excessive" punishments that inflict unnecessary pain or that are disproportionate to the severity of the crime are prohibited. But capital punishment for the crime of murder is *not* necessarily disproportionate. It is an extreme sanction that fits the most extreme crimes. Dissenting, Justices Brennan and Marshall reaffirmed their *Furman* belief that capital punishment is constitutionally impermissible. Capital punishment returned in 1977 when convicted murderer Gary Gilmore was executed by a Utah firing squad. The federal government, however, did not conduct another execution until 1988.

Executions: By the Numbers

Twenty-eight states, the federal government, and the U.S. military currently authorize capital punishment. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia do not. The Virginia state legislature recently approved a bill to abolish the state's death penalty. The bill is awaiting Governor Ralph Northam's signature as of this writing.Northam has promised to sign the bill into law. Since 1976, 1,532 executions have taken place (as of February 18, 2021). The peak year for executions was 1998 when 98 were performed. It has been in decline with 25 executions having been performed in 2018, 22 in 2019, and 17 in 2020. Some states use it far more frequently than others. The race of defendants executed were as follows: White: 854 (55.7%); Black: 523 (34.1%); Hispanic: 129 (8.4%); Other: 26 (1.7%). The race of victims in death penalty cases were as follows: White: 75%; Black: 16%; Hispanic: 7%; Other: 2%. Texas leads the nation in executions by a large margin. Three states – Texas, Virginia, and Oklahoma– account for over half (52%) of all executions. Regionally, the vast majority of executions take place in the South (1,250) followed by the Midwest (191) and the West (87). Executions are rare in the Northeast (only four). Statistics also appear to undermine the argument that capital punishment deters serious crimes. The South leads the nation in executions, but it also has the highest murder rate (6.0 per 100,000 in 2018). The Northeast, with the fewest executions, has the lowest murder rate (3.4 per 100,000 in 2018) ("Facts about the Death Penalty" 2021).

Special Significance of Virginia's Abolishment of the Death Penalty

Virginia's use of the death penalty dates back to 1608 when Jamestown settlers carried out the first recorded execution. Captain George Kendall was executed for being a spy for Spain. This execution was not an historical aberration. Four years later, Virginia Governor Sir Thomas Dale enacted the "Divine, Moral, and Martial Laws." These laws provided the death penalty for minor offenses including stealing grapes, killing chickens, and trading with Indians. Virginia has executed almost 1,400 people since colonial times, more than any other state. But in February 2021, the Virginia House and Senate voted to abolish the state's death penalty. When Governor Northam signs the measure into law, Virginia will become the first Southern state to abolish the death penalty (Lavoie and Rankin 2021).

Methods

Capital punishment remains constitutionally permissible but the methods used must not violate evolving standards of decency. Lethal injection is currently the preferred method of execution. Since 1976, 1,352 executions have been carried out by lethal injection. Additional executions were carried out by electrocution (163), gas chamber (11), hanging (3), and firing squad (3). Thirty states plus the U.S. government use lethal injection as their primary method. Some states have other methods available as backups. New Hampshire abolished the death penalty in 2019, but the law was not retroactive. This left one prisoner on death row with the lethal-injection protocol intact ("Facts about the Death Penalty" 2021).

Federal Death Penalty

The U.S. Marshal is assigned the task of carrying out federal death sentences. The first federal execution was conducted by U.S. Marshal Henry Dearborn on June 25, 1790. He oversaw the hanging of Thomas Bird for murder on the high seas. Dearborn spent five dollars and fifty cents to build gallows and a coffin. Two of the most famous federal executions occurred in June of 1953 when Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were electrocuted in Sing Sing prison. They were convicted of stealing technical information from the Los Alamos research center and turning it over to the KGB ("History – Historical Federal Executions" 2021; "Historical Timeline – History of the Death Penalty" 2021; Federal Bureau of Prisons 2021).

The federal death penalty can be imposed for treason, espionage, drug trafficking, or attempted murder of a witness, juror, or court officer. It can also be applied if a crime involved an employee of the federal government or if it occurred on federal land. As of this writing, all inmates on federal death row were convicted of aggravated murder. The federal death penalty applies in all 50 states but it is used relatively rarely. Most federal death row prisoners are housed in the Special Confinement Unit at U.S. Penitentiary in Terra Haute, Indiana, where the federal death chamber is located. The federal death penalty was suspended following the Supreme Court's decision in *Furman v.* Georgia (1972). It did not resume until 1988. Between the reinstatement of the federal death penalty in 1988 and 2021, 79 defendants were sentenced to death. Sixteen have been executed. After appeals, some resentencing, and presidential commutations, 49 prisoners (all males) are currently on federal death row ("Background on the Federal Death Penalty" 2021; "List of Federal Death-Row Prisoners" 2021).

The federal death penalty also applies in states without the death penalty because federal criminal law applies everywhere in the country. For example, in Puerto Rico, which prohibits the death penalty under its constitution, a federal appellate court ruled in 2001 that two defendants could be tried under a federal death-penalty law. The defendants, however, were acquitted. The use of the federal death penalty in jurisdictions that have opted not to have capital punishment raises concerns about federal overreach into state matters. The use of the federal death penalty on native American reservations was left to the discretion of tribal governments, with almost all of them rejecting the federal death penalty ("Background on the Federal Death Penalty" 2021; "State and Federal Info – Federal Death Penalty" 2021).

People serving in the military are covered by a separate system of laws, courts, and procedures. The U.S. military has executed 135 people since 1916. The most recent person to be executed by the military was U.S. Army Private John A. Bennett. He

was executed on April 13, 1961 for child rape and attempted murder. Since the Civil War, the only person executed for a purely military offense was Private Eddie Slovik. He was executed on January 31, 1945 for desertion ("State and Federal Info – Military" 2021).

List of People Executed by the Federal Government

There have been 50 federal executions since 1927. As previously mentioned, Victor Feguer was convicted for kidnapping and murdering a physician from Dubuque, Iowa. He was hanged at the Iowa State Penitentiary, Fort Madison, Iowa on March 15, 1963 while President Kennedy was in office. The next federal execution did not occur for another 38 years when Timothy McVeigh was executed. McVeigh was executed on June 11, 2001 for his role in the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. The bombing killed eight federal law enforcement officers and resulted in the deaths of 168 people and injuries to 680 others. Sixteen federal executions have been carried out since 2001. Three were conducted while George W. Bush was president. In addition to Timothy McVeigh, Juan Raul Garza was executed on June 19, 2001 and Louis Jones, Jr. was executed on March 18, 2003. No federal executions occurred while President Obama was in office.The remaining 13 recent federal executions were carried out under President Trump. On June 25, 2019, Attorney General William Barr announced that the federal government would resume executions. The first federal execution in 17 years was carried out on July 14, 2020 when Daniel Lewis Lee was executed. Thirteen federal prisoners were executed during the six-month period from July 14, 2020to January 16, 2021. Six of these executions took place *after* the November 2020 election in which Joe Biden defeated Donald Trump for the presidency (Federal Bureau of Prisons 2021).

A list of the sixteen people executed by the federal government since 2001 follows:

06/11/2001　　Timothy McVeigh was sentenced to death for the murder of Federal Law Enforcement Officers, and 8 counts of Conspiracy to Use and Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on June 11th, 2001.

06/19/2001　　Juan Raul Garza was sentenced to death for intentional killings in a continuing criminal enterprise. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on June 19th, 2001.

03/18/2003　　Louis Jones was sentenced to death for kidnapping within special maritime/territorial jurisdiction resulting in death. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on March 18th, 2003.

07/14/2020　　Daniel Lewis Lee was sentenced to death for three counts of murder in aid of racketeering and numerous other offenses. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on July 14, 2020.

07/16/2020   Wesley Ira Purkey was sentenced to death for kidnapping a child resulting in the child's death. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on July 16, 2020.

07/17/2020   Dustin Lee Honken was sentenced to death for numerous offenses, including five counts of murder during the course of a continuing criminal enterprise. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on July 17, 2020.

08/26/2020   Lezmond Charles Mitchell was sentenced to death for numerous offenses, including first-degree murder, felony murder, and carjacking resulting in murder. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on August 26, 2020.

08/28/2020   Keith Dwayne Nelson was sentenced to death for the kidnapping and unlawful interstate transportation of a child for the purpose of sexual abuse which resulted in death. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on August 28, 2020.

09/22/2020   William Emmett Lecroy, Jr. was sentenced to death for the intent to cause death and serious bodily harm, taking a motor vehicle that has been transported, shipped, and received in interstate commerce by force and violence resulting in death. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on September 22, 2020.

09/24/2020   Christopher Andre Vialva was sentenced to death for carjacking and first-degree murder on a government reservation and two counts of aiding and abetting. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on September 24, 2020.

11/3/2020   **ELECTION DAY:**
Joe Biden: 81.27 million popular votes and 306 Electoral Votes;
Donald Trump: 74.2 million popular cotes and 232 Electoral Votes

11/19/2020   Orlando Cordia Hall was sentenced to death for numerous offenses, including kidnapping resulting in death and interstate travel in aid of a racketeering enterprise. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on November 19, 2020.

12/10/2020   Brandon Bernard was sentenced to death for numerous offenses, including two counts of first-degree murder within the maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on December 10, 2020.

12/11/2020   Alfred Bourgeois was sentenced to death for multiple offenses, including murder. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on December 11, 2020.

01/13/2021   Lisa Montgomery was sentenced to death for federal kidnapping resulting in death. She was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on January 13, 2021.

01/14/2021   Cory Johnson was sentenced to death for numerous offenses, including seven counts of murder in furtherance of continuing criminal enterprise. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on January 14, 2021.

01/16/2021   Dustin John Higgs was sentenced to death for three counts of first-degree premeditated murder, three counts of first-degree felony murder, and three counts of kidnapping resulting in death. He was executed by lethal injection at USP Terre Haute, IN on January 16, 2021(Federal Bureau of Prisons 2021).

The Death Penalty in 2020: Year Four of the Trump Presidency

2020 continued the ongoing trend away from capital punishment in America. For six consecutive years, there were fewer than 50 death sentences in the United States. Fewer death sentences were imposed in 2020 than in any year prior to 1972. Low numbers were affected by court closures and public health concerns associated with COVID-19. But execution numbers were also, in a sense, inflated by a spike in federal executions carried out in the closing months of the Trump administration. During the second half of 2020, ten civilians were executed by the federal government. This was the first time in U.S. history that the federal government conducted more executions than all states combined. In the closing months of Trump's presidency, the federal government conducted more civilian executions than during any prior presidencyof the 20th or 21st centuries. These were the most federal civilian executions conducted in a single year since 1896.

The Trump administration conducted the first lame-duck execution in more than a century and more transition-period executions than in any prior presidential transition in the history of the United States. No administration since Grover Cleveland had carried out multiple executions during a transition period.

Three weeks after losing election, Trump's Justice Department scheduled several executions and announced new execution protocols dropping the requirement that executions be carried out by lethal injection. The new rules permitted use of other methods, including firing squads, nitrogen gas, electrocution, and hanging in states that provided for alternate execution methods. The new rules were slated to take effect on Christmas Eve, December 24, 2020, less than one month before the inauguration of incoming-President Biden. Given Biden's opposition to the death penalty and his pledge to eliminate it on the federal level, it was not anticipated that these new protocols would have any practical effect. Nevertheless, Trump's steps to ramp up executions and relax execution regulations was described as "particularly spiteful and out-of-step" ("The Death Penalty in 2020: Year-End Report" 2021).

Resuming executions during a pandemic also proved problematic. The Associated Press concluded that inadequate testing, lack of contact tracing, and poor social distancing made the 13 federal executions conducted in 2020-2021 COVID-19 super-spreader events. Brandon Bernard was executed at the Terra Haute correctional complex on December 10, 2020. In the next ten days, 70% of death-row prisoners and hundreds of others incarcerated at the prison tested positive for COVID-19. Others who participated in federal executions, including correctional staff, media witnesses, and a spiritual advisor also contracted the virus.Yusuf Ahmed Nur, spiritual advisor for

Orlando Hall, an inmate who was executed on November 19, 2020, said, "I could not say no to a man who would soon be killed. That I contracted COVID-19 in the process was collateral damage" of executions during a pandemic ("Associated Press Finds Federal Executions Were Likely COVID Superspreader Events" 2021). The Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) was under federal court order to implement health measures after prisoners sued to block executions after an explosion of coronavirus cases in the Terra Haute facility.Nevertheless, the BOP took no action after being informed that two media witnesses at a January 2021 execution had contracted COVID-19. Court records obtained by the ACLU revealed that the BOP failed to conduct contact tracing for execution-team members who tested positive after five executions in 2020. Witnesses reported that an executioner and a U.S. Marshal removed their masks during a January 2021 execution ("AssociatedPress Finds Federal Executions Were Likely COVID Superspreader Events" 2021; "Under Court Order Requiring Protective Measures, Federal Bureau of Prisons Takes No Action After Media Witnesses to Executions Contract COVID-19" 2021). Some prisoners were unable to meet with their attorneys prior to their executions because of the pandemic. One attorney indicated that she faced this dilemma: travel to the Terra Haute prison and risk her own health or stay home and risk doing less for her client than she could do otherwise, like conducting investigations and in-person interviews. Lives were at risk, both hers and her client's (Fuchs 2020).

Theselate-presidential-term federal executions were also unusual in terms of the prisoners selected to be put to death. One was Lezmond Mitchell, the first Native American ever executed by the federal government for a murder of a member of his own tribe on tribal lands. Another was the aforementioned Brandon Bernard in the first federal execution of a teenaged offender in 68 years. Another was Dustin Honken, the first federal execution in 57 years of a man convicted of a crime committed in a state that had abolished the death penalty. Two of the prisoners had evidence pointing to severe intellectual disabilities and two suffered from serious mental illness. In addition, Lisa Montgomery's January 13, 2021 execution marked the first federal execution of a female in 70 years ("The Death Penalty in 2020: Year End Report" 2021). Montgomery had been gang-raped by her stepfather and his friends when she was 11, brain damaged by beatings, and trafficked by her mother. She was delusional throughout her life. The Department of Justice announced her execution date on October 16, 2020, in the middle of National Domestic Violence Awareness Month. Dustin John Higgs, an African-American man, was scheduled to die on Martin Luther King Jr's birthday. He was executed on January 16, 2021. The previous day, a federal appeals court lifted an injunction prohibiting Higgs' execution while he was infected with COVID-19. Justice Sonia Sotomayor wrote, "This is not justice." The children of Martin Luther King Jr. spoke out about the offensiveness of executing a Black man on their father's birthday ("'This is Not Justice' – Federal Execution Spree Ends with Planned Execution of African-American on Martin Luther King Jr's Birthday" 2021).

Mounting Doubts and Concerns about the Death Penalty

There is a disconnect between the Trump administration's support for federal executions and the decrease in state use of the death penalty. The disconnect is unparalleled in American history. Polls show that opposition to capital punishment is rising nationally. A 2020 Gallup poll showed that 55% of Americans support the death

penalty. This result is tied with 2017 for the lowest support in 48 years. Gallup reports that support for the death penalty has declined across all age groups, races, ethnicities, and education levels ("The Death Penalty in 2020: Year End Report" 2021). A 2019 Gallup poll found that 60% of Americans supported life in prison over the death penalty and a 2020 poll revealed that the percentage of Americans who say the death penalty is morally acceptable fell to its lowest point in the 20-year history of this poll. Only 54% said capital punishment is morally acceptable, down 17% since 2006 ("DPIC Analysis: Federal Execution Spree Out of Step with U.S. Death Penalty Trends and Attitudes" 2021). A 2018 Gallup poll about support for the death penalty found that for the first time, a majority of Americans said life imprisonment is a better punishment for murder than the death penalty ("Facts and Research: Public Opinion" 2021).

Serious concerns are voiced about racial disparities in the imposition of the death penalty. To cite just one example, the Death Penalty Information Center (DPIC)examined 318 interracial murders that led to executions. In only 21 of these cases, was a White defendant executed after being convicted of murdering a Black victim. But in 297 cases, a Black defendant was executed after being convicted of murdering a White victim. When it comes to the death penalty, it appears that White lives matter more than black lives do ("Death Penalty Information Center Facts about the Death Penalty" 2021).

Wrongful convictions are another major cause of concern. According to the DPIC's year-end report, "The Death Penalty in 2020," five innocent men were exonerated after years on death row and two possibly innocent men were executed. The leading causes of wrongful convictions include official misconduct, false accusations, "junk science," eyewitness misidentification, and ineffective counsel ("The Death Penalty in 2020: Year End Report" 2021). As of this writing, since 1973, 185 people have been released from death row with evidence of their innocence (DPIC Facts about the Death Penalty" 2021).

Conclusions

President Trump's spree of late-term executions is especially remarkable against this backdrop.Incumbent presidents usually defer to their successors in such matters. Trump, by contrast chose to carry out the first post-Election Day, lame-duck executions in more than a century (Honderich 2021). Consider the timing of some of the Trump administration's specific actions: Christmas Eve, National Domestic Violence Awareness Month, and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday. In an interview with NPR, Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) called Trump's "mad dash" to execute three prisoners in the last week of his presidency and his execution of 13 federal prisoners "unconscionable." Forty-five U.S. Representatives sent a letter to President Biden asking him to "end the use of the federal death penalty on his first day in office." Eight U.S. Senators (Senators Warren, Durbin, Markey, Klobuchar, Booker, Van Hollen, Sanders, and Brown) asked the Inspector General to open an investigation into Trump's "frenzied and unprecedented" spree of executions during the presidential transition period. The letter asks the Inspector General to review the rationale for the resumption of federal executions, whether they reflected a pattern of racial bias, whether steps were taken to conduct the executions humanely, what the costs were, and whether appropriate steps were taken to protect against the spread of COVID-19 ("Democratic

Legislators Introduce Death Penalty Repeal Bills, Urge President Biden to Commute Federal Death Sentences" 2021).

At his Senate confirmation hearings, President Biden's nominee for Attorney General, Merrick Garland, sounded very different from former Attorney General William Barr. Garland expressed concerns about the death penalty. He cited its "disparate" impact on Black Americans and the prospect of wrongful convictions. Garland said, "I have had great pause about the death penalty. I am very concerned about the large number of exonerations that have occurred through DNA evidence and otherwise…. [I]t's a terrible thing when somebody is convicted of a crime they didn't commit." He also spoke about the "increasing randomness, almost arbitrariness" of the use of the death penalty (Haltiwanger 2021).

What motivated PresidentTrump to accelerate federal executions? Hailey Fuchs opined that the executions "meshed" with Trump's election year efforts to portray himself as a "law and order" leader even while his administration was being criticized for its response to protests over systemic racism in policing systems (Fuchs 2021). The executions also diverted attention from criticisms about his response to a deadly pandemic and his role in inciting insurrection at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. Federal executions proceeded even as President Trump was becoming the first U.S. president ever to have been impeached twice.

The Biden presidency promises a different take on capital punishment. He is the first president to have been elected after calling for the elimination of capital punishment ("Democratic Legislators Introduce Death Penalty Repeal Bills, Urge President Biden to Commute Federal Death Sentences" 2021). Giving Joe Biden the last word, his campaign platform cited the issue of wrongful convictions, stating, "Because we cannot ensure we get death penalty cases right every time, Biden will work to pass legislation to eliminate the death penalty at the federal level, and incentivize states to follow the federal government's example" ("The Death Penalty in 2020: Year End Report" 2021). Time will tell.

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Global Children's Literature and New Urban Ecologies

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A look at children's literature around the world to analyze how the city and city dwellers are represented. A special focus will be given to the issues of rapid urban development on the environment and new configurations of culture.

Humor and fantasy have long been the characteristics of children's books to activate the imagination and develop literacy. Fairy tales, nursery rhymes, and stories with animal characters make up the traditional face of books for children between the ages of 5 and 10. But many writers for the young today have identified a gap that also needs to be filled. They have come to realize that many children's books project a world that is very different from the one in which children live and present characters with which they cannot directly identify. According to UNICEF, over half of the world's population today lives in urban areas and of the 4 billion people living in big and small cities, a third of them are children (one.org, 2012). What are the stories of the city and of city dwellers for the young? What are some of the important messages these cityscapes carry? This study is a short exploration of children's books globally that focus on urban life, characters, and scenarios with a special interest in the environment and the changing natural and cultural ecologies taking place.

Urban ecology can be defined as "the study of humans in cities, of nature in cities, and the coupled relationships between humans and nature" (Marzluff, 2008). To these dimensions, one must also add the dimension of culture and behavior in looking at human adaptations to rapid social and physical changes in the urban environment. My interest is two-pronged. First, I wanted to highlight children's books that reflect for young readers our urban realities in an age-appropriate way. Secondly, as the city presents great opportunities for many, it also harbors great challenges, monumental changes, and adaptations. How do children's books address some of these pressing issues, but above all, how do they offer creative solutions and new ways of thinking?

The city has not been a major topic in children's literature and when it is, the urban space is often depicted as a concrete jungle with unfriendly and noisy streets, and a place of imminent danger. One classic that comes to mind is Virginia Burton's <u>The Little House</u> published in 1942. Virginia Burton's text is the classic children's story about urban development. It is the tale of an idyllic little house being progressively swallowed up by the expanding city. Salvation occurs with the cottage being moved farther out to the country. Critic Paul Goldberger accurately notes in his analysis of the book: "Not only is the villain here the city itself, portrayed as a place of dark streets and rushing people, so is the very idea of progress and change. The little gentle house represents sweetness and continuity; it is a David struggling against the giant Goliath" (Goldberger,1987). In addition to these characteristics, city dwellers are represented as a mass of little ants, with no particular individuality or sense of rootedness, seemingly incessant workers serving "progress." What should also be noted in this early classic is the author's subtle poetic wink in narrative, but also visually in regards to some of the effects of rapid urban development including the loss of farmland, increased motorized transportation (underscored by the little gas station, invading cars, and subway), and above all overpopulation which all contribute to a large ecological footprint: "gasoline stations...more roads… more houses, bigger houses… more apartments and tenement houses….[eventually high rise buildings blocking the sun and moon]...trolley cars going back and forth...a subway" (Burton, 1942). The

solution is unfortunately the removal of the small house implying the impossibility of the integration of nature and modernization.

Overpopulation, rapid development, socio-economic disparities, water and air pollution, ruptures between urban and natural spaces are all the common tropes that helped us conceptualize and understand some of the major human and environmental challenges of urban life. But more recent textual and visual narratives for children (I add visuals because of the importance of illustrations in children's books) aim to give a picture of the city that is closer to the lived realities within it. This implies the reflection of a more complex environment which comes to break the "universal and anonymous subject which is the city itself" (De Certeau, 1988). In his essay entitled "Walking in the City" in the seminal The Practice of Everyday Life, De Certeau takes a different perspective on the city and looks at it from the "pedestrian's view". The city is to bring nothing but the stimuli to the population and it is the people who are responsible for making it come alive and giving it meaning. It is the people who order city space, making it real for themselves. Far from just being a homogenized space with a mass of unidentified and anonymous individuals at the service of an "urban machine", city dwellers are *active subjects* who themselves write the "urban text":"They walk as authors…the local inscribes his or her story on the city"(DeCerteau,1988). Secondly, influenced by the environmental movements of the 20th and 21st centuries, some children's books authors have placed themselves within the new eco-consciousness frame. They do not just describe the issues, but they put forth creative solutions in an age-appropriate way to demonstrate every citizen's responsibilities and power to act.

Among these eco-friendly authors, French author Geraldine Elshnercomes to mind with her book entitled Hundertwasser: Une Maison Fantastiquetranslated in English as Hundertwasser: The House of Happy Spirits. The book was inspired by Austrian artist Hundertwasser whose main belief was to embrace nature in art, architecture, and in his life. We are in the service of nature and not the other way around. In painting, he is known for his impulsive use of colors which he would intentionally use in their natural hues. Of note is also his obsession with fluid spirals and arabesque-type lines. To him, we can never find straight lines in nature. He once said: "Today we live in a chaos of straight lines, in a jungle of straight lines…If you do not believe this, take the trouble to count the straight lines which surround you. Then you will understand, for you will never finish counting" (http://www.artnet.com/). He takes his vision that humanity and nature can live in harmony into the urban space and promotes a new mode of living. In the story, a new building is going up and the children in the neighborhood fear that their beloved tree will be destroyed. In contrast to the bulldozers in The Little Houseor other classicslike Shaker Laneviolently taking over land and overwhelming the space with rows and rows of bigger buildings blocking the sun and moon, the building in The House of HappySpirits is an example of a man-made structure integrated into nature. Hundertwasser's architecture often used vegetation on the roofs of his structures, trees, and even vegetation invading interiors. The children discover that the tree will remain and even meet the unique, colorful, and whimsical himself designer with whom they discover a magical new residence. The book ends with the "wizard of the roofs" encouraging the children to be good stewards of the earth: "We protected your tree," said the man...Could you and your friends look after it and my other lovely residents? Do you mean the people in the house? I asked...No, the trees! They are as much at

home here as the people, and we should make them feel comfortable. We are all residents of this Earth." (Elschner, 2020). The author Geraldine Elschner also strips the city from its anonymous/amorphous form to give it life and present aneighborhood with the activities of a particular street and the concerns of its inhabitants (mirroring DeCerteau's "pedestrian view"). The "big, gray, tidy city" is being transformed one neighborhood at a time. The people have faces and are all different. Grandma's" flower shop seems to be one of the cornerstones of the neighborhood and we see children and adults exuding a sense of belonging and rootedness. The reader is, to use the words of DeCerteau "at ground level" with the particular stories and a piece of the complex patchwork that makes up the city. Another interesting value highlighted in the story is community sustainability: the ability to take into account and address multiple human needs, not just one at the exclusion of all others. This aspect comes through when the gardener of the new building buys up all the plants in mom's shop: "all the flowers, all the shrubs!...and he wanted still more...enough to make a whole forest!" (Elschner, 2020). Development benefits the small shopkeeper rather than eradicate her.

Graphic novelist Nie Jun from China also reflects an effort to humanize city spaces in <u>My Beijing: Four Stories of Everyday Wonder</u>. The stories contain indeed the magic of a neighborhood despite the forces of change. The child protagonist (Yu'er) exists in her own realand imaginative spheres in the core of the city where she lives and plays. Beijing has one of the largest populations of any city across the world, being home to almost 22,000,000 people. Both new structures and older, more traditional spaces make up modern Beijing. As the author explains in the appendix, Yu'er and her grandfather live in an area called "hutong." Hutongs are alleys formed by lines of "siheyuan", traditional courtyard residences. The grounds of these houses have yards on the inside, beyond the houses' living spaces. Rapid urbanization and growing population mean too often that many traditional urban configurations and features are vanishing. Hutongs represent an important cultural element of Beijing. Architect Sun Dayong explains that historically, in contrast to the court life and elite culture represented by the Forbidden City or the Summer Palace, the hutongs reflected the culture of normal citizens (Hobson, 2018). Today, the hutongs stand against the hyper modernization trends. The book "My Beijing" captures an aesthetic and picturesque city vis-a-vis the modern urban planning that ruptures cohesive and sustainable communities. So, what are some of the aspects highlighted in this little corner of Beijing?

- **Community bonds and sustainability as community practice:** intergenerational exchanges and collaborations facilitated by the collective type dwellings of the hutongs at the intersection of public and private spaces
- **Making the invisible visible**: global systems in general have created blinders that shield many of us from the far-reaching implications of our actions at times. One of Nie Jun's stories titled "The Letter" reconstitutes all the beautiful human ties and activities that we have lost through abandoning letter writing and privileging email and technology to communicate. The view of an old abandoned mailbox brings back memories of a forgotten time when the letter carrier, the grandfather of the protagonist Yu'er, would deliver the mail from home to home, know everybody by name, and incidentally even meet the love of his life on one

of his routes. The grandfather and granddaughter travel back in their dreams to that time. The grandfather re-lives his routes with Yu'er hanging from his bicycle, introducing an overlap in time as she witnesses the scenes and even writes a letter to her grandmother who reads it. Far from being a condemnation of progress and technology, Nie Jun offers a lesson to the young reader to think about the impact of relatively small changes in our lifestyles.

Another great aspect of Nie Jun's stories lies in her lessons about **empathy for all forms of life.** In an imaginary voyage to the secret bug garden of a little boy named Doubao, Yu'er is introduced to the concert of bugs and learns to listen to the music of all the minuscule inhabitants of the hutongs. The little boy is really her grandfather as a young boy and time once again overlaps in the mind of the reader. The important value of empathy extends to the inhabitants of the hutong. Nie Jun's stories promote inclusiveness and intergenerational dialogue and exchange. The protagonist is different-abled and needs crutches to walk, but her grandfather sees no limits for her finding creative solutions to knock down the barriers in her way. Since she is not allowed at the pool, the grandfather engineers a flying apparatus for Yu'er with which she can simulate swimming. The collective space also brings in contact old and young. The hutong-style dwellings with their half-private, half-public courtyards allow for intergenerational contact, stories and lessons to be passed down. Ecoliteracy in "My Beijing" is about striving to develop ways of living that are more life-affirming, standing against the cold individualistic mode of most official narratives about urban life.

The next book is close to my heart because it deals with Chicago and is by Alina Dizile, illustrated by Sonja Oldenburg Let's Meet the Real Kids in the Windy City. Official mainstream narratives of inner-city Chicago are often charged with labels such as "high crime", "dangerous", "violent", or "gang infested." The book is a series of interviews of children from the diverse neighborhoods that make up the city. The writer was welcomed into their homes for an inside view of their everyday lives, passions, and dreams. In the words of the author, the book was a "way to begin the dialogue about diversity and inclusion through the eyes of young people….a tiny step forward to celebrating our differences" (Dizile, 2020). Contrary to the big anonymous city, we are introduced to citizens' everyday narratives as well as the cultural representation of space, how we occupy space and give it meaning. For those who are familiar with Chicago, we have representatives of Little Village, Lincoln Square, Woodlawn, Hyde Park, Wicker Park, and more. These are some of the most lively and colorful neighborhoods in Chicago, away from the usual tourist traps. What the book also does in terms of these multiple storylines is to identify "blindspots" in terms of overlooked spaces, but also forgotten actors or voices (which are often those of the children). We are far from some of the classic notions of the city which viewed it as "a mosaic of little worlds that touch but do not interpenetrate" (notions in early years of urban studies). The stories presented by Alina certainly point to the contrary. Mobility and fluidity are not synonymous with non-belonging. We see the active subjects interacting within their territories, but also with their wider surroundings and appropriating the city for themselves (enjoying some of the cultural landmarks of the city for example or going to school in a different neighborhood).

Finally, Algerian-born Pierre Rabhi and French poet Cyril Dion have written one of the most comprehensive texts for children to explain some of the major environmental and

behavioral issues the modern will have to confront. It is entitled <u>Demain Entre tesMains</u>, translated in English as "Tomorrow". A documentary has also been produced following the book because of its tremendous message and impact. The book is a true collage of genres: poetry, anecdotes, reflections, quotes, and tales that push the young reader to understand that all of us can reverse the destruction of our planet through our actions and recalibrating our thinking and our priorities. The foreword says it beautifully: "Jamais   de   toute   son   histoirel'humanité   a   étéconfrontée àunesortedl'ultimatum: changer pour ne pas disparaître...Le temps estvenu pour leurenseigner   la   vérité.   Non   pas   seulement   la   véritéélémentairemais   la véritéfondamentale. Ilsdoivent savoir qu'ilssont les enfants de la Nature commeleurs parents et leurs grands-parents, depuis que l'humanitéexiste"(Dion &Rhabi, 2017). [Never in humankind's history has humanity been confronted with a sort of ultimatum: change so that we are not eradicated…The time has come to teach them the truth, not just the basic truth, but the fundamental truth. They must know that they are Nature's children just as their parents and grandparents were since humanity began-my translation]. Even though, the book is not specifically about urban realities, the city is still "present-absent" as the reader will recognize many of the scenarios and behavioral flaws found in the urban context. In particular:

- humans' propensity to accumulate for the sake of profit and selfishness, not survival or the community's well being: "l'êtrehumain, lui, ne détruit pas la nature simplement pour se nourrirou pour survivre, mais pour accumuler, et en fin de compte pour gagner de l'argent" (Dion &Rhabi, 2017). [Human beings does not destroy nature in order to find nourishment or to survive, but to accumulate and in the end, to profit monetarily-my translation].
- money is the motor of society and at the basis of our desire to keep accumulating;
  It affects how we value time: "au lieu d'avoir du temps, et de faire cequ'onaime, on estcommeprisonniers, enférmes dans un système qui nous pousseàtravailler sans répit" (Dion &Rhabi, 2017) [Instead of having time and doing what we love to do, we are like prisoners locked up in a system that pushes us to work endlessly-my translation].
- Our society of consumption is complex and has huge tentacles/far reaching negative effects on other world regions (he gives the example of the smartphone).
- Everyone has a talent and can contribute to the well-being of society and the planet.
- We can take small and big actions to reverse the destruction of the planet and of life in general: "Les 4 "R": réduire, réutiliser, réparer, recycler" [The 4"Rs": reduce, reutilize, repair, recycle-my translation] to reduce our carbon footprint.

In addition, the authors practiced what they preached. The book was printed using inks from vegetal extracts and using only renewable materials. An "environmental-friendly" certified stamp can be seen in the front-inside cover.

Conclusion

    Issues of the environment, social justice, and urban policies/politics are in the forefront of many national policies around the world. Literature, the arts, and the

humanities in general have a place in these important discussions. In literature and language, there are many misguided notions about cities and urban communities. They are often exclusively described as harbingers of violence, poverty, pollution, and disease. Literature and the arts offer alternative narratives to mainstream homogenizing discourses and have the power to show creative solutions and frameworks to urban pressing issues.

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THE POWER OF A PICTURE BOOK:

Incorporating Storybooks into Middle School Social Studies

Curriculum

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Introduction

For many people, some of their earliest school and education memories begin with the magic of story time. Afternoon classroom read-alouds, tall tales shared around a campfire, nightly bedtime story rituals, Drop Everything and Read competitions… All of these instances were moments of fun and love and adventure that taught us things about who we are and how we exist in the world. As children, picture books serve as the tools through which our worlds are expanded; we learn about people and places that exist beyond our small communities, we extract morals and lessons to be applied to our own lives, and we share a beautiful and lasting bond with those who we read with. Although it is easy to dismiss picture books as an oversimplified means through which to entertain and communicate lessons to children, in reality, these texts are quite complex and can provide nuanced interpretations of real-world problems and current events. Through their gorgeous and meaningful illustrations and simple yet deep language, picture books bring a certain magic to educational experiences. This magic should not be limited to early elementary school lessons, but should instead be utilized in the middle school social studies classroom to add depth and nuance to the study of current events and civic issues.

Some may object to the use of picture books in middle school classrooms, saying that middle grade students are too old for story books and would view the corresponding lessons as childish. However, the recent emergence of graphic novels (Cairney) as a staple genre for young people indicates a strong desire that students have to connect text and illustration. Pictures in literature evoke a certain nostalgia of younger years and provide opportunities for connection; there is nothing quite like a class read aloud and discussion to inspire a twinkle in the eyes of middle school students. Picture books are inherently communal; their pages are meant to be shared. It is because of this that they spark a high level of interest and engagement for all ages.

Within the picture book genre, recent years have shown a drastic increase of the amount of books that are not focused on fairytale, folklore, and fantasy, but instead dedicate themselves to addressing real world issues and current events. One such book is *We Are Water Protectors,* written by Carole Lindstrom and illustrated by Michaela Goade (2020). Through simple sentences, poetic phrasing, and a stunning display of watercolor illustrations, these artists tell the story of Ojibwe women as they battle a dark black snake. At face value, this story is uncomplicated. However, a deeper analysis of the illustrations and language in the book reveals that the "black snake" is truly representative of oil pipelines that are polluting the ancestral lands and waters belonging to Native Nations. This picture book then, is not a pretty story designed for entertainment purposes. Hidden within its pages are the brutal realities of current events, truths of humanitarian issues, and cries for activism; all essential points for exploration in social studies disciplines.

This paper will explore how picture books can be utilized in the middle school social studies classroom to increase content accessibility, provide room for interdisciplinary studies, and explore diverse topics. *We Are Water Protectors* will serve as an example for how teachers can harness the power of picture books to create curricula that promote the value of culturally sustaining pedagogy and constructivist practices. A unit plan at the end of this paper provides a sample for how picture books

can serve as a launching point for deeper inquiry-based projects that result in civic engagement. This two-week unit plan is centered on Minnesota Social Studies State Standards and Minnesota English Language Arts Standards.

Accessibility

Because picture books are generally designed for younger readers, they are a great tool to increase accessibility in the middle school classroom for challenged readers and ELL students. Simpler sentences are supplemented with vivid illustrations, meaning that content will not be lost on students who might struggle to comprehend fact-heavy nonfiction textbooks. However, using picture books in no way implies that curriculum is being "dumbed down" or reduced for students, or that high-level readers will be losing out on opportunities to engage deeply with content. Picture books, though highly accessible to read, also include deep layers of symbolism, metaphors, and allusions. Further, the interplay of words and illustrations is often highly complex. For example, after taking a close look at the deeper meaning and illustrations in *We Are Water Protectors*, students will notice that the pictures actually depict many "Ojibwe clan symbols that hold special significance in traditional teachings" (Goade, 36). Noting these symbols provides a launching point for more research and deeper understanding of the content.

Utilizing picture books in middle school curriculum thus employs Universal Design for Learning techniques (UDL), which call for accessible content for all students to promote more equitable education (Center for Applied Special Technologies: CAST). UDL requires that teachers provide options for perception, language and symbols, and comprehension in their curriculum. With picture books, students can dive into analysis as deep as they are capable, but all will extract information that is meaningful to them. Traditionally, picture books are also read out loud and are experienced communally. Oral readings and peer conversations will only further support learners of all reading levels.

By nature, picture books also provide a platform for interdisciplinary studies. Picture books content often directly relates to social studies topics, but also connects to English language arts and art standards and curriculum. Cross-curricular connections, as exemplified in the lesson plan at the end of this article, help students to expand their understanding of a topic and inspire deeper interest. For example, a student who struggles in social studies class but excels in art class will be pulled into social studies curriculum when given the chance to analyze illustrations or replicate art that is connected to social studies content. In another way, a student who has a deep affinity for learning history but who struggles with language concepts like metaphor, allusion, or symbolism can use their historical content knowledge to support language comprehension. Interdisciplinary curriculum with picture books, then, capitalize on students' unique intelligences, as Gardener calls for in his theory of Multiple Intelligences (1983). Studying a picture book in a cross-curricular manner provides a platform for students to experience greater success and deeper understanding by relating to their personal developed intelligences.

Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy

When selecting picture books for their students to engage with, educators ought to follow the advice of Dewey: "Teachers must begin with the purposes of their students, steer them into potentially rich experiences, and watch carefully for signs of growth" (qtd. in Noddings, 20). Selecting texts that relate to issues in the news or topics of study in class is one way middle school teachers can inspire their students to richly and deeply explore picture books. Working with picture books also opens up many opportunities for teachers to engage in culturally sustaining and multicultural education. Multicultural education calls upon educators to build their curriculum to be inclusive of students from all different demographics, cultures, and backgrounds (Au). Being inclusive of differing backgrounds does not simply mean mentioning a culture, race, or tradition off-handedly or as part of one unit. Being inclusive means honoring student's lives and personal histories each day, by giving them room to bring their own experiences into the classroom.

Similarly, culturally sustaining pedagogy asks that educators consider their students funds of knowledge (Chajed). What do they already know? What are their strengths? What are the strengths of their families? According to Chajed, "School practices currently reflect the norms of monolingual, white, middle class students, which often excludes students who come from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds" (1). Instead of viewing students who are excluded from this norm through a deficit lens, educators must build curricula and a classroom environment that celebrates students as uniquely knowledgeable. Additionally, culturally sustaining pedagogy can help to culturally *revitalize* modern Native American schooling systems that have historically been controlled by colonial powers (Lee and McCarty). Culturally sustaining and revitalizing pedagogy models, such as those that can unfold with*We Are Water Protectors*, work to uphold Indigenous educational sovereignty by empowering student funds of knowledge.

Teachers can incorporate culturally sustaining pedagogy by selecting picture books for their curriculum that relate to students' interests, passions, heritages, homes, and the land that their school sits on. For example, *We Are Water Protectors* might be a wonderful book to select for a class with students who have Native American heritage, who occupy stolen or designated Native American territories, who are passionate about environmentalism… the list goes on. By selecting picture books with culturally sustaining educational theory in mind, teachers do exactly what Dewey calls for. They first make note of what matters to their students. They then present picture books as a material that allows students to engage with their interests in new, abstract ways. After analyzing and examining the text, students have the opportunity to grow by synthesizing picture book language and illustrations with personal experiences, peer experiences, and current events.

Constructivism

Due to the often abstract nature of picture books, utilizing them as an educational tool in the middle school social studies classroom is the perfect way to employ constructivist methods in one's teaching. Constructivism, an educational theory largely influenced by Dewey (1896) and Piaget (1936), claims "that all knowledge is constructed; knowledge is not the result of passive reception." Constructivism allows

students the freedom to build their own understanding of the world based on prior experiences synthesized with new classroom experiences. In his "Emile," Rousseau (qtd. Noddings, 17) depicts his idea of such a free education. Noddings summarizes by saying:

> He [Emile] was to learn according to his own interests and through hands-on experience. Senses and feeling were primary; thought and abstraction were to be at their service. Émile's education required exquisite sensitivity on the part of his teacher. The teacher was not to impose his own objectives for learning on Émile but rather was to facilitate Émile's inquiries. This meant that the teacher had to anticipate where Émile's interests might lead and be prepared to guide him in a healthy direction.

To understand how a middle school student might construct new knowledge based on a picture book that was incorporated into their social studies curriculum, let us turn again to our book *We Are Water Protectors.* When presented with this text, students will extract differing meanings from it depending on their unique perspectives and prior knowledge and experiences. From their initial interpretation of the book based on their first reads, students can then pursue further knowledge by researching current event articles, ties to a textbook curriculum, and ways to get involved with the topic addressed in the picture book. For example, one student may have heard about the Dakota Access Pipeline on the news. Upon reading Lindstrom's book, the student can synthesize Ojibwe efforts to protect their land against the Black Snake with current event articles that detail the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's efforts to stop construction of the pipeline. This growing knowledge might be further built upon by the student making connections to textbook pages they read earlier in the year regarding the Trail of Tears and how Native America's land rights and human rights have been exploited for centuries. Another student might construct a totally different, but equally valid and valuable knowledge based off of the picture book and in relation to information pertinent to them. For example, a student growing up in Flint Michigan might connect the Ojibwe fight for clean water to their own personal struggles and experiences with having to fight for unpolluted water. This constructivist engagement coincides with the Active Learning Framework, which states that "instruction is most effective when teachers use that curiosity to build on the existing knowledge students bring to the classroom" (Edwards, 26). This curiosity has major power to motivate full circle learning as students begin to wonder how they can take knowledge about the things that matter to them and create communal change.

Civic Engagement

Constructivist style education encourages students to pursue what matters to them. Learning and discovering things that they are passionate about means that students are fully invested in what they are learning, and urges them to extend their education beyond classroom walls. Many picture books, such as *We Are Water Protectors,* have either blatant or disguised cries for activism. The Minnesota Department of Education K-12 Academic Standards for Social Studies ask that sixth grade students be able to understand that "Democratic government depends on

informed and engaged citizens who exhibit civic skills and values, practice civic discourse, vote and participate in elections, apply inquiry and analysis skills and take action to solve problems and shape public policy" and that " Individuals in a republic have rights, duties and responsibilities" (Minnesota Department of Education, 55). After exploring their picture book inspired topic more in depth, students will be eager to help solve the real-world problem that they have grown to understand.

By offering pathways for students to engage with, research, discuss, and get involved in current issues, picture books serve as a tool to teach middle school students' civic skills in relation to citizenship and government curriculum standards. Students will be pushed to use critical thinking skills to interpret abstract concepts in picture books, synthesize them with current events, and outline a plan of action to be involved with the issue. For example, our previous hypothetical student from Flint, Michigan, might be inspired to write letters to their representatives, advocating for more FDA restrictions and testing on water sources. Or they might interview locals about their experiences with the Flint water crisis, creating a vivid account of why clean water should be a priority for communities everywhere.

Civic engagement is not just important because it is a Minnesota State Standard. Civic engagement and advocating for what one believes in is also a key part of moral education and social philosophy. Moral education is the idea that a key part of schooling should be to grow and develop a student's moral compass. Similarly, social philosophy is the theory of justice, focusing on ethical values and human well-being(Noddings). These educational theories do not necessarily demand that educators impose their own personal beliefs and values on their students. Instead, teachers ought to offer opportunities and pathways through which students can construct their own personal morals, and come to their own understanding of what their responsibilities are as citizens of the world. Given their often intrinsically moralistic nature, picture books and fairytales are key tools in sponsoring young people's moral development (VisikoKnox-Johnson). It doesn't matter so much *what* the student cares about, so long as they *do* care. The possibilities for community engagement and activism are endless, and all begin with inspiration and knowledge extracted from a picture book.

Selecting a Picture Book

When selecting a picture book for middle school social studies students, there are several things that teachers ought to keep in mind (Social Justice Books). First, it is important to consider how the content (illustrations and words) of the book relates to curriculum, current events, and student experiences. Will students be able to connect in some way to the book based on prior course content or personal passions and worldly knowledge? For middle school students to engage with "children's" books, it is essential that they feel connected to the text in a meaningful way. Secondly, consider how the picture book builds a baseline knowledge for new exploration. Do illustrations and words provide an in-depth and abstract approach to a social studies concept or historical topic? Finally, ensure that the illustrations and text do not perpetuate stereotypes, caricatures, and/or misinformation about a group of people or a culture. To help avoid replication of racist and oversimplified narratives, it is helpful to consider picture books produced by BIPOC authors and illustrators. *We Are Water Protectors* is both written and illustrated by Indigenous women.

There are many online resources available to educators to help with the selection of meaningful multicultural texts to use in the social studies classroom. SocialJusticeBooks.org is a Teaching for Change project that vets and promotes social justice related books. They pay special attention to "who is writing the stories, what the characters are doing, how issues of power and activism are introduced, and representations of people in community rather than in isolation" and give each book a review of either *recommended*, *recommended with caveat*, or *not recommended*.Colorín Colorado is another multimedia project that provides resources for families and educators of ELL students. On their website, teachers can find a variety of booklists representing a wide range of cultures, backgrounds, and social justice issues, as well as articles with tips on how to vett picture books for problematic portrayals of people and issues.

Conclusion

As children, picture books were the tools through which we first saw the world. This exploration need not have ended with second-grade read aloud. Picture books, with all their color and whim, ought not to be dismissed as low-level texts for new learners (Cairney). Modern picture books can offer abstract, artistic, poetic, and deeply meaningful interpretations of complex and nuanced real-world issues that deserve attention and advocacy. Picture books can be adopted into curriculum in a variety of ways to accommodate, differentiate for, and honor multitudes of reading abilities, experiences, and backgrounds. They provide a means through which to practice culturally sustaining pedagogy, constructivism, and critical thinking, all while inspiring students to define their morals and engage in their civic duty. The true magic of this genre rests in this truth: picture books used to bring the world to our students, but as they grow older, picture books hold the power to bring our students to the world.

<u>*We Are Water Protectors* Unit Plan</u>

Standards and Objectives:
Minnesota Social Studies State Standards:
7.1.1.1.1 Democratic government depends on informed and engaged citizens who exhibit civic skills and values, practice civic discourse, vote and participate in elections, apply inquiry and analysis skills and take action to solve problems and shape public policy.

> Exhibit civic skills including participating in civic discussion on issues in the contemporary United States, demonstrating respect for the opinions of people or groups who have different perspectives, and reaching consensus.

7.1.5.10.1 The United States establishes and maintains relationships and interacts with indigenous nations and other sovereign nations, and plays a key role in world affairs.

> Describe diplomacy and other foreign policy tools; cite historical cases in which the United States government used these tools.

7.4.2.4.1 The differences and similarities of cultures around the world are attributable to their diverse origins and histories, and interactions with other cultures throughout time.

> Compare and contrast the distribution and political status of indigenous populations in the United States and Canada; describe how their status has evolved throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

7.4.4.22.6 Post-World War II United States was shaped by an economic boom, Cold War military engagements, politics and protests, and rights movements to improve the status of racial minorities, women and America's indigenous peoples

> Compare and contrast the goals and tactics of the Civil Rights Movement, the American Indian Movement, and the Women's Rights Movement; explain the advantages and disadvantages of nonviolent resistance

7.2.1.1.1 People make informed economic choices by identifying their goals, interpreting and applying data, considering the short- and long-run costs and benefits of alternative choices and revising their goals based on their analysis.

> Apply reasoned decision-making techniques in making choices; explain why different households or groups faced with the same alternatives might make different choices.

Minnesota English Language Arts State Standards
Reading 1: Self-select, read and comprehend complex literary and informational texts with independence, from a wide variety of sources representing perspectives and identities, like and unlike their own from dominant, non-dominant, and silenced social

groups, including the contributions of Minnesota American Indian communities and Tribal Nations.

Reading 2: Read critically to comprehend, interpret, and evaluate themes and central ideas in both literary and informational texts.

Reading 4: Consider how the author's identity and perspective may shape the content, style and meaning of a text.

Writing 2: Communicate knowledge and ideas through a variety of presentation styles (such as verbal, visual, written, or digital) appropriate to task, purpose, audience, and discipline.

Writing 8: Engage in inquiry-based learning and research processes.

Exchanging Ideas 1: Collaborate in a wide range of discussions as speaker and listener, while engaging with others' ideas and expressing one's ideas clearly, considering perspectives and identities, like and unlike their own from dominant, non-dominant, and silenced social groups, including the contributions of Minnesota American Indian communities and Tribal Nations.

Exchanging Ideas 2: Critically analyze information presented in electronic, print, and mass media, and integrate a variety of these sources in discourse.

Measurable Objectives:
Students will be able to…
- ➢ Analyze a children's text to identify symbolism and deeper meaning related to historical and current events involving Indigenous people in the United States
- ➢ Construct questions based on the text that propel further research and inquiry of historical and current events
- ➢ Describe how Indigenous people in the United States have been historically impacted by political and economic choices from various groups
- ➢ Consult a variety of sources for information on a topic of inquiry
- ➢ Practice civic engagement by crafting a piece of writing (such as a letter to government officials) that takes a stance on a civic issue related to their research

Assessment Evidence:
Pre- Assessment(s):

➢ Before the unit begins (after they finish the exam from the prior unit, or homework the night before the unit begins), students will be asked to fill out a Google Form. The form will list terminology and key concepts that we will cover in the upcoming unit. Examples might include Dakota Access Pipeline, Standing rock Sioux Tribe, Ojibwe, Native Nations, American Indian Movement, civic duty. Students will check off each term/ concept as either "I can explain this concept to a friend," "I know a little bit about this," or "I've never heard about this". At the end of the form, they will have a free response space where they can disclose anything that they already have questions about or really want to learn more about, just based on the content in the form. This form will provide me with a sense of how much students know coming into the unit, and what content needs to be allotted more time based on previous knowledge.

➢ Students will also be asked to think of one goal for the upcoming unit and how they might reach it. For example: "My goal is to get a B+ or higher on our next project, and I will work towards reaching this goal by creating and sticking to a daily work schedule for myself." Striving for this goal will provide intrinsic motivation to students. Self-evaluation of accomplishing this goal by the end of the unit as a formative assessment will provide extrinsic motivation to students.

Formative Assessments:

➢ Daily participation and engagement in class discussions, group, and solo work will be monitored for comprehension and effort. This will be an informal assessment largely based on observation.

➢ At the start of the unit, I will share a "DiaLOG" with each student via Google Documents. This log will serve as a template for analyses, inquiry, and research throughout the unit. Depending on the daily lesson, students will track their thoughts, research, resources, and writing progress in the log as directed. The idea is that the shared "DiaLOG" will enable students to be in conversation (dialogue) with each other based on topics of inquiry. This allows collaboration between students in small groups or pairs, as well as regular assessment of each student's thoughts and progress. DiaLOGs will also prompt students to answer questions related to the unit objectives.

➢ Students will occasionally turn in sticky note exit slips. On a post-it note, the student will write down one idea that has "stuck with them" from the lesson, and one concept or problem they are "still stuck on." This informal assessment tool provides an indirect means for students to communicate what they are passionate about in the unit, and what they need extra help with.

➢ At the end of the unit, students will be asked to consider the goal they set for themselves at the start of the unit. On an index card, they will briefly reflect upon

whether or not they met their goal, what work they did to push them towards their goal, what they struggled with in reaching their goal, and what was something they were proud of in this unit.

Summative Assessments:

➢ Based on their research, students will craft a piece of writing that takes a stance on a civic issue related to their inquiry topic and research inspired by *We Are Water Protectors.* Students may choose any format of writing and any audience to engage in their civic stance. For example, some students may choose to write a letter to their government officials persuading them to take a stance against DAPL. Other students might write a podcast script that shares instances of Native American activism such as AIM in order to bring attention to the struggles facing Indigenous people today. This writing project will be completed in collaboration with the pairs or small groups that they have been working with throughout the unit.

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Assessment is to some a necessary evil but some steps in this work will help to turn the emotional nightmare into an academic dream.

How to prepare for an assessment: Steps 1 to 5 to Success

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Assessment is to some a necessary evil yet to others it presents a time to reflect and tittivate our teaching strategies. Each academician may approach the task in a little different manner.However, everyone who is a true academician is interested in promoting education and has the same focus. The focus being to help others learn as well as to enrich their own personal repertoire.

Assessment must be approached in a positive manner and with the goal of bring success to the whole. The whole may be the professor, students, school and sometimes even the governing bodies. Like many other tasks we must approach this is a systematics way.

We will look at Why, What, When, Where and How as the five important facets. These five areas of assessment must be addressed prior to any given assessment. If any one of the five does not have a valid positive answer, the idea of giving an assessment needs to be dismissed and possible revisited at another time. The five facets do not have a specific order as each seems to have an equal seat at the table of discussion.

First, we need to determine the **why**. If we do not have a valid reason, then the other facets need not be addressed. Also, well known authority on educational assessment tells us if you are just giving a test without having positive reasons, you are wasting good instruction time. Popham has a vast repertoire of known of assessment and when he states the above, we need to not only listen but abide by his words. (Popham, 20XX).

Next, we look at the "**What"** The 'what' must be a very focused goal for the assessment. If it is not providing information to the instructor to use to improve the academics, then we need to stop.

'When' is another factor, we be considered when planning an assessment. The time of day, calendar events, etc. need to be checked prior to planning a data collection day. As an example, some of the state-wide assessments are not scheduled when it is usually the peak of flu season. However, the schools usually have a few weeks of flexible time should things happen such as chicken pox epidemics.

The "**Where**" might seem to be insignificant but let's take another look at the factors which must be considered.   Usually, the administrator just looks at the space needed rather than the overall picture. The formula of X students need X square feet is the way the testing room is determined. While moving an entire grade to the lunchroom seems like a perfect solution, it has many draw backs. The staff is preparing a meal. Even the quietest of cooks and chefs make noise. Pots and pans are metal, and they rattle.

Then the second choice that being the gym when one end might be reserved for students taking the assessment while the other end has a class practicing jump rope exercises. This is also a bad decision as many of the students have anxiety about taking the test and these distractions just add to that anxiety.

Finally, we address the **'How'**. The last component to be addressed in this work is assessment. One of the things to be stressed is how to correct a student's work. The studentdoes not need anyone to tell anyone to tell him/herthat his/her work is poorly done. Most likely it is something faced every day by just being around family members and peers. Students as young as Kindergarten know who is in the high group and who is in the low one. No one must tell them this; it is just there. Try to avoid the old red marker. Make a sheet which can be attached with staple or a sheet following the student's work if virtual and put the suggested ideas for improvement.

In summary, please remember assessment must have a good reason, or it is wasting instructional and learning time.The next time you are doing an assessment, please remember some of the thoughts in this work.

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2020

The Beginning of Mayhem and Chaos Facing Students in Higher Learning Institutes

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2020: The Beginning of Mayhem and Chaos Facing Students in Higher Learning Institutes

2020 started a decade to be equaled by few. One of these is the Great Depression (1929-1933): stock market crashes, unemployment rates on the rise, homelessness, presidential leadership changes, business failed, incomes dropped, people unable to pay their mortgages, shift in family dynamics, etc. For instance, we hope it follows the proverbial "In like a lion, out like a lamb." We were hit hard with things like the COVID-19, social unrest, natural disasters, economic uncertainty, and so much more.

Natural disasters and unprecedented events such as Hurricanes. 100-year floods, tornadoes, extreme temperatures changes (freezes) which last for longer periods of time, long power outages, etc. almost seem to be the norm for young adults as they exit the K-12 school age world and begin higher education in preparatory for future career and life. The Pandemic which began in 2020 left many young students alone and trying to deal with isolation or even more tragic, the death of close loved ones. All of these as well as other underlying events, create a form anxiety difficult to conquer and even more difficult to put aside. Many of the events were so out of character for the area, the last of preparedness made survival more difficult for everyone and especially the young student who had no remembrances of the past similar events. One of the major issues was that the area had only had two or three hours of temperatures below freezing for many winters prior. No one was prepared for what was to come in February 2021. Meteorologist predicted the unprecedentedcold; they did not foresee the lost of electric power. Students were in dorm rooms with little or no heat as well as little food and water. To make matters even worse, equipment to clear roadways was non-existent. Remember this is unlike a disaster which happens once even 100 year or so.

In the school used in this study, there are two general types of student populations taking lower division courses: commuters and residential. It should also be noted that over 60-percent of the students on campus are first-generation college students. Many of the commuter students live within a 75-mile radius of the physical campuses and drive to and from classes daily. The commuter group is roughly divided into two sub-groups: (1) living with family and (2) living with roommates/friends. The dorm-dwellers have moved to campus from a home-base that is normally within 300 miles. These students are often not able to go back homeoften, if ever, throughout the semester, and many are dropped off with no transportation other than friends or public.

As a result of all this turmoil, the student population have suffered great losses in community, education, personal growth/development, and family dynamics (due to changing family structures), etc. There is no way to regain the loss of time scheduled for academic growth due to these natural disasters and unprecedented events. In addition to the student population, there were notable changes and shifts in populations they interact with that exacerbate the feeling of uncertainty felt by students. For instance, university employees (faculty and

staff), community/regional populations, the country, and world as a whole changed in the blink of an eye.

As a result of all the changes in the past year, the students have suffered major anxiety. It is not the "normal" anxiety felt by college students, but anxiety to a much higher degree. This level of anxiety is more difficult for the student and the professional to try to eradicate. Why? For nearly a year, people have been interacting in a solely online, largely asynchronous, filtered format. It is easy to hide and mask what we are feeling or "write off" what we are perceiving because of the ability to mis-interpret someone's words in an online format. Accordingly, we can create and filter an online persona.

With the inability to see and read people in their "true" format, instructors and university staff are not able to offer the students the assistance they need to accurately combat the anxiety created by the chaos of 2020 and 2021. Therefore, the current student population is dealing with higher stress levels and new forms of anxiety centered around uncertainty and the fear that people will find out that they are not as put together as they seem. Furthermore, we have a whole population of instructors with failing students and no way to determine why or how. Body language and the "hidden" communications of the human body are used heavily in the educational realm as an indicator of confusion, struggle, or need for additional assistance (academic or not). This unspoken communication can also indicate when students are connecting to the material, celebrating learning victories, and intrigued by the subjects.

Anxiety in any form needs attention and should be dealt with great care. However, the anxiety experienced because of these events is especially dramatic as no one personally or professionally has any background knowledge to use as reference points. It is the authors hope the students who have been affected by these events while preparing for their future professional lives are able to overcome the bad and move forward to become good citizens professional and personally.

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Voyages to *Ilha Formosa*: A Multicultural Perspective

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Introduction

Taiwan is an island with an area of 36,000 square kilometers. It is situated in the West Pacific between Japan and the Philippines and isseparated from mainland China by the 200-kilometer-wide Taiwan Strait. Throughout its history, Taiwan has been a multicultural and multilingual region due to its distinctive geographical and historical factors.The 400 years of rule of Spain, Dutch, Zheng Chenggong (better known internationally as Koxinga),[1] the Qing Dynasty, Japan, and the current democratic government have resulted in the rich blending of Asian and Western ethnicities, ancient and modern languages, cultures, and customs in the island. Furthermore, the rich variety of ecologiespresent on the island haveprovided ideal materials for archeological research, earning Taiwan a reputation as an 'archeological laboratory'. (Chen 2020)[2]

The first human traces found on the island date back to the Paleolithic era approximately 30,000 years ago(Chen 2020[2]). According to existing archeological surveys, the most ancient archeological discovery on the islandis the Baxian Caves site (Chinese: 八仙洞) in Taitung County on the eastern coastline.The second major migration to the island of Taiwan was undertaken by groups of Neolithic people from the southern East Asian mainland about 6,500 years ago.Archeologists refer to this early way of life as the Dapenkeng (Chinese:大盆坑)Culture.Chen remarked that several linguists' and ethnologists'speculate that the language spoken by the Dapenkeng Culture was the common ancestor of the Austronesian languages. Taiwan's Iron Age began around 2,000 years ago and ended around 300 years ago. Several research theories argue that at this time, another group of new migrants arrived on Taiwan after crossing the sea from Southeast China.

Despite of not being a large island, Taiwan is still home to at least 20 culturally, socially and linguistically distinct indigenous peoples. Chen affirms that scholars presently offer two explanations for the existence of the many different ethnic groups on the island of Taiwan: 1. The multiple migrations hypothesis posits that since the Neolithic times there have been many migrations to Taiwan. These occurred at different times, originated from different locations, and resulted in the settlement of different regions of Taiwan. This naturally resulted in the existence of different ethnic groups on the island. 2. The divergent adaptation hypothesis argues that after the arrival of the earliest group of the Dapenkeng Culture, people moved into the varied regional geographies: high mountains, low hills, basins, and plains. Communities living in these different environments became isolated from each other, and over a very long period, deeply adapted to their local ecologies. Eventually they became Taiwan's different ethnic groups. Although it is difficult to reach a consensus on this complex

issue, it might be commonsensical to assume that each ethnic group could have developed in its own way, and was impacted differently by the natural environment, time, and historical events.

Language origin

The Austronesian linguistic group is vast, stretching from Easter Island, off the coast of Chile in the east, to Madagascar, off the coast of Africa in the west, from Papua NewGuinea and even as far as New Zealand in the south, to Taiwan in the north.Scholars generally agree that early seasonal monsoons and ocean currents played a role in scattering the group over this expansive area.(Chen 2020)The Formosan group of languages is a sub-group of the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan.Austronesian-speakingpeople first arrived in Taiwan around 5000 B.C. All but one of the first-order sub-groups of the Austronesianlanguage family are spoken only in Taiwan; but now by less than 2% of the population.(Stephens 2018)

European Presence

Taiwan is an island open to approach from every direction. From about the 15[th]century, a number of countries began to actively conduct trade in Maritime Southeast Asia, a trading area into which Taiwan also became incorporated.(van der Wees 2019) The majority of the more commonly seen imported objects made from ceramics, metal, and glass, generally came from China. The Renaissance kicked off a thirst for exploration and adventure, the result of which would see maritime European powers descending on 'the Orient' in search of land and riches. At the start of the 16th century, the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch came to East Asia one after the other.The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach the island off the southern coast of China in 1544 and named it *Formosa* (Portuguese for "beautiful") due to the beautiful landscape as seen from the sea. Subsequently, pursuing their quest for alternative routes to Asia for trade, the Dutch established a colony at Tayouan, present-day Anping, in the south of *Formosa*. From there they attempted to thwart Spain's trade in the region. In response to this threat, the Spanish colonial authorities in Manila decided to establish their own colony in the north of the island. In 1624, the Spanish empire established a settlement in Keelung in northern Taiwan called, *Formosa Española* (Spanish Formosa). Fortresses were built to protect the regional trade with the Philippines from interference by the Dutch base in the south of the island.Due to the loss of its strategic importance and unwillingness by Spanish authorities in Manila to commit more resources to its defense, in 1642, the fortress was besieged by Dutch forces and eventually fell, giving the Dutch control over much of the island. From the 16[th]century onwards, the Chinese actively engaged in East Asian maritime trade along the coast. Mass settlement by Chinese-speakers in Taiwan began

in the 16th century. The most active trader was Zheng Zhilong-Zheng Chenggong's father-who received Ming amnesty to become a naval officer in 1628.[3]Chinese visages could be seen all around in many of the ports of Taiwan.

Western Missionaries

The population of Dutch *Formosa* was composed of three main groups - the aborigines, the Dutch contingent, and the Chinese. Proselytizing missionaries from Spain and the Netherlands Taiwan embedded themselves deeply into the indigenous society to understand the indigenous lifestyles and cultures. The reports these missionaries wrote are regarded as treasured materials in current research on the early history of Taiwanese indigenous people.After the Spanish occupation of northern Taiwan, priests from Santo Domingo began to propagate the faith.In the 16-year period of Spanish rule over Taiwan (1626-1642), some 4000 indigenous Taiwanese people were baptized and converted to Christianity.

Until 1627, clergymen from the Dutch Reformed Church would be regularly dispatched to convert the indigenous Taiwanese. Later, because of the success of colonial expansion in south Taiwan, the work of conversion went rather smoothly, with Tainan as a central point. After taking northern Taiwan, in response to the needs of the indigenous people there, in 1655 the Dutch sent clergy members forward to spread their religion. The Christian Bible was translated into native aboriginal languages and was spread among the tribes. This marks the first recorded instance of Christianity entering into Taiwanese history, and serves as a prelude to the active Christian practices experienced in Taiwan in modern times.The missionaries were also responsible for setting up schools in the villages under Dutch control and taught not only the religion of the colonists but also other skills such as reading and writing. Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the native inhabitants did not use writing, thus the missionaries created a number of Romanization schemes for the various Formosan languages. This is the first record in history of a written language in Taiwan.(Van der Wees)

Ethnic diversity

Taiwanese aborigines currently comprise about 2.3% of the island's population. Nowadays, there are 16 officially recognized indigenous tribes in Taiwan: Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Sediq, Hla'alua and Kanakanavu.[4]Each tribe has its own distinct culture, language, customs and social structure. The native Formosan peoples had been in Taiwan for thousands of years before the Dutch arrived. The total number of aborigines in Taiwan was estimated at 150,000 (currently 400,000) spread across the entire island during the Dutch era.These aborigines lived in villages with

populations ranging from a couple of hundred up to around 2,000 people for the largest towns, with different groups speaking different Formosan languages which were not mutually intelligible. Indigenous clans in the mountains lived by hunting and gathering (hunting remains a popular pastime among aborigines living in the highlands), but lowland aborigines farmed and raised livestock. Nowadays, aborigines can be found doing all kinds of jobs and are especially well-represented in sports and music with many alsobecomingcareer soldiers or police officers. Taiwan's aboriginal tribes are struggling to preserve their cultures because of the influence of mass media (although some TV and radio shows are broadcast in aboriginal languages), an education system which until recently stressed Mandarin at the expense of every other language, and migration. A great many young aborigines leave their home villages to work or attend school in a city, although it is common to return and enthusiastically participate in tribal festivals.[5]

Languages in Taiwan

After centuries of extensive maritime exploration and migration, the Austronesian languages have spread far beyond the shores of Taiwan and have been spoken by the Taiwanese aborigines for thousands of years. Research on historical linguistics recognizes Taiwan as the homeland of the whole Austronesian language family owing to the highest internal variety of the Formosan languages.Over the last 400 years, several waves of Chinese emigrants brought several different Sino-Tibetan languages into Taiwan. These languages include Taiwanese, Hokkien, Hakka, and Mandarin, which became the major languages of today's Taiwan. Due to its colonial history,[6] Japanese is also spoken and a large number of loanwords from Japanese exist in several languages of Taiwan.

During the civil war in China, which lasted from1927-1949, the national government evacuated to Taiwan, along with more than 2 million of its people, including the Han people and many other minority ethnic groups from different provinces, who came with their cultures and customs. It has been 70 years since the massive migration to Taiwan, and first-generation refugees have had children and grandchildren, with the population in Taiwan now exceeding 23 million. Today, traditional Chinese culture and customs still hold sway in Taiwan.Although the Taiwanese indigenous languages or Formosan languages are the languages of the aboriginal tribes of Taiwan, far fewer can still speak their ancestral language, after centuries of language shift. It is common for young and middle-aged Hakka and aboriginal people to speak Mandarin and Hokkien better than, or to the exclusion of, their ethnic languages. Of the approximately 26 languages of the Taiwanese aborigines, at least ten are extinct, another five are moribund, and several others are to some degree endangered. Currently the government recognizes 16 languages and 42 dialects of the indigenous languages. All

Formosan languages are slowly being replaced by the culturally dominant Mandarin.

Reappreciation Programs

In recent decades the government has started an aboriginal reappreciation program that includes the reintroduction of Formosan mother tongue education in Taiwanese schools.Television station, Taiwan Indigenous Television, and radio station, *Alian 96.3* were created in an effort to revive the indigenous languages. The Amis language is the most widely spoken aboriginal language on the eastern coast of the island where Hokkien and Hakka are less present than on the western coast. Government estimates place the number of Amis people at a little over 200,000, but the number of people who speak Amis as their first language isless than 10,000.Amis has appeared in some mainstream popular music.Other significant indigenous languages include Atayal, Paiwan, and Bunun.

Although it one of the three common languages, spoken by about 70% of the population in Taiwan, Taiwanese has been passed on for generations without a standardized writing system. The national government during the long martial law era (1949-1987) [7] suppressed languages other than Mandarin in public use. This has significantly damaged the evolution of local languages including Taiwanese, Hakka, Formosan languages, and other dialects. This situation changed in the 2000s when the government made efforts to protect and revitalize local languages. Local languages became part of elementary school education in Taiwan, laws and regulations regarding local language protection were established for Hakka and Formosan languages, and public TV and radio stations exclusively for these two languages were also established. During the last twenty years there has beena significant number of immigrants and spouses in Taiwan from Mainland China,Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia. The number has exceeded 900,000, and is still growing, giving Taiwan a highly diversified demography. Among the East Asian languages spoken in Taiwan are, Indonesian (with approximately 140,000 speakers), Tagalog (with approximately 108,520 speakers), and Vietnamese (with approximately 200,000 speakers). There has been some effort, particularly beginning in 2011, to teach Vietnamese as a heritage language to children of Vietnamese immigrants.In recent years the Taiwanese government has initiated New Southbound Policy to enhance cooperation and exchange between Taiwan and 18 countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia and Australasia. More immigrants from these regions will be expected in Taiwan, enhancing the unified multi-ethnic nature of the country.[8]

Of the Western languages in Taiwan, English is widely taught as a foreign language in public and private schools. Taiwan's government proposed to make English a second official language by 2030. [9]To cope with the global trends and governmental

mandate, schools at all level, especially in higher education, have endeavored to train instructors for EMI (English as Medium of Instruction), encouraging students to study abroad, especially in the United States, Germany, England, Australia, and Japan. Over the past two decades, students who studied abroad and returned to serve the country have brought back a deep understanding of western and far-eastern cultural and scholarly expertise.

Another Western language with a significant number of learners in Taiwan is Spanish. The appeal of Hispanic culture, and the fame of its art, dance, music, literature, cinema, as well as business opportunities in Latin America and Spain have led many Taiwanese to explore this Romance language. Many colleges provide undergraduate and graduate academic degree programs in Spanish and Hispanic Studies.

Conclusion

Taiwan's unique and diversified ethnic and cultural nature attributes to its over 400 years of Eastern and Western rules on the island. The republic government's effort in preserving and disseminatingthe island's cultural and linguistic valueshas enriched the multicultural and multilingual essence of Taiwan. Due to historical circumstances, Taiwan has not only preserved most Chinese traditions and culture, including Confucian philosophies and traditional Chinese characters, but has also embraced foreign cultures and languages. Taiwanese people, with their open minds, blend foreign customs with the traditional and this has resulted a diversified Taiwanese culture, making Taiwan a special place in one's heart.

Notes

1. Zheng Cehnggong (鄭成功), Prince of Yanping (born Aug. 28, 1624, Hirado,

   Japan-died June 23, 1662, Taiwan), better known internationally by his Dutch-Romanized Hokkien honorific Koxinga or Coxinga (Chinese: 國姓爺), was a Chinese Ming loyalist who resisted the Qing conquest of China in the 17th century, fighting them on China's southeastern coast.In 1661, Koxinga defeated the Dutch outposts on Taiwan and established a dynasty, the House of Koxinga, which ruled the island as the Kingdom of Tungning from 1661 to 1683.

2. Chen Yu-bei, Associate Professor of Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University, completed an extensive research on archeological studies of Taiwan. For archeological references of Taiwan, the present study adopted materials compiled in Professor Chen's research article. See (Chen 2020 updated)

3. Zheng Zhilong (Chinese:鄭芝龍), Marquis of Tong'an and Nan'an*(born 1604-died 1661)*, father of Koxinga, was a merchant, pirate, political and military leader in the late Ming dynasty who later defected to the Qing dynasty. After his defection, he was given noble titles by the Qing government, but was eventually executed because of his son's continued resistance against the Qing regime.

4. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan has published a series of articles about history and culture of Taiwan in *Taiwan Review*. Further information is available at:https://taiwantoday.tw/news.php?unit=12,29,33,45&post=21910

5. For a detailed overview of the many migrations of Taiwanese aboriginal tribes, see (Li 2001). For detailed map of distribution of Austronesians see *Taiwan depicting migrationarchived 2007-06-21* at the Wayback Machine.

6. Following its defeat, China ceded the islands of Taiwan to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on April 17, 1895. According to the terms of the treaty, Taiwan was to be ceded to Japan in perpetuityand full sovereignty. Japanese administrative rule of Taiwan ended in August 1945 during the World War II period. After fifty years of Japanese rule, Taiwan was placed under the control of the Republic of China.

7. Taiwan was subjugated to a 38-year-long consecutive martial law period between 20 May 1949 and 14 July 1987, a period called, "White Terror", characterized by curfews, suspension of civil law, civil rights, and the application or extension of military law or military justice to civilians.

8. For information of President Ing-wen Tsai's administration's New Southbound Policy, see Fulco (2018).

9. In December of 2018, the Executive Yuan of Taiwan approved a blueprint drafted by the National Development Council to develop Taiwan into a bilingual nation by 2030, with the aim of raising the level of English proficiency among the public and improving the country's overall national competitiveness.

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'That Unequaled Spirit of Enterprise': How Commerce Has Made America Great and Her Citizens Free and Happy

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In response to a pandemic originating in China in December 2019, state governors and local officials in the United States subjected their fellow citizens to a massive shutdown of "nonessential" activities for most of 2020 and into 2021. Millions of Americans were suddenly

forced out of work, both employers and employees, and banned from religious services, public and private education, sports and exercise, restaurants and bars, and a multitude of private associations, for fear that their physical contact would spread the coronavirus (aka COVID-19). While there was widespread agreement that extraordinary measures were in order, a serious difference of opinion developed about the wisdom and efficacy of the massive lockdowns. It is not the intent of this paper to enter the debate but instead to inquire into the status and significance of the multitude of ways by which men and women earn a living and spend their time. Economic opportunities particularly have long been central to American life, before our revolution, no less than after, as the Declaration of Independence denounced the King and Parliament of Great Britain for restricting our commerce and the United States Constitution granted Congress the power to regulate it. In due course, the United States became a commercial republic.

Alexander Hamilton, more than any other American founder, is associated with the rise of the United States as a commercial power in the world. While the nation floundered under what he called the "imbecilic" governance of the Articles of Confederation, a young Hamilton, with others, pushed hard for that system's reform and ultimately its replacement by the Constitution. It is a commonplace of historical commentary that a continental and even intercontinental commerce was both seeking to be born and indispensable to the nation's prosperity—and particularly to the financial solvency of the infant nation's central government. What has been less investigated was the effect of that commerce on the character of the nation and its citizens. As enthusiastic as Hamilton as Publius in *The Federalist* and as the nation's first secretary of the treasury was about commerce for promoting national prosperity, he did not in either venue contrast its virtues and advantages with slavery, the glaringly evil characteristics of which appalled him and many others in his time and increasingly so in the decades leading up to the nation's Civil War. Slavery was then institutionalized in 12 states, but most heavily in the South, which required that the nation's differences over the issue be subordinated to the overriding objective of national unity. Without the governmental authority indispensable to that unity, there was no prospect of ending slavery. Still, all northern states abandoned slavery and it was banned from the Northwest Territory in 1787.

While Henry Clay and others subsequently sought to bring more of commerce's economic and fiscal advantages to the nation, it took the determination and rhetorical power of Abraham Lincoln in the years leading up to bloody national conflict to make the case for its *moral* qualities. It may strike some readers as strange that anything as apparently mercenary and self-interested as large-scale buying and selling, speculating and consolidating, could have any moral qualities. But, as this paper's review particularly of how both Hamilton and Lincoln made their historic cases will show, it makes all the difference whether the American people, or any people, are free or enslaved. The key is what impels men and women to labor in the first place. Neither Hamilton nor Lincoln were utopians who urged their fellow citizens to work without profit. Indeed, self-interest was seen by both men as a powerful engine without which nether private nor public good was possible or attainable.

It is our task in this paper to inquire into the origins and development, as well as the manner and character, of the nation's robust commerce. To that end, we will review the events leading up to the formation of our commercial republic; the provisions of the U.S Constitution that fostered it; the case made for its advantages in *The Federalist*; the leadership of Alexander Hamilton as the first Secretary of the Treasury to bring it into being; the efforts of others to carry

the work forward; and finally the case for what Lincoln called free labor as the alternative to slavery. It is an overwhelming fact that commerce exploded following the abolition of slavery, followed by a perpetual debate over its advantages and disadvantages, indeed, its virtues and vices, for the country. Free enterprise has been the watchword for the Republican Party for decades while concern for the general welfare has long animated the Democratic Party. What Hamilton and Lincoln saw as mutually supportive goals continue, even after slavery's end, to be torn asunder.

America's leading historians have written volumes about the formation of the national government, some seeing a fulfillment, others a betrayal, of the lofty principles of equality and liberty of the Declaration of Independence. Here I will follow one of the least partisan of them, Max Farrand, who not only wrote *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*[1] in 1913, but also published two years before four volumes of the records (including the official minutes and, more interestingly, the notes of several delegates) of the Federal Convention that met between May 16 and September 17, 1787. This is not to suggest that Farrand's commentary on what led to the Convention as well as the Convention itself, is without flaws, but rather that he provides a clear summary of the relevant details that enables us to flesh out the event without embellishment. This notwithstanding the superlative praise that has been bestowed upon the famed Convention's work.

Farrand early in *Framing* reports that the confederation struggled with its finances all during its existence from 1781 to 1789. By 1784, he writes, "Matters of commerce were inseparably associated with those of finance and were at this time of equal moment." (5) Why this "associa(tion)"? As a nation largely of middling farmers, primarily in the northern states, and plantation owners dominant in the southern states, there was not much national wealth, meaning as well that there was not much of it to be taxed to finance the federal government. Of course, the existence of 13 competing sovereignties practically ensured that adequate revenue for the Union would not be easily obtained. Farrand makes it clear that, regarding commerce, "a uniform policy was necessary" to counteract "the selfish motives of the states." (7) That is, there needed to be a robust national commerce to put the nation on its financial feet.

Several failing attempts were made to amend the Articles to confer both an effective power to tax and to stimulate commerce, but their requirement of unanimous consent (meaning all 13 states had to approve) stood in the way. Virginia and Maryland actually agreed to establish free trade along their common border on the Potomac River, in a meeting concluding at George Washington's Mount Vernon home in 1785. This was followed by a more ambitious trade convention held at Annapolis, Maryland, the following year, to which all the states were invited, but only five attended (12). This apparent failure turned out to be a kind of success as Hamilton, joined by James Madison, boldly proposed a convention to be held in Philadelphia to deal with all matters related to commerce and revenue.

The Grand Convention is much more famous for its debates over nationalism and federalism, republicanism and democracy, than over commerce, but that hardly means that the economic issues were unimportant. It is altogether fair to say that they were not in controversy. Regarding trade, Farrand again notes, delegates agreed that "a uniform policy was necessary." (45) As different from each other as the national Virginia Plan and the confederal New Jersey Plan were, the supporters of both were determined to confer on the proposed government a "power to regulate trade and commerce." (85-86)

The most conspicuous "champion of the commercial and propertied interests" was Gouvernuer Morris of New York, but he was hardly alone. (109) More generally, New England and the middle states were "the commercial and shipping sections of the country" which sought "free intercourse with the wider world." (147). Delegates from these sections hoped that "American products would be carried in American built and American manned vessels," which would become a great stimulus to shipbuilding and commerce. (p. 148)

Both sides of the national/federal debate believed that the federal government "by virtue of commerce, dealt directly with the people." (208) Thus was a broadening commerce not only seen as a benefit to merchants and financiers, but also a means to cement the relationship between the new government and the people throughout the country. A nation that encourages enterprise is poised to win the confidence and support of the most industrious citizens, both those already successful and those hoping to be.

The Constitution's provisions regarding commerce are found primarily in Article I in the powers of Congress. The Preamble aims broadly at several goals but what is relevant here is its promise to "promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But do these great objects have anything to do with commerce? Congress indeed has the power under Section 8 "to promote the general welfare and to that end it may "lay and collect taxes, duties, and excises [and] pay the debts of the United States." It is also authorized "to borrow money on the credit of the United States" and, yes, "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states…"

In the remainder of Section 8, there are several provisions for the general welfare, identified largely in commercial terms, including a uniform rule for bankruptcies, coining money, punishing counterfeiting, establishing post offices and post roads, and "promoting the progress of science and useful arts" (patents and copyrights). Regulation evidently meant that commerce should flow in clearly identified (and familiar) channels.

Sections 9 and 10 place restrictions on Congress and the states respectively. Those in the former section relating to commerce forbid Congress from laying a direct tax without a prior census, lay a tax or duty on articles exported from any state, give preference "by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another," and likewise any vessel, draw money from the treasury without a lawful appropriation, and regular accounting. Congress is charged here with being impartial among the state, not favoring or burdening any of them unfairly.

Section 10 is practically the reverse side of Section 8 in that powers granted to Congress are denied to the states. Thus, it forbids states from interfering with interstate and foreign commerce by coining money, emitting bills of credit, permitting anything but gold or silver to pay debts, impairing the obligation of contracts, laying imposts or duties on exports or imports while reserving all revenues for the federal treasury, or laying any duty of tonnage. Henceforward commerce is not merely the activity of this or that state for its own advantage, but for the benefit of the United States as a whole. Put bluntly, a national and even international market for buying and selling goods and services holds out great commercial opportunities, potentially greater than any nation in history.

Article VI undergirds all of this by stipulating that "All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation." The solidity and comprehensiveness of this

debt payment guarantee would be sorely tested in the first Congress and Administration. (See below.)

It is helpful at this point to cite the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which reads in part: "No person shall…be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." No less than life and liberty is property, both residential and commercial, protected against arbitrary taking, or being taken for public use without compensating the owner(s). This underscores the Constitution's general intention to protect both home ownership and commerce as public goods, meaning that their benefits can be enjoyed by private citizens even as their prosperity helps keep the government financially viable.

Consider in this regard the Constitution's requirement that all bills must be approved by both the House of Representatives and the Senate and signed by the President, or upheld by a two-thirds vote of both houses over a presidential veto; as well as the availability of the federal courts to hear "cases and controversies" arising under the Constitution; was intended to protect commerce against arbitrary or even tyrannical controls. Let us recall that the Declaration of Independence denounced the King of Great Britain for having "erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance"; and no less the British Parliament for "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world [and] for imposing taxes on us without or consent." Commerce is not all of what the American people are about, but that they have always appreciated its benefits there can be no doubt. This becomes even clearer when we turn next (mostly) to Hamilton's essays regarding commerce and revenue in *The Federalist*.

The justly famed series of 85 newspaper articles that appeared in the New York City press in support of the proposed Constitution between October 1787 and June 1788 is mostly remembered (and consulted) for its advocacy of a large republic as opposed to a confederacy; and of a representative government with separation of powers and checks and balances rather than direct democracy. But its most prolific contributor (Hamilton wrote 51 of the essays) often probed deeply and broadly into what today's parlance refers to as economics. To that end, Hamilton enthusiastically promoted the advantages of a flourishing commerce. This was to define America as much as its republican form of government, enabling its coming great prominence in international affairs. He never uses today's ubiquitous term "economy" as shorthand for commerce and trade, but rather as the virtue of well-managed regimes in their expenditures. Whether Hamilton is arguing for the superiority of one government over 13 for promoting commerce, or pointing out the massive defects of the Confederation in that regard, he wants his readers—his fellow citizens—to understand that the government's obligations must be financed.

Fellow contributor John Jay of New York first extolls the "enterprise and address of our merchants and navigators,"[2] while warning of how commerce can also cause conflict with other nations. Hamilton makes explicit what Jay implies when he speaks of "commercial republics like ours" (Fed 6, p. 31) and even a "commercial polity." (Fed 7, p. 39) Like Jay, he makes it clear that the country faces real dangers abroad and that, as crucial as commerce is to its international standing, history shows that trade can be as much a cause of war as any other issues, be they treaty violations or national insults. "The spirit of enterprise" and the "spirit of commerce" which he so often commends, can antagonize other nations as well as befriend them. (Fed 7, p. 40) Later, in a more positive light, he speaks enthusiastically of "the commercial character of

America." that makes possible "an ACTIVE COMMERCE in our own bottoms." This will make America, he boldly declares, "the Arbiter of Europe in America." (Fed 11, p. 68)

Hamilton strongly recommends "that unequalled spirit of enterprise, which signals the genius [meaning the character] of the American Merchants and Navigators, and which is itself an inexhaustible mine of national wealth." (Fed 11, p. 69) In doing so, he warns of the national poverty and disgrace that are the alternatives. There is a better course. "An unrestrained intercourse between the states themselves," he predicts, "will advance the trade of each, by an interchange of their respective productions, not only for the supply of reciprocal wants at home, but for exportation to foreign markets…Commercial enterprise will have much greater scope…" (Fed. 11, p. 71)

A rising tide lifts all boats! He speaks no less glowingly of "the veins of commerce" and the "free circulation of commodities" as keys to national prestige. More emphatically, he declares that the "prosperity of commerce… [is the] most productive source of national wealth," unapologetically counting upon "human avarice and enterprise." (Fed. 12, p. 73) Commerce brings advantages to the nation's property owners too. "In proportion as commerce has flourished, land has risen in value," Hamilton observes. He speaks enthusiastically of "the adventurous spirit…[which] distinguishes the commercial character of America." More, commerce is "the faithful handmaid of labor and industry in every shape." Insofar as the property owners benefit so does the government. "Commerce…must of necessity render the payment of taxes easier and facilitate the requisite supplies to the treasury." Who will benefit? "The assiduous husbandman, the active mechanic and the industrious merchant, *all orders of men*, look forward with eager anticipation and growing alacrity to this pleasing reward of their toils" in flourishing commercial markets. (Fed. 12, p. 74. Emphasis added.).

Commerce facilitates taxation and revenue and, to that end, indirect taxes are more effective than direct taxes. (Fed. 12, p. 76) The "interests of commerce" are critical here, for a "nation cannot long exist without revenues." (Fed. 12, pp. 78-79) Hamilton also warns against burdening this great source of national wealth with unnecessary and unjustified burdens, such as uncompensated militia service.

Hamilton's understanding "economy" will strike many readers as quaint. Yet he makes a telling point. All "13 states are better able to support a national government, better than one half or one third, or any number less than the whole." Starkly, he warns that disunion would be "injurious to the economy," by which he means the government's fiscal prudence. (Fed. 13, p. 82) He is also taking aim at the undisguised hopes of some state or regional leaders to achieve glory in a regime or regimes smaller than the entire United States.

Finally, he repeats his admonitions about what makes dependable revenue possible by acknowledging the "maxim that the consumer is the payer [of taxes which] is often truer than the reverse of the proposition." (Fed. 35, p. 217) Essentially, Hamilton is contending that the nation should nurture the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Before we turn to Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton's commercial proposals, it is helpful to review the most famous argument of *The Federalist* in No. 10 by James Madison for the large republic. The word commerce (or economics) does not appear. But the case that is made there absolutely depends on the commercial republic which Hamilton more explicitly advocated. Rather, Madison speaks of "modern, civilized nations" in which a "landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a monied interest, and many lesser interests" "grow up of necessity." Each is "actuated by different sentiments and views," the "regulation" of which "forms the

principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government." (Fed. 10, p. 94)

The obvious question is this: Why do contending interests "grow up of necessity in civilized nations?" Also, what makes nations "civilized" and what way of life produces those results? Besides the obvious implication that nations without this sort of contention are not civilized, Madison clearly states that the contending interests arise in a regime of liberty. For centuries before modern times, agriculture was dominant and commerce was barely tolerated. But the seafaring ways of modern European nations and the industrial development of Great Britain and America gave rise to a new order of things. The Industrial Revolution had already begun to bear fruit, bringing labor-saving devices into production and ultimately into households. The driving force in all this is the very liberty which Madison acknowledges makes interests and factions possible, giving rise to new challenges for statesmanship. Without commerce between nations and within them, none of this would have been beneficial. It answers the question which thoughtful people must consider: How should we live? Liberty without purpose or limit is but the prelude to anarchy and ultimately despotism. In contrast to the unfortunate peasants in Europe and elsewhere, the labor of free people is not simply for some more powerful person's or class's benefit, but for *their own*.

As founders, the authors of *The Federalist* are concerned primarily for the safety and happiness of the nation, which were explicitly invoked in the Declaration of Independence and in *Federalist* No. 43. (p. 297) It is Hamilton's contention in his essays on the Presidency that the 'true test of a good government is its aptitude and tendency to produce a good administration." (Fed 76, p. 509) Congress must pass good laws, which enables the President to do what is required to accomplish effectively the goals set forth in the Preamble and the powers granted to Congress in Article I, Section 8. To Hamilton's policies we now turn.

Alexander Hamilton, now serving in the administration of George Washington, proposed a three-fold program to set the commercial republic into motion: 1} federal assumption of all states' Revolutionary War debts, irrespective of their payment record; 2) the establishment of the Bank of the United States as a depositor and creditor for the federal government; and 3) encouragement of domestic manufacturers by means of a tariff on foreign-made goods. Each aroused controversy and opposition, but all were enacted and became law for decades thereafter (with a notable and lengthy gap for the bank). But a full-fledged system of commerce did not emerge for another 70 years as the abolition of chattel slavery was evidently a necessary condition.

I have found the commentary on this whole issue by political scientist Martin Diamond to be particularly enlightening, both as a source of insight and, alas, as foil. His enthusiasm for the large republic and separation of powers is unmistakable, but it is more restrained about, however appreciative of, America's commercial regime. In his excellent American government textbook, *The Democratic Republic,*[4] he makes the bold claim that Hamilton succeeded in putting the nation on its remarkable commercial course, but does not account for the long delay in its coming fully into being. He simply states, without explanation, that that stunning development occurred in the late 19th century.

As indicated, the glaring omission in Diamond's work is the overriding importance and crushing effect of slavery with respect to the development of the United States as a commercial polity. There is no reason to doubt that the owners of slaveholding plantations viewed Hamilton's federal assumption, national bank and foreign tariff proposals with suspicion, if not

disdain. If Americans could make money, many on a vast scale, by means of commercial enterprises, the inferiority of chattel slavery, economically but also morally, would soon become evident. In the 1790s of course, the trial was not fully made as the Federalist Party was repudiated in the elections of 1800.

Regarding the Revolutionary war debts, consider that Virginia, the most populous and wealthy state in the nation, held thousands of slaves and had paid most of its debts. Not surprisingly, its leaders thought it unfair for the federal government to pay the largely unpaid debts of other states. In addition, James Madison, then a Virginia congressman and the leader of the House of Representatives, thought it unfair to pay the current holders of war bonds, which overlooked the original holders who sold them dearly, particularly since they then rose sharply in value. It took a famous private meeting of Hamilton, Madison and Thomas Jefferson that arranged a compromise by which the Virginia pair succeeded in locating the new national capital on the shores of the Potomac River and Hamilton got the votes for debt assumption.

The national bank aroused the greatest controversy. Hamilton believed, with good reason, that commerce and trade depended on a banking system under federal auspices, and was more likely to succeed than state banks with competing interests. But there was no provision in the Constitution specifically authorizing the establishment of a national bank. Hamilton's argument was that the responsibility of the federal government for fostering commerce required that the Constitution's "necessary and proper" clause be understood as authorizing the bank as a means to that end. Madison, and especially Jefferson, the former ambassador to France, now serving as Secretary of State and whose opinion President Washington also requested, countered that the bank was simply unconstitutional. Madison's best argument, in my opinion, was that a power to establish a bank was considered at the Federal Convention but was not adopted. Did that mean that it was not desired or that, as Hamilton believed, it was implied by Congress's power to regulate commerce?

Madison and Jefferson were appalled at the burst of financial investment and speculation for those who grasped the money-making opportunities that the sale of bank stock made possible; But was it more appalling than the profit gained from the uncompensated labor of slaves on the plantations? Rarely, if ever, has that question been asked. The choices in political life are less often between unalloyed goodness and utter evil, but rather more or less praiseworthy or questionable practices. Is money-grubbing in a competitive market really worse than slave masters' leisure made possible by others' forced labor?

In his commentary, Diamond flatly says that Hamilton won the argument, as Congress was persuaded and, equally important, so was President Washington, to pass it into law. The Bank was chartered for 20 years, and its renewal for another 20 years was supported by President Jefferson's own Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, which Jefferson unsurprisingly opposed. But, irony of ironies, as the next President, Madison was persuaded by the financial exigencies of the War of 1812 that the Bank's charter should indeed be renewed. Even though there were no problems or scandals with the Bank in the years following, and its constitutionality was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), another President, Andrew Jackson, vetoed the bill to renew the charter again 20 years later. It was not until 1913 that the Federal Reserve System, a national bank under a different name, would be established permanently during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson. Thus, the national bank's emergence lagged another half century after the end of slavery.

Hamilton, in his Report on Manufactures made the case for a tariff on imports, which Congress enacted and continues to impose to the present day. Its immediate purpose was to provide revenue for the federal government (its main source until the income tax was instituted), directly paid by foreigners but indirectly paid by American consumers in the form of higher prices for imported products. But it had another, much greater, purpose as well, which was to shield what Hamilton called infant industry in America against far more developed foreign competition. Diamond literally considers this issue in the abstract as a government favor to American business, which it certainly was, but he is utterly silent about the elephant in the room, namely, the powerful slavery interest. Cotton grown and picked on slave plantations was already being woven in manufacturing plants abroad, mainly in Great Britain, which put the slaveholders' interest in direct conflict with fledgling American manufacturers. Hamilton was silent too, but that was to avoid calling attention to this awkward state of affairs and, especially, to pave the way for the rise of America as a commercial nation.

A final word about Hamilton. This immigrant from the West Indies, who found astonishing opportunities in the United States, was a firm anti-slavery man. He favored slavery's abolition in New York, his adopted home, which was the last northern state to do so. He belonged to anti-slavery societies and encouraged and supported the liberty of all who could obtain it. That's the "flip side" of the "commercial" Hamilton. Perhaps the Hamilton program stalled for the same reason that the abolition of slavery was so long postponed.

Abraham Lincoln is justly famed for his issuance, as President, of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. This followed his life-long abhorrence of slavery, including his intense campaign for six years before being elected to that office in 1860 against a determined Democratic effort to spread slavery throughout the Union. Whether it was the Kansas-Nebraska Act which permitted slavery to be introduced into the Louisiana Territory in 1854, or the Dred Scott decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that denied the power of Congress to prohibit it there, Lincoln was indefatigable in his opposition. Twice he ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate from Illinois before his election to the nation's highest office. Here I will review his views on the comparative claims to justice of freedom and slavery in any form which, I believe, make the case for commerce as the way of the nation in even more compelling terms than his predecessors.

Like Hamilton, Lincoln came from a humble background, born in the slave state of Kentucky, but whose family moved to the free state of Indiana for greater opportunity. Although lacking Hamilton's university education, Lincoln, like Hamilton, became a lawyer and read many classics entirely on his own, including the books of Euclid, the works of Shakespeare and of course, the King James Bible. And he was no less a prodigy than Hamilton, displaying wisdom at an early age. When he wasn't giving speeches in opposition to the spread of slavery, he gave lectures on discoveries and inventions and was himself an inventor! He even wrote blunt letters to his father and brother, encouraging them to manage their financial affairs more prudently.

In 1854 in a Fragment on Slavery, Lincoln spoke derisively of those who, while they write to "prove that slavery is a very good thing, we never hear of the man who wishes to take the good of it, by being a slave himself." By contrast, "We [soon to be Republicans] proposed to give all a chance; and we expected the weak to grow stronger, the ignorant wiser; and all better, and happier together." He concluded: "We made the experiment; and the fruit is before us. Look at it—think of it. Look at it, in its aggregate grandeur of extent of country—of ships, and steamboats, and rail…" (Vol. II, 222)

Similarly, Lincoln praised the rise and degree of prosperity in the United States in a Chicago speech on July 10 in the 1858 senatorial campaign. By contrast, he called Sen. Stephen A. Douglas's argument for popular sovereignty in the territories that opened the way to slavery there as "the same old serpent that says you work and I'll eat, you toil and I will enjoy the fruits of it." (Vol II, 500)

In the first of two lectures on discoveries and inventions, he began his remarks by declaring, "All creation is a mine, and every man a miner." Whereas English political philosopher John Locke spoke of men picking berries in the state of nature, Lincoln uses a different metaphor for labor. "Man is not the only animal who labors; but he is the only who improves his workmanship." (Vol. II, 437-42) He was thus an ardent supporter of the Industrial Revolution.

In the second lecture on February 11, 1859 he particularly credits "the arts of writing and printing," along with "the discovery of America, and the introduction of patent laws." He calls printing "the better half—of writing, and that both together are but the assistants of speech in the communication of thoughts between man and man." More specifically, "by means of writing, the seeds of invention were more permanently preserved, and more widely sown…To immanciate (sic) the mind from this false and underestimate of itself, is the great task which printing came in to the world to perform," particularly in the United States. He was especially warm in his praise of the patent system, which "added the fuel of interest to the fire of genius, in the discovery and production of new and useful things." (Vol. III, 356-60)

These lectures were delivered in the period between his campaign for the Senate in 1858 and his election as President two years later. Also, during that period he wrote what historians describe as a Fragment on Free Labor on September 17, 1859. He said flat out that "Equality, in society, alike beats inequality, whether the lat[t]er be of the British aristocratic sort, or of the domestic slavery sort." That could not be more pointed. "Advancement—improvement in condition," he wrote "is the order of things in a society of equals," adding, "[f]ree labor has the inspiration of hope; pure slavery has no hope." (Vol III, 462-63)

In a letter to a gathering in Boston in 1859, Lincoln praised Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the political party formed in opposition to Alexander Hamilton's party, but also the primary author of the Declaration of Independence. "The principles of Jefferson," he wrote, "are the definitions and axioms of free society," now dismissed by his current followers as "glittering generalities" and "self-evident lies" which apply only to "superior races." "This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others, deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it." (Vol. III, 374-76)

In his reply to the New York Workingman's Democratic Republican Association on March 21, 1864, Lincoln described the South's rebellion as "in fact, a war upon the rights of all working people." Cautioning against working people fighting with each other, he said: "Property is the fruit of labor—property is desirable—is a positive good in the world." Neither Locke nor Hamilton said it better.

That some should be rich, shows that others may become rich, and hence is encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another; but let him labor diligently and build one for himself; thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built. (Vol. VII, 259-60)

In an address on August 22, 1864 to the 166th Ohio Regiment, Lincoln thanked them for their service and acknowledged "the great struggle" in which he and they were engaged. After pointing to his own rise to the Presidency, he spoke of "an open field, and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise, and intelligence; that you may all have equal privileges in the race of life with all its desirable human aspirations…" He said they were fighting for "an inestimable jewel." (Vol. VII, 512) This is the language which defenders of free commerce have used since then, but not all of whom have acknowledged its source. Hamilton was well aware of the energy that this freedom entails, but no one prior to Lincoln more powerfully portrayed its intrinsic qualities.

It is beyond our purpose here to review or evaluate the commercial republic that came into full flower in the late 19th century and under serious attack in the 20th and 21st. It suffices to say that the market is very much a part, an extraordinarily important part, of American life, even as the rival welfare state system stopping short of full-fledged socialism, is no less so. What economists and others call a "mixed economy" remains a matter of great political controversy. This paper has shown that commerce and trade were as much a part of the American founding as republican government, separation of powers and federalism. Its object was to show that the liberty which the American Constitution sought to protect depended upon a prudent understanding of what the character of the American people and the circumstances of the country required. The founders did not operate on a blank slate as commercial enterprise had already manifested itself, and it was plain to them that that way of life had immense potential for promoting national greatness.

Lincoln made the case for the commercial republic more compellingly than his predecessors, I believe, precisely because its future possibilities—indeed, its very existence—were threatened by the slaveholders' determination to take their slaves into federal territories and even, as Lincoln charged, into the free states. That would have meant the end of the freedom and even justice of the marketplace since only free men and women can buy and sell on equal and fair terms. It is well to reflect that the Civil Rights Act extended to what we now call persons of color unrestricted access to the world of goods and services, and jobs no less. Men like Hamilton, Clay and Lincoln, each according to what the circumstances permitted or demanded, helped us to appreciate what possibilities mankind have if freed from the shackles that have for so long oppressed so many in so much of the world, and no less so in our time. We can afford a welfare state only because a prosperous commerce actually pays for it through taxes. Governments may guide and encourage commerce, as well as the opposite, but it cannot do what commerce alone can do and that is to bring prosperity.

As we continue to endure commercial and other shutdowns in most parts of the country, we should reflect on how much working, buying and selling are central to American life. When people are prevented from earning a living or running a business, risking bankruptcy or worse, they lose more than income; they lose their vocation and participation in the country's way of life, and even their spirit and confidence. We are no less a pious, artistic and public-spirited people, but we must never forget that our commercial endeavors make possible both our private and public good and bring encouragement and satisfaction to millions.

Footnotes

1. Yale University Press, New Haven. (Subsequent references in the text.)

2. *The Federalist*, Jacob E. Cooke, ed. Wesleyan University Press, 1961 No. 4, p. 19. (Subsequent references in the text.).

3. Rand McNally, 1970, pp. 522-26.

4. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1955) Volume II, pp. 126. (Subsequent references in the text.)