Transcript
Dead Ladies Show Podcast Episode 13
Marie Skłodowska Curie & Anna Fischer-Dückelmann

SUSAN STONE: Welcome to the Dead Ladies Show Podcast. I'm Susan Stone. The Dead Ladies Show celebrates forgotten then also possibly quite infamous women who achieved amazing things against all odds while they were alive. The show is recorded in front of a delightful audience at Berlin's ACUD. And on the podcast, we bring you a special selection of talks from these events. We're kicking off our new season today. Yay, it's a new season. In this episode, we have two intrepid ladies of science and medicine and our first Nobel Prize winner, double winner in fact, also we have Dead Ladies Show co-founder Katy Derbyshire. Hello, Katy.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: Hi, Susan!

SUSAN STONE: To start, iconic scientists, Marie Curie, like you've never heard about her before. In fact, one of the guests at our live show said 'I didn't know it was going to be so spicy.' (LAUGHS) Now after that, writer David Wagner is going to tell us about a pioneering female doctor. But first, Katy, tell us who will be presenting Marie.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: Right. So it's Agata Lisiak, and she's a professor of migration studies at Bard College Berlin. And she writes about all these quite impressive things, including migrant mothering — close to my heart — urban girlhood, - oh my God, also close my heart — and walking in the city — good grief, we have so much in common. So here she is on Marie Skłodowska Curie.

AGATA LISIAK: Okay, thank you for the lovely introduction. I would like another dead lady to do the honor of introducing Marie Curie. Does anyone recognize this person?

AUDIENCE MEMBER YELLS: Jane Austen!

AGATA LISIAK: Yes! So some of you may remember that almost exactly a year ago, Jane Austen landed on a 10 pound note. That bank note was enthusiastically greeted by many and even celebrated as a victory for feminism. I admit I was unimpressed, (AUDIENCE LAUGHS) and not only because using a woman's face in the service of capitalism doesn't strike me as a particularly feminist gesture. I was unmoved because when I was growing up in Poland we had this: (SHOWS IMAGE) Marie Skłodowska Curie on a 20,000 złoty note. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

The bank note was first issued in 1989, in the midst of hyperinflation, hence the zeros, and right before the fall of communism. In the early 1990s, one pound would cost as much as 40,000 złoty which means you would need 20 Maries for one Jane. The issuing or the bank note was hardly controversial in Poland where Marie Skłodowska Curie is and remains a national hero, with schools and streets named after her across the country, and entire generations brought to admire her genius. One of the few Polish traditions I like to continue at home in Berlin.

Marie Skłodowska Curie is an idol, not just in Poland and France where she lived most of her life, but also internationally. She is probably the best known woman scientist in the world. And just to give you a glimpse into her global fame, here's a little selection of post stamps from across the world depicting Marie Curie.

With its impeccable font, the DDR stamp is an obvious favorite. Although I have to say I have a very soft spot in my heart for the Congolese stamp with the Italian Greyhound.

So who was this person who continues to inspire such amazing post stamp art?

Marie Curie was many firsts, and many onlys. First in her class, obviously, many times over. The first woman in France to receive a doctorate, the first woman to be awarded the Nobel Prize, the only person EVER to win the Nobel Prize in two different scientific categories. The first woman professor at the Sorbonne, and the first and only woman in most situations in which she participated.

Born in Warsaw the seventh of November 1867, Maria Skłodowska, or Mania, was the youngest of five children of Władysław Skłodowski and Bronisława Boguska. Little Mania is pictured with her siblings in 1872. Her siblings are Zofia, Helena, Józio and Bronia.

That's her parents. Her father was a physics and mathematics teacher and director of a high school for boys. And her mother ran a school for girls from so-called good homes, an institution Mania and her sisters would later attend as well.

When Marie was born, Poland didn't exist as an independent state, and Warsaw was part of the Russian Empire. Her family members were involved in the many failed rebellions against the occupiers, such as the January uprising of 1863, pictured here. Polish was strictly prohibited in schools. But many teachers, including Marie's parents, disregarded the ban and continued to teach in Polish. Marie and her siblings grew up in an extremely patriotic atmosphere. When she was nine, Mania lost her older sister Zosia to typhus, and then two years later, her mother died of tuberculosis. Mania entered her teen years in a state of depression, a condition that was going to return throughout her whole life.

Mania's daughter, and later biographer, Ève Curie had some pretty strong opinions about her mother's looks around that time. She wrote, "it must be admitted that she had taken on weight, and that her well-fitted uniform outlined a figure which was not exactly thin. Since she was the youngest, she was also, for the moment, the least beautiful. (AUDIENCE GASPS) But she had an animated and pleasing face and had the light clear eyes and hair and skin of Polish women." (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

In the Russian Empire, women were not admitted to universities but that didn't stop the Skłodowski girls from pursuing education. Mania and her sister Bronia attended the clandestine 'floating university,' taking classes and anatomy, natural history and social sciences. It was a formative experience for Marie, who later wrote, "I have a lively memory of that sympathetic atmosphere of social and intellectual comradeship. The means of action were poor, and the results obtained could not be very considerable. And yet I persist in believing that the ideas that then guided us are the only ones which can lead to true social progress. We cannot hope to build a better world without improving the individual. Toward this end, each of us must work toward his own highest development, accepting at the same time his share of responsibility in the general life of humanity. Our particular duty being to help those to whom we feel we can be most useful."

Both Mania and Bronia dreamed of studying at the Sorbonne, but they couldn't afford it. Mania offered to take up a job as a governess to finance Bronia's studies, and Bronia would study medicine and later pay for Mania's studies in turn — chain migration, in short. There's a widespread misconception in the West that Marie Curie grew up as a poor working class girl. Her family certainly wasn't rich, but they were definitely not working class. Both of her parents came from the Polish minor and ability called the Szlachta.

The letters the teenage Maria wrote to her cousin read like a textbook study of class distinction. She described the family of lawyers for whom she worked as a governess as,

quote, "one of those rich houses where they speak French when there is company — a chimney sweeper's kind of French."

And concluded, "I learned to know the human race a little better by being here. I learned that the characters described in novels really do exist, and that one must not enter into contact with people who have been demoralized by wealth." (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

After several years of what Maria experienced as little less than an ordeal, in 1891, an opportunity finally came up for her to join her sister in Paris. This is how a 1943 Hollywood film imagine Maria's beginning in the French Capitol.

FILM CLIP 'FROM MADAME CURIE': "50 years ago, Paris was a lighthearted city, the goal of many a traveller. But some came not for gaiety, but to work. To study at one of the world's most famous universities, the Sorbonne, to its lecture rooms and classes came students from all over the world. And among them was a young girl. She was poor. She was beautiful. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS) She left her homeland and family. And here in Paris, she was alone, haunted by dreams and invincibly eager."

AGATA LISIAK: Mania was hardly alone in the city. She was living with her sister and brother-in-law, who ran a salon of sorts with lots of Polish emigres dropping by — people who would later run the liberated Poland.

Marie, as she was now called, devoted herself entirely to studying, pursuing two masters in physics and mathematics. In 1894, she was introduced to the French scientist Pierre Curie. They labored side by side in Pierre's laboratory, and soon realized they were a good tandem. And yet, Marie was set on going back to Poland after her graduation. As her academic prospects in Warsaw were nil, Pierre managed to persuade her to stay in Paris to pursue her promising research, and to marry him.

They got married in 1895 and spend their honeymoon biking through France, and then happily returned to work. As young scientists, Marie and Pierre had to do various teaching jobs that kept them away from pursuing research. I'm sure that is going to sound relatable to some of you in this room.

Whatever time they had left, they spent in the lab building on the work of Henri Becquerel, they developed a new scientific field ,which they called radioactivity. In 1898, Marie discovered two new elements — polonium which she named after her home country, and radium. Now they only had to prove that these elements actually existed. The university gave them an old shed to conduct their work. (FILM CLIP MUSIC FADES IN)

And Hollywood out did itself once again in the cinematic depiction of the realness and foundation of the scientific struggle.

FILM CLIP FROM 'MADAME CURIE': "This was to be the Laboratory of Marie and Pierre Curie. The place was even worse than they had expected. There was no equipment, they were at the mercy of the worst extremes of the weather. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS) How could they do anything worthwhile under such conditions? If they known at the start how long they were to work here, and what difficulties awaited them? Would they have dare to begin? Yes, they probably would. They were that kind of people." (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

AGATA LISIAK: Marie later wrote, "We had no money, no laboratory and no help in the conduct of this important and difficult task. It was like creating something out of nothing. This period was for my husband and myself the heroic period of our common existence. And yet it was in

this miserable old shed that the best and happiest years of our life were spent. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

Entirely consecrated to work. I sometimes pass a whole day stirring a mass in ebullition, with an iron rod nearly as big as myself. In the evening, I was broken with fatigue."

After working tirelessly for years, Marie and Pierre managed to exact one 10th of a gram of radium chloride, and thus prove the existence of radioactivity. They were enchanted at the sight of radium Marie noted that the glowing tubes looked like faint fairy lights. They didn't use any protective clothing and for as long as they lived, kept downplaying the damaging effects radium had on their bodies. In1903. Marie defended her thesis "Researches on Radioactive Substances" and later that year, as one does, she was awarded the Nobel Prize in Physics. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS)

Actually, only a quarter of the prize. Half of the price went to Becquerel, and the other half was split evenly between the Curies. After the Nobel, Marie and Pierre's lives changed dramatically. Marie wrote to her brother, "We're inundated with letters and with visits from photographers and journalists. One would like to dig into the ground somewhere to find a little peace."

As Eve Curie wrote later, Marie did not know how to be famous. Once at dinner at the Elysee Palace, a lady came up to Marie and asked, "Would you like me to present you to the King of Greece?" Marie declined, saying, "I don't see the utility of it."

Radium instantly became popular. It was hailed as the new cure-all and not just for cancer. It was also advertised as an indispensable ingredient in toothpaste, shampoo, lipstick, and many other products. The Tho-Radia line created by an imposter Dr. Curie was particularly popular. The American dancer Loie Fuller begged Marie and Pierre to give her some radium for one of her extravagant costumes. They refused. Marie and Pierre were not making any money off the radium craze. They insisted radium belong to the world, and that they had no right to capitalize on it.

In her book on Marie Curie, Eva Hemmungs Wirtén offers a compelling explanation of this novel gesture. She reminds us that Marie, a married woman, would have no rights to radium anyway, because according to the French law, she was not a person. She was just a wife, and as such, like children and those deemed insane, judged incapable. If you couldn't hold any property, including the intellectual kind, wouldn't you give it away to the world?

In the midst of all this hard work and success, pure and Marie managed to have two children, Irène born in 1897, and Ève born in 1904. When Irène was born the rewrote to her beloved sister Bronia, who had since returned to Poland, "Our life is always the same. We work a lot but sleep well so our health does not suffer. The evenings are taking up by caring for the child in the morning. I dress her and give her her food, then I can generally go out at about nine. During the whole of this year, we have not been either to the theater or a concert, and we have not paid one visit. I miss my family enormously, above all you, my dears, and Father. I often think of my isolation with grief. I cannot complain of anything else, for our health is not bad. The child is growing well, and I have the best husband that the dream of. I could never have imagined finding one like him. He is a true gift of heaven. And the more we live together, the more we love each other."

In 1906, Pierre died tragically, I'm sorry. (AUDIENCE GROANS) In a traffic accident, his head smashed under the wheels of a heavy carriage.

Marie channeled her debilitating grief into a journal in which she addressed Pierre directly. When she was offered Pierre's professorship at the Sorbonne, Marie wrote in her journal, "I have been named to your chair. There have been some imbeciles to congratulate me on it."

Marie was now a single mother, and as one would imagine, she considered education paramount. She wasn't impressed with the French schools. So, she thought she could do a better job herself. She got a bunch of her professor friends and they homeschooled their children together. Marie became particularly close with one of these friends, Pierre's former disciple Paul Langevin.

Paul was married, and had four children. When his wife Jeanne found out about the affair, she threatened to kill Marie. Marie wouldn't budge, and demanded Paul leave Jeanne. Jeanne managed to get hold of Paul and Marie's letters, and threatened to publish them. All of this drama was happening at a pretty busy time for Marie. Marie's colleagues encouraged her to apply to the French Academy of Science. The press took great interest in Marie's application, anticipating she would be the first woman elected to the Academy.

Marie's competitor, Édouard Branly, was backed by the Catholic Church, deemed supremely French, and won. A few months after the rejection from the French Academy, Marie was awarded her second Nobel, (AUDIENCE LAUGHS) this time in chemistry. The news reached her at the prestigious Solvay Conference in Belgium, which she attended alongside Paul Langevin, Max Planck, Albert Einstein and other esteemed scientists of the day. If you can spot Marie (AUDIENCE SAYS YEAH)? The only woman in the room.

The Nobel Prize was not the only news that broke out at that time, Jeanne ended up publishing Paul and Marie's letters. The public was particularly enraged at Marie's alleged demand that Paul no longer have sex with his wife. How dare this foreigner stop French bébés from being conceived! One journalist said this whole affair was proof that France was quote, "In the grip of the bunch of dirty foreigners who plunder, it soil it, dishonor it."

People throw rocks at her windows called her adulterous, foreigner, traitor, and predictably and inaccurately, a Jew. Some Marie's friends, including Paul, decided to defend her honor by engaging and duels with tabloid journalists. (AUDIENCE LAUGHS) Here's one of them. Aren't few second-long performances of masculinity adorable? As you can see, no one died.

Also, Einstein offered his support though thankfully not in dual. In a letter to Marie he urged her to hold this riffraff in contempt and simply stop reading that drivel. "Leave it to the vipers it was fabricated for," he wrote. Behind Marie's back, Einstein had a different explanation. Marie simply wasn't attractive enough to become dangerous for anyone. You get a pretty good sense of Einstein's dickishness reading about Marie Curie. Terrified by the scandal, the members of the Swedish Academy tried to stop Marie from accepting the Nobel Prize. And here is how a recent Marie Curie biopic imagines it went down.

FILM CLIP FROM 'MARIE CURIE': FRENCH SPOKEN

Marie did go to Stockholm to pick up the award, and she took her daughter Irène with her. In 1935, Irène would return to Sweden to receive her own Nobel Prize. (AUDIENCE REACTS) Soon after the scandal, Marie managed to rehabilitate herself in the eyes of the French public. She became a good migrant by serving France during World War One. To secure the national reserve of radium from the approaching German army, Marie transported it by train to Bordeaux. She also used her savings to buy war bonds, and even offered to melt down her Nobel Prize medals.

Her most famous contribution, however, was this vehicle called Le Petit Curies. During the war Marie and Irène supervised the creation of mobile X-ray units, and drove them to battlefields. By bringing technology to where it was most needed, they saved thousands of lives and innumerable limbs.

After the war, Marie was highly revered in France, but her international fame was boosted to brand new proportions by one enthusiastic American: Marie Mattingly Maloney, also known by her nickname Missy, a journalist, editor, and socialite. When Missy found out Marie was struggling to get funding for more radium, she started a fundraiser. First, appealing to rich New Yorker women, and then when that didn't bring the expected effect, to all American women to chime in whatever they could even if only \$1 each. And it worked. In her campaign, which included a profile in the illustrated magazine *Delineator* — see maybe some of you will see the line at the bottom, 'the greatest woman in the world —Marie Curie' — Missy presented Marie as an impoverished scientist sacrificing her duties as a mother in the service of humanity. Marie objected to such a portrayal, but she also really wanted that radium, so she mostly played along with Missy's scheming.

And so Marie agreed to come on a tour to the US with her daughters — pictured here with Missy. Everywhere they went in the US, Marie was greeted like a superstar. President Harding handed over the much awaited gram of radium to her in a White House ceremony. After the intense program that went on for several weeks, Marie was more than happy to return to Paris.

Years of exposure to radium caught up with her, and Marie died in 1934 at the age of 66. Even the *New York Times* published her obituary, although as some of you may have heard, honoring dead ladies was not exactly their thing.

"Madame Curie is dead," the obituary read, "martyr to science." She was buried next to Pierre and his parents in a small cemetery. But in 1995, Marie's and Pierre's ashes were moved to the Pantheon. Marie was the first woman ever to be buried there for her accomplishments. After all, the place was not made for women. The inscription on the portico here proclaims "To great men from a grateful country." Marina rests in the holiest of French places, her tomb adorned with Polish flags. Two countries claim her as their model citizen.

She is also a comfortable EU symbol. Deemed a good European migrant after all, Marie Curie posthumously lends her name to a framework of major mobility grants, allowing good migrants like herself to conduct research and foster international collaborations in Europe and beyond. There is no way for us to know how Marie Curie would feel about this, but I like to imagine that she would apply her critical mind to it, and question Europe's hypocritical migration regime.

There is so much more to be said about her, but I have to stop now. I really recommend these books that I used for the presentation, and thank you for your attention. Oh, the books are *Obsessive Genius, Marie Curie and Her Daughters, Madame Curie — Making Marie Curie*, and *Radioactive* which is a graphic novel. It's beautiful. Thank you. (APPLAUSE FROM AUDIENCE)

SUSAN STONE: Agata Lisiak on Marie Skłodowska Curie. Now, in our live show in Berlin, there's usually two presentations in English, which often make it to the podcast and one presentation auf Deutsch, which doesn't. We hate having you miss out on these ladies. so we share them with you from time to time via interviews with our presenters. So recently, I sat down and had a chat with prize-winning author David Wagner, who has written numerous books, and is a lovely person as well as a Dead Ladies Show presenter. You can read some of his work in English, translated by certain Katy Derbyshire.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: You can indeed. So I translated one of his books which is called *Berlin Triptych*. And his probably most famous book *Leben*, which means life has been translated into

16 languages, but sadly, English is not one of them so far. You can read an excerpt from it, which I translated. in issue 11 of the Berlin literary journal *Sand*. And David's most recent book is *Romania*, published by the lovely people from Verbrecher Verlag.

SUSAN STONE: How would you characterize David's writing?

KATY DERBYSHIRE: David writes meticulously. I think that he sits down and he writes and then he scores out every other word. So it's very careful, very thoughtful. *Leben* is an account of a man who had a liver transplant and ends up obsessed with the person he imagines having donated their liver to him. David also had a liver transplant, but it is fiction. And it's just beautifully, beautifully written.

SUSAN STONE: Thank you. So David and I spoke about Anna Fischer-Dückelmann, who lived from 1856 to 1917. Anna was one of the few women to get a medical degree at the end of the 19th century. This was a time when women weren't even admitted to university. She practiced as a doctor, which was also pretty much unheard of. She was highly popular, a best-selling author, and was also quite controversial. She supported alternative medicine, a vegetarian diet, a healthy sex life, and contraception, while fighting against corsets and the mistreatment of women by doctors.

DAVID WAGNER: She was Austrian, actually so she was born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And then she married and moved to Frankfurt, and she was writing. And she was always interested in medicine and Naturheilkunde — natural healing. And she was over 30, she moved with three little kids to Zurich, because Switzerland was at that time the only place a woman could enroll in university. And her husband, he stayed in Frankfurt, so she was a single mom raising three kids and studying as the only and first woman. So this is something amazing.

But somehow, against all odds, she did it, and then she was rewarded. She was a very super successful doctor in Dresden, and after some years only she bought a huge villa, sort of mansion, a Jugendstil palace, and she had her practice there. Well, that was a sensation. There was a gynecologist, and the gynecologist was a woman! Yeah. And that was the first time. That was like, crazy. And so she had more patients than she ever could take care of.

SUSAN STONE: She was really notable in a number of ways. I mean, she has this feminist tendencies, actions in fact.

DAVID WAGNER: Yes, and she had this right from the beginning. She married a journalist, this Mr. Fisher. And she insisted on keeping her name so that's why she's called Fischer-Dückelmann. Dückelmann is her birth name. And this was something very, very unusual.

SUSAN STONE: Yes, she was very much ahead of her time and in a lot of ways which are fun to see now.

DAVID WAGNER: Yeah, absolutely. And so, in her books — in her most successful book *Die Frau als Hausärztin*, the Doctor in the House, which sold over 5 million copies in the years after publication, she talks about contraception and she talks about sexuality, which were big taboos. And so in some places her book is even banned, because people don't want women or other people to read about it. And you have these Lebensreform elements in the book as well, yeah. So there are even illustrations of naked women and you have — you see breasts. You see illustrations of a good breast, and not-so-normal female body types, or male body types. She wanted to be a painter at first, and some of the illustrations in the first edition she did herself.

I have a little theory as well, that part of the success of the book. — maybe it was because there are these at a time where you have no internet and no pornography. This is the thing you look at to see a naked woman. And they are very pretty illustrations of young females sunbathing in the Alps. And there is an ascetic quality with all this.

SUSAN STONE: Yeah, there might be some exciting images in the book for men or women of that time, or even now. I believe you said that you've looked at these books when you were a kid.

DAVID WAGNER: (LAUGHING) Yeah. Yeah.

SUSAN STONE: Say no more!

DAVID WAGNER: You said it!

SUSAN STONE: It's a little bit like the Sears catalog, or the underwear catalogs.

DAVID WAGNER: So even better, much better because there were no underwear!

SUSAN STONE: Well going back to the theme of underwear, in fact, at that time — you mentioned these restrictions. I mean, women had these severe body-restricting garments. They had to wear these corsets, and she kind of spoke out against this from quite a young age, no?

DAVID WAGNER: Yes, this was actually her first publication, against corsets. She spoke against them for medical reasons. Because it some are damaging the ribs, So she said this phrase, 'it hinders a woman from keeping pace with a man.' And she wanted to keep pace with men. She didn't want to be suppressed and she wanted to be ahead of them. And she did that.

SUSAN STONE: The book was published into, or translated into nine languages, at least, from Polish to Portuguese. And the first English-language edition was published in the US in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1908, and it was called *The Wife as the Family Physician*.

DAVID WAGNER: Aha!

SUSAN STONE: You have a personal connection to her as well.

DAVID WAGNER: Yes. Well, I know about her, and I knew about her from very early on, because actually, she is my great, great aunt. And actually her book, *Die Frau als Hausärztin*, the Doctor in the House, it was always around. And there were re-editions in the late 1970s, I would say. So, my mother at one in our house, and sometimes she looked things up, and all "what, what could I do? What will you do with that?"

SUSAN STONE: So this book was really kind of like a reference book that people would use every day to look up an illness or treatment or something like this?

DAVID WAGNER: Yeah, actually, yes. Especially the later editions who had been surely modified.

SUSAN STONE: Do you think people today know who Anna Fischer-Dückelmann is?

DAVID WAGNER: No, she's not very well known - in Austria a little more, but not really. This is kind of sad because she really was in a way the first German female doctor, and she could

be an icon for female self-empowerment. And because she did it against all odds, and that's a great achievement

SUSAN STONE: David Wagner on Anna Fischer-Dückelman. You can see some truly astonishing images from *Die Frau als Hausärztin* and find out more info in our show notes at <u>deadladiessshow.com</u> where you could also see pictures of Anna and Marie Curie. The website is also home to our Hall of Dames, a list of all the ladies we've featured in the past.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: We have a couple of live shows coming up to tell you about. If you're in New Zealand, lucky you! Do come out to the Wellington Lit Crawl on November 11, when there'll be a special Dead Ladies Show in a venue called San Fran. Sadly, we can't be there but we're looking forward to hearing all about it. But if you're in Berlin like us, mark your calendars because November the 27th is our next live show, all about Frankenstein. We're featuring Mary Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Ada Lovelace all at our lovely ACUD Studio venue. And those ladies will also be coming to you podcast listeners very soon.

SUSAN STONE: Oh, and one more note that live show is actually going to be all in English as well.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: It is, it is.

SUSAN STONE: Our theme song is *Little Lily Swing* by Tri-Tachyon, which you can find on Soundcloud along with all episodes of the Dead Ladies Show podcast. Follow us @DeadLadiesShow. Or drop us a line to info@DeadLadiesShow.com. We are now on Spotify.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: Hoorah. Yes.

SUSAN STONE: As well as on Apple podcasts, Stitcher, Radio Public, Google Play Music, and everywhere you like to listen. Thanks, Katy.

KATY DERBYSHIRE: Thank you, Susan.

SUSAN STONE: And thanks to all of you for joining us. I'm Susan Stone.

(Dead Ladies Show Music - "Little Lily Swing" by Tri-Tachyon)

Transcribed by https://otter.ai, Copiously edited by Susan Stone.