Dear MALSians,

I hope this issue finds you all well. Spring, the season for renewal, rebirth, and rejuvenation, seems to be here to stay. The spring 2010 MALS Quarterly issue celebrates the work of six MALSi students, current and alumni.

We begin this issue by breathing new life to a piece published in the fall 2008 MALS Quarterly, the first issue of the Quarterly in its current form. Author, artist, and close friend, Matt Hull (MALS ’09), who was instrumental in the publication of that first issue, passed away in January leaving behind several works of creative bliss. Included among them is the beautifully vivid three part poem “Doppelganger,” which we republish as a dedication to him and his influence on all those he came into contact with during his brief time at Dartmouth.

In addition to Hull’s creative work, we present two poets new to the Quarterly pages. Grace Randolph’s “Noepe” is a testament to a young mother and son relationship. Randolph’s clever and attractive construction is mirrored in the balance and beauty of her words. Benjamin Bolger (MALS ’04) gives us “Owosso,” a charmingly simple piece centered on hope in the context of history, which too echoes the bond between a young mother and child.

Alex Corey returns to the Quarterly with “Fair Material,” a look at Simon Pokagon’s The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting. The focus is on the birch bark pages of Pokagon’s fiery political argument, “written from the perspective of a Native American spokesman and targeting a clearly white American audience.” Corey fluidly meshes the work’s natural essence with its economic guise, its aesthetic design with its cultural impact.

Meghan Peck’s “Kosher Food Alerts” in the centerpiece of sorts for the Quarterly. Through the prism of Orthodox Judaic food and preparation, Peck’s seamless, thorough survey highlights the challenges of following religious edict and maintaining tradition in contemporary America.

Joseph Shafer gives us our final piece in this issue, titled “Reaching for Education.” Shafer’s brief analysis is an insightful critique of classical education under varying modern translations.

The Editorial Board feels that these pieces show a snapshot of some of the best current work going on in MALS. We hope that these works can generate some important discussions within the MALS community. Enjoy!

With kindest regards,

Brian Zalasky
Editor-In-Chief

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Jennifer Currier

Jess Guernsey

Steph Reighart

Joe Shafer

Editorial Board

**MALS Quarterly Mission Statement**

The Dartmouth MALS Quarterly is the quarterly journal for the Master of Arts in Liberal Studies program at Dartmouth College. The journal is broad in scope, and accepts submissions of any scholarly or creative work from current MALSi students and all MALSi alumni. It is a priority that all work is accessible to the full disciplinary range of MALSi community members.

Our primary goal is to publish the best current work being done in MALSi from the four tracks: Globalization, Cultural Studies, Creative Writing, and General Studies. Both through publishing this work and by providing detailed feedback on every submission we receive, we intend to initiate and encourage scholarly dialogue and discussion within the MALSi community.

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**Cover Art**

Our cover design features a photograph called “Quilted Canopy” taken by Brian Sullivan, part-time MALSi student and local high school teacher.

**Submissions may be sent to:**

MALS.Quarterly@dartmouth.edu
I.

I have done my time in the low bandwidth of the morning
The streetlights click off before the sun comes up
I have been a prisoner of war and a sweetheart, a doppelganger
A thief who steals diamonds, steals nothing at all
I have swum across rivers of shame only to find that on
The opposite shore of abandon lies an empty lot
I have crawled on all fours across the carpet of a motel room
Looking for way out from behind the blackout curtain
I have stated my name a thousand times, I have written numbers
On the back of torn envelopes filled with invoices
I have dialed the phone, only to hear breathing on the line
Asked for answers, placed the receiver on the bed
I have smelled the rancid cough of the city, held a kerchief
In front of its toothless mouth, held my breath
I have stood in the intersection in the middle of the afternoon
Begging the tall stone buildings to collapse again
I have taken the elevator down, during the paradigm shift
Listened to the voice of a vampire on his way home
I have stomped the asphalt with a bare foot, waiting for a crack
In the earth to grow so wide as to swallow me whole
I have spoken in tongues, channeled the spirits of norse Gods
Whose only fault has ever been the fact that they died
I have slipped through the night waving flags in elegy, waving
With cupped hands to the spectators of the ghost parade
I have wiped the dirt from a hoodlum’s fist off of my face at dawn
run up the road and locked the door behind me
I have kissed the cheek of a transvestite prostitute whose corner
Happened to lie just across the way of my window
I have slept naked on a bare mattress sticky from the heat
Waiting to be born.
II.

I have knelt in front of the alter, pockets full of change and detritus
   Emptied them out before I took the wafer in my mouth
I have beheld citizens of the world walking with their heads angled up
   Stumbled on the sidewalk searching for gold in every crevice
I have knocked on the doors of people that I used to know, smiled
   Told lies that that wouldn’t even get me past the threshold
I have woken from dreams not knowing the difference between days
   Sometimes the slumber came when I least expected it.
I have dressed myself in costumes of the illiterate, pushed and rolled
   Swaggered down the alleyway as if I knew where it would go
I have climbed the fire escape of centuries, ran around the rooftops
   one small misstep and the fracture could never be cast
I have held the hand of the darkened room when I could not think
   Of anything else to do but pace the hard wood floor
I have bathed in hot water that spilled from a metal spout, opened my eyes
   Beheld imagined stars that resulted from oxygen deprivation
I have creased the lined notebook paper that I wrote upon, wrote upon
   Torn it from the spiral binder and threw it in the trash
I have visited the homes of the well to do, dined at crowded tables
   Waited until eleven and then snuck out the side gate
I have wiped up the bathroom sink with a piece of torn toilet tissue
   Flushed it down after discovering that water melts ice
I have crowed at the rising, then buried my head beneath covers
   That smelled like bleach and the fucking that I forgot
I have masturbated while thinking of a person whose name I thought
   Would touch the tip of my tongue until the day that I died
I have sat on the bus for only so long as I could take it, then got off
   Hailed a taxicab so that I could get there even faster
I have cried on the day that I was born, wandering around a dealership
   That sold cars that I could not afford.
I have fallen from a festival of branches, the canopy served as no more
Than the umbrella that let rain drop on every square inch
I have talked circles around shop keeps, hoping always that my check
Might clear before the burden of tomorrows deposit
I have stolen plastic wrapped spring rolls from a crowded Asian market
Keeping in mind that police dogs stood guard just outside
I have remembered you. I have remembered you. I have remembered you
The late mornings when we walked down a distant street in hope
I have ground the edge of a metal file against a slow spinning stone
The knife that I made sliced a draw in my finger’s skin
I have tapped the trunk of a maple tree, letting the raw, bloodless blood
Drag the bucket down until my shoulder felt like it might tear
I have raked yards for pennies, the flawless leaves piling the October tarp
Burlap is the only thing that makes blades of grass insignificant
I have eaten with my hands, digging into a feast of chicken bones, chicken
Grease sliding on my lips and tongue, the closest thing to pussy
I have swung on playground swings; feet pumping back arched head dizzy
Felt that when the buckle of the rope caught, that I might tumble
I have died. I have died. I have died. I have died. resurrection is as easy as waking
It is the staying dead part that presents a more significant challenge
I have dragged my body behind me by my hands because my legs went numb
Kitchen tile felt so cold on my palms that I laid my head right there
I have ridden shotgun with an addict whose torch was lit as we stopped for gas
Bottles of water and bags of sand kept the flood from seeping under
I have turned into a pillar of salt, craning my neck to see the spirits burn
Effigy is a Sunday when the raft is set afire, sent out to sea
I have coasted on a blue bicycle, the tires un-vulcanized, air seeping out freely
one pedal fell off and the brakes squeak, but it gets me around town
I have wondered what will become of me. I have dreamt of a life in hotel suites.

Matt Hull was a 2009 MALX alumnus and former Creative Writing student. A selection from his novel Blue Glass, titled “The Gentlemen Farmer,” can be found in the autumn 2009 issue of the Quarterly. Further selections from Blue Glass can be found at www.tgfbook.com.
Fair Material
Birch Bark, Politics, and the Market in Simon Pokagon’s “The Red Man’s Rebuke” and “The Red Man’s Greeting"

Alex Corey

At the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Potawatomi Indian SimonPokagon sold a booklet entitled The Red Man’s Rebuke and its second edition, entitled The Red Man’s Greeting. Each booklet measures about three and a half inches tall by five inches wide and is sixteen pages long; the text is letterpress printed directly on the bark of a white birch tree. There are two pages of prints into the text of The Red Man’s Rebuke, and three pages of prints in The Red Man’s Greeting. The pages are bound together with a little satin ribbon laced through three tiny holes that are punched into the left sides of the pages. The birch bark is brittle now, the binding is firm; it is difficult to open it much past about sixty degrees without feeling like the book is being put through undue stress. The pages are varying shades of brown and tan, and they range in thickness from paper thin to about the thickness of paperboard.

This paper provides new archival information about The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting, and I identify the material source of borrowed poetry included on the birch bark pages: John T. Watson’s A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations, published in 1847. Along with Jonathan Berliner, I too consider in my analysis the interaction of the birch bark material with the text on the pages of The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting. However, I take a primarily materialist turn as I bring to the foreground the status of the book as a marketable souvenir. I reconfigure Berliner’s arguments about the signification lodged in the birch bark through my commitment to the visual and tangible qualities of three different copies of the booklets. I also clarify some of the historical record of these booklets, which has continued to be somewhat controversial throughout increased literary interest in the text.

Simon Pokagon’s booklets catalog, in prose, the injustices perpetrated against the Native Americans since Columbus’ arrival on the North American continent in 1492. The preface explains why he chose birch bark to be the material for the booklet, and he dedicates the booklet to those white Americans who are “Defenders of our race.” After these two sections, the main text begins (Rebuke 1):

IN behalf of my people, the American Indians, I hereby declare to you, the pale-faced race that has usurped our lands and homes, that we have no spirit to celebrate with you the great Columbian Fair now being held in this Chicago city, the wonder of the world.

The birch bark pages are the vessel for a fiery political argument, written from the perspective of a Native American spokesman and targeting a clearly white American audience. This first sentence makes it clear that the booklets are meant as political protests against the Columbian Exposition. Pokagon’s booklets go on to lay bare, in their 16 pages, the violent and unjust treatment of the Native Americans by white America. The text argues that Europeans were initially pests and parasites to the natives, as they ‘locust-like… and like the carrion crows in spring… gobbled in our ears, “give us gold, give us gold,” “Where find you gold? Where find you gold?” (Rebuke 3). The main text documents the evils of alcohol, and tells in strong and articulate

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language how “again and again [the Native American’s] confidence was betrayed” (Rebuke 11). It ends by speculating a judgment day in which God says to the white man (Rebuke 16):

I shall forthwith grant these red men of America great power, and delegate them to cast you out of Paradise, and hurl you headlong through its outer gates into the endless abyss beneath—far beyond, where darkness meets with light, there to dwell, and thus shut you out from my presence and the presence of angels and the light of heaven forever, and ever.

As powerful as the rhetoric is, the texts of The Red Man’s Greeting and The Red Man’s Rebuke only tell part of the story. The choice of physical material must also figure in our cultural and literary analyses of these book-objects. It is not left to the reader to speculate on the reasons for the birch-bark pages. Both editions contain a nearly identical preface that directly addresses the reasoning behind the choice of material. This preface details the myriad uses of birch bark in Potawatomi culture, and links the disappearance of the birch tree from the forest to the removal of Indians from their traditional homes. According to Peyer, it “establishes a symbolic as well as material link between [the writing of the book’s author] and traditional Native American uses of birch-bark as a creative medium” (The Thinking Indian, 156). The text of the full preface from The Red Man’s Rebuke, including the concluding poem, appears here for the first time off the birch-bark pages.

**BY THE AUTHOR**

My object in publishing the “Red Man’s Rebuke” on the bark of the white birch tree is out of loyalty to my people, and gratitude to the Great Spirit, who in his wisdom provided for our use for untold generations, this most remarkable tree with manifold bark used by us instead of paper, being of greater value to us as it could not be injured by sun or water.

Out of the bark of this wonderful tree were made hats, caps and dishes for domestic use, while our maidens tied with it the knot that sealed their marriage vow; wigwams were made of it, as well as large canoes that out rode the violent storms on lake and sea; it was also used for light and fuel at our war councils and spirit dances. Originally the shores of our northern lakes and streams were fringed with it and evergreen, and the white charmingly contrasted with the green mirrored from the water was indeed beautiful, but like the red man, the tree is vanishing from our forests.

“Alas, for us; our day is o’er;
Our fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for us the wild deer bounds—
The plow is on our hunting grounds;
The pale man’s ax rings thro’ our woods,
The pale man’s sail skims o’er our floods;
Our pleasant springs are dry.
Our children—look, by power oppressed
Beyond the mountains of the west—
Our children go—to die.”

But there is another materialist reason for the birch bark, which operates alongside Pokagon’s explicit “loyalty to [his] people, and gratitude to the Great Spirit” (preface). Pokagon sold the booklets as souvenirs at the World’s Fair, and the birch bark material, coupled with the small size of the book, made it extremely marketable. As Jonathan Berliner writes, “by the late nineteenth century, the use of birch bark in the United States was nostalgically linked with American Indian curiosities in the popular imagination” (5). This nostalgic link is the basis for the marketability of the books at the World’s Fair, as attendees could purchase a physical object that, in a sense, allowed them to “own” a piece of Native American culture. A fiery pamphlet written on plain white paper, one can only imagine, would have been much less marketable. Books do not, and did not, exist in an economic vacuum. This one, like any other, needed to sell.

C.H. Engle, Pokagon’s publisher and personal attorney, was a white lawyer from Hartford, Michigan, and he tells a wonderfully romantic story about Pokagon’s inspiration for writing The Red Man’s Greeting.10 This embellishment, in his publisher’s notes for The Queen of the Woods, was published after Pokagon’s death in 1899. Engle writes that Pokagon drew inspiration for his heated prose from an experience at the opening ceremonies of the World’s Fair. According to Engle, Pokagon felt it a deep wrong against his people that they were not included in the ceremonies, but a “little girl of his own race, unnoticed before, stepped quietly up to him and, seemingly in pity, handed him some wild flowers. . . . It was in such a frame of mind he was inspired to write ‘The Red Man’s Greeting,’ fitly termed by Professor Swing, of Chicago, ‘The Red Man’s Book of Lamentations’” (10).11

In fact, the book that became The Red Man’s Greeting began as The Red Man’s Rebuke, and its idea was conceived, at least in title and physical material, before the fair even began.12 The Chicago Daily Tribune reports that as of March 4th, 1893 Pokagon was already “preparing a unique exhibit for the World’s Fair. [He] has written a poem entitled ‘the Red Man’s Rebuke,’ which will be printed on birch bark and occupy a prominent place in the Michigan exhibit”(9).13 However, just because the book was begun before the Fair started, and was not written in a flash of fairy-tale inspiration after the ceremony, Engle is right to suggest that the book lodges a complaint that Native Americans would have had with the fair. But this poem never seems to have materialized as a poem, and instead, today we are left looking at this birch bark book that is filled, mostly, with prose.

Given the discrepancy between what Engle’s publisher’s notes suggest and what the newspaper article reports, we must carefully consider how much we may rely on Engle’s biographical musings about Pokagon as historically accurate. The fact of Engle’s vested economic interest in Pokagon’s booklets needs to be put in the foreground when we cite any of Engle’s texts that discuss Pokagon’s literary and cultural import. This does not mean that we should dismiss Engle’s writings out of hand. However, we must remember that Engle’s biographies and selective citation of newspaper reviews of The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting are primarily marketing tools for a financial investment. These texts play a significant role in Berliner’s essay, as he cites Engle’s publisher’s notes from Queen of The Woods as well as “Testimonials [on Queen of
“as sources for accurate reports on Pokagon’s critical acclaim and cultural importance.” Engle published both of these documents, and his financial commitment to the sale of Pokagon’s booklets simply raises questions as to the historical accuracy of his somewhat embellished biographical sketches. These documents contain valuable information about how a Native critique of American politics could be rationalized as a commodity.

Thus, Engle’s marketing documents should maintain visibility in discussions of Pokagon’s booklets. The economic investment Pokagon and Engle made does not discount the political valence of Pokagon’s birch bark booklets or of Engle’s affiliation with Pokagon. The rhetoric of The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting really does perform an important critique of American expansion, American materialism, and late 19th century American ideology. Rhetorically, these books appear to be solely committed to political and economic advocacy of the Native Americans. But materially, these objects are entwined with the personal finances of the author and the publisher. Thus, the entrepreneurial and commercial aspects of these booklets must be considered along with the political aims of the text.

The book-objects’ engagement with American materialism in this expanding American market demonstrates the entanglement of the political and economic spheres. The visibility Pokagon gained from the sale of his booklets probably played a part in his invitation to speak at Chicago Day (October 9th, 1893) in the presence of Chicago’s Mayor Harrison. This speech advocated conciliation and a future of assimilation for the Native American. Pokagon himself, though he continues to maintain a somewhat conflicted and contested position within Potawatomi culture, does seem to have been involved in some real political victories for the Potawatomis. He did play an active role in tribal politics, though he was dismissed from a Business Committee position in 1882 because of a financial scandal. Regardless of this scandal, Pokagon was “given full credit for the successful outcome of the court appeal in the local press” in a US Supreme Court decision that resulted in the Potawatomi tribe receiving $105,025.67 from the US government (Thinking 151). Thus, it is clear that Pokagon had some impact on the larger American political arena of the late 19th century.

Pokagon’s political impact, as well as the material curiosity and rhetorical content of his booklets, has helped him develop a reputation recently as a symbol of late 19th century Native American resistance. Much of the scholarly focus over the past twelve years has centered on Pokagon’s presence at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and has specifically addressed the rhetoric of The Red Man’s Rebuke and The Red Man’s Greeting. Scholars such as Cheryl Walker, Bernd Peyer, and Frederick Hoxie have published various portions of these booklets’ texts in anthologies (Peyer and Hoxie) and monographs (Peyer and Walker). A forthcoming PMLA article by Jonathan Berliner discusses the relationship of Pokagon’s rhetoric to his chosen book material. A photo of Pokagon even graces the cover of Bernd Peyer’s recent book, The Thinking Indian: Native American Writers, 1850s-1920. Pokagon’s newfound prominence demonstrates that his work has become quite valued within late nineteenth century Native American Studies.

This recently established value is, of course, well founded. As Mona Domosh argues, “there is no doubt that the World’s Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 was about empire” (181), and the text of Pokagon’s book directly addresses the violent, exploitative foundations of that empire. Robert Rydell notes that the fair “importantly introduced millions of fairgoers to evolutionary ideas about race” (40). Both Pokagon’s speech and his booklet engage a discourse of race and progress that critiques some of the dominant views on race while affirming others. The fair was meant to demonstrate American political and economic dominance; as such, the fortuitous conjunction of Pokagon’s presence at the fair and his ability there to market himself and his products allowed him to capitalize on this powerfully emerging market. This constellation
of imperial, nationalist, racial, and economic relevance in 1893 makes Pokagon and his books a fruitful object of inquiry within current American Studies literature.

Along with the larger political and ideological issues that analysis of Pokagon’s work addresses, there remain materialist and historical questions that provide further avenues for scholarship. It is still not clear whether Pokagon actually wrote the text of *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting*, though Jonathan Berliner suggests that Pokagon was in fact the author.\textsuperscript{17} This uncertainty makes the booklet an intriguing object of inquiry for discussion about authorship and authenticity. Also, the books are fascinating archival objects—the text is letterpress printed on the bark of a white birch tree, the booklets include a few plate prints, and they are bound with a little ribbon.\textsuperscript{18} Since the books were small and appeared materially unique, they were marketable souvenirs of the fair, making them useful objects in discussions about emerging consumerism in the late 19th century. Combining print technology and a new (although not original) use for birch bark, a material that had traditionally been important to the Potawatomi Indians, these booklets provide an axis around which to discuss cultural hybridity.\textsuperscript{19} Thus the booklets, and Pokagon himself, are important reference points as we discuss authenticity, cultural hybridity, material culture, and late nineteenth century American consumerism.

The political and literary relevance I have put forward above suggests we ought to continue to discuss Pokagon in our scholarship. Cheryl Walker, Bernd Peyer, and Frederick Hoxie have made the rhetoric of *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting* very accessible to a wide range of scholars and students. Berliner has taken this rhetoric and brought it into a lively theoretical conversation with the material of the booklets. But significant archival and historical information continues to be missing from this scholarly literature, even in Berliner’s essay, which has a significant discussion of the material elements of the book. While his essay does take us through an interesting history of writing on birch bark, it lacks material specificity with regards to *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting* that I aim to address. I address this by bringing the status of the book as a commodity at the 1893 Columbian Exposition, and now as an archived object, to the foreground of the discussion.

Pokagon’s booklets are well conceived as commodities, in that each copy *appears* materially unique (in the context of late 19th century America commercial bookmaking, which would mostly have been on paper), while each edition would be textually identical and nearly identical in physical appearance. While discussing the way that “the mass produced elements of Pokagon’s booklets is, in a sense intentionally obscured,” Berliner writes that one of the “real variations from copy to copy and indeed from page to page” is the direction of the grain of the birch bark. Sometimes, the grain is horizontal, and sometimes it is vertical (6). This is, of course, true. However, Berliner attaches a curious meaning to the vertical stripes, as he writes “this material significance is particularly significant in that the vertical stripes appear almost as tears” (6). Berliner’s subjective association, here, acquires some material weight in his theoretical argument. He assigns the signification of “tears” to the material reality of the stripes, but this assignation is purely imaginative. I do not mean to discount the imaginative field from rigorous literary-material criticism. However, I believe it is important to distinguish between this kind of imaginative association with the material and the more concrete effects of the material we discuss.

The material significance of the vertical and horizontal stripes resides in the way they make each page and each book unique in spite of the mass production the printing press affords. As Berliner notes, it is arbitrary which pages have vertical or horizontal lines, and this obscures the “mass produced element of Pokagon’s booklets” (6). The specific material effect of these lines interacts dynamically with the text and the book, as the birch bark lines intersect with certain words and seem to extend off the page in other instances.\textsuperscript{20} For example, the horizontal lines underline
certain phrases and strike through others, but the print is almost always clearly visible through and on top of the birch bark lines (see Image 1). The specific phrases underlined, struck through, and untouched by the lines are entirely unique to each individual copy of the booklet.

Furthermore, when the stripes extend off the page, they call attention to the fact that the birch bark pages are cut from a larger piece of birch bark. This birch bark was not, of course, initially produced for the purpose of being the pages of a book. In fact, unlike paper, which was a secondary industrial product, the bark was not initially “produced” by humans at all. To a reader accustomed to the more common book made with cotton or wood-pulp paper pages, the birch bark pages are materially fascinating. The manner in which the lines are interrupted by the cutting of each page references the fragmentary nature of the birch bark pages. While refined paper contains no visible or tangible reference to the original size of the paper from which it was cut, the birch bark pages refer to the materiality of the tree itself, from which the bark was taken. Thus, with each page, the reader perceives a material distinction between manipulation of a naturally occurring resource and an industrially produced medium.

The birch bark grains tangibly and visibly account for the otherness of the booklet in relation to standard print publication even as they distinguish each individual copy. After all, while reading the booklets, we can feel with our fingers these grains just as we can see them with our eyes.21 The lines interact with the text, and they are visual markers that reflect the process of making the page. This reference to the production of the medium contrasts with the industrial process of making refined paper, which obscures all references to that process in the final product. But the book itself was mass printed, and the exact sizing of the pages suggests the pages were not individually cut and prepared. In these ways, the lines materially lodge a paradoxically mass produced uniqueness in Pokagon’s booklet.

The mass produced uniqueness in these booklets undergirds their strength as commodities and souvenirs. In the logic of the market at the Fair, people might buy something that has the air of uniqueness and authenticity, and these booklets could be produced in bulk but appeared to be individual. The apparent individuality and air of authenticity are articulated in a letter that was included with a copy of The Red Man’s Greeting that is now housed at Harvard’s Houghton Library. Samuel Boardman, then president of Maryville College, wrote this, on Maryville College letterhead:

Sept 1st, 1893
Dear Sir
Enclosed is a curious production on birch bark by an Indian Chief; worthy it seems to me, of preservation among the treasures of Harvard; in Library or Museum which should contain all the [sic.] relates to our Indian tribes. He is pathetic, and is, I suppose, genuine.
If you have a copy, which may be quite probable, I wish you would return this to me (for some other library). I paid the Chief $1.00 for it; a willing bargain with a fading race.

Sincerely yours,
Samuel W. Boardman.22
This “curious production” relies on its birch barkiness not just for its political critique but also for its marketability. This marketability depends on the nostalgic link between birch bark and Native Americans to which Berliner refers, and the marketability is requisite for the political critique the book performs. Thus, it is not just the idea of the birch bark, but also the physical reality of it—the granular lines, haphazardly strewn through words, cut off by the edges of the pages—that makes this book so fascinating, so marketable, and so rich for analysis.

What’s In a Name?

Since there are two editions of the booklet, there has emerged the scholarly problem of what to call them as we discuss the cultural significance of these birch bark objects. The question of why the title was changed from The Red Man’s Rebuke to The Red Man’s Greeting remains purely speculation and is not particularly relevant to critical discussions of the booklets. However, there are some important effects that the change precipitates. There is no question that a book called The Red Man’s Rebuke presents more confrontationally than The Red Man’s Greeting. Thus, there is a rhetorical difference between the two. Along the same lines, Berliner writes that “the birch bark documents have elements of both ‘rebuke’ and ‘greeting’” (7), and he is absolutely right. But in discussions of Pokagon and these booklets there is a practical dilemma for scholars, and this dilemma has theoretical implications: how should we refer to the booklets in our scholarship?

It remains difficult to maintain a satisfactory level of specificity when discussing the booklets in academic writing. We can call them “Pokagon’s booklets,” “The Red Man’s Rebuke,” “The Red Man’s Greeting,” or “The Red Man’s Rebuke [Greeting],” among others. Each alternative seems to exclude certain elements of the discussion. “The booklets” is best reserved for discussions of the larger cultural significance of both editions in American historical and cultural discourse. “The Red Man’s Rebuke,” then, would only refer to specific copies of the book that have the title The Red Man’s Rebuke. Similarly, “The Red Man’s Greeting” would refer to copies of the book entitled The Red Man’s Greeting. Peyer’s solution, from The Thinking Indian, is the phrase “The Red Man’s Rebuke [Greeting],” which on the one hand acknowledges the two editions but on the other hand obscures the textual differences between these editions.

I do not think there is a “solution” to this problem, but I think that the recognition of this problem ought to figure more prominently in our thinking and writing. To ignore this problem is to obscure the significance of the booklets as market objects produced for the purpose of large-scale reproduction and sale. Specificity is particularly important when we deal with archived material. Pokagon’s booklets constantly remind us of the complex navigation we must do when discussing mass-produced cultural artifacts.

The booklet’s name change, however, is not the only significant textual change that occurred between The Red Man’s Greeting and The Red Man’s Rebuke. A new name graces the dedication page on the second edition, and this name has some strong political-economic implications. Emma Sickles (spelled Sickels on the birch bark) joins Roger Williams, William Penn, and Helen Hunt Jackson, to whose memory each edition is dedicated, as a representative of the “living defenders of our race.” The circumstances surrounding Sickles presence at the Fair have not been fully explored, and her relationship to Pokagon has been completely ignored in recent scholarship.

Sickles had been hired to the team of people organizing anthropological exhibits at the Fair, which was headed by Frederic Ward Putnam. According to Ralph Dexter, Sickles received this appointment “because of some political service in passing the appropriation bill for the Fair” (326), and this appointment was against Putnam’s wishes. An outspoken advocate for the Native
Americans, Sickles was fired by Putnam because “the work she wished to do and persisted in doing was not of an ethnological character” (Putnam, quoted in Dexter 327). In response to her dismissal, Sickles wrote a scathing critique of Putnam that was published in The New York Times of October 8th, 1893. In this letter to the editor, she wrote:

“every effort has been put forth to make the Indian exhibit mislead the American people. It has been used to work up sentiment against the Indian by showing that he is either savage or can be educated only by Government agencies… Every means was used to keep the self-civilized Indians out of the Fair.” (quoted in Dexter, 327)

She was then reinstated to her job after some significant political publicity, when North Dakota Senator Kyle “threatened to vote against the bill to provide souvenir coins for the World’s Columbian Exposition” if she did not get her job back.25

Below, I transcribe the text of the dedication verbatim from both editions of the booklet.

The Red Man’s Rebuke text is on the left, and The Red Man’s Greeting text is on the right:

To the memory of
William Penn, Rodger Williams
the late lamented
Helen Hunt Jackson,
and many others now in Heaven,
Who conceived that Noble spirit of Justice
Which recognizes the Brotherhood of the
Red Man, and to all others now living
Defenders of our race,
I most gratefully dedicate this tribute of the forest.

CHIEF POKAGON

To the memory of
William Penn, Roger Williams,
the late lamented
Helen Hunt Jackson,
and many others now in Heaven,
Who conceived that noble spirit of Justice
Which recognizes the Brotherhood of the Red Man, and to Emma C. Sickels, and all others now living defenders of our race
I most gratefully dedicate this tribute of the forest.

CHIEF POKAGON

Robert Rydell writes that “[t]he fair did not merely reflect America racial attitudes, it grounded them on ethnological bedrock” (55). The Red Man’s Greeting calls attention to public dissidence against this “ethnological bedrock” in a way that The Red Man’s Rebuke does not. Thus when Sickles’ name adorns the pages of The Red Man’s Greeting, the book gains a new relevance to a political and material controversy that was particularly urgent in 1893. As Domosh demonstrates, “the discourses of civilization and savagery were fundamental to understanding the ideological frame of turn-of-the-century America” (191). The Columbian Exposition was an important site for the dissemination of this ideology as well as an important stage for this controversy. Sickles had argued publicly for the possibility of Native American agency within the Fair’s representation of them and within the larger scope of the American polis. While she still engaged a discourse of savagery and civilization in her letter, she clearly thought that Government intervention was not the most promising approach to “the Indian question.”

The dedication to Sickles suggests a reference to her specific politically minded actions—speaking out against unfair characterization of the Indians at the Fair demonstrates one specific consequence of challenging the “ideological frame” that Domosh invokes. Her political action precipitated what could be understood as an economic decision—the loss of her job—that reflects
the complete entanglement of the political and economic fields. At the same time, the inclusion of her name could be an opportunistic marketing decision, since there was a controversy surrounding her name at the moment of the Fair. The politics here relate directly to the market, and her name on the pages of *The Red Man's Greeting* roots it firmly in the political arena that the Exposition created.

**Poetical Quotations**

Pokagon did not write any original poetry for *The Red Man’s Rebuke or The Red Man’s Greeting*, but three poems do appear on the birch bark pages. One poem sits just under the main body of the preface, one as an epigraph between the title and the main text on the first page of the main text, and one on the back cover of the booklet. Though this poetry has been mentioned in some of the scholarship on this booklet, no one has yet engaged in a serious discussion of its function in the context of the booklet. Also, no one has discussed the material source from which it came. Berliner, in his essay, notes that two of these poems, the one on the back cover and the epigraph, come from Loud and Sprague, respectively (7). However, there is no indication in his essay either of where Pokagon found these poems, or where Berliner himself found them. While this information may not seem crucial to understanding their function, I would argue that there is important cultural analysis in the story to be told.

The three poems are adapted from poems found in *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*, edited by John T. Watson. These poems, in their original form, appear under the subject title “Indian—Savage,” and are on two pages that face each other. Thus, when the book is open to page 342-343 the reader can see them all at the same time (See image 2). The first poem to appear in *The Red Man’s Greeting* and *The Red Man’s Rebuke* is a poem attributed to Charles Sprague. It appears in *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* as follows (343):

> Alas for them! their day is o’er,
> Their fires are out from shore to shore;
> No more for them the wild deer bounds—
> The plough is on their hunting grounds.
> The pale mans’ axe rings thro’ their woods,
> The pale man’s sail skims o’er their floods;
> Their pleasant springs are dry;
> Their children—look, by power oppress’d,
> Beyond the mountains of the West—
> Their children go—to die!
> CHARLES SPRAGUE

There is a discrepancy between the way this poem appears in the two different birch bark editions. I will put transcriptions of the two side by side, for comparison’s sake. In the booklets, these poems are placed just under the prose text of the preface. The formatting in each edition is slightly different—in *The Red Man’s Rebuke*, each line is justified with the one above it, so there is a consistent margin on the left of the text. In *The Red Man’s Greeting*, each line is centered, and there is a spelling error (“childern”) and a few typesetting discrepancies from the original.
"Alas for us; our day is o’er;
Our fires are out from shore to shore;
No more for us the wild deer bounds—
The plow is on our hunting grounds;
The pale man’s ax rings thro’ our woods,
The pale man’s sail skims o’er our floods;
Our pleasant springs are dry.
Our children—look, by power oppressed
Beyond the mountains of the west—
Our children go—to die."

"Is not the red man’s wigwam home
As dear to him as costly dome?
Is not his loved one’s smile as bright
As the proud white man’s worshipp’d light?
—Mrs. M. ST. LEON LOUD

Shall not one line lament the lion race
or us struck out from sweet creation’s face?
Freedom – the selfsame freedom we adore,
Bade them defend their violated shore.
—CHARLES SPRAGUE
Loud’s poem, as it appears on the back cover of *The Red Man’s Greeting*, and the last two lines of the epigraph from Sprague, appear also at the end of Engle’s preface to *Queen of the Woods*. In this context, it appears that they are literally spoken through Pokagon’s voice. The paragraph before they appear, Engle writes that Pokagon hoped that “the prejudice against his race...might in the future be overcome.” There is no reference to another author, and thus it appears, in this context, Pokagon wrote these poems. These poems, like the birch bark material, are lifted from one context and put into another. But the initial context of the poems (a printed compilation of American and British poetry) is one that has already consolidated the poems into a neat package, and organized them by a convenient logic of subject titles. Coming from the section entitled “Indian—Savage,” these poems implicitly invoke the dialectic of civilization and savagery that Domosh argues is constitutive of the turn of the century American ideology. Within that ideology, the very existence of *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*, and the convenience and mass accessibility it affords, demonstrates the triumph of civilization and print capitalism. This invocation of civilization contrasts starkly with the rhetorical characterization of Indian—Savage.

But this savage Indian is exactly the characterization and portrayal of the Indian that Sickles publicly challenged, and which *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting* effectively dismiss. It is more than ironic, then, that the poems care written by white Americans and come from a book that “collect[s] into one casket what were ‘like orient pearls at random strung’” (Watson, vi). *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* compresses into one package poems that otherwise would require more than one material source to bring together. This idea of compilation and compression is not new, but it is instructive. The existence of these three poems on the same open pages allows us to trace more fully the trajectory of the poems from the original author to *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting*. Through this chain of material connection points, from the author to the Dictionary, then to the-Rebuke/Greeting, and finally the *Queen of the Woods*, we are able to see some of the intricate workings of the mobility and fluidity of print culture. Books and texts are real, material points of connection, of communication, and of ideological transmission.

Furthermore, we can see an important rhetorical significance as the words of these poems move from a white American perspective to a Native American one. On the pages of the birch bark, the poems are set off by quotation marks, suggesting either that they were written by someone else than the author of the book or simply spoken aloud. Since there is no reference to any other author, this dual possibility remains unresolved on the pages of *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting*. The perspectival shift of Sprague’s two poems rhetorically erases his original authorship, as the poem no longer appears to have been written by a white American. But of course, with the knowledge of the source, the intellectual material of the poems does seem to remain Sprague’s...
almost. The poem exists somewhere in between Sprague and Pokagon, and somewhere in between the white American and the Native.

In both *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* and the birch bark booklets, all three poems uphold rhetorical distinction between Native Americans and white Americans. At the same time, they rhetorically emphasize the humanity of the Native. In *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations*, the location of the poems under and across from the subject title “Indian—Savage” inscribes the native’s humanity into a larger discourse that excludes the native from “Civilization.” That is, the native is perhaps understood as human, but certainly understood as uncivilized. This exclusion from civilization was not simply rhetorical. The exhibits of the Columbian Exposition excluded the Native *materially* from the whole idea of Civilization, relegating Indian ways of life to physical, living exhibits. *The Red Man’s Greeting* and *The Red Man’s Rebuke*, as well as Emma Sickles’ public protest and professional dismissal, challenged this material and political exclusion. With this as our context, the process of moving the poems from *A Dictionary of Poetical Quotations* to *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting* becomes an avant-garde act with deep political implications.

I have argued that the cultural significance of *The Red Man’s Greeting* and *The Red Man’s Rebuke* must be understood in relation to its presence at the 1893 Columbian Exposition. By situating the booklets historically at 1893 Columbian Exposition as a souvenir and a political critique, we are able to see a critique of American imperialism that binds the political and economic spheres inseparably. There is no question that the rhetoric of the booklets condemns American imperialism. But it is through the borrowed poetry, the recontextualized birch bark, and the reference to the Emma Sickles that the booklets maintain a subversive, and not simply critical, relationship to the dominant late 19th century discourses of civilization/savagery and American imperialism.
"Therefore know ye, this much-abused race shall enjoy the liberties of these happy hunting-grounds, while I teach them my will, which you were in duty bound to do while on earth. But instead, you blocked up the highway that led to heaven; that the car of salvation might not pass over. Had you done your duty, they as well as you would now be residing in glory with my saints with whom you, flattering, tried this dry in vain to rise. But now I say unto you, Stand back! you shall not tread upon the heels of my people, nor tyrannize over them any more. Neither shall you with gun or otherwise disturb or break up their prayer meetings in camp any more. Neither shall you practice with weapons of lightning and thunder any more. Neither shall you use tobacco in any shape, way, or manner. Neither shall you touch, taste, handle, make, buy, or sell anything that can intoxicate any more. And know ye, ye cannot buy out the law or shirk by justice here; and if any attempt is made on your part to break these commandments, I shall forthwith cast these red men of America out of Paradise; and delegate them to cast you out of Paradise, and hurl you headlong through its outer gates into the endless abyss beneath—far beyond, where darkness meets with light, there to dwell and thus shut you out from my presence and the presence of angels and the light of heaven forever and ever."
INCRÉDULITÉ.—(See CREDULITY.)

INCRÉDULITÉ.—(See CREDULITY.)

1. Let the poor Indian—whose nature’s mind
Says, God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul改造science never taught to stay
Far as the wild walk or milky way;
Yet simple nature to his hope has given,
Behind the cloud-capped hills, so humble bravely.

Port’s Essay on Man.

2. Where beasts with men divided empire claim.

Goldsmith.

3. Is not the red man’s wigwam home
As dear to him as costly done?
Is not his lore one’s soul as bright
As the proud while man’s worship’d light?

M. M. St. Leon, Lord Byron.

4. True, they have vices—such are nature’s growth,
But only the barbarian’s—we have both.

Burns’s Island.

5. Shall not one love honest the lion race,
For us shun off from sweet creature’s face?
Freedom—selfsame freedom we adore,
Bade them defend their violated shores.

Charles Speners.

6. He saw—and, maddening at the sight,
Rose his bold boats to the fight;
To tiger rage his soul was driven;
Mercy was neither sought nor given—
The pale man from his land must fly;
He would be free—or he would die.

Charles Speners.

INDIFFERENCE.

1. I have not from your eyes that gentleness
And show of love, as I was wont to have.

Shakespeare.

2. Not the little
More deadly to the sight than is to me
The cool insensible eye of sorrow kindness.

Gay.

3. Let me this freedom from my bosom wear;
Let me forget that e’en I thought her fair;
Course, and Indifference, and all my heart;
Weeded, at length, I wish thy dover met
Nor all her arts my steady and shall move,
And, she shall find, indifference is love.

Lord Byron.

4. The one deep cloud, that darkens every sky,
Is chang’d affection’s cold, ascended eye.
Footnotes

1. He also delivered a speech in Jackson Park for Chicago Day on October 9th. There is much of interest in this speech, which deeply contrasts with the rhetoric of *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and *The Red Man’s Greeting*. However, it is outside the scope of this paper to address this fascinating oration. For the text of the speech and coverage of the event, see newspaper coverage in *The Chicago Daily*, October 10th, p. 9. This can be found on Proquest Historical Newspapers Chicago Tribune, online.

2. I saw three different copies of these booklets. I have spent the most time with Dartmouth College’s copy of *The Red Man’s Rebuke*, housed at The Rauner Special Collections. I have also visited two copies of *The Red Man’s Greeting*, one at Harvard’s Houghton library and one at the Newberry Library. The Dartmouth and Harvard copies are still bound in their original form, and the Newberry Library copy has been debound, each page encased in plastic, and put into a protective binder.

3. I would like to thank Jonathan Berliner for providing me with an advance copy of his essay.

4. Hereafter, citations from the Dartmouth copy of *The Red Man’s Rebuke* will be referred to as *Rebuke* followed by the page number.

5. The most easily accessible versions of the main text of the document can be found in Walker (209-220) and Peyer’s *American Indian Nonfiction 1760s-1930s*, 233-240.

6. For any more citations from Peyer’s *The Thinking Indian* I will abbreviate the book as “*Thinking.*”

7. Peyer includes all of the prose of *The Red Man’s Greeting* preface on page 156 of *The Thinking Indian*, but does not include the poem. In a footnote in *American Indian Nonfiction 1760s-1930s*, pp 238-239, he quotes some of the preface but not the whole thing.

8. This is transcribed from the Dartmouth copy of *The Rebuke*. In the Harvard and Newberry copies of *The Red Man’s Greeting*, “By The Author” is not all capital letters, and in the poem at the bottom, each line is centered instead of being justified with a consistent left margin. See my section “Poetical Quotations” below, where I discuss the poems in more depth.

9. All page numbers for Berliner’s essay refer to the advance copy, which may not reflect the exact pagination within *PMLA*.

10. Engle uses the term *The Red Man’s Greeting* in the marketing literature I am about to discuss. Cheryl Walker, in *Indian Nation*, seems to accept this story as historical truth. See Walker, 210.

11. Aside from the newspaper article, one convincing piece of evidence that the book began as *The Red Man’s Rebuke* and was changed to *The Red Man’s Greeting* is included with the Newberry Library copy of *The Red Man’s Greeting*. A piece of biographical marketing literature, as well as a photo of Pokagon, is archived with the book. The typeset print begins “By the Author” is all capital letters, and in the poem at the bottom, each line is centered instead of being justified with a consistent left margin. See my section “Poetical Quotations” below, where I discuss the poems in more depth.

13. Tribune archives accessed through Proquest Historical Newspapers Online. As yet, I have been unable to find information that tells me whether the book ever made it into the state exhibit.

14. I do not mean that Engle would have, for instance, entirely invented positive reviews of Pokagon’s work. I only mean that his excerpting and choice of reviews are necessarily selective, and do not tell the whole story.

15. See Peyer, Bernd *The Thinking Indian* 142-152 for a discussion of this political situation and Pokagon’s personal involvement.

Southwest library, and in the final chapter of the book she briefly discusses the text of the birch bark, the text of the speech, and the discursive effects of this discrepancy. See the introductory anthology Talking Back To Civilization ed. Hoxie, Frederick, pp.29-35 for a selective excerpting of the main text of the booklets, and incorrect historical information about the booklet. Hoxie claims that it is a reprint of a speech Pokagon gave at Opening Day of the Columbian Exposition. Pokagon did not speak at Opening Day, he spoke on Chicago Day, and the text of the speech he did deliver does not bear the slightest resemblance to the text of the booklet. In American Indian Nonfiction, Peyer reprints an annotated version of the main text of the booklets. He also includes a paraphrasing and selective excerpting of the preface, and some good biographical information on Pokagon. Peyer’s The Thinking Indian gives the most in-depth contemporary discussion of Pokagon’s literary and political life (building on and contesting what James Clifton, an anthropological expert on the Pokagons and the Potawatomis has written) and reprints a few paragraphs of the main text, and the preface, without the quoted poetry I discuss later, of The Red Man’s Greeting.

17. For an excellent discussion of the authorship controversy, see Berliner, 2-4. Berliner describes James Clifton’s “rather extreme charges against Pokagon” and rightly suggests that Clifton’s skepticism has had a significant impact on later scholarship about Pokagon. See also Peyer, The Thinking Indian, 154-155; Clifton The Prairie People and The Pokagons.

18. Though Berliner discusses the material implications of the booklets, he asserts a cultural significance of these booklets without maintaining a level of archival and material specificity. He does not reference specific copies of the booklet in his prose, but does include pictures of both The Red Man’s Rebuke (Indiana Historical Society) and The Red Man’s Greeting (Newberry Library). Thus, he seems to keep some distance between his writing and the specifics of individual copies. Nowhere is this more apparent than on page 7 of his essay, where he writes that “at least some copies of the document are dedicated” in a certain way, and “the back cover of some copies” have a certain poem printed on them. Which copies? Where can we find them? What do these differences suggest? These are questions that my essay addresses below. It is my hope that this essay can fill in some of those material gaps, while providing more specifics that can further discussions of these booklets.

19. Much of Berliner’s essay addresses this question of hybridity, but see especially pages 7-10.
20. I mean that the cutting of the birch bark into pages interrupts lines in the bark.
21. This tactile aspect of the booklet is specifically limited in the Newberry Library copy of The Red Man’s Greeting, which encapsulates the pages in plastic.
22. This letter is held at the Houghton library, along with The Red Man’s Greeting. Call number: AC85 P7565 893r. It is written on Maryville College letterhead.
23. Other phrases used include: “the documents,” “the book-objects,” “the books,” “the texts,” etc.
24. Rebuke, dedication page and The Red Man’s Greeting, Newberry and Harvard copies. While Sickles is mentioned in Robert Rydell’s book as well as Frederick Hoxie’s book The Final Promise (98), the connection between Pokagon and her has not been previously noted.
25. In The Final Promise, Frederick Hoxie mentions that Sickles was fired, and cites Dexter’s article, but does not mention that she was reinstated to her position. The chronology of this is not yet clear.
27. Queen of the Woods, 10-11.
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On this day my son and I are staring at the sea.  
Our feet are gently grounded in the grainy shore.  
We are motionless.  
I open my mouth to speak but I am unable to make the words.  
We are caught in the colors of the gray-green horizon where it is neither light nor dark.  
The steady drum of rolling waves is the heartbeat in our world.  
The air is electric, it dances tinged with the scent of salt.  
I hold Boy’s arm long enough that the sand exfoliates our balmy flesh.  
I inhale and remember another time and place.  
A weathered white fence strung by bits of barbed wire erupts from the ocean and rushes past the sand and deep into the beach grass.  
Not a moment’s notice.  
A sign reads “Private Property--- NO TRESPASSING.”  
Beyond the boundary I see our broken footprints moving away.  
Our blood is in the earth.  
[About face.]  
Our blood is in the earth.  
Beyond the boundary I see our broken footprints moving away.  
A sign reads “Private Property--- NO TRESPASSING.”  
Not a moment’s notice.  
A weathered white fence strung by bits of barbed wire erupts from the ocean and rushes past the sand and deep into the beach grass.  
I inhale and remember another time and place.  
I hold Boy’s arm long enough that the sand exfoliates our balmy flesh.  
The air is electric, it dances tinged with the scent of salt.  
The steady drum of rolling waves is the heartbeat in our world.  
We are caught in the colors of the gray-green horizon where it is neither light nor dark.  
I open my mouth to speak but I am unable to make the words.  
We are motionless.  
Our feet are gently grounded in the grainy shore.  
On this day my son and I are staring at the sea.
Kosher Food Alerts
Orthodox Jews in Contemporary America

Meghan C. Peck

Part of the culture of everyday life, food conveys messages of both solidarity and separation (Anderson 125). Food can unite an individual with a group, lifestyle, or region while also separating the individual from others who identify differently (Anderson 129). Identity for American Jews has been a constant negotiation between American and Jewish consciousnesses, at times becoming a battle between two different cultural values. In forming these shifting identities, American Jews, mainly middle class, upper-middle class, and affluent American Jews, used food to navigate the American acculturation process (Berg 159). Nineteenth century American Jews were deemed non-white by the hegemonic white race and in turn, these immigrant Jews struggled for acceptance in America. For Jews who sought to fit into the hegemonic white race, food served as a means of “joining the group” and masking “Jewishness.” In turn, within the Jewish immigrant community of the early twentieth century, maintenance of Jewish dietary laws, kashrut, created tension and internal fights about class, status, religion, gender, generations, and immigration (Diner, Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration 206). Tensions did not cease as generations proceeded; today, kosher food is extremely abundant because of mass production and is under an increasingly critical eye of the Orthodox Jewish community, especially the Orthodox Union. The Orthodox Jews in America have grown increasingly stringent in recent decades despite dwindling numbers in the community. The new fervor with which Orthodox Jews practice Judaism and follow Judaic traditional texts as well as the progression of the food and technology industries have led to the increasingly critical Orthodox Jewish eye towards kosher foods in America.

Jewish Dietary Laws: What They Require of Jews

Unique among other diets, the Jewish dietary laws and culinary traditions, “date back three thousand years to the sacrifices at the Temple in Jerusalem” and it was “in that context that the dietary laws were promulgated” (Nathan 4-5). These laws govern the “selection, preparation, and consumption of all food of observant Jews” (Nathan 5). Although some hygienic beliefs have been “attributed to the observance of kashrus, the ultimate purpose and rationale,” according to the Orthodox Union, “is to conform to the Divine Will, as expressed in the Torah” (Luban). Thus, these principles are Biblical in origin and appear in the Talmud and also have been codified in the Shulhan Arukh, which contains the rabbis’ commentaries on kashrut (Nathan 5). To better assist the public with these laws, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America (OU) was founded in 1898 to protect “Orthodox Jews whenever occasions arise in civic and social matters,” (Kaplan, Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal 112) which includes the regulation of these complex dietary laws, especially needed in modern society. With the expansion of mass food production such regulation is necessary and will be further explored later in this essay.

The laws are extensive, but to provide a taste of what they require of an Orthodox Jew, the regulations surrounding meat and dairy may serve as an example. The Orthodox Union explains that the Torah forbids cooking meat and milk together as well as eating products cooked in this...
manner (Luban). In Exodus and Deuteronomy, the Hebrew Bible states that a kid cannot be cooked in its own mother’s milk: “Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother’s milk” (The Holy Bible: King James Version, Deuteronomy 14:21). To protect against any subversion of these restrictions, Rabbis have extended these prohibitions from the Torah to “disallow the eating of meat and dairy products at the same meal or preparing them on the same utensils. Furthermore, milk products cannot be consumed after eating meat, for a period of time” (Luban). The time frame between consuming meat and dairy varies: some Jews wait six hours after eating meat before having milk products while others may wait three hours (Nathan 7). However, if a meat meal does not come first then a person must rinse out his or her mouth or eat a piece of bread, and there is no time requirement (Nathan 6-7). The Orthodox Union website also recommends checking the cleanliness of one’s hands before consuming dairy and lists an exception to the meat/dairy rule: hard cheese aged for 6 months must be treated the same as meat products (Luban). In order to prevent using the same utensils for meat and milk products, Jews are advised that to have a kosher kitchen one must have two sets of utensils, pots, pans, plates, and silverware (Luban). Furthermore, the ideal kosher kitchen has two sinks: one for meat and the other for dairy, and dishes should be hand-washed and dried on separate drying racks (Luban). These regulations are for just one of the aspects of kashrut within the home. When exiting the Jewish home it becomes even more difficult to follow these dietary laws.

Jewish Immigrants in 19th Century America and Changing Foods

Following the Jewish dietary laws is obviously difficult, and was especially difficult for nineteenth century Jewish immigrants in America who wished to assimilate and become part of the majority. The decades comprising 1820-80 saw the American Jewish population swell in size and again from 1880-1930 (Handlin 275-79). These Jewish immigrants could now eat foods once reserved for Sabbath or holidays on a daily basis (Diner HF4 180). Most Jews “greeted American possibilities as positive. Few questioned the beneficent outcome of the migration” because to them, “America meant food and freedom” (Diner, HF4 180). The desire to eat well in America led even the poorest Jewish immigrants to strategize ways to eat good food on limited budgets (Diner 186), but these limited budgets also made it difficult to eat kosher meat (Berg 161). The majority of the Jewish community was tempted to try the new American foods, which at times challenged these traditional boundaries, in turn shaking up community stability and Eastern European Jewish consumption tied to kashrut (Diner, HF4 178). While Jewish consumers did not entirely reject their traditional foods, they did at times “make them second to newer and richer ones” and the desire to eat well and like Americans divided the Jewish American community (Diner, HF4 194, 219). Thus, food helped these Jewish immigrants transform into Americans but food was also deeply entwined with Jewish identity because of the dietary laws and culinary traditions (Diner, HF4 218).

Identity Inside and Outside the Jewish American Kitchen: New Foods and New Cooking

The Jewish family had to negotiate between American food and Jewish definitions of the familiar (Diner, HF4 210). While some immigrants “emphatically rejected traditional food restrictions, adopting the anti-religious sentiment of left-wing politics, most Jews tried to live with the sacred system” (Diner, HF4 181). Moments of Jewish food nostalgia were satiated by the older immigrants in the communities who served as repositories of knowledge about Jewish culture, which also made it harder for this generation to see the changes within the communities (Diner, HF4 190-1). Women strove to maintain power over the kitchen, with older women hoping
to preserve Jewish culture through taste and smell (Diner, HFA 192). Many communal biographies contain details of immigrant women preparing foods for the Sabbath, which was the high point of the regular Jewish food week in both Europe and America, but in America the marketplace was always abundant (Diner, HFA 196). Passover, especially, is seen by Jews as an event symbolizing the Jewish “family” as a whole, creating a sense of “communitas with Jews throughout time—from the Exodus upon which it is based to the present” (Sherman 193) and foods that were once central to this holiday could now be consumed at any time in America. As many immigrant Jews began to stray from some of the traditional dietary laws, these holidays and the foods served during them were still enjoyed and served to fulfill an occasional nostalgia for “home” (Berg 165).

Constructing new homes in America, Jewish immigrants in the nineteenth century also erected restaurants serving homemade Jewish cooking in New York around the time of WWI (Diner, HFA 179). Because of the sheer number of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, they were able to have a large impact on American food culture, and indeed, even non-Jews became customers of the Jewish restaurants (Berg 161). Even though the food was like that served in Jewish American homes, it was still separate from the home and free from restraints (Diner, HFA 179). Eating out was not only part of immigrants’ education and “social evolution”; it also changed the preferences and standards of many Jewish immigrants (Diner, HFA 179, 200). In the process of seeing how well Americans ate, Jewish Americans also noticed how they ate differently, especially because of dietary restrictions. As Jews moved up in American society, they looked for ways to be both “a good Jew” and simultaneously access all that America had to offer (Diner, HFA 184-5). Cooking classes were popular among Jewish women and in many American Jewish communities classes were offered to teach how to prepare traditional European foods and American food (Diner, HFA 216). Eastern European Jews did not eat some of the foods, including meats from German delicatessens, before migration, but as American Jews they began to think of them as traditional (Diner, HFA 201). Over the decades, secular foods such as bagels, deli meats, and smoked fish began to serve as cultural markers for American Jews, creating a contemporary and secular Jewish identity: “Gastronomic Judaism” (Berg 166).

Kashrut and Tension in the Early Immigrant Community

As American Jews began to climb up the socio-economic ladder they began to consume foods of their non-Jewish peers (Berg 160). “Food snobbism” has existed widely in cultures as the elite use food to mark class identity (Anderson 136). While for many Jewish immigrants assimilation into the American community was the ultimate goal as previously explained, there were also a fair amount of Jewish immigrants who were displeased with the changing cultural traditions, especially the older and Orthodox generations. Likewise, the cost of Jewish food led to angry Jewish women who expected good, affordable food, and when they did not receive it they organized to strategize ways to bring down prices (Diner, HFA 207). Creating even more tension were the different degrees of observing kashrut and difficulties that came with buying kosher products, especially meat. Sometimes kosher meat was not actually kosher but was still marketed as such (Diner, HFA 183). Due to the lack of an initial political structure to oversee the marketing

“Within the Jewish immigrant community of the early twentieth century, maintenance of Jewish dietary laws, kashrut, created tension and internal fights about class, status, religion, gender, generations, and immigration.”
of kosher meat, purveyors could almost deem anything “kosher” (Diner, HFA 181). To solve this problem Rabbi Jacob Joseph was hired to be America’s Chief Rabbi in 1887 when the Association of American Orthodox Hebrew Congregations was founded (Diner, HFA 181). He was to oversee kosher slaughtering and sale of meat, but the cost of kosher chickens increased because Rabbi Jacob Joseph imposed a tax on every kosher chicken to pay his salary and that of the rabbis who formed the religious court, bet din (Diner, HFA 181). This angered the immigrant community and added to the tensions surrounding the Jewish American diet.

Jews also pointed fingers at members of their own communities: for example, if an individual knowingly ate non-kosher meat in public or dined at a non-kosher restaurant, he or she risked having charges raised against him/her (Diner, HFA 183). Most likely, these medieval charges were pressed by small, Orthodox groups of Jews that “lamented the corrosiveness of treyf [non-kosher] America” (Diner, HFA 183). While some Jews opted for foods that incorporated Jewish tastes and flavors but didn’t strictly follow kashrut (Diner, HFA 185), other Jewish immigrants sought stores that they could trust to provide them with truly kosher products. Merchants were well aware of the Jewish desire to eat kosher products, such as bread and meat, and of their fears of consuming a food that was not really kosher (Diner, HFA 208). The combination of Jewish fear and desire was manipulated by merchants, who used advertisements and images to link products to sacred symbols to gain the trust of consumers (208). In turn, Jews made “food pilgrimages” from uptown to the Jewish ghettos of New York City (203). Aside from retaining customers, brands also sought to attract new Jewish customers. In 1912 Proctor and Gamble launched a campaign for their vegetable shortening, Crisco, targeting Jews, and enlisting an Orthodox Jew to endorse the product (212). Then, in the 1920s, Jewish women “found a willing ally” in the business world and additional companies that produced staples showed through advertising that their products were produced according to halachic specifications (Gurock 151). In the 1920s Maxwell House “reportedly caused a stir at many Seder meals when it introduced a new ‘tradition’ of drinking coffee rather than tea at the end of the sumptuous banquet. A decade or so later, the company would print its own Haggadah [liturgy for the Passover seder] to ensure a ‘unique relationship between a product and a people’” (Gurock 151).

Orthodox Jews in America: An Overview

Not all Jewish Americans, especially the ultra-Orthodox Jews, accepted the alteration of culinary traditions tied to ritual centered Jewish meals. The Orthodox Jewish community in America is the only Jewish denomination to give its institutions and organizations distinctively denominational names, and the Orthodox Union continues to provide advice for the Orthodox Jewish community (Kaplan, CAJ 112). Membership grew rapidly from the 50 congregations represented at the inaugural 1898 meeting of the OU to 3100 congregations in 1933, 3900 in 1962, and 2000 in 1965 (Raphael 90). Despite this presence of Orthodox unity, the movement is not unified, and has different traditions within it (Kaplan, CAJ 139). Overall, Orthodox Judaism teaches that God gave Moses both the written and oral law at Mount Sinai and that God made “an exclusive covenant with the children of Israel, and that covenant was detailed in the laws of Moses” (Kaplan, CAJ 139). The oral laws, which God explained to Moses needed to be elucidated upon, were discussed by the sages and eventually written down, forming the Talmud (Kaplan 139). While the early Eastern European and German Jewish immigrants joined existing Sephardic synagogues or formed their own, many congregations gravitated towards Reform Judaism, and some retained traditionalist principles, forming the Orthodox community (Kaplan 139). Throughout the first half of the twentieth century it seemed that Orthodoxy was losing support, making many scholars of the
post-World War II era and Orthodox Jews fear for the future of the denomination (Kaplan 141). As Reform and Conservative Jewish congregations increased exponentially, the Orthodox Jews looked like they would disappear (Raphael 67). Sociologists that maintained such a bleak standpoint subscribed to the theory that low socioeconomic standing paralleled the conservative forms of any religious group, meaning Orthodox Judaism was incompatible with the postwar middle-class aspirations of most American Jews (Kaplan, CAJ 141).

The Survival and Renewal of Orthodox Judaism in Postwar America

Despite society’s expectations, Orthodox Judaism survived and began to rebuild itself. In the late 1960s and early 1970s the “number of Jews declaring themselves Orthodox did not increase. But those that did so identify began to observe the rituals of Judaism more strictly, so that by the start of the new millennium a smaller but much more dedicated group of Orthodox Jews” existed (Raphael 67). In turn, aspects of Judaism such as kashrut were put at the forefront of their religious lives (Raphael 67). The overt religiosity and rejection of acculturation demonstrates a shift in thinking: Orthodox Judaism is committed to perpetuating its traditions without compromise (Kaplan, CAJ 141). American cultural pluralism allowed Orthodox Jews to, for example, wear religious garb when post WWII it might have caused embarrassment (Kaplan, CAJ 141). The “ethnic reassertiveness” and re-emergence of traditionalism is due to a more culturally open environment in America, starting in the 1960s (Mayer 269). Separating oneself or a group, even if it draws boundaries, is more respected in recent American society, and Orthodox Jews are a clear demonstration of this self-confidence as a religious denomination in contemporary America (Wertheimer 115-23).

More urban than the Reform and Conservative Jews, most Orthodox Jews are located in the largest cities of the United States (Raphael 90). The point of origin for most Eastern European Jewish immigrants continued to be urban areas throughout the 20th century (M. Raphael 90). For example, as of 2009, there are 1,412,000 Jewish persons in New York (“National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01”). Less affected by intermarriage than other Jews in the postwar era, Orthodox Jews “still lived in densely Jewish neighborhoods and organized their lives around the observance of their religious law and ritual” (Diner, “At the Crossroads: Since 1967” 131). A quarter of these postwar baby boomers were raised Conservative and while most defected to Reform, a fair amount moved to Orthodoxy due to intense religious socialization instilled by Conservative institutions like Camp Ramah (Phillips 409). Of the Orthodox Jews who are members of synagogues, the oldest members were raised Orthodox and of the baby boomer generation just over half were raised Orthodox (Phillips 408-09). According to the 2000-01 National Jewish Population Survey, of the 4.3 million American Jews surveyed, 46 percent belonged to a synagogue and of that percentage 21 percent belonged to an Orthodox synagogue (“National Jewish…” Table 7). The smallest of the main three denominations of Judaism, Orthodoxy, despite dwindling numbers and an 11 percent decrease in retention rate, is still thriving in terms of loyalty to the faith and the role of Judaism in daily life (Phillips 403).

Uncovering the Foundations for Orthodox Renewal in Contemporary America

The renewal of Orthodox Judaism cannot only be attributed to the growing tolerance of American society. There have been changes in the Orthodox Jewish American communities, especially with the rise in male and female enrollment in Jewish day schools (Gurock 211). In addition, the yeshiva system of Jewish day schools, according to Gurock, is the “movement’s
proudest and most important creation in America” because it instills traditional teachings and values in the students, creating a more stringent generation of Orthodox Jewish Americans (Gurock 209). The Orthodox community is also able to reach more members because of the increasing availability of traditional texts. In past generations, Orthodox congregations scoffed at people who suggested studying the texts in English, meaning Jews who could not read Hebrew or Aramaic had limited knowledge of traditional texts (Raphael 160). With the Orthodox community sponsoring English translations of texts such as the Talmud, all Orthodox Jews can engage in study, increasing adult learning across the spectrum of Orthodoxy (Raphael 160-61). In addition, Talmud studies have increased in the late 1990s and early 2000s through daf yomi study (study of one page per day) of the Talmud, be it in English or Hebrew/Aramaic (161). The study of traditional text is manageable through this “one day at a time” ethos, making Orthodoxy more accessible to Jews.

Orthodox Renewal and Eco-Kosher

The Jewish Renewal movement of the postwar era also included a variant strain that was not part of the larger resurgence of Orthodox Judaic stringency and increasing strength, but it was an initial manifestation of the personalization of American Judaism (Waxman 105). This movement was called the Havurah, “a late-1960s movement that represented alienation from the institutionalized synagogue and its substitution in the form of countercultural prayer and study groups” (Waxman 105). Much of this movement was based on the Kabbalah, Hasidism, and other forms of Jewish mysticism (Waxman 105). One of the movement’s founders was Rabbi Zalman Schachter-Shalomi who left Orthodox Judaism to develop an “Orthodox brand of Hasidic spiritualism in hopes that it would bring about a ‘Jewish Renewal’ ” (Waxman 105). Along with the Havurah movement came a new approach to kosher food called “eco-kosher” (Kaplan, CAJ 75). Schachter-Shalomi developed a humane approach to food and eating that was environmentally sensitive, thus laying the foundations for Rabbi Arthur Waskow to start the Eco-Kosher Project in 1990 (Kaplan, CAJ 75). Waskow called for Rabbis and Jewish teachers to re-evaluate kashrut laws as he looked to strengthen the relationship of kosher eating with the environment (Kaplan, CAJ 75-6). This strain of postwar Jewish renewal continues today, showing that Jews can strengthen their distinctiveness and possibly attract new generations through a different Judaic engagement with spirituality (Kaplan, CAJ 75-6).

Building Boundaries and Yeshiva Schools

This accessibility also feeds into the growing punctiliousness of Orthodox Jews in America. As the Orthodox Judaic community has made teachings more accessible, the expectations of Orthodox Jews have increased. The “authenticity of tradition” has been a question in the ultra-Orthodox world leading to a tendency in lay and rabbinic circles towards humra (stringency) (Soloveitchik 324, 326). In recent years the Orthodox community has policed its community more rigorously and further sharpened its boundaries (Wertheimer 126). The ubiquitous question of “who is a Jew?” in America and the world far reaches into the Orthodox community, deciding whom they can admit to synagogues and how “Jewish” those members then are (Raphael 2). This dividing line of who is an Orthodox Jew is partly due to any group’s need and desire for self-differentiation but also, Soloveitchik thinks, is immanent because “habit is static; theoretical knowledge is dynamic and consequential, as ideas naturally tend to press forward to their full logical conclusions” (Soloveitchik 326). While the increase in English translated traditional texts has helped Orthodox Jews become better learned, many people learn best mimetically (Soloveitchik 327). However,
performance of Jewish laws, for example, is no longer modeled by only mirroring what one has seen; rather, performance is an “implementation of what one knows” and in a text based culture, behavior becomes “a function of the ideas it consciously seeks to realize (Soloveitchik 327). With the rise of yeshiva schools in America, Soloveitchik’s conclusion is logical but only when applied to the current generation of Orthodox American Jews. The contemporary yeshiva schools have male and female students whose teachers educate them with the texts. Thus, students implement what they know from studying the Talmud rather than only modeling behaviors of, for example, keeping kosher that they have witnessed. This “implementation of what one knows” from the Jewish texts is also combined with modeling; older generations show younger generations how to prepare a Seder meal and participate in the rituals surrounding the meals (Sherman 196-97). Who is and more importantly, who is not included in these rituals marks clear boundaries as to who is really accepted by the Jewish family (Sherman 203). Halacha is a “sweepingly comprehensive regula[tion] of daily life--…it constitutes a way of life. And a way of life is not learned but rather absorbed” (Soloveitchik 321). And so, the two practices of learning and modeling serve to teach this Judaic way of life, marking boundaries in the process.

Increasing Stringency of Orthodox Jews in Contemporary America

Orthodoxy holds that all of the commandments of the Torah must be practiced in their entirety, while Conservative Judaism sees the halacha as binding but evolving, and Reform Jews only practice commandments that are spiritually meaningful for them (Kaplan, “Introduction” 14). With an increasingly educated generation of Orthodox Jews, the lines between Reform and Conservative denominations are decreasing as the maintenance of the commandments becomes even more important and critiqued in the Orthodox community. America is the only country where the non-Orthodox Jews are dominant and while Jews in most of the world look to Israel for religious direction, only the Orthodox in America parallel Israel’s direction, further separating them from Reform and Conservative American Jews (Kaplan, “Introduction” 13). Israel also funds Orthodox synagogues exclusively, putting alternative movements at a disadvantage, and furthering the ties between the Orthodox communities and Israel worldwide (Kaplan, “Introduction” 13).

Since the American Jewish religious landscape continues to include many divergent religious belief systems and a wide range of ritual practices, the gulf between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox continues to widen, and it seems a Jewish culture war is inevitable (Kaplan, “Introduction” 14). In 1985 the National Jewish Resource Center took extreme steps to try to unite the community. The Modern Orthodox Rabbi Yitz Greenberg led the center at this time and was committed to Jewish unity; he saw the pluralism of the Jewish community as a possible strength (Kraemer 166). He changed the name of the center to CLAL, a nominal acrostic for “the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership,” but the primary meaning is that the organization stands for “‘clal yisreal,’ the unified people of Israel” (Kraemer 166). CLAL showed concern for the divisions by taking out advertisements in a variety of publications such as The Jewish Press (Kraemer 166). The advertisements greatly affected Jews because of the skewed historical statement in them: “‘The Last Time We Jews Were So Divided We Lost 10 Out Of 12 Tribes’ ” (Kraemer 166). Greenberg saw the divisions in the community as dangerous, questioning if in 2000 there would be a Jewish people (Kraemer 166-67). Obviously, there are still Jewish people in America, but his prognosis of increasing separation held true (Kraemer 167).
The Growing Synagogue Membership of Orthodox Jews

The Orthodox movement continues to move increasingly to the right, transforming the nature of formerly modern Orthodox institutions and leading to the “veneration of right-wing yeshiva heads who seek to insulate their disciples from Western modes of thought and torpedo efforts at cooperation between Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups” (Wertheimer 126). In turn, the term “Modern Orthodox” has virtually disappeared but this should not suggest Orthodox Jews do not live in the modern world—they do, but their attitude toward the modern world has been reshaped (Wertheimer 127). As yeshiva schools continue to shape younger generations, those American Jews who do identify as Orthodox are increasing their Orthodox membership: in 1990, Orthodox Jews formed 16 percent of all synagogue members and then 21 percent in 2000-01 (Grossman 96). Furthermore, 80 percent of Orthodox Jews are synagogue members versus less than half of Reform and Conservative Jews (Grossman 96). Affiliation with synagogues is strongly related to the increase in ritual observance (Fishman 137). At the time of publication (2000), Fishman noted that a recent study of Conservative Jews based on the1990 NJPS survey, found that households currently “affiliated with Conservative synagogues are four times more likely to report kashruth observance than those not holding memberships—24 percent, compared to 6 percent” (Fishman 137). Still, while most Jewish American households are not kosher, many communities take care to ensure that “official functions and institutions maintain kashruth standards” (Fishman 137). The Orthodox community takes such care and are more committed to standards than any previous generation of Orthodox Jews in the United States (Grossman 96).

The Production and Regulation of Kosher Foods

In this climate of increasing boundaries, renewal, and stringency, the Orthodox community began to take even more care when regulating kosher foods. In 1925 the OU and Union of Orthodox Rabbis (UOR) signed an agreement to “jointly issue heksherim (kashrut approvals) under the auspices of the Va’ad Ha-Hora’ah (appointed by the UOR) and an advisory committee” appointed by the OU (Raphael 92). This service is done on a fee basis so the OU and UOR tried to eliminate any accusations of payoffs by establishing a joint finance committee to oversee proceeds and donate them to the less fortunate (Raphael 92). In the years to follow, “no activity took precedence over supervising kashrut and making kosher products available to observant Jews everywhere. The Kosher Directory is regularly updated, provides long lists of kosher products…and services, and serves as a guide to the relatively unobtrusive ‘U’ symbol on countless products” (Raphael 91-2). The Orthodox Union website, OU.org, provides an up-to-date list of kosher products for consumers to view as well as information on what is and is not kosher (Luban).

Food production is expanding as well as plants of supervision, and according to the OU website, as of 2009 the Orthodox Union supervises over 400,000 products (“The World’s Best Known Kosher Trademark”). In 1954, however, the OU only supervised 405 products and 181 plants in 129 firms—regulation has grown in the past decades (Raphael 90). Smart business people are adjusting their foodstuff to gain kosher certification (Gurock 239). So, even items that look treyf (forbidden) such as “bacon bits” are now kosher (Gurock 240). These culinary substitutions, while contradictory because they “taste” like they are made from non-kosher sources such as pigs, do help

“While most Jewish American households are not kosher, the Orthodox community maintains kashruth standards, and are more committed to standards than any previous generation of Orthodox Jews in the United States.”
Jews feel comfortable inviting others into their homes for a meal (Gurock 240). Even airlines serve kosher food, and some have a skilled kashrut overseer (Gurock 239). Likewise, kosher wines are being produced so that even Jews who follow kashrut can open their homes to non-Jewish guests without feeling uncultured, which for Jews in America has been an ongoing problem (Gurock 241). Julie Steinberg, writing about her issues with holidays and guests on November 29, 2009, explains:

One Passover, a couple showed up…and presented me with a cake. Not exactly the Elijah I was expecting. And this was a real, Italian bakery, flour and butter laden, gorgeous cake. I had no idea what to do. Part of me was humiliated, because they know I am observant. Part of me was terrified not to be a gracious host, or to spoil the otherwise wonderful occasion. Part of me (a really big part of me) wanted to slap them silly. So what did I do? I put it out on a non-Passover plate and kicked myself for the rest of the holiday. Not my greatest moment. (Steinberg)

Keeping kosher is becoming easier for many American Jews, but there are still moments of difficulty when non-observant Jews or non-Jews enter the observant Jews’ home. For Jews living outside of the urban epicenters, kosher food can be difficult to locate in public settings. With increasing mass production of food, most grocery stores carry kosher goods, but restaurants can be harder to find outside of urban or highly Jewish areas. For example, as of 2004 in Portland, Maine, kosher meat is available to consumers, but there is only one public kosher restaurant, which is in the dining room of the “local old-age home” (Gurock 317).

Technology and the Jewish Dietary Laws: An Ironic Twist for the Orthodox Community

Along with the increasing availability of kosher foods, technology also allows Jews to easily find kosher restaurants and shops at the click of a button, literally. The Internet and cellular phone applications contain a plethora of information; for example, cellular phone users can download applications containing a list of hechsher symbols and meanings to keep with them while shopping in a grocery store (Jackson). Yet, for many Orthodox Jews such technologies are not kosher because of the possibility for immodest search results, for example, or the need for electricity to run them on the Sabbath. The general rule for the ultra-Orthodox, Haredi, community still remains: no Internet, radio, television, or movies (Chernofsky). So, while the OU website provides a plethora of information for observant Jews, the most stringent Jews are unable to access this information. Some Internet Service Providers in Israel are constructing services that filter content so that Orthodox Jews who desire the Internet can have a more kosher form (Chernofsky). Likewise, there are kosher cellular phones that block all services (text messaging and the Internet) that could lead to inappropriate activity (Chernofsky). These cellular phones have a rabbinical stamp, just like the hechsher symbols found on kosher foods (Chernofsky). While popular in Israel in 2006 the phone has not appeared in the United States. Brian Murphy reported in March 2006 that MIRS Communications Limited, a subsidiary of Motorola Incorporated in Israel, was looking into releasing a similar phone in the United States later that year but nothing came of this business idea as of 2009 (Murphy). Since the ultra-Orthodox community in America is dwindling in numbers while it dominates Israeli Judaic denominations, the business plan may have fallen through because of a lack of high profits in America, but this is only speculation.
The Shifting Definitions of Kosher Food in America

Jewish ritual foods are enjoyed by both practicing as well as secular and non-practicing Jews, groups that enjoy the foods as part of their heritage and culture (Berg 65-6). This approach to Jewish food and Jewish American identity started in the past and exists even more today with the growing secular community (Berg 165-66). In contemporary American Jewish communities “keeping kosher” fulfills a continuum of observance, meaning something different if a Jew falls more towards the left or right (Fishman 135). For the purposes of the current discussion, the right side, where the ultra-Orthodox Jew resides, will be explored further. Even within the Orthodox community there are different levels of observance with some Orthodox Jews buying strictly kosher foods at any store and others shopping solely at stores where only kosher foods are sold (Raphael 68). Furthermore, within the Orthodox community if an individual refuses to submit to the ultra-Orthodox policies, he or she may risk being seen as Conservative—food is a means of showing division within the Orthodox denomination (Kraemer 165). And, given the current haredi climate, such a stigma could cause great problems for an Orthodox Jew.

Unlike the majority of observant Orthodox Jewish Americans who follow kashrut at home but make at least some compromises in public (Fishman 136), there is a growing number of ultra-Orthodox Jews who will not eat anything at restaurants that are not kosher (Raphael 163). Food, then, serves as a marker of cultural identity with Jews expressing their identities within the Jewish community through their “table habits” (Berg 167, Kraemer 8). Since food serves as an important part of Orthodox identity, the growing strictness of the community can be found in the questioning of foods that were always considered kosher. According to David Kraemer in his 2007 text, Jewish Eating and Identity Through the Ages, “kosher is no longer kosher” for contemporary observant Jews (Kraemer 154). In the mid-1980s vegetables were beginning to become a kashrut problem in the ultra-Orthodox community, and in 1984 Rabbi Yosef Wikler of Yeshiva Birkas Reuven wrote a special report on kosher vegetables in the June issue of The Kashrus Newsletter, explaining how vegetables can be un-kosher after years of Jewish consumption (Kraemer 155-56). Microscopic insects were the problem and they remain a problem for Orthodox Jews today. While magnifying lenses have been around for centuries, the broad response remained to “continue eating what and how Jews had ‘always’ eaten. This was the way of tradition” (Kraemer 157).

Yet, in the past two decades the way of tradition has given way to more questioning of kosher foods. Orthodox Jews wonder on whom to rely for regulation of kosher foods—some Orthodox Jews have become so afraid of contamination that they demand separate refrigerators for dairy and meat (Kraemer 154). By having two of everything, observant Jews no longer worry about errors in the home kitchen, but this is an extremely expensive way of observing kashrut. Also, these extreme rules cast a negative light on the piety of past Orthodox Jews (Kraemer 155). Questions such as “Is it possible that the pious and noble Jewish mothers and fathers of old, who committed their lives to Torah and mitzvoth, regularly transgressed the law in this way?” and “Is it possible that the Torah meant to prohibit insects so small that they could barely be detected?” are asked and remain without a definite answer (Kraemer 155). Even more problematic than vegetables, Michael Brick reported in June 2004 that rabbis in New York City had recently discovered tiny creatures, copepods, in the unfiltered water that comes into New York City from upstate (Brick). While these organisms are harmless, they are crustaceans, which are not considered kosher (Brick). A surge in water filtration systems soon followed reports of the copepods and the issue has not been resolved (Brick). Furthermore, these water filtrations serve as another example of the problematic nature of technology that is supposed to help Orthodox Jews follow the dietary laws: Bahar Tuht, an employee of a store selling filtration systems in New York explains, “Some of the filters have a...
light indicator; the light goes on, it’s no good for Shabbos’” (Brick).

The debate over the cleanliness and thus, the “kosher-ness” of the water has furthered problems for Orthodox Jews. Brick asks, “What defines an insect? Does seeing one through a microscope constitute seeing one for the purposes of kosher law? And, perhaps most confoundedly, can a person legitimately claim not to see a copepod with the naked eye after looking through a microscope and learning what one looks like?” (Brick). Kraemer humorously notes that bugs are literally at the heart of the kashrut story (Brick 169). No one would imagine that the Talmud meant to forbid Jews from drinking water, but what are Orthodox Jews to do when technology causes such discoveries to be made? Furthermore, Brick’s article appeared in the print as well as in the online edition of The New York Times, showing that if Orthodox Jews do use the Internet to read such articles they are bombarded with even more questions about kosher products. The OU website contains a section, “Kosher Alerts,” which lists consumer alerts on products recalled for not actually being kosher. These alerts not only instill a sense of needing to stay current with kosher food news but also ask Orthodox Consumers to police their local shops. For example, on November 17, 2009 the OU posted that Tate’s Bake Shop of Southampton, NY was producing oatmeal raisin cookies with “an unauthorized OU symbol. The Orthodox Union does not certify any of Tate’s Bake Shop’s products” and the OU asked consumers who spotted the cookies to “contact the Orthodox Union at 212-613-8241 or via email at kashalerts@ou.org” (“Kosher Alerts”).

Conclusion: Fear and Kosher Food Consumption in America

The OU website instills a sense of fear and urgency with the rhetoric of policing kosher products and the concept that any day a product once deemed kosher could be deemed not kosher. There is even an image of a red siren at the top of the website page (“Kosher Alerts”). Haredi, another name for the ultra-Orthodox, is quite appropriate since it is defined as “fearful” in relation to fear of the Lord3 (Baumel 153). Justly afraid of not correctly observing kashrut, contemporary Orthodox Jews must constantly check the status of kosher foods. With the number of Orthodox Jews in America on the decline, it makes sense that the community is growing more disciplined—they want to present a unified group, differentiating themselves from other Jewish denominations. Even in the entire American Jewish community there is a declining number of Jews whose religion is Judaism (Phillips 398); thus, the community must be fearful for it’s future as a religion, leading to increasing practices to build strength in the denominations. For the Orthodox Jews, this means they lean more towards the right, and it appears this movement will either increase or stabilize because the “youngest Orthodox synagogue members are concentrated in a region (the Northeast) that is losing its Jewish population. Thus, Orthodox Jews will constitute an increasingly larger proportion of the northeastern Jewish population and will have a growing influence” (Phillips 409). As Jewish rituals and the food involved with them continue to be used by “ethnic” Jews who claim to not practice Judaism as a religion (Kaplan, “Introduction” 18), the Orthodox community will most likely continue its disciplined approach to kashrut. Grossman believes that “depending on which face American Orthodoxy assumes, haredi or modern, may determine the fate of the entire community” and for now it appears they are assuming an increasingly fearful approach to at least one aspect of their daily lives: kashrut. Whether or not the increasing punctiliousness of the Orthodox Jewish community in America and its appearance in the monitoring of kosher food will better retain Orthodox Jews is unknown, but for now, the attitude seems to be generating a strong and stringent Orthodox Jewish community in America, for better or for worse.
Footnotes

1. Abbreviation for Hasia R. Diner’s *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* in the rest of the text is *HFA*.
2. Abbreviation for Dana Evan Kaplan’s *Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal* in the rest of the text is *CAJ*.

Works Cited


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Owosso
Benjamin B. Bolger

There came a week within a year
where Jaws was a giant
and feared,
where Ford was both person and ride

Past the edges of autumn
and prior to Halloween’s cheer
Columbus did, supposedly, discover
and the Clintons did marry

And in a hospital
planted in a small town
there was a birth
that went unnoticed by many

Except to his mother
who cherished the life
and prayed it would be
not, someday, unremembered

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An Ancient Greek text so well known as The Republic has had its share of readers and its share of translators. Among those undertaking the task of translation, many have, and will continue, to render works in hopes of bringing a seemingly distant text intimately closer to an audience, as with an ancient and alien text to a modern, local audience. Among those who have undertaken the heavy task of translating this piece, three have shown relevant distinctions to this writer. Translators may differ on a word’s definition, cultural meaning, syntax, construction, relevance, etc., but also each has a theory, a goal, which influences that which they will ultimately render. It is the means of this essay to introduce the goals of these three translators of the Republic, into English; how terms then differ within chosen sentences; and finally what those differences entail for the reader. The passage examined will be the conclusion of The Allegory of the Cave and its results with education; Book 7, Stephanus’ lines 518b13-d27.

R.W. Sterling and W.C. Scott produced a translation in 1985 while both were professors at Dartmouth College. Inspired by both the classics and politics, they were joined in the pursuit to render The Republic. They related to John Locke’s translation principles, “particularly his insistence that the means and mechanics of literal translation ought not to prevail over the governing purpose of giving clear and accurate expression to the original author’s meaning” (Sterling & Scott). In this way, avoiding the ruggedness of literal translation would enable them to best serve the new audience with original meaning. As Professor Sterling would pronounce to this writer the intended audience of students of academia, they would use the tone “paraphrase rather than translation” to avoid the obscurities with word-by-word exactitude. “In sum, we claim to be faithful to the text of The Republic but not to its every Greek word. It has been our desire to re-create in our version the experience of Plato’s audience in Greece” (Ibid). Sterling and Scott attempted to produce a lucid rendition by paraphrasing words and recreating the experience.

Alan Bloom, former professor at the University of Chicago, produced a translation in 1968. The first sentence in his Preface, “This is intended to be a literal translation,” speaks for itself (Bloom). The goal of such a translation, he states, is “intended to be useful to the serious student, the one who wishes and is able to arrive at his own understanding of the work” (Ibid). His theory of literal translation is in direct avoidance of two errors to which those who have a “distaste” for literal renditions are prone. One that, “modern historical consciousness has engendered a general skepticism about the truth of all ‘world views,’ except for that one of which it is itself a product” (Ibid). He has perceived that the translator’s notion of ancient thoughts can be obscured by his own inclinations, resulting in a prejudicial, possibly unconscious, neglect of the “counsels emanating from a man wiser than he”(Ibid). The second fault is having an erroneous view of the exact character of the Platonic books themselves.

Alexander Kerr was a professor of Greek at the University of Wisconsin and produced his copy in 1911. Kerr at this point was a nonagenarian writing in his cottage home, seeking to produce a clear rendition with both an exacting and paraphrastic goal. In this elderly state he “completed, in blindness, his limpid translation of that most modern of books, the Republic, -today both prophecy and menace…” (Leonard). Kerr’s consummative style will add contrast alongside Bloom, Scott,
and Sterling.

At the closing of Socrates’ cave analog, a conclusion is made. “If this is true, it follows that education is not what some professors say it is” (Sterling & Scott, pg 212). Bloom, Kerr, and Scott/Sterling agree with Socrates that “knowledge” already exists in the soul, and it can not be put into a man by man. But what sort of men? Here, Sterling and Scott state that education is not what “some professors say it is”, Bloom that “the professions of certain men assert it”, and Kerr that “some of its professors declare it” (Kerr).

The term professors could technically mean anyone professing, but certainly holds the notion that it remains high level, professional teachers making these claims. Bloom implies that it could be any man’s assertions misleading us, not just some scholars. Although in the Greek, the word τινὲς means some, the noun being translated professors or certain men is in fact the participle ἐπαγγελλόμενοι (present, nominative, plural, masculine), meaning announcing or, have it as you may, professing. Though it is taken from the social context and of the speaker that Socrates is implying the ancient Sophists as misrepresenting education, the text literally remains flexible to accuse anyone of making fallacious declarations, as Bloom translates. Is it modern professors, ancient sophists, or any professing layman who misleads us?

We are therefore able to impute this vice to anyone speaking of education. But do these “some” mislead purposefully and with fallacious intent? Sterling and Scott simply translate; “they claim” they can transplant the power of knowledge; Kerr that “they say, I believe” that they can put knowledge into the soul, and Bloom that “they presumably assert” that they can put into the soul knowledge. The Greek term in this sentence is simply φασὶ (verb, 3rd person, plural, indicative, active), meaning “they declare”. The word for “I suppose” or “presumably” (που) is not apparent. But adding those notions implies there is a matter to be resolved with their intentions, rather than they have simply misspoken. With Benjamin Jowett’s notion, Greek professor at the University of Oxford, that ἐπαγγελλόμενοι connotes the boastfulness of their claims, therefore rendering it “some persons fancy the instruction,” we can conclude that it is implied that whoever is professing, they’re not in the pursuit of truth, but intentionally ignorance (Jowett). Only Sterling and Scott render their fanciful certitude literally in this case, while others include the conveyed notion of propaganda. Retroactively, the reader is thence encouraged to continually decide who is to blame, and what their actual intentions are.

Thus, when education is observed to be infected, Socrates must reveal its replacement. Sterling and Scott continue in line 518d2, “Then there must be some art that would most easily and effectively turn and convert the soul…” (Scott/Sterling, pg 213). Bloom concurs that “There would, therefore, I said, be an art of this turning round…” (Bloom, pg 197). Both the Sterling and Scott translation and Bloom’s reveal to us an art absent from contemporary education. However, Kerr does not relinquish education entirely; “Hence education is… but an art of turning round this very eye in the easiest and most effectual manner…” (Kerr, pg10, VII). The term rendered education in prior passages was παιδεία, and is not found in this sentence, but τέχνη meaning art or skill. Therefore Kerr holds to education while the others portray the arrival of a new art or skill. However, we know that Socrates and Plato did not abandon education, but only sought to improve it. Surely this new art would still be education. But the text literally implies an art to replace it.

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And what is the purpose of this new art, or new education? The soul must be essentially turned around, not injected with any absent knowledge. Sterling and Scott claim that, “This condition it would be the purpose of that art to remedy.” Bloom wrote that, “this art takes as given…and accomplishes this object.” Kerr renders, “but an art of turning round… so that it may gain the perfect vision.” The text only literally ends with, “οὐκ ὀρθῶς δὲ τετραμμένῳ οὐδὲ βλέποντι οἷ ἔδει, τοῦτο διαμηχανήσαται” (Allan). Literally stating, “but for it not turning correctly and not seeing what’s needed, this would bring about” (author). We are left with either a new art or a new education, that would either accomplish this turning, would further remedy it, or could actually give perfect vision. Whether while turning ones vision would result in the perfection implied by Kerr is a skeptical rendition, the reader is left to decipher the essence of this art and its exact result. Bloom concludes that it “seems” his own conclusion is right; Kerr- that “it appears” perfect vision is the result; and Scott and Sterling that “such an art might be possible.” All these renditions come from the two words “ἔοικεν γάρ”: for it seems.

In the above paragraph we notice Bloom’s attempted hold on literal translation, Scott and Sterling’s rendering more idiomatically, and Kerr’s final innovation. As the Greek reader studies the text he may read the words but may not be able to apply the crucial contextual meanings behind them. The English reader is often too privileged with a context surfacing within translations. But similar questions arise for both the Greek and English readers. Was Socrates limiting his educational criticism towards a few Sophists, some professors, or all men who hold those pedagogical qualities? Which interpretation is more suitable for contemporary implications? Did Socrates propose that their error is indeed intentional, or is it habitual, natural, fanciful, and seemingly mistaken? Is the entire theory and form of education being tossed away for a new art and reform, a new education. Or do we mean only to accommodate a new vantage point for the current skill of educating? To what extent is this goal to be actualized? Is it possible or not to reach it? The translator’s choices have given the reader choices, and only in the attempt to understand them, to answer them, are we given the true rewards of readers and translation.

“...the translator's choices have given the reader choices, and only in the attempt to understand them, to answer them, are we given the true rewards of readers and translation.”
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